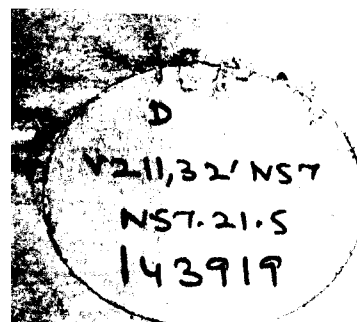


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MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

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THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Friday, the 1st November 1957.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Language Tests in Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese.

* 10 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Finance be pleased to state whether there is any proposal before the Government to abolish the language tests in Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese prescribed for Government servants in the State?

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: The answer is in the affirmative.

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Pending the issue of regular orders, may I appeal to the Government that the passing of these tests should not be insisted upon because promotions are withheld in the case of some Government servants for not passing the language test?

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I do not think it will take a long time. We are expecting replies from various Departments and we hope to take an early decision.

Noise and vibration caused by trains which run close to the Madras General Hospital.

* 11 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government are aware of noise and vibration caused by trains which run close to the Madras General Hospital; and

(b) if so, whether there is any proposal before the Government to take up the matter with the concerned authorities with a view to mitigate such noise and vibration?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Railway authorities were requested to limit the speed of the trains at least to 10 miles per hour from Stanley Viaduct up to Sir Muthuswamy Iyer Overbridge and *vice versa* so that the nuisance caused by the trains running close to the



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General Hospital may be minimised but they stated that it was not desirable or feasible to impose such a speed restriction as it would increase the running time of trains between these points and consequently affect the intensity of the service during peak hours resulting in complaints from the travelling public. They are, however, investigating the possibility of treating the rails for the length between the Stanley Viaduct and the Road overbridge with a view to reduce the noise. But even with this arrangement they consider that the general din associated with the moving of a running train will still continue to a noticeable extent.

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Will the Hon. Minister enlighten us—if such information is available—on when the old rails were laid? Also, will the Government take up the matter with the Railway Ministry for renewing old creaking rails?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU: I cannot say when the rails were renewed but I may tell the hon. Member that any amount of new rails will not very much reduce the noise unless we devise other means. Therefore, I do not think that by mere renewal of old rails we can get any appreciable lessening of the noise.

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Could not some device be made to put up a covered tunnel in that particular place and would the Government consult experts in the matter for ensuring needed relief?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU: That would be very costly. But I would request the hon. Member to come along with one or two experts for discussion with us so that we may devise ways and means to reduce the noise.

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR: As trains are generally running late, there would not be any difficulty in reducing the speed to 10 or 15 miles for the purpose of minimising the noise. It does not matter very much as the train generally comes one or two hours late.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU: If it is generally one of two hours late and if this is also allowed, then it will be coming further late.

SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN: May I know from the Hon. the Minister for Health whether the noise and vibration caused by trains have in any way deteriorated the health of the patients in the General Hospital and whether any such thing has been referred to by the doctors?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU: No. The point is not whether it actually deteriorates the health of the patients. It has got a psychological effect which affects the sleep of the patients.

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Viswakarma Community.

* 12 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Will the Hon., the Minister for Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether representations have been received by the Government from members of the Viswakarma Community for classifying that community as a most backward class for purposes of grant of educational concession admissible to Scheduled Castes; and

(b) if so, the action taken thereon?

THE HON. SRI P. KAKKAN: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The matter is under the consideration of the Government.

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Will the Hon. Minister kindly tell us what the criterion is for classification of a community as a 'most backward class'?

THE HON. SRI P. KAKKAN: The Government classify it after verifying the economic and educational backwardness of the community.

SRI A. SUBRAMANYAM: தலைவர் அவர்களே, சாலியர், செங்குந்தர், தேவாங்கர், செளராஷ்டிரர் போன்றவர்கள் பொருளாதாரத் துறையிலும், கல்வி போன்ற இரா துறைகளிலும் பின்பு இருப்பதால், என் அவர்களை மிகவும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர் ஜாபிதாவில் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளக் கூடாது? அடுத்து சேர்த்துக்கொள்ள அரசாங்கம் கவனிக்குமா?

THE HON. SRI P. KAKKAN: பார் யார் மிகவும் பின்தங்கிய வகுப்பினர் என்று "கன்வீட்டர்" பண்ணித்தான் ஒரு லிஸ்ட் யாரித்திருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கத்தினர் அவர்கள் வேறு என்னையாவது சேர்க்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால், இந்த விஸ்வகர்மா இனத்தோடு அதுவும் சேர்க்க முடியுமா என்று பார்க்கலாம்.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: Will the Government attempt at least in the next 25 years to abolish all castes in India?

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI: இந்தச் சலுகை காட்டுவதில் ஒரு நபரின் பொருளாதார நிலையை வைத்து, குடும்பங்களின் வரும்படியை வைத்து அவர்களுக்குச் சலுகை காட்ட வேண்டுமெய்யல்லாது, ஜாதியை வைத்துக் கொடுக்கக் கூடாது என்ற கொள்கையை அரசாங்கம் ஒப்புக்கொள்கிறார்களா? அதை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவர என்ன நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள்?

THE HON. SRI P. KAKKAN: தனிப்பட்ட மட்டத்தை வைத்து இந்த முடிவு செய்யவில்லை. பொதுவாக சமுதாயத்தின் இருக்கிற நிலையை அனுசரித்துச் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Questions are over.

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

II.—DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT *RE* DISTURBANCES IN THE RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move—

‘That the Statement in regard to the recent disturbances in the Ramanathapuram district be taken into consideration.’

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved—

‘That the Statement in regard to the recent disturbances in the Ramanathapuram district be taken into consideration.’

I have received notice of an amendment from Sri T. Purushotham which reads as follows:—

‘Add the following at the end:—

“and on such consideration” this Council approves the action of Government.”

Now, Sri T. Purushotham will formally move the amendment.

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Sir, I move the following amendment:—

‘Add the following at the end:—

“and on such consideration, this Council approves the action of Government.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Both the motion and the amendment are before the House for discussion. Now, Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy will speak. I have to inform the House that no speech can go beyond half an hour.

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR: On a point of order, Sir. This is not a Resolution under discussion and it is only a Statement. Instead of an amendment, a separate Resolution may be moved. No amendment can be moved to a Statement to be taken into consideration.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member wants a separate Resolution, it should be either in the form of a Confidence Motion or a No-confidence Motion. There has been a precedent for this sort of amendment and that was why I approved of it.

2-40
p.m.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: I would like to point out that I have moved this motion because some hon. Members of this House desired to have a discussion on this subject. That is the only reason why I have come forward to make this formal motion.

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* SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: Mr. Chairman, the subject of Ramanathapuram disturbances has been sufficiently thrashed out in the Lower House, and as such, there does not remain much for us to speak about here. So far as I am concerned, I am here to consider the root cause of the disease, of which the recent disturbances were only symptoms, and how best the disease can be eradicated. A doctor is called in to attend on an ailing patient. If he is an efficient doctor, he attempts to diagnose the disease, treat it and cure the patient. If he is an inefficient doctor, he attempts to palliate the symptoms. Either the disease abates and lies dormant or the doctor finds it difficult even to eradicate the symptoms. Even so, so far as the Ramanathapuram disturbances are concerned, what the Government have done is just like the performance of the inefficient doctor. They attempted to tackle the symptoms, failed to touch the disease and even the symptoms have not been eradicated, but now lie a bit abated. Well, now what is the disease? This naturally takes us back to the history of the Ramanathapuram district, especially of the East Ramanathapuram area. Long ago, even as early as fifty years ago, this trouble was there. Either it flared up and was suppressed by the British or was lying dormant. How is it and why is it that a thing that has been lying dormant for fifty odd years flared up just now? My contention, Mr. Chairman, is that the virus of communalism has been deliberately injected into that area. A culture of that virus was systematically and sedulously cultivated in the Tamil Nad Congress Committee and was disseminated in all the districts of Tamil Nad. As any virus does, it flared up into a violent disease in East Ramanathapuram because the body politic of that area did not have considerable resistance whereas in other areas, there was some resistance. I want to remind the Members of this House that this virus has been disseminated in all the districts of Tamil Nad. Let not Members delude themselves into the belief that this is a localised disease and that it has been tackled as such and put an end to. It is lying there and the Congress Government and the Tamil Nad Congress Committee will make use of it. In fact, in their statement, in their announcements, in their discussions and in everything, the rulers that be are attempting to disseminate that virus. That is what they do in tackling the present problem. Even in the British days, whenever a communal clash arose, the names of communities were never mentioned in the first bulletins. See the strange phenomenon here, of the names of the communities being mentioned even in the first bulletins of the Government and the Collector. This is what has been happening here. How was it that the virus took deep root so easily in the East Ramanathapuram area? As I mentioned earlier, it takes us back to the previous history of the district. When the Congress organization was spreading, there were areas which were strongholds of the Justice Party, an anti-national and pro-British party, and Ramanathapuram was one such area. The Congress organization could not be built up with as much ease there as could be built up in other parts of the State. What was the reason for it? Excuse me, Mr. Chairman, if I am

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constrained to mention the names of certain communities. It is with great reluctance that I mention them because in their statement, the Government have repeatedly accused the Maravar community and Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar, leader of that community, as communal bigots. What was happening in the Ramanathapuram district? There was one rising, flourishing community there. Mr. Chairman, in the meanwhile, I suggest some arrangement may be made to adjust the mike so that I could stand erect and speak.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I think the hon. Member is audible even now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I can hear the hon. Member without mike.

* SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: With great reluctance, I may mention that in Ramanathapuram district, there was a rising community. Its history dates back to very early days and that community's aggressive policy started in the year 1899, when the notorious Sivakasi disturbances took place. In the Tirunelveli District Gazetteer published in the year 1917—it was written by an Englishman who was definitely not under the influence of Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar and who could never have been under his influence—it was stated that the Nadar community was aggressive and that the Maravars were, unfortunately, on the defensive side. That is the history of the Sivakasi disturbances. Ever since that time, the Nadars of Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts as one man excepting Sri Kamaraj Nadar and one or two other Nadars were strongly, violently and aggressively pro-British, anti-Congress and anti-national. Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar came into politics as a Congressman. I remember, Sri Kamaraj Nadar should remember and Sri Bhaktavatsalam should remember, the number of pilgrimages to his village Pasumpon to draw him out and make him work actively for the Congress organization. He came out and started work. Naturally enough, he came into clash with this community. In those days, when the Nadars drove Sri Kamaraj through the streets of Virudhunagar naked, and an S.O.S. was sent to Sri Thevar, he rushed in with his retinue and saved the prestige of the Congress. The speech of the late-lamented and revered leader, Sri S. Satyamurthi, at Madurai in 1937 still rings in my ears. He said in his typical way—

“இராமனாதபுரம் தொகுதியில் வெற்றிபெற்றது காங்கிரஸ் அல்ல, முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவர்தான். இயத்திலிருந்து குமரி வரையிலும் அடிவணங்கும் சேதுபதி ராஜாவைத் தேற்கடிப்பது என்றால், அது காங்கிரஸ் ஆகாது. திரு. முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவரினால் தான் ஆகும்.”

Immediately after the 1937 elections, he said in Madurai, 'We will be ungrateful wretches if we forget the services rendered by Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar to the cause of the Indian National Congress.' So, naturally, Sri Thevar came into clash with the Nadar community. The British Government, as our present Government are doing most shamelessly, clapped him in jail, instituted proceedings against him and called him a communal bigot. We

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could understand this during the British Raj. But I shudder to think that our Government a Congress Government, and most Congressmen are trying to level charges, which were levelled by the British, against him. At this stage, the House and you, Sir, should take note of one significant factor. In Tirunelveli district the Nadar population is much more numerous than in Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts. The population of Maravars in Ramanathapuram and Madurai is also less than in Tirunelveli. They are called Kondayankottai Maravars to which community the ex-Minister, the Raja of Ramnad, belongs and Appanadu Maravars to which community Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar belongs. The former may be 20 to 25 thousand strong and together the communities will not be more than 40,000 in population. Is this a large number? I said, Sir, one significant factor, the House should take note of. In Tirunelveli district the population of Nadars is much larger than the population in Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts. The population of Maravars is also much larger in Tirunelveli district than in Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts. But ever since the dawn of history, the Nadars and the Maravars and the Harijans of Tirunelveli district have been living in perpetual amity and peace. Why is it so? It is because the Nadars of Tirunelveli district who are called 'Dhakshina Mara Nadars' were as one man, as one community, anti-British, pro-Congress and pro-national. The Maravars with their anti-British tradition and the Tirunelveli Nadars with their anti-British tradition could live as brothers. The Harijans too did live like that and they are all living like that in spite of these disturbances. We have not heard of disturbances in Tirunelveli district where we could expect such a disturbance to take place. On the contrary, it happens in other places.

What happened after the winning of independence? The Nadar community of this area waited till Sri Kamaraj Nadar became Chief Minister in Madras and as one man walked into the Congress. This reminds me of the definition of 'pick-pocket' in the Brewer's 'Dictionary of Phrases and Fables'. Originally, people used to carry their purses in their belts and the thieves used to cut away the purses. Hence, they were called cut-purses. Fearing the 'cut-purses', people started having pockets and carried their purses in their pockets. Promptly the 'cut-purses' became 'pick-pockets'. Like that the tradition of the Nadars had been to support the Government in power. So, as one man, they came into the Congress with their anti-Congress tradition, with their hatred for the Congressman, with their hatred for the Congress work and everything Congress stood for, and started their political game once again in that area. That is why the East Ramanathapuram area body-politic is so weak for this communal virus to be injected to take effect immediately and flare up into a violent disease. So, they started this game.

I would request the House, Mr. Chairman, to consider this very deeply and ponder over it. The Mudukulathur constituency consists of more than 300 villages and the whole trouble centred

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round only 16 villages. If you go back to the history, you will find that the 16 villages are predominantly inhabited by Harijans. There is also a misconception, and the Government are deliberately misleading the public and also the Harijans. We use a single word for the Harijans. But the Harijans of that area are divided into three sections, namely, 'Pallars', 'Parayars' and 'Chuklars'. The Pallars do not treat the Chuklars as their equals. During our tour of that area with Sri Datar, I pointed out to our Minister for Public Works the treatment meted out by the Pallars to the Parayars of that area. The Government seem to be following a very nice policy of pandering to that section of the Harijans who are in a majority in any particular area. In the southern area if the Pallars are in a majority, they rush to their help. In the northern area if the Parayars are in a majority, they would rush to the help of the Parayars. I do not know whether they will rush to their aid, also if they get sufficient political awakening. What will happen if the Parayars get sudden social awakening and start attacking the Pallars? So, these 16 villages—even formerly when Mr. Thevar was doing Congress work and we were pampering him, everybody inclusive—were the trouble spot. All the Nadars, as one man, belonged to the Justice Party and the Harijans in that area, as one man, belonged to the Depressed Classes Federation headed by late Dr. Ambedkar. This late Emmanuel about whom much is talked was a Member of that Federation and was taken into the Congress fold in the 1952 elections. These Harijans voted anti-Congress. But the Congress forces built up and nurtured by Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar and the anti-Congress forces changed places and once the Government started their move, things flared up in that area.

Mr. Chairman, if you will study the chronology of events, you will note one significant fact. The trouble was not confined only to the 16 villages. A new village, Arunkulam in Paramakudi taluk and not in Mudukulathur taluk, also got this infection. The significant fact is this. Sri Emmanuel was murdered on the 11th. There was trouble in Arunkulam on the 13th. When we went along with Sri Datar and enquired there in the village, the Harijans who deposed before Sri Datar were not aware that one Emmanuel had been murdered. The Hon. Minister Mr. Kakkan was there. The Harijans of that place were not aware of it on the 13th. But there is a significant sentence in the Statement of the Hon. the Home Minister. 'Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar chided his followers for allowing even Pallars like Emmanuel to talk back to him.' There was altercation between Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar and Emmanuel and the next day he was murdered. What is the insinuation? I would like to recall to our Congress friends how the Wavell Conference broke down during the Independence struggle. Why did it break down? It broke down because among other things, the Congress said that it represented the Muslims of India, but the Muslim League and Jinnah said that they represented the Muslims of India. The Wavell conference broke down. But on that account did Gandhi murder

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Jinnah or did Jinnah murder Gandhi? It was a similar altercation that took place in the peace conference. Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar said, 'Emmanuel did not represent all the sections of the Harijans though he might represent some of his followers. I have got an M.L.A. who really represents the Harijans of that area. If I accept that Emmanuel represents all the Harijans of that area, I will be letting down my followers. So, let us sign the appeal separately.' Does this mean that Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar challenged the leadership of Emmanuel? Do you expect Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar to sink so low as to throw challenges to all and sundry? Yet, Government say that.

In his narration of the incidents the Hon. the Home Minister states: "At about 6 a.m. on 16th September 1957 there was a clash between the Thevars of Illanjambur and Harijans of Veerambal, in which four Thevars including a woman and two Harijans died and 17 Harijans and two Thevars were injured. The same day a mob of armed Thevars burnt nearly 60 houses in Irulandi-patti and Senthakottai villages. Three Harijans including one woman were killed, and a Harijan woman seriously injured". It was a planned attack, a deliberate attack. About 2,000 or 3,000 Harijans marched from Veerambal to Illanjambur. There was a state of siege. On the way, a whole family, persons who were sleeping, were hacked to pieces except that an old man who was taken to be dead was left wounded. It was a gruesome tale that was told about the murder, cold-blooded murder, of sleeping persons. There was a pregnant woman. She was hacked to pieces. The womb was torn open and the embryo of the child was brought out and cut to pieces. It was not a mere clash. The Harijans attacked Illanjambur. It was a siege. It was repulsed by the Maravars of Illanjambur. In that area it is the only village where you have Maravars in considerable numbers. In the other villages the Harijans predominate. As I mentioned earlier, if there were 150 Harijan houses, there would be 10 Marava houses. If there were 100 Harijan houses, there would be 5 or 6 Marava houses. In that way the Harijans predominate in that area.

In the next paragraph the Hon. Minister states: 'On 16th September 1957 a Police party on patrol duty came upon some 500 Harijans at Keerandai and arrested 120 of them to prevent any possible attack by them on Maravars. Several aruvals and other weapons were recovered from them.' We should be truthful and conscientious in pronouncing facts and in bringing facts to the notice of the people. So, what happened was that the whole thing was engineered by the old Justice Party people there. I do not know if the Government were directly responsible for this. I do not think the Police would have resorted to such drastic action, such unwarranted violence, if they had not had the previous sanction of Government or the oral approval of some of the Ministers of Government. Anyway my interpretation of the whole happening was this. What the Government wanted to do was "Set up one community against another and after a serious

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clash, after both the parties have destroyed one another, step in under the guise of establishing law and order, come out and say to the world 'See Maravars' attacked the Harijans and we saved the Harijans'."

3 p.m. The Government wanted that the trouble should be localised. They thought that they could put an end to this easily and they were confident of that. But the whole plan miscarried. In Arunkulam, the Harijans were in a majority and they thought that they could successfully attack the Maravars of that village. Incidentally, I may mention that in Arunkulam, there are only five Marava houses, while the remaining houses are those of Kallars, Ahamudayars, Konars and Pandarams. Many houses are not there belonging to Maravas. Only five houses are those of Maravas. During our tour, the people were scrupulously clear in referring to them as "செல்லு திசை முயிடு" "செல்லு திசை முயிடு" They said so. The remaining houses belong, of course, to other sections of the Mukkulathar community. They expected that the Harijans would come out better off, but they came out worse off in the clash. Therefore, to maintain their prestige, to sustain their prestige, to show to the Harijans that still the Government were powerful and that the Government could come to their rescue, took the Harijans to other places. They had to go to Keelathooval. It was a measure to terrorise the Maravars of that area. According to the Police Inspector's version, one fine morning they should have proceeded to Melathooval to arrest some persons, but wrongly went to Keelathooval. And do you expect, Mr. Chairman, a crowd of 300 or 400 to remain collected there expecting this Inspector with a posse of constables, to attack and destroy them? You, Mr. Chairman, and some of the hon. Members of this House should visit that Keelathooval village. It is a tiny hamlet, a bit removed from the main road, some 25 miles away from Arunkulam village where the previous day incidents had taken place. Sir, the villagers of Keelathooval do not read newspapers; they do not have radios; they do not get wireless messages. They were completely unaware that something had happened in Arunkulam 25 miles away. Even road communication is very difficult there. Even to go by a jeep from one village to another, it takes two hours or three hours. In that village particularly, the Harijans and Maravars live together. There is no Harijan cheri in that whole area and the Harijans do not live separately. So, the Police people go there and shoot down the people. But we are asked to believe that 300 people collected there and attacked the Police, and that they (the Police), in fear of their life, in self-defence, shot them down! It is impossible to believe. It is to resuscitate their losing prestige that they have done it.

The next day, on the 16th, Illanjambur is attacked. Then the Harijans move to Keerandai, a Marava village. They are baulked in their attempt. By chance, by a mere chance, the Police officer stops them. What happens afterwards? On the 17th, the Police come to Keerandai and shoot down people. That

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was what happened there. My contention is that they had no work at Keerandai. Sir, during all this happening, nowhere near that area were the Police stationed. On the 16th, there is an attack on Illanjambur by the Harijans of Veerambal. On the 16th evening itself, Keerandai is sought to be attacked by the Harijans. On the 17th, there is a shooting in Keerandai. But nowhere near about, you find a single policeman. The Police are simply withdrawn. I asked the Collector how it happened. He said, "Somelhow or other, it was a bungling. There was a change of a company or battalion." A vacuum could have been created for a day, for six hours. A vacuum to be created, a complete power vacuum to be created in that area for successive days is a deliberate plan. The Harijans are in a majority there. The Government wanted that either the Harijans should re-attack the Maravars or that the Maravars should attack in retaliation so that the Government might make political capital out of it. That was why the entire area was left without Police protection.

What do you find then? On the morning of the 20th in retaliation, the Maravars attack the Harijans of Veerambal; they attack the Harijans in the early hours of the 20th morning. By 12 noon, the Harijans of Veerambal once again attack Illanjambur. That is not mentioned in the Minister's statement. That village has been deserted by the Maravars. The Harijans go there, burn all the Marava houses, destroy the cattle, demolish the vessels, spoil the foodgrains and commit all sorts of atrocities. A sort of personal vendetta has been carried on in that area. So much so all these troubles take place and the Government choose to arrest Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar. When? Not when the trouble is taking place, but after all this trouble is over and when there is peace established. Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar has been consistently appealing for peace, but he is being jeered at. It is mentioned that he was persistently saying that Bose was alive and was inciting his followers. Well, is it inciting communal hatred to repeatedly say that Bose is alive? He sincerely believes in what he said. Just as there are people who believe that there is God and some others who equally sincerely believe that there is no God, so also he sincerely believes that Bose is alive and that a third world war will take place. What is wrong in that? By this argument do the Government mean to suggest that the Maravars of the whole area were given by Mr. Thevar a *carte blanche*? Is it the argument of the Government? Even now the Indian National Congress has not passed a resolution touching the death of Bose. Recently I saw in the newspapers that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would bring the ashes of Bose to India, but he has not done that. So, there is still an atmosphere of mystery around Bose and it is believed that he is still alive and that he may be expected any day in India. It can be no argument of any Government to clap him in jail for this terrorism. As Mr. Nehru once remarked, Mr. Chairman, it only shows the attitude of this Government. He says, "Every Government, every reactionary Government, alien or Swadeshi, when it fears

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for its own existence, indulges in territorism and such a reactionary Government lives in an atmosphere of deception in the name of law and order and under cover of peace, shoots, kills and imprisons and gags and does every illegal and disorderly act". That is what the Government of Madras are doing now. There has not been any communal enmity between the communities there. Possibly hon. Members of this House are mistaken due to the misleading reports of the Government. They seem to imagine that the position of Harijans in that area is analogous to that of Harijans in some other districts. It is not so. The Hon. Minister was there. Ninety per cent of the Harijan population in Arunkulam village own lands and cultivate their own lands; they are not serfs of the Maravars. I challenge the Hon. the Minister for Home to produce a single case in the past 50 years, a single prosecution where Harijans and Maravars had not figured as the joint accused. They might have committed wrong; they might have committed criminal offences. But the Maravars alone did not do them. In those places, Pallar is called Kudumban. So in every case of prosecution, you will find a Marava and a Kudumban standing together in the dock. They were together. Never was it the case that the one was the serf of the other. In Arunkulam a Harijan told us when asked, "Are you serfs of the Maravars here? Do you go to their fields for work like harvesting, transplanting, etc.?" that they were not serfs and that they would not do such work. He said, "We own our own lands. Sometimes even a Marava may come to work in our lands for wages. But we do not work for them." That is the position there. They live in such amity. Except in these sixteen villages which had been nurtured and brought up in the British tradition in those days, in no other place in that area was there even a single incident. The British tactics, unfortunately, have been adopted by the present Government. What I would like to warn the Government is: "You are in a playful manner, to save your own skin, spreading this virus of communalism. What will happen if it seeps through into the Services? Beware." You will have to send Policemen to shoot down people when a communal clash breaks out. If a communal clash breaks out in your own Services, they will have to shoot one another down. You will then stand condemned before the world. For God's sake, for the sake of the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, leave off communalism. Don't try to protect Policemen if they have exceeded their limit. The Chief Minister is a bachelor. Napoleon once said, 'Power is my mistress and I will zealously guard her. I have got her at such a heavy cost and I will not share her with anybody else.' Similarly our Chief Minister is wedded to power and he is impervious to finer human sentiments. But the other Ministers have families and children. Search your conscience and tell the people what you think. In the name of Mahatma Gandhi whose follower I am and whose followers we are, assess the situation, and cure the disease. In your statement, in the help you render, in your rescue work, don't mention these communities. Thus save the country. Otherwise, you will stand condemned by posterity. You

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are going to be in power for four more years. I know no noconfidence motion will shake you out of office, because you have got a brute majority. How you have obtained that brute majority is another history on which I shall not dilate now.

SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGUR: Is the term 'brute majority' parliamentary?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is parliamentary.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN: All majority is brute majority.

* SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: All majority need not necessarily be brute majority.

You are going to continue in power for four more years. Don't lose your heads, don't develop vanity, don't try to treat people with contempt. There is demand for a judicial enquiry. Why do you shirk it? Why do you fear it? Just think at least for this one reason. After the Congress came into power in this country, there have been so many shooting incidents. Nowhere was the charge levelled against the Government, against the Police, that unarmed people were deliberately taken blindfolded and shot dead. Everywhere the grievance was that the Police need not have resorted to shooting and that they could have controlled the situation without resort to shooting. Here alone that rumour is coming up. To allay the suspicions of the people of Tamil Nad who are your masters and my masters, institute a judicial enquiry and release Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar who is an apostle of peace. He was for peace. People who know him know that. When I was in the Congress—and I did not know him as intimately as I know him today—I too was thinking wrongly about him. But, after having known him, I say he is not a man for violence at all. He wants peace in the area. The Government are afraid of him; they ignored him, as they say they have ignored E. V. Ramaswami Naicker. We have come together, our political party is strengthening itself and the Government are naturally afraid. They think that by clapping Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar in jail, the Democratic Congress Party can be weakened. Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar must be released and a judicial enquiry must be instituted.

One word about the amendment. It is a sneaky way to make a Member introduce such an amendment to the motion moved by the Minister. I request the hon. Member to withdraw that amendment. The Lower House has passed a vote of confidence in the Ministry. The Ministry will continue in office and the Member need not be apprehensive that it will go out of office. Let not the Ministry do this in such a sneaky way in this House.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: Is the Chairman also a party to this sneaky method?

* SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: He is above all these things even if he is a party to it.

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I appeal to the Members of this House to consider what all I have said about the disturbances, and I appeal to the Members of the Party in power to tell the Ministry in the course of their speeches: 'Let them be temperate in their language; let them institute a judicial enquiry and let them release Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar.'

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY: Sir, I am sorry I cannot speak in Tamil. My acquaintance with Tamil is so poor that I cannot express my views adequately in that language. I can say what I wish to say better in English. Unfortunately, I have been brought up in a school where in my younger days all my debating qualities were developed only in English. There was no Tamil debating society in the Madras Christian College in those days. Therefore, I had to speak in English in season and out of season till I joined the labour party where I was obliged to speak in broken Tamil, in Tamil that could be understood by the common people.

Sir, there are two things inter-related in this matter. One is the deplorable incidents that took place in Ramanathapuram and the second is the attitude of the Government. I do not want to confuse these two issues. In the first place, I should like to say that I do not belong to any of the communities affected by the incidents to which reference has been made in an elaborate manner by the previous speaker. I do not belong to the Maravar community or the Harijans community or the Nadar community or any of the other communities in the South. As one who is above all these communities, I wish to say a few words.

3-20 p.m. The unfortunate thing is that the Government did not appoint a judicial body or a judicial officer of the rank of a High Court Judge to enquire into this matter. They appointed a Member of the Board of Revenue whose capacity I do not doubt, but whose capacity to weigh evidence and to come to real conclusions on evidence is not accepted by me. If a judicial enquiry had been made, we would have been more satisfied. But, unfortunately, for reasons best known to themselves, the Government have not acceded to this popular request. Apart from this omission of the Government, I should like to know what is at the bottom of the disturbances. Some people say that it is communal, other people say that behind the communal facade there were political feelings. I do not know what conclusion I should come to, because the report of the gentleman appointed by the Government (Sri Venkateswaran) does not refer to this matter at all. He seems to brush aside the popular view and says, 'I cannot accept the popular view. It is all false. The Police are justified in shooting.' He was appointed evidently to find justification for the Police shooting. As a Government officer, he could not help doing that. It is an unfortunate thing that the Government should appoint one of their own officers to conduct the enquiry. When their own conduct is being challenged, what is the point in appointing a subordinate to go into this matter?

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Therefore, do not accept the findings of Mr. Venkateswaran, however good he may be in his own Revenue Department in collecting revenue. Unfortunately, this is not a matter for collection of revenue, but a matter for weighing evidence and proposing measures for the prevention of such occurrences in the future. The question is whether this is purely a communal affair or whether there is something behind it. Some political animosity that has been slumbering for years has come to the front and has brought about these disturbances. It is very difficult to make up my mind on this question. People say that it is a communal question. Of course, there are so many communities in our country. If communal feelings are going to lead to disturbances, then there cannot be a single day without disturbances taking place. There has been a good deal of anti-Brahman feeling all over South India—in the Tamil country especially. But there has been no such thing as violent riots between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans. Because the Brahmans are quiet-going people, it does not mean that they cannot fight when it comes to a question of preserving their lives and property. Somehow or other, Non-Brahmans have never thought it right to attack Brahmans, although there are leaders who say that the Brahmans must be attacked violently. This is a stupid assertion with which I am entirely in disagreement. Although my sympathies are with Non-Brahmans, still I do not believe that any such propaganda is conducive to the growth of peace and harmony in our country. We want unity in our country from one end to the other. This cannot be brought about by trying to provoke some slumbering jealousies and antagonisms in our country. Therefore, I should like the Government to make up their mind and tell us what exactly there is behind this disturbance. Is it purely a case of communal feeling between Maravars and Harijans? The term "Harijan" is a very large term, and Gandhiji, unfortunately, coined this term in order to placate the depressed classes. 'Harijan' covers such a multitude of tribes and races that one does not know exactly how many tribes it covers. Therefore, it seems to me that we must try to discover what is at the bottom of this trouble—whether it is purely communal feeling brought about by some members of one community speaking ill of the members of another community, which very often happens. Now the Maravars are called Thevars. I remember a stanza in Nannool, which, I think, the Finance Minister will confirm. My knowledge of Tamil grammar is fading, but I will tell you what Nannool says.

It says—

'மக்கள் தேவர் நாகர் உயர்திணை மற்றுயிர் உள்ளவும் இல்லவும் அஃறிணை'.

This is a stanza which I got by heart when I was studying in the fourth form or fifth form. The Ministers are distinguished Tamil scholars, but I am a poor specimen. So far as the stanza goes, it says, 'தேவர்' comes under 'உயர்திணை'.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN: That term refers to "Gods".

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SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY : You may say that it refers to " Gods ". I do recognize that. That is also an interpretation. But I use the term for the purpose of emphasising my view that because Thevars are comparable to gods like Indra and others in Heaven, they must cease their antagonism. I appeal to them all from this place, if my appeal is of any use, that they should stop their antagonism and behave like gods. Of course, at one time there were fights between the Devas and the Asuras. In our puranas, we read so many of these stories. But I hope there is not going to be a recrudescence in modern times of the ancient feuds between the gods and those inferior to them. A judicial enquiry would have been quite proper to tell us exactly what lies at the bottom of this trouble and what steps should be taken in order to bring about peace and harmony. In the second place, I should say, Sir, that Police interference and shooting is not at all a happy affair. They thought of preserving the peace by shooting down people. Cannot they preserve the peace without shooting down people? Anyone can shoot down people. If I am attacked, I attack my opponent in turn and give him two blows for one blow. This is one way of meeting violence. But good people try to pacify and bring about better relations. Why cannot the Police be imbued with the notion that, instead of shooting down people at short range, they should bring about peace by forging concord among the leaders of the communities? I suppose the Police are being trained in their schools to bring about peace among hostile groups. Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God. I wish that our Government should bear this in mind and teach our Police not to use force and that they should not shoot down people. Tear-gas may be used on the people. You may let out laughing-gas which will make the combatants on both sides laugh and laugh and finally embrace each other. Shooting down people does not do credit to Government. Look at the way in which the Communist Government in Kerala are carrying on. There too there is communal feeling between Nayar and other communities. But there they are trying to keep peace and order without having resort to the Police, whereas in Tamil Nad, with all the Tamil culture, there is resort to police firing. The stanza in Purananooru says, " யாதிம் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர் ". This is an ancient saying. If such a country indulges in shooting, then it is a very deplorable thing. Something is wrong to-day with the morale and the sociology of our people. I wish the Government paid attention to these things instead of referring to appointments given to this community or that community. This is our greatest curse. I thought that we had passed that stage after we attained independence. But, unfortunately, it still clings to us from the days of the British regime when the Britishers used to set up one community against another for the sake of getting appointments. Even now it is not too late to appoint a judicial officer of the eminence of a District Judge or a High Court Judge preferably, to go into the matter and weigh the evidence. Mr. Venkateswaran brushes aside completely the story of the villagers and

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says that it is all false and that the Police are justified in shooting. He does not give even the approximate number of people who attacked. He says that the number might be somewhere between 300 and 1,000. What am I to conclude from such an uncertain report that a huge number of men were ready and prepared to do mischief and that the Police were justified in shooting down people? Instead of shooting down men, they could have taken less harmful measures. I wish that the Government should consider along with experts what they should do in order to put down, without shooting people who resort to violence or who are prepared to do something in the nature of breaking the peace. I am not satisfied with the attitude of the Government in this matter. I do not say that the Government are communal minded, but I say that the Government will be discharging their duty well by ordering an enquiry of the kind demanded by all the parties in the country, namely, Communists, Dravida Kazhagam, etc. An enquiry by a judicial officer in this matter will reveal whether there is caste feeling behind these disturbances or there is mere political feeling behind, which the caste men have taken advantage of. Very often, in political relations, caste feelings play a great part. I have myself had a good deal of experience in this respect. All people voted for me even though they knew that I was an Indian Christian. Hindus voted for me as probably they thought that I was a good Hindu by birth, though Christian by faith. At that time, there were, of course, feelings of Brahmin and anti-Brahmin, Justice Party as opposed to the Congress Party, and so on. But in those days, there were no communal clashes. I know of a small incident which took place at that time in George Town. Some rowdies entered some Brahmin houses and created nuisance, and this was condemned by the Party in power at that time. Because, no caste can ever prosper by the use of force. Force will be met with counter-force. Even in international affairs, we see the same thing. When America says that it has invented some atomic weapons, the Soviet Union in rivalry produces something else and the whole world reverberates with such weapons of destruction. Let us hope that such unfortunate incidents will not recur in future and that our Government will think seriously about what they should do to improve the social conditions of our people.

Sir, reference was made to the existence of political background to the whole thing. My hon. Friend referred to various political parties. I do not know much about Ramanathapuram. I have never gone there myself. I would very much like to go there, study the situation in detail and see whether there have been political feelings in those parts. I once again request the Government to go into the matter in detail instead of merely depending on a very superficial report submitted by Sri Venkateswaran who has not delved deep into the matter. He simply says that the people's version is wrong and false and that the Police were justified in shooting. Evidently, he was appointed with instructions as it were to white-wash the actions of the Police and put all the blame upon the poor Maravars of the place. The Maravars have become the victims

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of all these vilifications which, I hope, will be avoided at least in future. I hope that the Government will come to the right conclusion in regard to this matter. I appeal to the Government to go into this matter a little more carefully and find out the real cause behind these incidents as the Special Officer has not gone into the details.

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to enter into the political controversy of the unfortunate happenings in Ramanathapuram district. I propose to confine myself to one or two points in this connexion. Firstly, I take serious exception to the appointment of Mr. Venkateswaran to enquire into the happenings in that district. As the Congress Party itself knows, he is a member of the wonderful Steel Frame . . . What was the opinion that the Congress Party itself held about the officers of the Steel Frame? Now, it suits those people to make use of that officer. He might have been a District Magistrate a long time ago. But, he has ceased to have connection with legal proceedings. It is very difficult for ordinary human brains to switch over from one profession to another. It will take a long time. That is the one valid reason and scientific reason for which I would suggest the institution of a judicial enquiry. As the Tamil proverb மடியில் கனம் இதைத் தனியே விதிக்க முடியாது? goes, why should the Government be afraid of such judicial enquiry if they are sure that they are not in the wrong? Why should they refuse the request for a judicial enquiry? After all, this request is made by all sections of the people. Whatever be the reasons, the refusal of the request for a judicial enquiry makes one suspicious about the Government. It leads one to believe that there must be something rotten in the State of Denmark, as somebody said. Therefore, I request the Government to reconsider their decision and not to take this as a question of prestige, as the Britisher used to do. The Congress Party has in the past charged the Britishers with having stood on false prestige. That being the case, why should these people do the same thing for which they themselves blamed the Britishers? Great men will have humility and will not stand on prestige. If they admit their fault, it will not be taken as weakness. Only small people will hesitate to do it and in their case, it may be taken as weakness. After all, the Congress Party is very strong and it need not be afraid of anything. That is why I say that the Government need not hesitate to appoint a judicial officer of senior rank to go into the question. There are three parties involved in this matter. There is the Maravar community, there is the Harijan community and there is the Government which is charged with having taken part in the incidents. It may be political, or communal or political-cum-communal. Only a person with judicial background and judicious temperament will have the ability to sift the evidence and come to logical conclusions. Especially, when we have separated the Judiciary from the Executive, the Government need not be afraid of appointing a person of high judicial rank to go into this matter. Surely, the Law Officers of

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the Government will be in a position to defend the Government who have been charged with complicity in this matter. In this connexion, I wish to draw the attention of the Government to what appeared in today's 'Hindu' about the enquiry into Raipur Police Firing. Mr. Justice Bhatta, the officer appointed to enquire into the incident, is reported to have ruled that the Advocate-General could not participate on behalf of the State Government in the proceedings of the Commission as the State Government were not a party and that the Advocate-General could, however, appear before the Commission on behalf of the district officials. A sister Government has done it. So, there is no harm in the Madras Government also doing the same thing. Even now it is not too late to reconsider the whole matter and appoint a member of the Judiciary to go into the question.

Now, I propose to dissect Mr. Venkateswaran's report a little. On the question of examination and cross-examination of witnesses, he seems to have asked the lawyers to put questions to the witnesses through him only. There are a number of Advocates on the Treasury Benches.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Can a doctor switch over to the lawyers' profession?

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: I am talking from the common-sense point of view and not as a doctor. As a man having some commonsense, I can certainly point out certain discrepancies found in the report. There is nothing wrong in doing it. One need not be a doctor or a lawyer to do it.

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR: As jury.

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: I do not say that I am jury and all that. As an ordinary man, I notice certain discrepancies in the report. I consider it my duty to present those discrepancies before the Ministry for its consideration. There are the members of the legal profession. They know the *modus operandi* in regard to cross-examination of witnesses. They have got a knack of doing things. Therefore, Mr. Venkateswaran could not handle questions in the same manner as a trained lawyer. That is why I say that it is absolutely unjust on the part of Mr. Venkateswaran to have prevented the lawyers from putting questions to the witnesses directly.

Mr. Venkateswaran says that it is only a fact-finding commission and I do not think that he went there to find out any facts at all because he contradicts himself in a number of places. Whenever it suits his convenience, he accepts the evidence of certain people, and when it does not suit his convenience, he rejects the evidence of certain other people which he considers false. Therefore, it is rather very unfortunate that a person of his rank should have been involved in this matter of enquiry. A person with a judicial frame of mind would not have committed the mistake regarding the number of people forming the crowd. Some people say that it was

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1,000 and some other people say that it was 300. Mr. Venkateswaran believed the evidence of the Police officers in certain matters when it suited him and he rejected the evidence of the same Police officers in certain other matters when it did not suit him. Therefore, there is blowing of hot and cold in the same breath.

Regarding the five Maravars who were supposed to have been kept bound up and shot dead and all those things, it is a very difficult matter and it is a very tricky matter for anybody to go into. Only a careful and experienced judicial officer will be able to go into this matter easily. A judge will not accept the evidence unless it is corroborated and it is also consistent. So, if there is corroboration of the evidence, he will accept it and if there is any discrepancy, he will reject it. Truth must always be consistent. Therefore, it is a fallacious argument to say that people gave a parrot-like version about the incident, which Mr. Venkateswaran used when he rejected the evidence regarding the five Maravars who were supposed to have been blindfolded, shot dead and the like. If I were in the position of Mr. Venkateswaran, I would not have disbelieved it for this reason. Are we not aware of the fact that the Police used the same methods against the Communists when they wanted to put down the Communists? It is a well-known fact. Even our Congress friends would have known their tirade against the Communists. The Police have to use the same sort of excessive force occasionally and in this case they might have been mistaken and have done it. Therefore, in the interest of the Government and in the interest of the officer concerned, it would be the very best thing for the Government to appoint a judicial officer to go into this matter because a lot of mud has been slung on the face of the Government. Any reasonable Government must try to come out with such an offer when charges are made against them. In this connexion, I wish to refer to another matter which the Hon. the Minister for Home also referred to the other day. It is about the judicial enquiry into the allegations against the former Inspector-General of Police who was charged by somebody and in order to absolve himself of that charge, he himself volunteered for an enquiry. When an officer has got that courage to ask for an enquiry against himself, I do not know why the Government have not got the courage to face an enquiry by a judicial officer. This is another argument which I use in favour of a judicial enquiry.

Next, I come to the post-mortem examination. It is very unfortunate that a junior Civil Assistant Surgeon has been asked to perform the post-mortem examination in a medical case of this magnitude. Mr. Venkateswaran himself says that this lady doctor was ignorant of medical jurisprudence. There was some coloration caused by the bullet. It has to be considered whether it was due to carbon and sulphur being associated with blood; it might be that they would have used disintegrated blood. It is more than 30 years since I studied jurisprudence and I still remember the fact that if a

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little salt water is added to the blood, it goes into solution. Then we will find particles of the blood there. If the doctor has not got sufficient experience to conduct such post-mortem examination, they could have at least sent that portion of the tissues affected for examination by a specialist. In a case like this, the Government should have ordered the Professor of Jurisprudence to conduct the post-mortem examination. It is very unsafe to entrust the post-mortem examination of this magnitude to such junior officers.

Lastly, I wish to invite the attention of the Government to one matter. Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar has been painted in very dark colours. I do not know whether they are true or false. Only people who are in the know of things can give a correct opinion in this matter. So far as the Government are concerned, they are not in a position to keep an open mind in this matter because he was with them till recently. He parted company with them for reasons of his own. Now he happens to be their political enemy. Therefore, when a question like that arises, they will have to be a little more charitable because even an enemy should not question their motive. The Government clapped him into the jail under the Preventive Detention Act. The Government themselves stated in their statement that he was a sort of chronic criminal. What were they doing all these days? Why did they not proceed against him under the Preventive Detention Act before these disturbances started?

Again, I come to another relevant subject. I hope the Hon. Chairman will permit me to do that. There is another such person in the State of Madras, threatening a particular community with dire consequences. It may be an idle threat or it may be real but the point is this.

DR. V. K. JOHN : May I know his name?

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN : It is better not to mention his name. I think the Government know it and, therefore, I need not mention it.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ : I think the hon. Member Dr. John also knows it.

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN : For obvious reasons, I do not want to mention his name. I hope hon. Members will appreciate my feelings.

Are the Government going to allow this man to go on doing his propaganda against a particular community? The Government may not take his words very very seriously and sometimes they might treat him with contempt. Of course, human nature being what it is, it is better sometimes to allow persons to go on talking like that so that they might not have notoriety. But there may be some followers who may take his very words as gospel truth and do something. In Kumbakonam something took place. In Tuticorin another thing took place. So, there is no use of locking the stable after the horse has been stolen. When a man incites a person to violence, it is an offence, according to law. He need not

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3-50 p.m. commit violence. Therefore, I wonder what the Government are going to do in this matter. Of course, they are waiting for the report of his speech but one of the easiest things would be to ask the Police Department to investigate into the matter. If it is not possible to get the report from the Press, I think the Police can issue summons and get the report of his speech from various newspapers. Already much water has flowed under the bridge and the Government must take action quickly. Even in the case of medical treatment, it is easy to treat the disease at a particular stage. If it is allowed to become chronic, it is most difficult to treat and even a veritable Dhanvantry may not be able to do anything in the matter. I want you to place yourself in the position of a doctor and whatever the symptoms may be, it is better to go to the root of the disease and try to offer proper remedy.

In the matter of shooting, I want to say one word. When a similar shooting took place in Delhi recently, the Hon. the Home Minister at the Centre said in Parliament that it was a very unfortunate incident and that whenever shooting took place in future, he would see that a judicial enquiry was ordered. Rightly or wrongly, you may think the common man is mad. But there is goodness even in madness. He has implicit faith in the Judiciary. People like me—hundreds and thousands of them—have pinned their faith on judicial findings.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: Even if the Judge happens to be a member of the Steel Frame?

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: Yes; I know what the Hon. Minister is hinting at. He refers to Mr. Ramaswami's findings. I am not on that subject. The point is this. Whoever be the man, whether he has been recruited from the cadre of District Judges or directly recruited and made High Court Judge, we have faith in him. That is the experience of very many people in this country. When the person takes the place of a Judge, he always tries to do justice. Here and there, there may be some black sheep.

DR. V. K. JOHN: An important point is that a High Court Judge cannot be removed by the State Government.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: Even the members of the All-India Services cannot be removed by the State Government, without the concurrence and approval of the Central Government.

DR. V. K. JOHN: But it is much easier to remove an I.C.S. man from service than a High Court Judge.

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: My charge against Sri Venkateswaran is this. He has not been accustomed to judicial proceedings of late. He was a District Collector some time ago and he is a very good man. But he has been out of touch with such things and when one is out of touch, it is very difficult for one suddenly to switch over to another circumstance. I was mentioning about the Central Home Minister's speech in Parliament on Police firing.

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He himself wanted some sort of judicial enquiry and it took place. I do not find the reason why the Madras Government should persist in saying that no judicial enquiry is necessary at all. Their argument may be this. "If we order a judicial enquiry, the fire will consume everything." But they themselves called Sri Venkateswaran's enquiry a sort of judicial enquiry. Has it increased the riots in those places?

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: I think it has added to the riots.

* DR. A. SREENIVASAN: Yes; you know better. Our Home Minister is a seasoned politician and rubs shoulders with all sorts of people. He knows human psychology very well. Even now, it is not too late to reconsider his position. Whatever may have been his reasons to decide that no judicial enquiry is called for, yet let him reconsider the question and try to have one. Politics itself is a series of compromises. No harm will be done to the Government or their prestige by having a judicial enquiry.

Finally, Sir, will the Government please see that the Police squads are provided with tear-gas apparatus in the place of rifles?

DR. T. V. SIVANANDAM: Mr. Chairman, the hon. Member Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy has given a graphic description of the whole affair in the phraseology of Medicine and Pathology. He said that it was a sort of virus infection disseminated in all districts. I do not know how he got that idea. But whatever it is, this subject, as he himself said, has been thrashed out in the Assembly. Now, he has come forward not with any idea of censuring the Government, but to know the root cause for it, how it has spread and how far it lies in our power to arrest its spread. If we go into the history of the riots, we can find that a sort of feudal system was prevalent during the time of the alien rulers and that it has continued even after they left the country. It is really a pity that in some taluks in Ramanathapuram, our expectations have not been fulfilled in the matter of progress of National Extension Service and Local Development Works. Sir, a sort of accusation is levelled against the Hon. Minister for Finance by some politicians that a good amount of money has been spent on such works in the Coimbatore district, and that good progress has been made.

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI: அதுவும் இரண்டு தாலுகாக்களுக்கு மட்டும்தான் கொடுக்கப்பட்டதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது.

DR. T. V. SIVANANDAM: If that were the case, it is because the people in that district have co-operated with the Government and come forward with all kinds of help. There are five taluks in Ramanathapuram district in which development works have been taken up. Only in one of them, viz., Srivilliputtur, people have co-operated and good work has been done. In other taluks like Mudukulathur, no work has been done. It was stated in the Lower House yesterday that we had fine irrigation facilities and that water was provided to the maximum extent possible in

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our district alone. Sir, in Ramanathapuram also there are facilities available but the people have not come forward to take advantage of them. Of course, we cannot find fault with the people also. There are leaders and it is only the leaders that have to come forward and tell the people that the Government will give maximum help if they co-operate. The leaders have failed in their duty and they have not cared to lead the people in the proper way. They have not cared for the improvement of their status. Hence they have been put in the dark, in the background. I was told that there were no proper roads and no proper irrigation facilities. But these leaders, instead of improving the status of the people who
4 p.m. believed in their leadership, failed in their duty to give them a correct lead and enable them to go in the right path. Such being the case, naturally there is a certain amount of jealousy between party and party. In the neighbouring districts we see the people have improved quite a good lot. A lot of people have utilised their money with the help of the Government and have come up.

Now, for this kind of communal strife that was going on in that place, it was said that Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar was partly responsible. Whether a particular person is responsible or not is not the question we are concerned with. There are two prominent communities, Harijan and Marava communities in that area. For a very long time, the Harijans were ill-treated, trodden down and treated as slaves. From a booklet recently published, we could see how the Harijans of that area were treated. They were subjected to such treatment for hundreds of years and such treatment is still being meted out to them. When these Harijans realise that they have been so badly treated, it is but natural for them to expect that they should be treated properly especially when the Congress is wedded to abolish untouchability and uplift the Harijans and the Depressed classes. It might be asked, 'Why did they not exhibit their desire before?' They were under tyranny for a long time and they could not break it easily. But the fact is there that they were treated very, very badly and that they were not given the amenities which the people in the other districts and in some areas in the same district enjoyed. Such good things were forbidden to them. One community was treating them very badly.

Sir, reference was made to the Nadar community. I say it is not good of us to say that the Nadars incited the Harijans. There is a feeling among the public why the Chief Minister did not go to that district. I can understand this feeling and can also give an answer. It would have been, of course, proper on the part of the Chief Minister to go to that district at a time when there was rioting going on because he comes from that district. But he stood out. Why? There is now a sort of communal feeling there. We have found out even from the last election that there is a good amount of misunderstanding between party and party and caste and caste. Sri Kamaraj Nadar happens to be the Chief Minister at present. He happens to belong to the Nadar community. Definitely the same voice, which says now that it is wrong on the part

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of the Chief Minister not to have gone there, would say if he had gone there, that he went there because he was interested in Nadars and that he incited the Nadars and other people against the Maravars. It is proper and justifiable that he did not go there. I am happy that good sense prevailed in the Cabinet and that Sri Kamaraj Nadar did not go there. Because he did not go, it is not possible for people to say now that Nadar was behind all this. On account of party feelings or to take advantage of the present troubled position, they may say a lot of things. Sir, there was an enquiry. Two senior Ministers went there. All this ought to have been appreciated by the critics of the Government. But they failed in that also. Their criticism is that Nadar has not gone there.

When this ill-treatment had been going on there for a long time, it was natural that some things happened. A Peace Committee is formed. The Government statement refers to it. I do not know what exactly the fact is. One party says, 'Why was Emmanuel still kept there?' The other party says, 'Such a thing is not good'. Sir, I have had no chance of coming into contact with Mr. Thevar. But several times I have seen him addressing meetings at Coimbatore. At least I thought that he was a wholesome man, a good man with control over his people, with communal feelings in him. He is called 'Pasumpon Thevar'. That is the nickname given to him. He is not an ordinary man. He is a man who knows everything. He knows 'Kural'. He is a God-fearing man. We cannot find fault with him. He is of the conviction that Mr. Nehru is still alive. (Hon. Members: Netaji Bose.) I am sorry, it is his conviction that Bose is still alive and will come out with his Asian Liberation army. He believes it. His strong hold and control over the Maravars in that part of the country made them believe that Bose was still living and that he would be coming. (Laughter.) He used to say that he (Bose) would be coming on Sashti. He never mentioned on which Sashti he would come. In that manner he was bringing up his people. Those people with a poor standard of living, without proper education, could not think independently. What should a powerful man like him have done when this kind of strife arose in his place, and a peace conference was convened to bring about peace in that area? Whoever it might be, whether it was Emmanuel or anybody representing the Harijans, when people came forward to die for the country and to bring about peace in that area, he must have thought that that man was his equal and signed the appeal along with him. Somehow, due to communal feeling, he could not consider Emmanuel as the proper leader. Some things happened subsequently. We do not know whether Thevar was responsible for them, for the murder of Emmanuel, or not. But what really happened was that in broad daylight in the evening he was murdered near the bus-stand. Everybody there kept quiet. Sir, I ask, "If a man is murdered in the corridor of this House, will everybody here keep quiet? Don't we have human sympathy?" If the Chairman is tyrannical, if he is having a strong hold on us all, then we will keep quiet.

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Otherwise, we would go out and ask the man who committed that act, 'Why, dear friend, are you doing like that?' This incident is sufficient to prove that people in that area shudder to come forward and say that a particular man has killed Emmanuel. That shows that people are afraid of something and that is why they are not willing to come forward to say who killed Emmanuel. Whom do they fear? It is the leader, who is there for a long time getting their votes and coming to the Assembly, they are afraid of. He is a leader and whether he is responsible or not, his name will be dragged into this. It is on account of him that they are afraid. If they say anything about the happening, something bad will befall them. That is why the Government have not come forward complying with the request for a judicial enquiry. A senior member of the I.C.S. has made the enquiry. That officer has gone to the place and enquired fully into the matter. If hon. Members want a judicial enquiry, that will be a vote of censure on the senior I.C.S. officer with whose help we practically run the administration. That being the case, there is no point in asking for a judicial enquiry. Still why do some Members ask for it? We know perfectly well what they are driving at. If, according to their request, a judicial officer is sent and if that officer also happens to come to more or less the same decision, will they be prepared to accept it? Then they will find fault with him and say that he also belongs to that same Steel Frame of officers and that he has only obeyed the Ministers. Now, therefore, we have got to make out a catalogue of the incidents and find out what the root causes are. According to me, the root cause is that the place is much under-developed. There is no use of finding fault with the Government or that officer, Sri Venkateswaran, or anybody else. We have to find out ways and means to improve the place and rid it of casteism, wrong leadership, etc. Things have got to improve that way. It is the duty of not only the Congress Party, but of all the Parties in the country to come forward and see that the existing defects there are rectified. Unless we do such things, things will not improve there. If all the Parties come together, realise that the place is under-developed, examine why it is under-developed and chalk out a programme to improve the area, if they find that leadership is bad there and that leadership has been there for years having such a tremendous hold on the people as to cripple the efforts of Government to improve the conditions of the people, and then if they take steps to provide all the amenities as laying of roads, starting of schools, provision of irrigational facilities for growing more food, etc., then we can change that under-developed area into a well-developed one. I feel that Mr. Thevar himself must come forward and say that his taluk is most backward and that, therefore, efforts should be made to improve it properly and to raise the standard of living of the people there. I have heard of him as having a tremendous hold on his people. Hence, it is not even the duty of the Government but the duty of the leadership. The leaders must come forward to improve the condition of the people. If the condition of the people is improved, naturally communal strife will disappear in course of time. So, it is in the leadership that the responsibility lies. So,

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Mr. Thevar himself who has such wholesome control over the people must take the lead. If he does so, nobody can say 'no' to that. All the parties must join together and see that such a thing comes to pass.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: So, you are for releasing Mr. Thevar?

DR. T. V. SIVANANDAM: That is for the Government to say. I am only giving my opinion.

So, the parties must create such a climate there that the place improves and flourishes. If that is done, communal hatred will automatically disappear. When leaders show the right path, people will follow that. Hence, I request the Members of all the Parties and leaders of all the Parties to come forward and see that that particular area which is very backward today is improved soon. It has been long enough neglected. It is the prime duty of all to raise the standard of living of the people there so that they may realise that they are also equal to other people in the country in sharing the fruits of Independence. Thank you, Sir.

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI: கனம் சேர்மன், ஸார், இந்த சமயத்தில் தமிழ் நாட்டில் தமிழர்கள் தலை குனியக்கூடிய ஒரு சம்பவம் நடந்து உலகம் புரையும் அது வியாபித்து தமிழர்களுடைய குணதீயத்தைப் பற்றிப் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் முதுகுளத்தூர், மற்றும் இதைச் சார்ந்த பகுதிகளில், நடந்த கோரமான அந்தக் காட்சியை சென்ற ஐந்து, ஆறு தினங்களாக நமது சட்ட சபைகளில் வர்ணித்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அந்த வர்ணனையைக் கேட்டு அடங்காத துக்கத்தில் மக்கள் ஆழ்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். துக்கத்திற்குக் காரணமாக இருந்தவர்கள் யாராக இருந்தாலும் சரி, இந்தக் கொடிய சம்பவத்தில் உயிர் நீத்தவர்களுக்கும், மனைவி மக்களை இழந்தவர்களுக்கும், சொத்து சுதந்திரத்தை இழந்தவர்களுக்கும் அனுதாபத்தை முதலாவதாக நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த சபையில் அது ஒரு தீர்மானமாக வரவிட்டாலும், உங்கள் சார்பாக இறந்துபோன ஆத்மாக்கள் சாந்தி அடைவதற்கும் சொத்தை இழந்து, மனைவி மக்களை இழந்து துக்கத்தில் ஆழ்ந்தவர்களுக்கும் நம்முடைய அனுதாபத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

அடுத்தபடியாக, முதுகுளத்தூரில் நடந்த சம்பவம் இன்னும் நீடித்து நடைபெறாமல், அந்தக் கோரக் காட்சியை இன்னும் வளரவிடாமல், நம் முடைய மந்திரி சபையானது தைரியமாக நிமிர்ந்து நின்று சரியான காலத்தில் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்ததற்கு நாம் அவர்களைப் பாராட்டக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறோம். சென்ற நான்கைந்து தினங்களாக நடந்த இந்த விவாதத்திலே ஒருவர்கூட நாம் பெரும் அபாயத்திலிருந்து தப்பித்துக்கொண்டோமே என்ற விஷயத்தைத் தெரிவிக்கவே இல்லை. முதுகுளத்தூரிலும், அதைச் சார்ந்த இதர கிராமங்களிலும் தீப்பற்றி எரிந்துகொண்டிருந்தது. மதுரையிலும் தீப்பற்றிக் கொண்டது. எங்கேயோ ஒரு பக்கத்தில் பிடித்துக் கொண்டது, தொத்திக்கொண்டே போகின்றது என்று பத்திரிகையிலே விளம்பரங்கள் செய்துவந்தார்கள். அவர்களுடைய எண்ணம் பல பகுதிகளிலும் கலகம் பரவி இந்தப் பிரதேசத்தை நாசப்படுத்தி தமிழர்களுடைய பெயரைக் கெடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பது போலும். பத்திரிகையாளர்கள், நம் தேச மக்கள் சுதந்திரம் அடைந்து சுயராஜ்யத்தை நடத்திக்கொண்டிருக்கும் இந்த சமயத்தில், அதற்கு ஆதரவு கொடுத்து அதை அமைதியாக நடத்துவதற்கு உதவி புரிய வேண்டும். பத்திரிகையாளர்கள் அதைச்

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செய்யவில்லை. சில பத்திரிகையாளர்கள் சரியாக தங்களுடைய அபிப்பிராயத்தைச் சொல்லாவிட்டாலும், நரி வலம் போனால் நல்லதா அல்லது இடம் போனால் நல்லதா என்றால் நரி வலம் போனால் என்ன; இடம் போனால் என்ன, நம் மேல் விழுந்து பிடுங்காமல் இருந்தால் நல்லது என்று சொல்லுவதுபோல், தலையங்கம் எழுதாமல் இருந்தார்கள். ஆனால் சில பத்திரிகைகள் இதற்குத் தூபம் போட்டுக்கொண்டிருந்தன. அவர்களுடைய தூபத்தினால் சில பேர்கள் ஆத்திரம் அடைந்திருப்பார்கள். ஜனங்கள் ஆத்திரம் அடைந்து மனம் கொதித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிற நேரத்தில், நம்முடைய சர்க்கார் தெரியமாகப் போலீஸ் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து அந்தப் பிராந்தியத்தில் அமைதியை உண்டாக்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். நாம் அதைப் பாராட்ட வேண்டாமா? யார் பாராட்டினார்கள்? நான் பாராட்டுகிறேன் சர்க்காரே. (ஸ்ரீ டி. ஜி. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி: சுட்டதற்காக.) எந்த ராஜ்யத்தில் கடவில்லை? பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சி காலத்தில் எத்தனையோ இடங்களில் சுட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்? ஒரு சிறைச்சாலையில் 20 பேர்களைச் சுட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதை நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி அவர்களும் அறிந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ராஜ்யத்தில் கொலை, கொள்ளை, செய்பவர்களைச் சுடாமல் என்ன செய்வது? கடந்த முப்பது வருஷங்களாக மேல்சொன்ன பிராந்தியத்தில் சாதித் துவேஷம் வளர்க்கப்பட்டு வந்திருக்கிறது என்பதைப்பற்றிப் போலீஸ் மந்திரி அவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்படிப்பட்ட அவல நிலையை இன்னும் வளர்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கவேண்டும் என்று சொல்கிறீர்களா? மனித வர்க்கம் இதைச் சகிக்குமா? நாம் என்ன பேசுகிறோம் என்பதையோசித்துப் பேசுவதே இல்லை. “சர்க்கார் ஆத்திரப்பட்டார்கள், சுட்டது தப்பு. நீதி மன்ற விசாரணை வேண்டும்?” என்ற கூச்சல்தானே போடுகிறார்கள். கொலை, கொள்ளை, அராஜகம், இவை பரவாமல் தடுப்பதற்கு ஒரு யோசனையும் சொல்லவில்லையே. என்னுடைய ஜில்லாவில் ஒரு சமயம் அராஜகச் செயல் நடடைபெற்றது, மக்கள் கொலையுண்டார்கள், கொள்ளை அடிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். அதைச் செய்தவர்களை என் சுடக்கூடாது? சுட்டார்கள். (ஸ்ரீ டி. ஜி. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி: ராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில்தான் இம்மாதிரி இருக்கிறதென்று சர்க்கார் சொல்கிறார்கள். உங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலும் உண்டா?) இப்படி கேட்பது பயன் உடைய வார்த்தையா? ஏதாவது ஒரு வார்த்தை பயன் உடையதாகச் சொன்னால், அதை மதிக்க நான் தயாராக இருக்கிறேன். என்னைக் கிண்டலாகப் பேசினால், இதற்கு என்ன அர்த்தம்? எந்த ஜில்லாவில்தான் நடக்கவில்லை? எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் உண்டு. மதுரை ஜில்லாவில் உண்டு. கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் உண்டு. இன்னும் எந்த எந்த ஜில்லாக்கள் வேண்டும்? கேட்டால் நான் சொல்கிறேன். எந்த ஜில்லாவிலும் ஒரு கூட்டம் கொலை செய்வது, கொள்ளை அடிப்பது, பலாத்காரத்தில் இறங்கி சாதி வெறியைக் கிளப்புவது என்றால், அதைச் சகித்துக் கொண்டிருக்க முடியாது. உறுதியாக அவர்களை அடக்கித்தான் அமைதியை நிலைநாட்டியாக வேண்டும். ஜனங்கள் பெயரைச் சொல்லிக்கொண்டு, சாதி வெறியர்கள் ஆனந்தத் தாண்டவம் ஆடினால், அதை அனுமதித்துக் கொண்டிருந்தால், நாடு என்ன ஆவது? அந்தப் பிராந்தியத்தில் கடந்த முப்பது வருஷங்களாக நடந்து வந்தது என்ன என்று பாருங்கள். நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி இங்கே பேசுகிறார். கீழ் சபையில் ஸ்ரீ சசிவர்ணத் தேவர் பேசுகின்றார். அந்த வட்டாரத்தில் இருக்கிற ஹரிஜனங்கள், மறவர்கள், அகமுடையார்கள் ஆகிய எல்லோரும் தோளோடு தோள் சேர்ந்து ஒன்றாக உராய்ந்துகொண்டதான் இருந்தோம் என்கிறார்கள். இவர்கள் எப்படி வாழ்ந்துகொண்டிருந்தார்கள் என்பது தெரியாதா? என்னுடைய வீட்டில் எப்படிப் பழகுகிறார்கள் என்று எனக்குத் தெரியும். முப்பாலுக்கப்பாலும் பாழ் என்கிற தத்துவம் நிரம்பியவராக இருக்கலாம் ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி. ஆனால் நாட்டிலே இன்னும் தீண்டாமை போயிற்று? என் பிராந்தியத்தில் இன்னும் தீண்டாமை மனப்பான்மை இருக்கிறது. இப்படிப்பட்ட நாம்தான் காந்தியின் சிஷ்யர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறோம். உண்மையிலேயே தீண்டாமை என்பதை அறவே அகற்றது, என்னைக் காந்தி சிஷ்யன் என்று சொல்லிக் கொள்ள நான் வெட்கப்படுகிறேன். நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி நிலைமை என்ன என்பதைப் புரிந்துகொள்ளாமல் பேசுகின்றார். நிலைமையைச் சீர்

1st November 1957] [Sri N. Annamalai Pillai]

தூக்கிப் பார்த்திருந்தால், இந்த விஷயத்தில் தலையிட முடியுமா? அவரே ஒரு சங்கடமான நிலைமையில் இருந்துகொண்டு, யார் சாதித் துவேஷத் திற்குத் தூபம் போடுகிறோ, அதற்கு உந்தையாக இருக்கிறார்.

“ராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் சென்ற 1930-ல் அமைதியைப் பாது காப்பதற்காக 63 ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்களிடமிருந்து போலீசார் கி.பி.கோ. 107 பிரிவின்படி நன்னடத்தை ஜாமீன் கோர வேண்டியிருந்தது. ஏனெனில் எளவன்கோட்டை தேர்த் திருவிழாவின்போது ஹரிஜனங்கள் மீது பல பலாத்காரங்கள் நடந்தன. அச்சம்பவங்களுக்குக் காரணமாக இருந்த ஜாதி இந்துக்களுக்கும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் பூசல் தொடர்ந்து நீடித்தது. 1932-ல் ஒரு பெரிய கொள்ளை நடந்தது. ஹிந்துக்கள் கோஷ்டி ஒன்று ஹரிஜனங்களின் வீடுகளைத் தாக்கி பல ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் காயம் உண்டாகியதோடு நில்லாமல், ஹரிஜனங்களின் உடைமகளும் நகைகளும் கொள்ளையடிக்கப்பட்டன. ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்களின் அந்தச் செய்கையை அப்போது காந்திஜி பகிரங்கமாகக் கண்டித்தார் என்பதையும் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன்.”

“பறையருக்கும் இங்கு தீயர் புலயருக்கும் விடுதலை
பறவரோடு குறவருக்கும் மறவருக்கும் விடுதலை”

என்று பாரதி விடுதலை முழங்கினான். அன்றைக்கு ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய சுதந்திரம் மறவர் நாட்டில் பறிக்கப்பட்டதைக் காந்திஜி கண்டித்திருக்கிறார். எந்த சாதி வெறியை ஒழித்துக்கட்ட வேண்டுமென்று காந்தி சொன்னாரோ அந்த சாதி வெறியினாலேயே அவரை ஒரு பாவி கொன்றான். அதற்காக நாம் வெட்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

இனியாவது நம்முடைய தலைமுறையில் அந்தச் சாதி வெறி தலைதூக்க இடம் கொடுக்கலாமா? தலை தூக்கிறென்றால், அதை உடனடியாக அடக்க வேண்டாமா? சர்க்கார் அடக்கியிருக்கிறது. தெரியமாக நடவடிக்கை எடுத்திருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன மக்களுடைய வீடுகள் 2,735 சுட்டுப் பொசுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அதை அடக்க வெறியர்களைச் சுட்டது தப்பா என்று கேட்கிறேன். எங்களுக்குள் பகை கிடையாது. நாங்கள் ஒன்றாகத்தான் இருந்துவருகிறோம் என்றால், திருவண்ணாமலையிலும் சுப்பராயன் வீட்டுக்குப் பக்கத்தில் மாயாண்டி வீடு இருக்கிறது. சிந்தாதிரிப்பேட்டையில் சங்குவார் அக்கிரகாரம் இருக்கும் தெருவில் இந்தப்பக்கம் முதலியார், அந்தப்பக்கம் ஹரிஜன் குடியிருக்கிறார்கள். இவர்கள் நானும் கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தியும் சுட்டிக்கொண்டு புரளுவதுபோல் புரளுகிறீர்களா? ஜனங்கள் ஆக்க வேலையில் ஈடுபடாமல் அழிவு வேலையில் ஈடுபடுகிறார்கள். இதனால் பல விபரீதங்கள் ஏற்படுகின்றன. ஏற்கனவே சில ஜில்லாக்களில் ஹிந்துக்களுக்கும் முஸ்லிம்களுக்கும் சண்டை நடந்தபோதிலும்கூட, இன்றைக்கு ஒருவரோடொருவர் ஜக்கியமாயிருக்கிறார்கள். “பில்லி சிப்னே லகேதோசுவான் சுரானே லகே” என்ற பழமொழி ஒன்று ஹிந்தியில் இருக்கிறது. அதாவது பூனை பதுங்க ஆரம்பித்ததால், எலி தாராளமாகத் திருட ஆரம்பித்ததாம். அதைப்போல் சர்க்கார் துப்பாக்கி, பீச்சுக்களை வைத்திருந்தபோதிலும், இந்தப் போலீஸ்காரர்கள் வைத்துக்கொண்டிருப்பது வெறும் சோளத் தட்டு, துப்பாக்கியல்ல, மக்களைச் சுடாது என்றெல்லாம் திரு. முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவர் தூண்டிவிட்டிருக்கிறார். லாகூரில் 20 லட்சம் சேனை தயாராய் இருக்கிறது. அது காஷ்மீர் வழியாக இங்கே வரப்போகின்றது. கொரியா விற்குச் சென்று போர் செய்துவிட்டு வந்தேன். நான் சுபாஷ் சந்திர போசுடன் இப்போழுதுதான் பேசிவிட்டு வந்தேன் என்றெல்லாம் பிரசங்கம் செய்து மக்களை நம்பும்படி செய்திருக்கிறார். நாட்டில் இவ்வளவு பெரிய கலகத்தை உண்டுபண்ணிவிட்டார் ஒரு மனிதர் என்றால், அவரைக் கைது செய்வதைத் தவிர வேறு என்ன செய்வது? அவரைக் கைது செய்த பிறகு கலகம் அடங்கியிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் சீர்திருத்தக் காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்கள், கம்யூனிஸ்ட் தோழர்கள், பிரஜா-சோஷலிஸ்ட் தோழர்கள் இன்னும் எதிர்க் கட்சியில் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் எல்லோரும் ஸ்ரீ முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவரை விடுதலை செய்யவேண்டும் என்றும் முதுகுளத்தூரில் உள்ள போலீஸ் படையை வாபஸ் வாங்கவேண்டும் என்றும் அறிக்கை விட்டார்கள்; மேடை மீதேறிப் பேசினார்கள். அங்கிருந்த குழப்பத்தைப் போலீஸ்தான்

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அடக்கியது. அதைக்கொண்டுதான் இப்பிரதேசக் கலகத்தைச் சமாளிக்க முடிந்தது. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் ஹிந்து-முஸ்லிம் கலகம் ஒரு சமயம் ஏற்பட்டபோது, வீடுகள் தீப்பற்றி எரிந்தன. கலகக்காரர்கள் வீடுகளில் புகுந்து வஸ்திரங்களையும், பணத்தையும், பாத்திரங்களையும் கொள்ளையடித்தார்கள், மக்களைக் கொலை செய்தார்கள். அதை அடக்க அப்பொழுது ஒரு வருஷத்திற்குப் போலீஸ் பந்தோபஸ்து போடப்பட்டிருந்தது. அதற்கு யாரும் ஆட்சேபினை செய்யவில்லை. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது, நீங்கள், அரசியல் வாதிகள் மட்டும் இப்பொழுது முதுகுளத்தூரில் போலீஸ் படை என் வைத்திருக்கிறீர்கள் என்று கேட்கிறீர்கள். எங்கும் குழப்பத்தை ஏற்படுத்தி கும்மாளம் போடப் பார்க்கிறீர்கள். நமது அமைச்சர் கனம் ஸ்ரீ பக்தவத்சலம் கூடச் சொன்னார். “கடலில் அலைகள் கொந்தளிக்கின்றன. அந்த சமயத்தில் மீன்கள் மேலே எரிக்கொண்டு வரும். அதைப் பிடிக்க சில ஜனங்கள் பார்ப்பதுபோல், இந்த அரசியல் வாதிகள் தங்கள் ஆதிக்கத்தைப் பரவச் செய்வதற்காக சமயம் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்” என்று சொன்னார்கள். இது 100-க்கு 100 உண்மை.

கனம் மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ கக்கன் அவர்கள் திருவண்ணாமலைக்கு வந்திருந்தபோது என்னிடத்தில் சொன்னார் : ஹரிஜனங்களைவிட மறவர்கள் கேவலமான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். என்னைப் பார்த்து ஒரு கிழவி தன் பிள்ளையைப் பரி கொடுத்ததாகச் சொல்லி, “இந்தத் துப்பாக்கிகளெல்லாம் சோளத்தட்டு என்றும், அவற்றில் குண்டுகள் இல்லை என்றும் சொன்னார்கள். இப்படியெல்லாம் சொன்னதினால் என் மகன் இறந்தான்” என்று கத்தினான். இந்த நிலைமை இன்னும் நீடிக்க விடக்கூடாது என்று சபையோரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இவைகளை எல்லாம் விசாரிக்க நீதிமன்ற விசாரணை வேண்டும் என்று சொன்னார்கள். ஜட்ஜைப் போட்டுவிட்டால் மட்டும் சமாதானம் ஏற்படுவீமா? ஜட்ஜு குற்றம் என்று சொல்லிவிட்டால் எரிந்த வீடுகள் வரப்போவதில்லை. ஜட்ஜு வைத்து விசாரணை செய்வது சரியல்ல. ஜட்ஜு அரசாங்கம் தப்புப்பண்ணி விட்டார்கள் என்று சொன்னால், நீங்கள் மந்திரி சபையைக் கைப்பற்றிவிடலாம் என்று எண்ணமா?

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI : முடியாது.

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI : சென்ற சட்ட சபையில் 1952-ம் வருஷம் 126 காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்கள் இருந்தார்கள். இப்பொழுது 151 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். இதிலிருந்தே யாருக்கு பலம் அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது என்று தெரியவில்லையா? ராமனாதபுரத்தில் கொலை, கொள்ளை முதலியவைகளெல்லாம் இந்த ஆட்சியில் நடந்தன என்று சமீபத்தில் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் அரந்தாங்கி தாலுக்காவில் நடந்த எலெக்ஷனில் பிரசாரம் செய்தார்களே. காங்கிரஸ்தானே ஜெயித்தது. இப்பொழுதிருக்கும் மந்திரி சபை மீது என்ன புகார் சொல்லப் போகிறீர்கள்? யார் லஞ்சம் வாங்கினார்கள், யார் திருடினார்கள், யார் பெர்மிட் வாங்கினார்கள், வாங்குவதற்குத் தயாராய் இருக்கிறார்கள்? இதுமாதிரி ஏதாவது குற்றங்கள் இருக்கிறதா, கிடைக்குமா என்று பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறீர்களே, மந்திரி சபையைக் கவிழ்க்கலாமா என்று. நேற்றுக்கூட ஒருவர் வந்து கனம் ஸ்ரீ பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்களுக்குச் சிபாரிசு செய்தால், 5,000 ரூபாய் கொடுப்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள்.

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI : அவர் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்தானா?

4-40 * SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI : ஜஸ்டிஸ் கட்சியில் இருந்தால் அவர் மட்டும் தப்புப் பண்ணவில்லை என்று சொல்வதா? இதைப் பெர்சனலாக எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டாம். இதே ஸ்ரீ ராமசாமி நாடாளை எலெக்ஷன் நேரத்திலே என்னிடத்திலே வந்திருந்தாரே.

பொதுவாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்வது ஒன்று. இப்பொழுது நமக்கு வேண்டியது சமாதானத்தான். நாட்டில் சமாதானம் நிலவ வேண்டும். அப்பிராந்திய மக்கள் பயமற்று வாழும்படியான நிலைமையை நாம் உண்டாக்கவேண்டும். அதுதான் இப்பொழுது உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டியது.

1st November 1957] [Sri N. Annamalai Pillai]

டியது. இப்பொழுது ஸ்ரீ முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவரை வெளியே விட்டால், சமாதானம் நிலவி விடும் என்று நினைப்பது பகல் கனவாகும் என்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. அப்படி அவரை வெளியே விடுவதனால் சமாதானம் உண்டாகும் என்றிருந்தால், அவர் அங்கு இதுவரையிலும் சமாதானத்தை நிலை நிறுத்தியிருப்பார். இமானுவேல் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டார். அது எப்படி நடந்தது? அதைப்பற்றி நான் ஒன்றும் சொல்ல விரும்பவில்லை. அது கோர்ட்டில் இருக்கிற விஷயம். ஸ்ரீ முத்துராமலிங்கத் தேவர் இமானுவேலைப் பார்த்து, “நீயா தலைவன்?” என்று கேட்டிருக்கிறார். அதற்கு அடுத்த நாள் அவர் பலியாகி விட்டார். அப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு நிலைமை இந்த நாட்டில் நிலவுவதை நான் விரும்பவில்லை. வீடுகள் தீப்பிடித்து எரிந்திருக்கின்றன. தீப்பிடித்து எரிந்த வீடுகள் 2,879. இவைகளில் மறவர்களின் வீடுகள் 107, ஹரிஜனங்களின் வீடுகள் 2,735, பிற வகுப்பினர்களின் வீடுகள் 37. 2,735 வீடுகள், ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய வீடுகள் எரிந்திருக்கின்றன. ஏற்கனவே ஹரிஜனங்கள் தரித்திர நாராயணர்கள். அவர்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டு வாழ்க்கை நடத்திக்கொண்டிருப்பவர்கள். இதனால், அவர்கள் மேலும் கஷ்டத்திற்கு உள்ளாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு எதோ சர்க்கார் பணம் கொடுத்து உதவி செய்வதாகச் சொல்கிறார்கள். 100 ரூபாய் கொடுக்கிறார்களாம். அது போதாது. அதை விட கூடுதலாகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அவர்களுக்கு ஒட்டு வீடுகள் போட்டுக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இல்லையென்றால், “பாஸ்பஸ்” போன்று எதை யாவது போட்டுவிட்டால், அவர்களின் ஒலை வீடுகள் மறுபடியும் எரிந்துவிடும். அதுவும் தவிர, இதன் பலனாகத் தவிக்கும் மக்களுக்கு, ஆண்களுக்கும் பெண்களுக்கும் துணியும் புடவை போன்றவைகளும் வாங்கிக் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்றும் சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

அடுத்தபடியாக, நான் சொல்ல விரும்புவது என்னவென்றால், ஹரிஜனப் பெண் ஒருவளைத் துன்புறுத்தினார்கள், அவமானப்படுத்தினார்கள். மற்றொரு பெண்ணை எங்கேயோ கொண்டு போய்விட்டார்கள்; இன்னும் காணப்படவில்லை. இப்படிப்பட்ட நிலைமை அங்கு இருந்து வருகிறது. சரியான ஒரு நிலைமை அங்கு ஏற்படும் வரை, பாதுகாப்பு இருக்கவேண்டியது அவசியந்தான். நிலைமை அங்கு சீரடைந்து அமைதி ஏற்படும் வரையில் போலீஸ் இருக்கவேண்டும். நேற்றைய தினம் ஸ்ரீ அண்ணாதுரை அவர்கள், “வேட்டு எப்போ, வேட்டு எப்போ வைப்பது” என்பது நமது முதன் மந்திரிக்குத் தெரியும் என்று சொன்னார்கள்.

SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN : On a point of order, Sir. Is it in order for us to refer to the speeches made in the other House, because the usual practice has been to avoid such references?

MR. CHAIRMAN : A fair reference to the speeches made in the other House does not matter, so long as the Members are polite in expression.

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI : ஸ்ரீ ரஸா கான் அவர்கள் என்ன சொல்கிறார்கள் என்று எனக்குப் புரியவில்லை. அந்த சபையில் நடந்ததை இங்கு நான் சொல்வதால் அவர் இல்லை என்று சொல்லப் போவதில்லை. அது எனக்குத் தெரியும். அந்த சபையில் சொன்னதைத் தான் சொல்கிறேன். அங்கு நடந்த பேச்சைப் படித்துக் காட்ட வேண்டுமானாலும் காட்டலாம். ஆனால் பொய்யாய் இருக்கக்கூடாது. இது பொய் அல்ல. ஸ்ரீ ரஸா கான் கூடக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள்.

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI : வார்த்தையைத் தப்பர்த்தம் பண்ணியிருக்கிறார்.

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI : என் புத்தியில் அப்படிப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. நமது முதல் அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் பற்றற்று வேலை செய்ததால்தான் இந்த நாட்டிற்கு, இந்த நாட்டு மக்களுக்காக வேலை செய்ததால்தான்,

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தேச மக்கள் அவருக்கு இந்தப் பதவியைக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால்தான் அந்தப் பதவியில் அவர் நீண்ட நாட்களாக இருந்துகொண்டிருக்க முடிகிறது. மேலும் மேலும் அவருக்கு பலம் ஏறிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறதேயொழிய, பலம் குறையவில்லை. அவரது பலத்தைக் குறைப்பதற்காகத்தான் எதிர்க் கட்சிக்காரர்கள் அவர் மீது புகார்கள் சொல்கிறார்கள். அதனால்தான் இதில் அரசியலைப் புகுத்திவிட்டார் என்று சொல்கிறார்கள். கனம் ஸ்ரீ பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்கள் நேற்று அவரது முடிவரையில் ஜாதிச் சண்டை வந்து அரசியலில் தானாகப் புகுந்துகொண்டு பொருமை, துவேஷம் போன்ற உபத்திரவங்களைக் கொடுக்கிறது என்று சொன்னார்கள். ஜாதிச் சண்டை தானாகவே அரசியலில் நுழைந்திருக்கிறது. இந்த ஜாதிச் சண்டை 30 வருஷங்களாகவே நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. காந்திஜி அவர்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களை முன்னேற்றப் பாதையில் கொண்டு விட்டு, அவர்களைப் படிக்க வைத்து பெரிய உத்தியோகத்திற்கு வரும்படியான நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். நம் வீட்டில் நேற்று வரை வேலை செய்து வந்தவன் இன்று வேலை செய்ய வரமாட்டேன் என்று சொன்னால், நமக்குக் கோபந்தானே வருகிறது. அதேமாதிரித்தான் இதுவும். அங்கு இப்பொழுதுள்ள நிலைமையைச் சமாளிக்க வேண்டும். அங்கு அமைதியை நிலைநாட்ட நாம் எல்லோரும் பாடுபடவேண்டும். ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி உட்பட இதில் நுழைந்து வேலை செய்யவேண்டும். நுழைந்து வேலை செய்வது வேறு விதத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடாது. ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி கெட்டிக்காரர்தான். சாக்ஷாத் கிருஷ்ணனைப்போலவே சக்தியிலும் சாணக்கியத்திலும் தேர்ந்தவர் அவர். மஹாத்மாவின் பெயரைச் சொன்ன நீங்கள் அவரது பெயரை வைத்துக்கொண்டு தர்மத்தை வளர்க்க முன் வரவேண்டும். ஸ்ரீ வெங்கடேஸ்வரன் விசாரணை செய்தாலும் சரி, அல்லது வேறு யார் விசாரணை செய்தாலும் சரி, வேறு முடிவு இருப்பதற்கு இல்லை. ஸ்ரீ வெங்கடேஸ்வரனை வைத்து விசாரிக்கச் சொல்லிவிட்டு, மறுபடியும் வேறு ஒருவரைப் போட்டு விசாரிக்கச் சொன்னால், யாராவது அதற்கு வர வேண்டாமா? (சில அங்கத்தினர்கள்: “வருவார்கள்.”) மானம் உள்ளவர்கள் வரமாட்டார்கள். “கடுப்பே தேஷ்டா” என்று மானம் இல்லாதவர்கள் வருவார்கள். விசாரணைக்கு உயர்ந்த ஒரு மேதையை அனுப்பினோம். அவருக்குள்ள மரியாதையையும், கண்ணியத்தையும் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கூறிக்கொண்டு என் உரையை முடித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்.

* Dr. V. K. JOHN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, this House is obliged to you, to the Home Minister and to the Leader of the House for enabling us to discuss this matter of very great importance in this House. Not only lives have been lost, property worth lakhs of rupees has been lost and a few thousands of houses have been burnt, but the reputation of this State in other parts of India and outside India has been very much damaged by what has occurred recently in Ramanathapuram.

(Deputy Chairman in the Chair.)

If this matter was not discussed in this House, it would have been a great pity and the people would have said that this House counted for nothing. Therefore, I am deeply obliged personally and I think the other Members of the House also are obliged to the Home Minister for the statement he made in this House. You have allotted the whole of to-day for the discussion. We have agreed that, if the discussion is to be continued to-morrow, we will give up the non-official day.

4-50 P.M. I find many Members like to speak on this subject. It would be a high level discussion in this House, and the Government might be helped in their attitude. Therefore, I think that it will be of

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very great importance to allow speakers sufficient time to speak. I wish the hon. Member Sri Krishnamoorthy had spoken for a longer time, because he knows all about it. I hope you will allow sufficient time for all the speakers and also another day for a full discussion.

I am unhappy to note that an hon. Member of this House wanted to make this a party matter and gave notice of an amendment to the main motion approving the action of the Government. I am definitely of the opinion, whatever be the political party to which he belongs and whatever be his political persuasion, that in a matter like this where lives have been lost and disturbances have taken place, we must consider the question as a national one and not as a party matter. I am not allowed to make a comment on the discussion in the other House. The other House must take the responsibility for its discussion. There are certain matters which are not at all party matters, for instance, food, flood, drought, and any other national calamity. It is a very wrong thing and it is a great mistake—I call it a blunder—that this matter should be considered in this House or in any other place as a question of party politics, and that a Member of the majority Party, knowing fully well that here is a steam-roller majority for the Government, should move an amendment approving of the action of the Government. I am not on the legality of it, but I am on the propriety of it. It is very wrong to move an amendment saying that the House approves of the action taken by the Government. Even if the name of the hon. Member was not mentioned to me, I would have certainly said, ‘It is such and such a member’. He alone, I say, is capable of supporting the Government in that manner. I condemn this, although the Hon. Chairman has ruled out the objection from the side of the Opposition that there is no provision in the rules for such an amendment. Taking full responsibility as a Member of this House, I say that there is no provision in the rules for an amendment to a motion like the one that has been moved. But I am not on the legality of it. The Hon. Chairman has ruled it out and, therefore, I would give my suggestion, ‘Let there be no amendment’.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN: The Hon. Chairman has ruled it in order.

* Dr. V. K. JOHN: The Hon. Chairman has ruled out the objection. I am only talking of the objection and not about the amendment. Let the rules be amended and let everybody know that even in a matter like this an amendment supporting the Government can be moved. I say, Sir, in these matters the Government also should not take up the position, ‘We are all right; we shall not listen to anybody; we will do what we think is right; let members who are the elected representatives of the people in the other House and in this House talk; let newspapers write editorials; we do not care’.

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THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM : May I know, Sir, from the Deputy Leader of the Opposition under what rule this discussion is taking place? The hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition very much wanted this discussion and, therefore, with due deference to his wishes, the motion was moved. I would like to know from him under what rule this motion has been moved and the discussion is taking place.

* **DR. V. K. JOHN :** Well, the Hon. Minister himself must say under what rule he has made the motion. Rule 82 under which this motion is made does not prevent a discussion. A discussion was agreed to by the Hon. Chairman. If anybody has gone wrong, it is for the Leader of the House to say that.

* **THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am obliged to clarify this point, though I tried my level best to keep quiet and listen to the observations of the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. The only way in which this subject could have been discussed in this House is under rule 42 of the Council Rules by way of a no-confidence motion. A motion under this rule would have required the support of at least ten Members. It was doubtful whether there would be that support. The other way in which a discussion can be raised is under rule 57. Hon. Members represented to me that one hour, which was allowed under that rule, would not be sufficient for the discussion. Therefore, in order to allow this House to have a full discussion on this matter, the Government came forward with a Statement, and they also moved the motion, which they are entitled to do during official days, 'that the Statement be taken into consideration'. Objection is being taken by the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition that such a procedure is not proper. On the contrary, it is the well-known and well-established procedure in the House of Commons, in the Lok Sabha, and also in our House. I am saying that the amendment is in order and that it is in accordance with the rules of procedure. It is a well-known practice in the House of Commons, the Lok Sabha, and our own House. I will read to you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the bulletin of the Lok Sabha for 2nd September 1957. This motion was moved by the Prime Minister of India. The motion is—

"That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration".

A substitute motion was moved. The substitute motion is as follows :—

"This House having considered the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto, fully agrees with and approves the said policy."

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In our own Assembly, there is a precedent. In 1948 (Assembly Debates, Volume XIII, 1948, page 434-5), the Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan moved, "That the statement on the food situation in the Province may be taken into consideration". Thereupon, Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig moved the following amendment :—

"The following shall be added at the end—

'and on such consideration this House is of opinion that the policy of derationing and decontrol be revised and rationing and control be reintroduced in the interests of the people of the Province'."

Therefore, this is neither new nor is it contrary to any well-established practice. This amendment is consistent with our own rules and practice.

* **DR. V. K. JOHN :** The Hon. the Leader of the House can quote practice, but practice does not make principle. The objection was overruled. I do not know what the Lok Sabha rule is. But I am against the propriety of the amendment. I said that I was not so much concerned with the legality of moving the amendment as I was with the propriety of it. It should not appear to the public that the Government have their own men, that they are in a majority and that they will carry on. A high level discussion which should take place in both the Houses on a matter like this must be a non-party discussion. Every Member of the House has got the responsibility not to support the Government in a matter like the one where lives and property have been lost. Has anything like this occurred in Madras State for a hundred years? We have got a situation which must be cleared up by the efforts of Members on either side of the House in a non-political way. This amendment which supports the Government is moved by a Member of the Party in power. It should not be the case. So, I very strongly and very sincerely protest against the propriety of such an amendment. I said before and I say again that even if I did not know the Member's name who brought forward the amendment, I would have put the cap on the head. 5 p.m.

Having said this, I must congratulate the Government on their providing some relief to the people affected. I am not saying that the relief given is adequate. The Government have considered that the relief should be given not merely to particular communities but to all communities who are in trouble. It is to the credit of the Government. But the Government should come forward to afford adequate relief.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The Government have given relief.

* **DR. V. K. JOHN :** Sir, you are also anxious to come to their help.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member is making a wrong statement.

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* DR. V. K. JOHN : Sir, I am proceeding step by step. The first thing is provision of relief. I do not say that the Government have not given relief. The second thing is whether they have given adequate relief. There, I say that they have not given adequate relief. If I were to advise the Government on this matter, I would have certainly said that the dependants of every person who died in these disturbances—a large number of people are reported to have been killed by the Police—should be helped by the Government. Anyway, I cannot find fault with the Police nor can I support their action unless I know the full facts. To-day I do not know much about these incidents except what appeared in the papers. If I were to advise the Government on the matter, I would advise them to give permanent relief to every dependant of the person who died. It may be that a member of a family who was the bread-winner and who had many dependants—his wife, children and poor parents—has died. Such persons' dependants should have been given permanent relief. That is one thing. Then, a number of houses are reported to have been destroyed. These must be newly constructed at Government expense, that is, public expense. After all, Government money is public money. Again, it is reported that damages to the extent of over Rs. 3 lakhs have been caused. It must be very much more. These should be paid by the Government. I do not say that welfare-minded people should not go and help the poor people there. What I say is that it is the Government's responsibility to give permanent relief to all the people who have suffered in those parts by the death of their near relatives. We do not have correct figures as to the number of people who have sustained injuries. Their number should be very large indeed. The Government must go to the rescue and help of all these people and give adequate relief to all of them. I am very pleased that the question of giving relief has attracted the attention of the Government. But, I am sorry that the relief given is very sparse. I do not know why the Government should be so miserly. It is not as if they do not have the necessary funds. They have got the money and they are wasting crores and crores of rupees on various items. Even now it is not too late. They must, at least now, come forward to give permanent and adequate relief to the affected persons.

Sir, I am very pleased to note that the Government are anxious—they have expressed their anxiety—to find some solution for preventing the recurrence of these incidents. I think they are also asking the Members of the Legislature to find out what could be done to prevent such incidents in future. This is a very, very important matter. While the provision of relief is important, it is equally important to give thought and attention to finding out the means and methods for preventing the recurrence of such incidents. What is it that the Government have done? I say that the Government have committed two blunders. I do not want to use very strong language as I consider this not a party matter. That is why I only use the word 'blunder'. I am not finding fault with anyone.

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The word 'blunder' will, I hope, give an idea of what I wish to express in this regard. As some Members said, I do not say that the Government have incited these incidents. As far as I know the Ministers of the Government—I know every one of them—I do not think any one of them is capable of being a party to the commission of murders and all those things. It may be I am wrong. But, the presumption is always in favour of the Ministers. As far as I know—I know them all intimately—I do not think there is one Minister in this Government who is capable of being a party to any murders and damages caused. But, people have made allegations against them. I say that in the face of these allegations, the Government have committed two blunders. What is the way to prevent it? As the hon. Member Dr. Sreenivasan pointed out, the doctor must know the disease—the root causes—before prescribing the medicine. Who can find out the root causes? Allegations have been levelled against the Government saying that the Ministers have been a party, particularly, the Chief Minister has been a party to all these. I would emphatically repudiate, speaking for myself and for the Opposition in this House, all these charges against the Ministers. But, these charges have been made not by loafers in the street, but by Members of the Legislature who are the elected representatives of the people. Even if one Member of the Legislature made a charge, took the responsibility of making a charge against the Government that the Government had been a party to all these disturbances, all the murders, damages of property and burning of houses and that the Government had been at the bottom of all these incidents, the Government, as they have done in the case of the Inspector-General of Police who has just now retired, should have conducted a judicial enquiry. Now, Member after Member has attacked the Government and the party. What do the Government say about all these? The Home Minister's statement—except the special pleading against Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar—is a good document and gives the facts clearly and chronologically. The Home Minister has stated in the statement which he has placed on the table, 'The only political element in these regrettable incidents is that the deep-rooted communal animosities in this area have been deliberately worked up by interested political groups. Unfortunate as these happenings are, it is even more tragic that these should have been exploited by interested parties for their own political propaganda.' Now, certain parties say that it is the Congress and the Government that are the interested parties. Now that a charge has been made against the Government, they should have come forward with an offer to conduct a judicial enquiry. But they have stated in that paragraph—

'Unfortunate as these happenings are, it is even more tragic that these should have been exploited by interested parties for their own political propaganda'.

If I had written that part of the paragraph, I would have substituted the following:—

'It is most tragic that the Government refuse to have a judicial enquiry.'

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That is the most tragic thing in this matter. Now, what is the reason given for not conducting a judicial enquiry? The Hon. the Minister for Home cites instances of I.C.S. officers and senior officers conducting such enquiries in the past when disturbances took place. But when those disturbances took place, was there a charge that the Government were a party to those disturbances? When the Government are alleged to be a party to the disturbances, can they ask an Executive Officer of the Government to conduct the enquiry? Will anybody be satisfied with it? It is a fundamental principle of law accepted in all the civilized countries of the world—not only in the British system of jurisprudence but also in the Roman system of jurisprudence—that no man shall be a Judge in his own cause. As hon. Members know, I established in the Madras High Court by means of a writ petition, that no person can be a judge in his own cause even if the Parliament passed a legislation giving such power to him. Here the fundamental principles of law come in and declare the Act of the Parliament *ultra vires*. Two Judges of the High Court stated that no man could be a Judge in his own cause. Now, when the Government are accused of having started these disturbances for their political ends, how can they ask an Executive Officer of their own Government to conduct an enquiry? Suppose I am involved in a case. Can I appoint myself or a person depending on me as a Judge in the case? Are there no impartial High Court Judges in Madras? I know that there is no High Court Judge about whom the Government can say that he is not impartial.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Can we refer to High Court Judges?

DR. V. K. JOHN : It is absolutely relevant.

When the railway accident occurred in the Hyderabad State, what did the Government of India do? They went to the extent of getting a High Court Judge from Calcutta to conduct an enquiry. Even this Government could have done like that. By this I do not mean to say that this Government should bring a High Court Judge from outside the State. But my point is that whenever a charge is made against the Government, they should come out with an offer to hold a judicial enquiry.

Another reason given against the institution of a judicial enquiry is that at this juncture, it would only aggravate the situation. Sir, the Judge can sit in Madras and the witnesses can come here and give evidence. Any amount of money does not matter at all. Let the Judge say whether certain Ministers are responsible for these disturbances or not. He must clear up the position. Instead of doing that, the Government are fighting it tooth and nail. They do not want a judicial enquiry because they know that an impartial judicial enquiry will find them guilty. Otherwise, there is no reason for not holding a judicial enquiry. It is a great blunder that the Government have committed. Even now it is not too late and they can hold a judicial enquiry into this matter. I do not find fault with the Government and for that matter, I do not find fault with anybody.

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(Mr. Chairman in the Chair.)

The second blunder which the Government have committed is the arrest and detention of Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar. Sir, Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar is not a friend of mine. I know him. I also know that he is a person who is respected very much in a large constituency, viz., a parliamentary constituency. I challenge any Minister of this Government or any other Member of either House or any person in the whole of India including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to stand for election in his constituency either to the Parliament or to the Assembly. He will never win but Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar will win. He has got a big following and he is a very popular man.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM : I want to know from the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition how long he has known Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar.

* DR. V. K. JOHN : I have met him once or twice and I have known him as an M.L.A.

Sir, I am on the point that Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar is a most popular man.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ : Does that mean that a popular man can commit crimes and be left free?

* DR. V. K. JOHN : It is very unfair for any hon. Member of this House to say that he has committed any crime.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ : I never meant Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar. Generally, even if the most popular man commits a crime, the law will take its own course.

* DR. V. K. JOHN : I never said that the law should not take its own course if the most popular man committed a crime.

Sir, I am on the point that the Government have made a blunder in arresting Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, a man of status and position. Four highly placed persons, Mr. Sa. Ganesan, the Raja of Ramanathapuram, Mr. Sivagnana Gramani and Mr. Ramamurthi, against whom the Government cannot say anything at all, went to the affected area and found that Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar was exercising all his influence on the side of peace, and that was also reported in the papers. Are they not people who could be trusted? Not one word about their statement was mentioned in the statement circulated by the Hon. the Minister for Home. I say it is a great blunder to have put Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar under lock and key. By putting him under lock and key, they have only put under lock and key every voter who elected him with a large majority in the Parliamentary constituency. He was also elected with a large majority in the Assembly constituency. By arresting such a person, the Government may only drive the discontent to go underground. Is that the way to prevent future disturbances? Now, there is discontent underground and it will come up. The Government ought not to have arrested Mr. Muthuramalinga

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Thevar even after the statement of those four big persons in the country—one of them being an ex-Minister—that Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar was exercising his influence on the side of peace.

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p.m.

Now, Sir, these are the two blunders which the Government committed. Will the Government retrace their steps and say, 'All right; there is demand for a judicial enquiry and we are charged with having incited the Police to kill people there. We will order an enquiry. And we have committed a mistake in arresting and detaining Sri Thevar. We will release him.'? If this happens, what will the people think? They will feel quite satisfied. And the Judge who sits and hears the case will listen to all parties—Maravars, Harijans, Nadars and the Government. The Government will know the actual facts of the case. If the Government are honest, why do they not have a judicial enquiry? Why are they shy and why do they say, 'We have had an enquiry by an Executive Officer'. Sir, I do not know Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar well. But I know Sri Venkateswaran very well. There cannot be an officer under the Government of Madras who could be said to be better than he. He is a wonderfully good man. But he was asked to enquire into only one firing incident.

Then, Sir, this Government are getting the reputation of being communal-minded. We have grown up; we have had a lot of communalism—Brahmin—Non-Brahmin, for instance. I see some person is going to be weighed, not in gold, but in silver a few days hence, and this person says, 'Kill all Brahmins'. I do not know what he actually said but that is what has been reported in the papers.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: What is his name?

* DR. V. K. JOHN: I leave it to the Government to find out. I am only illustrating my point. Now there is any amount of this communalism and sub-communalism—Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, Nadar and Thevar, North Indian and South Indian, Malayalee and Tamil, Christian, Muslim and Hindu. It has gone to an extent to which it should not go. There are very many communities and sub-communities and why should we not deal with them as one? After this Government have taken over the administration, communalism has developed to an extent, which any Government should be ashamed of. No Government in any other State can be charged with feelings of communalism and sub-communalism as our Government are charged with. When the Government of Madras are communal-minded, the communities also will be communal-minded. They will always say, 'I am a Thevar; I am a Nadar; give me some job.' Then the Government distribute patronage. I do not want to say anything about what I know very well myself, matters with which I am concerned. I know, if there is a small appointment, small contract to be given, a permit to be issued, everything goes on patronage. My friend over there was kind enough to say that he was offered Rs. 5,000 to make a

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recommendation. Why have this Government earned the reputation that people must go to my friend there and to me here for a recommendation and that only on that recommendation, Government will act?

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: The hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition would not mind, I hope, if I say that he himself has recommended persons on one or two occasions to me. But I have not cared for recommendation, whether it is from him or from any other Member.

* DR. V. K. JOHN: Yes; I have recommended a few cases. But it is all recommendation on merit. I know appointments and promotions are ordered not with reference to merit but on recommendation. Leave that alone. Your own partyman said that Rs. 5,000 were offered to him.

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI: கனம் டிபுட்டி ஸ்பீக்கர் அவர்களே, என்னிடத்தில் யாரோ வந்து ரூ. 5,000 ஒஞ்சமாகக் கொடுத்ததாக டாக்டர் ஜான் அவர்கள் சொல்கிறார்கள். ஒருவர் என்னிடம் வந்து, நான் ஒரு காரியத்தைச் செய்தால் ரூ. 5,000 கொடுப்பதாகச் சொன்னார். இதை நான் ஒரு உதாரணத்திற்காகச் சொன்னேன். நான் ரூ. 5,000-ஐ வாங்கினேன் என்று சொல்லவில்லை. நான் கூறியதைத் தவறாக அர்த்தம் செய்து கொண்டு விட்டார். நான் ஒரு உதாரணம் சொன்னால், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் ஒஞ்சம் வாங்குகிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லக்கூடாது என்று கூறிக்கொள்கிறேன்.

* DR. V. K. JOHN: He did not follow my English speech. I did not say he took money. I only said that he was offered money by somebody. I am only pointing out the reputation of this Government which must be retrieved. They should be non-communal-minded. There should be no such thing as Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. There should be no patronage.

Coming back to the immediate proposition before the House, I once again ask, 'Why are the Government shy about a judicial enquiry?' I know they are strong enough to defend their action and they will defend themselves. Why should they spoil their reputation further by refusing the request for a judicial enquiry? Therefore, with all the strength I command and with all the emphasis with which I can speak, I beg and advise the Government, 'Have a judicial enquiry'. Let there be a High Court Judge or two or three of them to go into the matter because the parties involved are big. I would request the Government not to make this a Party matter and in that context, I would request the hon. Gentleman opposite who has moved an amendment to withdraw the same.

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Not at all.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition made reference to the decision I gave. He will find in rule 83 that the Chairman's decision is final: and every Presiding Officer takes the strongest exception if his ruling is questioned.

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* DR. V. K. JOHN : There is a mistake. I have not questioned your ruling. In fact, I cannot question and I did not question it. I only referred to the question of propriety.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I listened to the speech of the hon. Member.

* DR. V. K. JOHN : Please read my speech.

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM : Mr. Chairman, having moved an amendment to the motion before the House, I now rise to say a few words on the motion as proposed to be amended by me.

SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN : Who seconds his amendment?

5.30 p.m. * SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM : My amendment was seconded by the fair Member sitting behind me. In fact, Sir, when the air was thick with various misapprehensions in our State with regard to the Ramanathapuram incidents, I wanted to move a substantive motion of confidence in the Ministry in this House. But looking into the rules, I found that there was provision for moving a no-confidence motion and that there was no provision to move a motion of confidence. So, I take the earliest opportunity to move an amendment to this very motion to express the approval of this House of the action of Government with regard to these incidents. The hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition has congratulated the Government on the steps taken with regard to these incidents. (Interruption.) My amendment seeks to express the approval of the Council. The Hon. the Leader of the House has just now pointed out the precedents in this Legislature for moving amendments to motions of this kind. My hon. Friend, Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy having spoken on this motion and in fact, having solicited that there should be a motion of this kind in this House so as to have an opportunity to have a say in this matter, I do not see why he should fight shy of a conclusive verdict of this House on the action taken by the Government. In fact, a motion for consideration having been moved by the Hon. the Home Minister, we cannot have an inconclusive, 'talked-out' motion on an important question like this. Therefore, I do not see any impropriety whatsoever in moving an amendment of this kind. I am only sorry that the Deputy Leader of the Opposition should have asked me to withdraw the amendment which, I know, is the usual practice in this House to move to motions of this kind.

Sir, I have listened carefully to the speech of the hon. Member Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy. He makes speeches rarely and when he makes one, he drops an atom bomb. (An hon. Member : No, Hydrogen bomb.) He was on this side of the House formerly. I still remember ringing in my ears the spirited speech he made just not long ago in support of Sri K. Kamaraj Nadar.

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SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY : Which I very much regret now.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN : You will not repent of this speech later on!

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM : On a later occasion, I heard his spirited denouncement of Sri Kamaraj. In between these two important speeches that he made on this side of the House, we had a virile speech from him on vasectomy. To-day he has reverted to his attacks on Sri Kamaraj but I am not going to refer to the personal remarks that he made about our Chief Minister. That is not my problem at all. I am only concerned with the action taken by the Government with regard to these incidents. It is for that that I wanted to seek the approval of this House.

Sir, hon. Members may not be aware that I know the Ramanathapuram district thoroughly well. I have been there for five years and I know very well and personally everyone of the villages mentioned in the Hon. the Home Minister's statement. It is a most backward area and I, in my own way, in my official capacity then tried to improve the conditions in that very taluk about which we are speaking to-day. As my hon. Friend Sri V. V. Ramaswami would bear me out, I took bold steps to cut across communal barriers that were there and that had been continuing there for a long time. I can quote an instance, Sir, where in that locality a big drama was arranged and K. S. Chellappa and K. S. Ananthanarayana Ayyar were due to act in that drama. In the handbills notifying the drama it was stated that upper class tickets would not be issued to Harijans and that they must sit in the last class whatever tickets they might hold.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY : Who organised the drama please?

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM : That was a private drama organised in a public theatre but because the contractor could not arrange a drama to which Harijans would be admitted, they had to publish such notices. The Harijan Members of the District Board came to me and represented and I had the drama licence cancelled that night on the plea that cholera was prevailing in that area. (Laughter.) I say this because I wish to mention to the hon. Members of this House, who might not have visited that area, that Harijans were subjected to such atrocities and that communal clashes are a normal feature there. (An hon. Member : Is that peculiar to that district alone?) We are talking about that district and so it is, I am referring to that question. Speaking of Kamuthi, I tried to develop educational institutions there and to develop the high school and see that Harijans were admitted there as free scholars.

SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN : How was your relationship with Mr. Thevar? (Laughter.).

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* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: Speaking of Mr. Thevar, I may say I have had several occasions to preside over meetings which he addressed. He is not new to me. But what I should like to emphasize is that after I left that place, when the Headmaster of the school came and saw me, he had to admit with shame that much progress could not be made there on account of communal troubles and differences that stood in the way and that the Harijans who wanted to prosecute their studies could not do so under caste Hindu duress. There was opposition to open schools lest these people should learn and live. That is the picture of the East Ramanathapuram district. I am just mentioning these facts to show that in the state of affairs . . .

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: When did all this happen?

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM: This happened a few years ago and I need hardly say that in such an atmosphere a little spark is enough to kindle a huge fire in that area. The cause of the Ramanathapuram riots is certainly communal in its origin and in its further development too. This has not been denied by the Opposition Parties. The elections and village factions might be contributory factors, but to say that it is all due to political manoeuvres is something which it would not be easy to gulp, in the absence of definite facts. Vague allegations have been made that the Government are communal-minded and that Sri Kamaraj Nadar belonging to the Nadar community has been taking sides in this matter. I do not think it is fair to say so. I personally know of an incident when at a public meeting we met at Virudhunagar to congratulate Sri V. V. Ramaswami on his first election as Chairman of the Municipal Council and I happened to preside on that occasion. Mr. Kamaraj Nadar organized a demonstration against such communal functions arranged by the Nadars of Virudhunagar to honour a Nadar Chairman. I well remember and the hon. Member Sri Ramaswami reminds me that on that occasion even stones were thrown at us. (Laughter.) I am only saying that Sri Kamaraj Nadar is not communal-minded as some would want to make it all to be. In fact, on that occasion we had to seek the help of Mr. S. K. Chettur, I.C.S., who is now in the Secretariat here and who was the Sub-Collector there then. I am mentioning this to show to hon. Members that such communal activities were detested by our Chief Minister and that he is above such narrow predilections.

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p.m.

I am glad that the Hon. the Home Minister has come forward with a frank statement on the whole East Ramanathapuram affair and that an opportunity has been given to the other House and to this House to express our frank views so that the public at large could judge the actions of the Government. There have been wild reports appearing in the Press and there have been irresponsible statements made at public meetings regarding the incidents. I am sure that the details given by the Hon. the Home Minister would clear much of the misunderstanding on the subject. Sir, nobody

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sympathises with cases of Police shooting and once the trouble started—I am glad the hon. Member Mr. T. G. Krishnamoorthy has also admitted it—the Government had to take measures to control the situation, to restore law and order. (Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy: I did not admit it.) Anyway, I am glad that the Government have taken very prompt action and that is what we see in the report placed before us.

In all discussions on the subject, Sir, one noteworthy feature is that it is admitted on all hands that an officer of high repute and one who has been an impartial official throughout his service has been deputed to conduct the enquiry. His report and his findings are an enlightening piece of public record of the happenings viewed from the impartial angle of an official. The Hon. the Home Minister also has come in for an amount of criticism in the affair. But I am sure hon. Members know our Home Minister too well and if the charge is that he ordered the Police to shoot and to kill the people, it is a most ungracious charge that could be levelled against him. An unfortunate situation has, of course, arisen and the Hon. the Home Minister, like everyone of us, regrets the happenings. But to attribute motives is not fair even in politics. (Interruption: They do not believe in it!)

Well, Sir, the Hon. the Home Minister has detailed the steps taken in the matter and referred seriatim to the relief measures and rehabilitation schemes that have been enforced there. We are glad that the Central Government also have come forward to assist the State Government in the matter. It is with regard to these measures that I seek the approval of the House and not on any political issues that might have been referred to in the course of the debate. What are the steps taken by the Government? They have taken prompt action. As soon as reports of outbreak of trouble were received, they instituted an enquiry into the Police action and they have taken needed steps to check the spread of violence. They have instituted relief measures and permanent rehabilitation schemes in the shape of introduction of Block Development Scheme in that area. I congratulate the Government, as the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition has done, on the action taken and I am sure the Government would strive their best to restore communal amity and concord in that area. I trust that early implementation of permanent improvement schemes would yield satisfactory results ere long. I have great pleasure in commending my amendment for the acceptance of the House. Thank you, Sir.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will do my best (Sri Mohamed Raza Khan: We never doubt you!) (Cheers) to confine my observations to only a few points. As a matter of fact, Sir, to the Government all are equal, whether they are Harijans or Maravars and there is no doubt about that. They are equal to the Government, and I know the present Government; I know the Hon. Ministers intimately. I know, Sir, that everyone of them is imbued with the highest possible motive

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Their object is to render service to the people of our State whether they belong to this community or that community. I am very glad that the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition has made some such observation, when he said that the Ministers were incapable of doing any wrong thing. I was glad to hear that from him. Who could believe that they were allowing the people to commit murders and all that? After all, they are our people, whether Maravars committed excesses or the others. I know they cannot make any distinction. Suppose there is a mother with three children and the children fight among themselves. It is very difficult for the mother to decide who is at fault. No doubt, sometimes, she may find fault with the eldest boy and decide that he has committed excess and she may even beat him for that. It is not done with the object of doing that boy any harm. So also when the Government have to face some serious situation, some serious trouble between communities, the weaker of the communities has to be helped merely because the other community is in the wrong. They have to do that and it is their job. That does not mean that the Government are actuated by bad motives.

Now, Sir, the hon. Member, Mr. T. G. Krishnamoorthy, when his attention was drawn to the encomiums he once paid to our Chief Minister, I am sorry, said now that he regretted it. On the other hand, he need not regret it. Perhaps a day will come when he will regret what he has said here to-day. (Sri N. Annamalai Pillai: அது சீக்கிரமே வந்துவிடும்). I shall be happy about it. We have been friends; we have fought the battle for freedom together; we have suffered together. This is a minor phase of things and things will improve very soon. The hon. Member Mr. Krishnamoorthy will come to us and when he comes, we will embrace him in open arms.

Sir, the one thing which I wish to impress upon this House is—I am a lawyer myself—that I have great faith in our Judiciary. As a matter of fact, throughout the country our Judiciary is very famous and people have no doubt a great deal of faith in the decisions of our Judiciary. As a matter of fact, High Court Judges are thoroughly independent. They are not in any way subordinate to the State Government. Even the Union Government cannot remove them without going through certain formalities. So, their position is very independent and no one can say anything against them. If the Government were to change their view and order a judicial enquiry, I shall not say anything against that. As far as I am concerned, I say that even this enquiry by a Member of the Board of Revenue which was ordered by the Government was done in a hurry. That was what I said. When I was interrupting the hon. Member Dr. Sreenivasan, I said that this enquiry had added to the trouble. Perhaps I might have been misunderstood. What I meant was this. If the enquiry had been held *in camera*, it would have been a different thing. There was enquiry in an open Court. What was the result? Any

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nonsense that was uttered by the witnesses was given great publicity in the newspapers and almost every newspaper was vying with one another in giving publicity. The result was that it spoiled the whole situation.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: People drew the right conclusion.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: It spoiled the whole situation. Take, for example, the evidence that the hands of five people were tied and the people shot. As a trained criminal lawyer and as one who knows something of these things, I know it is, on the very face of it, absurd and it can never be true at all. Merely because somebody said so and some officer had taken it down, the newspapers made it a point to give great publicity to a statement like that. My own feeling is that if an *in camera* enquiry had been held, perhaps the subsequent incidents would not have taken place. When both Harijans and Maravars were killed, people really lost their temper. Now, there is demand for holding a judicial enquiry. In a judicial enquiry also, the Court will say that whatever takes place in the Court will be an open affair. The public will attend and when a witness is being examined, he can utter a lot of lies or truth, everything will be recorded and everything will be published. What will happen? My hon. Friend Sri Annamalai Pillai said in very moving language that people had been killed, that properties had been destroyed and that the reputation of this State had gone down. When the reputation of our State has gone down in the whole country, what is our duty? Our duty is to restore it. With all respect to the hon. Member Mr. T. G. Krishnamoorthy and the leaders on the Opposition side, I ask them, 'Have you not tried to take advantage of the situation to build up your own political power out of the misfortunes of our people?'

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: No.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: If you have consciously not done so, it is quite good. But what I said was my impression and the impression of the thinking people throughout the country.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: My charge is that the Government are trying to exploit the situation.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: I honestly felt what I said. This is not the occasion for that. What should they have done? They should have constituted peace committees and done similar things, instead of holding meetings and condemning this man or that man or condemning this thing or that thing. Perhaps we may like or dislike personally Sri Kamaraj Nadar. We can hate him personally; that is a different thing. Merely because we hate Sri Kamaraj Nadar, merely because he happens to be a member of a certain community, it is not a good thing for us to-day to recall that there was some trouble fifty years back and remind the

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people about it. Whether the people who were killed are Harijans or Maravars, they are our own people. The misfortune is that we have lost our own people and it is from this point of view that we have to tackle this problem. My own feeling is: Don't hold a judicial enquiry at present, for two, three or four months. If you feel that people have unjustly attacked you, let the situation become calm and quiet and let normal conditions be restored in that unfortunate place, and then it will be time for you to consider this matter. Personally speaking, I am thoroughly opposed to the institution of any kind of judicial enquiry at this moment.

The second thing is the detention of Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar. My Friend, the learned Advocate and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, at least knows him. I can say I do not know him at all, I have not seen him and I have only heard about him. He may be a most popular man. The hon. Member Mr. T. G. Krishnamoorthy said that once upon a time he did a lot of service. We honour him for that. That does not justify that we should honour him to-day also. I might have done good things in the past. You may honour me for the good things that I did in the past. Suppose I am doing bad things to-day. You must tell to my face: 'Mr. Allapichai, you are doing the wrong thing.' That is how we should conduct ourselves. Dr. Sreenivasan and some other Members also said that the Government should have taken action against that gentleman long long ago. My view also is that in the interests of our people, they should have taken action against that gentleman at least six months ago. (Sri V. V. Ramaswami: Before the bye-election?)

Another point I wish to suggest to the Government and I hope they will take serious note of it. Our election rules have got to be modified. Now, at election meetings everyone talks a lot of nonsense against parties and even communities. I have taken part in elections, I have spoken at several election meetings and I have experience of these things. By God's grace, I have not done any such thing. No doubt there is a rule framed under the Representation of the People Act that if in an election campaign, an appeal is made to religion and things like that, that election may be declared invalid. I am not satisfied with such a rule. If a person attacks other communities or indulges in similar propaganda, it should be made a cognisable offence.

DR. V. K. JOHN: Do Congress candidates appeal for communal help?

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: As far as I know—if anyone has done it privately, God save him—we have not done any such thing. Even if some of the erring Congressmen were to do it in a stealthy way, they will feel ashamed of themselves.

THE HON. SRI R. VENKATARAMAN: His point is they don't abuse.

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* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: Some law must be made that when anybody attacks communities during election times, it must be made a cognisable offence and that the matter must be left to be decided by a Court. Let people be booked. I am positively sure that the kind of speeches that were made before the elections are responsible for the disturbances seen in East Ramanathapuram district. I know this definitely. We must stop this in the name of the country and in the name of democracy, this must be stopped effectively. 6 p.m.

I shall continue my speech to-morrow, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can continue his speech as long as he likes.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: There is one little observation I wish to make. The hon. Member Sri T. G. Krishnamoorthy made a remark that perhaps Government were responsible for all the disturbances. This is not fair. After all, Governments are not angelic or divine beings. Governments are carried on by human beings. There is nothing wrong in attacking Government. But when one attacks the Government, one should really believe in what he says against the Government and not attack the Government merely for the sake of attack.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMOORTHY: No, no. I believe in what I say.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ: Sir, it is not a secret that Sri K. Kamaraj has been very careful in this matter. He even used to ask our Party members not to make references to communities. As a matter of fact, even when some of us wanted to discuss this in our Party, he said, 'For God's sake do not say this community and that community; after all, both the communities are our own communities'. It will be wrong to accuse him of communal feelings. Some time back when Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja was the Chief Minister of Madras, I had to go to his house along with Sri Kamaraj. On our return, he said, 'Mr. Allapichai, casteism must be destroyed; otherwise, it will destroy all of us'. Merely because we are angry with him, it is not right to say that he is at the bottom of all this. People were saying, 'Sri Kamaraj was in Madurai; why did he not go to the disturbed area? Will any man with commonsense go? One community with all possible plans has been set up against another community. What will happen if he goes there? Suppose the Chief Minister goes there. The people will say, 'This Kamaraj is setting the Nadar community against the Maravars'. What did the Chief Minister do? As a very impartial person, a very sane person, a shrewd person, he sent two of his colleagues—senior members of the Cabinet. They went there and returned. It is very easy to talk, because there is absolute privilege here. We can say whatever we like. But that is not right. The statement of the Home Minister in

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the House has really cleared up the situation to a very great extent. There was a lot of misunderstanding throughout the State regarding these disturbances. Soon after the statement was made, many misunderstandings had been cleared up. No doubt something is lurking even now. Doubts and suspicions are there. But I am positively sure that as time passes, as feelings subside, and when people begin to think of the common welfare of all, things will improve. We must build up all that has been destroyed. Let us try our best and, if possible, send some eminent members—non-official members from this House—to that area to make peace efforts. Let all the communities in the particular area combine together, go to both the communities, and bring about peace. When I saw Debarji, President of the All-India Congress Committee, the only question he put to me was, 'How can you bring about peace between the two communities?' I said, 'They have always been living together'. In the interests of Tamilians, in the interests of our State, and in the interests of the fair name of our country, we should see that this incident is not magnified. What has taken place is bad enough, but we should not magnify it. What is the meaning of magnifying it and sending news to America and Europe?

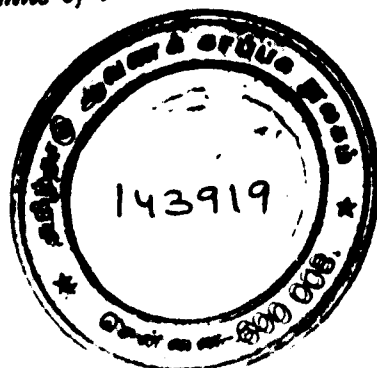
Sir, I am really thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will now adjourn and meet again at 3 p.m. to-morrow.

The House then adjourned.

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

75. Notification issued with G.O. Ms. No. 1469, L.A., dated the 10th October 1957, regarding the inclusion of certain area within the limits of the Tirunelveli Municipality.



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