CHAPTER III

J JAYALITHAA AND AIADMK

J Jayalalithaa combined in herself the talent of an actress and the intelligence of a politician. She is gifted with a remarkable gift for swaying the masses. Among the politicians she is known for courage and bold decision making which is very rare in the present day politicians. In this chapter, issues such as MGR and AIADMK, J Jayalalithaa’s entry into politics, ideology and leadership qualities of J Jayalalithaa, J Jayalalithaa and AIADMK, and J Jayalalithaa as a Chief Minister during the period 1991-96 are discussed.

MGR AND AIADMK

MGR was born in Kandy of Sri Lanka. His family migrated to Tamil Nadu. They lived in poverty. Therefore, when he was 6 years old he was forced to join a theatre group called the Madurai Original Boys. He learned acting, dancing and swordplay and became an important Star in Tamil Nadu. In the Tamil cinema field, he was the king for decades. In his political career originally he was in Congress. However, the powerful writings and speeches of C N Annadurai attracted him and he joined DMK in 1953. C N Annadurai used to adorn MGR that he had a ‘Lucky face’ and he was like ‘Helen of Troy’.

After the sudden demise of C N Annadurai, Karunanidhi became leader of DMK. He did not like MGR’s popularity and was critical of him for unwanted reasons. When he became the Chief Minister of the State he was running a corrupt Government. He also made use of DMK Party’s fund as his own. MGR was upset at
The manner in which the Party's assets were being misused by Karunanidhi and his family as their personal property. He demanded that the Party Accounts be subjected to proper audit. Karunanidhi did not like the move of MGR and he made all efforts to send him out from DMK. But much against the wishes of Karunanidhi throughout Tamil Nadu, in many places MGR Fan Club members and a lot of DMK members of their own accord improvised black and red flags bearing the symbol of a Lotus and raised them aloft. On October 17, 1972, the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) was launched by MGR. His new Party is later renamed as AIADMK. He was unbeaten in politics. The every efforts of Karunanidhi to out throw MGR did not succeed. The further developments in AIADMK and the entry of J Jayalalithaa into AIADMK are discussed in the following section of the Thesis.

J. JAYALALITHAA'S ENTRY INTO POLITICS

J. Jayalalithaa was born on February 24, 1948, to R. Jayaraman and Mrs. Veda Jayaraman alias N. R. Sandhya. She was educated at the Bishop Cotton Girls High School in Bangalore and later in the famous Church Park Convent in Chennai. She has completed her matriculation in 1964 with distinction and won scholarship from the Government of India for higher studies. Later she continued her collegiate education in the Stella Maris College in Chennai. But she could not continue her collegiate education due to her entry into cine field. It was because, her mother had pressurised her to discontinue collegiate education in order to make her as a film actress. Therefore, her ambition of becoming a lawyer or a scholar in literature could not be achieved.

However, her entry into film world made her very popular and she become very famous. Elated over her success in the film field her mother pointed in an interview that J. Jayalalithaa's horoscope was good and that she was bound to enjoy
a prosperous career. The young girl who was beside her mother at that time intercepted and said she was not depending on her horoscope. She said to perform miracles ‘hard work’ is very much needed. She was heroine in over 125 films in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, English and Malayalam. The most relevant to her future was her co-starring with MGR in 28 films. She was trained in classical dance and carnatic music from the age of four. An accomplished Bharatanatyam artist, she had given hundreds of performances all over India. She also sung several songs in her films. She is proficient in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi and English and can understand Malayalam very well. J Jayalalithaa has written several articles in Tamil and English, which have been published in various periodicals. She wrote four lengthy novels and several short stories in Tamil magazines like Thai, Kumudam, and Kalki. “Even during her school days her essays had been published in the children’s section of the Illustrated Weekly of India and she received a letter of appreciation for the same. This she has always held as a highlight of her childhood. Having read the books of English novelist Paul Berg, she yearned to become a famous novelist herself.”

J Jayalalithaa is a voracious reader and owns a vast collection of books and she also carefully maintains them in her residence. Her other interests are music, chess and agriculture. In her youth days she had been a keen swimmer and also very good in sports and horse-riding. A rare combination of intelligence, beauty, talent and determination, J Jayalalithaa was cut out for something big. She quietly withdrew from an exciting and lucrative film career and directed her ambition to serve the people in a more constructive manner by entering politics. “My desire is simply to leave the world a better place when I leave it than it was before, she had said.”

J Jayalalithaa has always had a mind of her own. She has bowed before two

1 AIADMK Website, 2003
2 THE HINDU, June 23, 1991
persons only Her mother Sandhya, at whose command, she entered the grease paint and glitter world of films, and MGR who was made her leading lady in many films and in the Party. In an interview to ‘The Week’ in 1984 she said that, “I have allowed myself to be dominated by another to whom I will allow to do so.” Her mother Sandhya’s death was a severe blow, none could fill the void it left in J Jayalalithaa’s life.

**IDEOLOGY AND LEADERSHIP QUALITIES**

Under the guidance of MGR she entered politics in 1982. A great show was put up at the behest of MGR at Cuddalore on June 5, 1982 in order to introduce her to the party. In January 1983, J Jayalalithaa was appointed as the Propaganda Secretary of the AIADMK. J Jayalalithaa’s sharpness of mind and power of comprehension were widely welcomed when she assumed the office. These qualities helped her to stabilize her place in the Party and earned her the prestigious post of Propaganda Secretary, with in seven months of entering in to politics. Both as an actress and as a politician she has led by example, not for her sloth and inefficiency. With in months of becoming the AIADMK Propaganda Secretary, she shook up both the cadres and leaders. They were asked to get their together. She insisted on regular reports, appointments being kept and programmes being implemented efficiently.

Her first election campaign was for the Thiruchendur by-election during February 1983. She made a massive election campaign more than the expectation of every one and obtained an astounding victory to the Party candidate. In 1984, she was elected as a member of the Rajya Sabha and continued till she was elected to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly in 1989. MGR made her as a Rajya Sabha member and gave her the seat that was once occupied by C N Annadurai. In the
Rajya Sabha she attracted every one and the media because she was close to MGR and her meticulous approach to problems. In the Rajya Sabha she participated in some of its deliberations and voiced for Tamil Nadu. Her speech in English made every one to think about and it was rare to hear such an articulation in the Rajya Sabha during those days.

Meanwhile MGR became sick and was undergoing treatment in the United States of America. During the time the AIADMK had to face the Parliamentary and the State Assembly election in December 1984. In the absence of MGR the entire responsibility fell on her shoulder. She had to campaign in all the areas of Tamil Nadu to collect votes for the Lok Sabha and the State Assembly for AIADMK and Congress-I the ally of AIADMK. Once again her election campaign brought a massive victory the AIADMK and the Congress-I. The AIADMK once again came to power in Tamil Nadu and the Congress formed the Government in the Centre.

All these achievements in two years and her ability to attract large crowds and it aggravated the heartburn of her rivals within the Party. They gave vent to their feelings and tried to humble her when MGR was sick. She was not allowed to visit MGR either in the hospital in Chennai and in Brooklyn of USA. Some forces under the leadership of Rm Veerappan went to the extreme of humiliating her at every available opportunity.

J.JAYALALITHAA AND AIADMK

It was unfortunate that MGR passed away in December 1987 leaving AIADMK without a leader. Within a few hours of MGR’s death, the number two of MGR’s Cabinet V R Nedunchzhian was sworn in as the Chief Minister and the oath was administered by S L Khurana the then Governor of Tamil Nadu. V R Nedunchzhian retained all the ministers of MGR Government and they also
took the oath and sworn in as ministers Rm Veerappan and some other leaders in the Party sought to isolate J.Jayalalithaa and projected Janaki Ramachandran as MGR’s successor. This resulted in the split of the Party into two factions that was J Jayalalithaa and Janaki Ramachandran factions.

On January 1, 1988 J Jayalalithaa ‘assumed charge’ as the General Secretary of AIADMK and told to the press that she had done so as requested by the 14 District Secretaries of the Party. She made it clear that it was necessary for assuming office as the Party was without a leader after MGR’s death. In a Party which had been built up after the personality of an individual, the question of succession becomes inevitable. The succession fever gripped the AIADMK, with large number of the Party members thronging the residence of J Jayalalithaa and Rm Veerappan, the then Minister of Labour and Local Administration. The leadership crisis reached its peak and the selection of a leader was so important at that time.

Further, the ruling AIADMK was to select not only the leader of the Legislative Party but also the General Secretary of the Party. V R Nedunchezhan entered the race for the post of Chief Minister and he has indicted a move by some senior leaders and other functionaries of the Party to bring a consensus for continuance of him as the Chief Minister. He said that if the consensus efforts of Party men failed, he would be contesting for the Chief Minister. Hectic political activity went on in the campus of J Jayalalithaa and Rm Veerappan. Rm Veerappan persuaded Janaki Ramachandran to take up the place of her husband in the Party and the Government. J Jayalalithaa was backing the consensus move of her senior Party leaders for the continuance of V R Nedunchezhan as the Chief Minister. However, the possibility of a consensus on the AIADMK Legislature Party leadership failed and conflict were clearly seen between Janaki Ramachandran and V R Nedunchezhan.
Janaki Ramachandran on 31 12 1987 claimed her right by announcing her as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. She carefully spelled out that she decided to take up the responsibility of Chief Ministership and the leader of AIADMK as wished by several Ministers, most MLA’s and, Senior Party Leaders and Party Workers. In her appeal she appealed to all the MLA’s and some Leaders and also to V R Nedunchezhian to work unitedly under her leadership. V R Nedunchezhian’s Cabinet divided and from which Ministers like Panrut S Ramachandran, K Rajaram, S Thirunavukkarasu, R Soundararajan and KKSSR Ramachandran had supported V R Nedunchezhian and the others had supported Janaki Ramachandran and Rm Veerappan.

S Raghavanandam the then Senior Deputy General Secretary of AIADMK through an advertisement had convened the Legislative Party Meeting to elect a new leader to the Party. V R Nedunchezhian had opposed the very move of S Raghavanandam’s to elect the new leader to the Party. Surprisingly J Jayalalithaa was chosen as the General Secretary of AIADMK by 14 District Secretaries in the presence of V R Nedunchezhian on 1 1 1988. V R Nedunchezhian had convened the General Council and the Legislative Party Meeting. S Raghavanandam argued that this move was untenable and it was as per the Constitution of the Party. S Raghavanandam also reiterated that MGR had once ordered that any announcement for General Council only by him or by the Propaganda Secretary. This paved way for J Jayalalithaa to justify her action to be the Leader of the Party.

Pro J Jayalalithaa and pro Rm Veerappan groups of AIADMK have elected Janaki Ramachandran and V R Nedunchezhian as leaders of their AIADMK Legislative Party. The AIADMK headquarters was locked up by S Raghavanandam to prevent J Jayalalithaa group to capture the Party Office. As a result J Jayalalithaa
group of AIADMK and the General Council and the Legislative Party had convened its meeting at the Hemamalini Kalyanamandapam. In the meeting she was conferred as Puratchi Thalavi in the meeting on par with the title of Puratchi Thalivar given to MGR. Janaki Ramachandran’s group conducted its General Council and the Legislative Party Meeting at the Government Estate.

In the AIADMK Legislative Party, a majority of 97 members have supported Janaki Ramachandran and hence she claimed to from the Government. S L Kuruna, the then Governor of Tamil Nadu physically verified all the 97 MLA’s the supporters of Janaki Ramachandran and he was satisfied with that and gave the green signal for the Government on 21 1988.

Accordingly on 31 1988, the Governor of Tamil Nadu invited Janaki Ramachandran to form the Ministry with a condition that she must prove her majority with in a three weeks time. Following this on 7 1 1988 a seven member Ministry was sworn in under the Chief Ministership of Janaki Ramachandran. The swearing in ceremony was held at the Raj Bhavan.

Among the 131 MLA’s of the AIADMK, the Chief Minister Janaki Ramachandran had a support of 97 MLA’s, but it was not a majority in the House. Therefore, she had to prove majority only with the support of other Parties. At this juncture she had two options.

1. To seek the support of Congress –I which had 67 MLAs.
2. To get the support of MLA’s of V R Nedunchezhiian’s group.

In her first move she met the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and sought his support to her Government on 11 1 1988. But she did not get any categorical support.

Indian Express, January 4, 1988
assurance of support from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to her group Congress-I did not like to enter into running battle between the two factions of the AIADMK Congress-I advised both the groups strive and patch up their differences Moreover, J Jayalalithaa had the support of rank and file of the Party and she is a charismatic leader like MGR Perhaps this would have been the reason for Congress-I not supporting Jana Mramachandran group

On 13 1 1988 at 10 AM both the groups have summoned their respective Executive Committee meeting at the same venue of the AIADMK Headquarters located at Avvai Shanmugam Salai All of a sudden S Ragavanandam had postponed his faction meeting the next day that is on 14 1 1988 The attempt by J Jayalalithaa to hold the Executive Committee meeting in the Party Headquarters as fixed had sparked of violent incidents and severe police lathı charge The whole unrest went on for more than six hours in which several people were injured when they tried preventing the arrest J Jayalalithaa Is important to note here that J Jayalalithaa wanted the police to arrest her? Whole thing ended when the police took J Jayalalithaa from the area and she was released her at her Poes Garden residence

The J Jayalalithaa group of AIADMK met on 21 1 1988 and decided to move no-confidence motion against Jana Ramachandran’s Government and the speaker P H Pandian In the Assembly the following incidents took place

1 Tamil Nadu Assembly met on 28 1 1988

2 In the Assembly fights, hurling of chairs, mikes and chapels and police lathı charge took place between the groups

3 The drama also began when the speaker announced that five Congress-I MLA’s viz, V G Chellappa, T R Venkataraman, EV K S Elangovan,
P. Sornalingam and Durai Krishnamurthy informed him of resignation from the Congress-I and the House.

4. The speaker adjourned the House to noon without taking up the business of the no-confidence motion against the Government.

5. This sparked the House in commotion and the J Jayalalithaa group of AIADMK and the Congress-I raised objections against the speaker.

6. J Jayalalithaa group of AIADMK and the Congress-I raised slogans against the speaker and said his action was 'murder of democracy'.

7. The House again met in the noon and the speaker P. H. Pandian announced the disqualification of six former Ministers viz., V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, Panruti S. Ramachandran, C. Aranganayagam, S. Thirunavukkarasu, R. Soundarajan and KKSSR Ramachandran under the anti-defection law.

8. The Speaker adjourned the House till 3 PM.

9. This again opposed by the opposition members and they raised slogan against the Speaker's illegal and punitive actions of him in the House.

10. N. S. V. Chithan proposed as Speaker by his Congress-I Party colleague S. Sivaraman for speakership and declared as elected.

11. S. Sivaraman the new Speaker of the House occupied the Speaker's chair and moved the no-confidence motion against the Speaker and the Janaki Ramachandran's Government.

12. However, the Speaker P. H. Pandian adjourned the House sine die.

13. MLA's belonging to Congress-I, CPI (M), AIADMK of J Jayalalithaa and CPI had left to Raj Bhavan to make a complaint.
Ironically the House met again. In which both the Speakers tried to occupy the chair using all their strength. This resulted in chaos and confusion in the House.

Police entered into the House and chased away all the members out of the House.

At 3 15 PM all the AIADMK members of both the factions and other members of DMK, Muslim League and Janata entered the house.

Rm Veerappan read out the resolution seeking a confidence vote for the survival of Janaki Ramachandran's Government.

Members belonging to Congress-I, CPI and CPI (M) were absent in the House.

After the voting the Speaker declared that the Janaki Ramachandran's Government won the confidence vote of 99 to 8.

This resulted in the demand for dissolution of the Assembly by all the opposition members.

The shameful incidence that happened in the Assembly on 28 1 1988 had convinced both the Centre and the Governor for the dissolution of the Assembly.

The Governor had sent a report to the President for the dissolution of the Assembly lead by Janaki Ramachandran, since it was not possible for her to carry out the administration in the State. As a result the Tamil Nadu Assembly was dissolved on 30 1 1988 and the Presidents rule was declared in the State.

Following the dissolution of the Assembly the events happened in the AIADMK Party is listed below.

1 The Hindustan Times, January 29, 1988
On 31.1 1988, the AIADMK headquarters was sealed to avert clashes between the two groups.

Both the groups had approached the Election Commission asking for 'two leaves' symbol to them.

But the Election Commission had frozen the 'two leaves' symbol.

The Election Commission gave 'pair of pigeons' symbol to the Janaki Ramachandran group and 'cock' symbol to J Jayalalithaa group.

Meanwhile, the Tamil Nadu Governor S L Kurana wanted to be relieved on 12 1988. The Central Government also accepted his resignation and posted P C Alexander, the Indian High Commissioner of United Kingdom as the Governor of Tamil Nadu. To assist him S S Sidhu and A Padmanabhan were appointed by the Central Government on 3 1988.

On 22 1988 the AIADMK Parliamentary Party Office was sealed because each faction claimed them as real Party. S Ramachandran the former Minister had filed a petition to the Chief Election Commissioner claiming that the Party's name and the 'Two Leaves' symbol should be given to J Jayalalithaa group which is the real AIADMK. J Jayalalithaa announced interim office bearers to the Party on 18 1988. S Ramachandran and S D Somasundaram were appointed as the General Secretaries, S Thirunavukkarasu was posted as Treasurer and K K S S R Rajendran and S Soundarajan as the Organising Secretaries. C Aranganayagam was the Head-Quarters Secretary. Hande was appointed as the Deputy General Secretary. J Jayalalithaa was the General Secretary of the Party.

J Jayalalithaa expelled S Thirunavukkarasu, S Ramachandran, C Aranganayagam and V R Nedunchezhian from the Party for their violation of Party discipline. Accordingly, she gave post to their original loyalists like Sedapatti.
R Muthiah as Treasurer, Salem P Kannan as the Head Quarters Secretary, V Karupusamy Pandian as MGR Youth Wing Secretary and K A Sengottiyann as the Organising Secretary Kulandarvelu was posted as the Deputy General Secretary

J Jayalalithaa was facing her first general election after the division in AIADMK On 24 12 1988 she entered into an electoral alliance with CPI by giving 13 seats This Party broke its six years of electoral alliance with DMK and made an alliance with AIADMK The other election allies were Indian Farmers and Toilers Party

J Jayalalithaa announced the final list of candidates on 25 12 1988 She contested from Bodinayakanur constituency of Madurai District She had to fight her rivals from Congress-I e, K S M Ramachandran, former MLA and the District President of the Party The DMK candidate was Muthumanoharan the Chairman of the Bod Municipalitv The Janaki Ramachandran group fielded Koodalur Ramaswamy This constituency was retained twice by Congress-I in 1968 and 1984 The DMK won once in 1971 On the other hand AIADMK won twice in 1971 and 1980 In the 1980 election MGR won the DMK candidate Muthumanoharan from this constituency with a margin of 20,000 votes in the 1984 election

Polling for the election was held on 21 1 1989 In the election, DMK won the election by winning 148 seats of the 232 seats for which election was held AIADMK under the leadership of J Jayalalithaa had got 27 seats against 198 seats contested It was a failure but this facilitated her to consolidate her political career Her rival Janaki Ramachandran faction got one seat against 177 seats contested The irony was that this group had lost deposit in many constituencies The lone of the faction was the erstwhile controversial Speaker P H Pandian who won in a lesser margin of 700 votes after dragging in the first few rounds of counting
In the election, Congress-I had got 26 seats, CPI (M) won 15, Janata got 4 and Muslim League (Lateef) won in 3 constituencies. Since AIADMK got 27 the Party was recognized as the opposition and J Jayalalithaa was made as the opposition leader. In a statement she said ‘I accept the verdict of the people as God’s Verdict (Makkal Theerpe Makesan Theerpu) and bow before it.’ To enter in the Tamil Nadu Assembly as a first women opposition leader she had resigned from Rajya Sabha on 24/1/1989.

The Madras High Court had directed the AIADMK of J Jayalalithaa to hand over the Party office located at Avva Shanmugam Salai to Ragavanandam the Senior Deputy General Secretary of Janaki Ramachandran group of AIADMK in a verdict on 31/1/1989.

However, after one year of split between both the groups of AIADMK a merger move was made for making J Jayalalithaa as the General Secretary and Janaki as the President of the unified Party. This made because J Jayalalithaa failed to win a majority and Janaki Ramachandran badly suffered in the election. In this direction Janaki Ramachandran had announced her decision to quit politics on 31/1/1989. In a statement she said that she had accepted the leadership of the Party in deference to the compulsive wishes of the Party men, legislators, MPs and leaders.

Meanwhile, PH Pandian said he did not form a new Party. He announced to head the AIADMK Janaki Ramachandran faction as because she quit from politics on 6/2/1989. Again on 10/2/1989 the Janaki Ramachandran group split into two for the move to merge with each other. The merger meeting was attended by 85 of the 97 erstwhile dissolved Tamil Nadu Assembly under the leadership of Durai Govindarajan.
The Supreme Court in its verdict on 8 2 1989 ordered to hand over the AIADMK Party Office at Avvai Shanmugam Salai to J Jayalalithaa. In another decision the Election Commission had retained the 'Two Leaves' symbol to J Jayalalithaa on 11 2 1989. The Election Commission ordered only after the affidavits filed by both the factions of AIADMK. Finally on 12 2 1989, J Jayalalithaa made a statement that both the groups have formally merged and would function as one unit.

The unified AIADMK under the leadership of J Jayalalithaa with the 'Two Leaves' symbol faced the Marungapudi and Madurai East constituencies for the first time in the bi-election held on 11 3 1989 AIADMK won the bi-election and the result was considered as major trial strength between AIADMK and the ruling DMK.

The Indian Express on 19 3 1989 carried a report that J Jayalalithaa, the General Secretary of AIADMK had quit from politics. The newspaper also reported that she had forwarded a letter of resignation to the Speaker of Tamil Nadu Assembly. But J Jayalalithaa denied the report and said that it was not correct and she did not resign from politics. "She disclosed that Chief Minister Karunanidhi had released some documents seized in a police raid of her close aide, to spread the news Karunanidhi had conspired with and utilized the police in an unlawful way to release the documents with the 'malicious intention of isolating and destroying me, casting slur on my political life and erasing from the minds of the people due to the growth of the AIADMK and party's victory in the recent elections." [8]

In the Tamil Nadu Assembly the top functionaries questioned the legality of the so called resignation letter to the Speaker. She categorically denied the drama of

7 Indian Express, 12 2 1989
8 Indian Express, 19 3 1989
resignation as sponsored by the ruling party. Accordingly, the Speaker Tamizhkumagan had decided not to accept the resignation letter delivered to him under mysterious circumstances. Using 190 (3) and 24 of the Tamil Nadu Assembly rule, the Speaker rejected the resignation letter and allowed her to function as the member of the Assembly and also the opposition leader.

Taking all these developments, J Jayalalithaa, while addressing a rally on 24-3-1989, said her 'revolutionary voyage' will continue to remove the Karunanidhi's Government in the State. She articulated that her voyage will not stop without removing the Karunanidhi's Government from the State.

In the Tamil Nadu Assembly, violence erupted as soon as the budget session began on 25-3-1989. This had happened when J Jayalalithaa started to speak in the Assembly. The series of untoward incidents and abuses by the Chief Minister and ruling party members were listed below.

1. She said that Chief Minister Karunanidhi and his Cabinet members had violently abused her with 'gutter language'.
2. She said that Chief Minister Karunanidhi said her 'you a whore are you to say that I cannot be a Chief Minister.'
3. J Jayalalithaa alleged that the DMK Ministers and MLAs tried to 'crack her skull' and tried to 'kill her on the spot' in Assembly.
4. In a emotion laden voice, she told that the DMK members were concentrating on directing blows on her head, struck her with podium, brass bell, pads, books and chains.
5. The DMK Ministers pushed her on the floor and she was beaten up on her right hand and shoulders.
6. Slippers were thrown on her from the ruling party gallery.
The then PWD Minister Durai Murugan grabbed her saree in front of her own Party men.

As a result of these direct attacks by the ruling DMK MLA's in the Assembly made her physically sick and fainted on the floor of the Tamil Nadu Assembly. She could not walk through the front entrance of the Assembly since it was full of the debris thrown by the ruling DMK party members. She wondered that 'if this is the state of the Tamil Nadu Government which claimed to be democratic and if this is the fate of myself, not only an Opposition Leader but also a woman, what is the fate of the common man' ⁹ Adding to this she and her 28 AIADMK Party MLAs were suspended from the Assembly till 31.3.1989. The resolution was moved in the House by K Anbazhagan and it was passed in terms of voice vote. However, S. Alagarsami and K. Ramani both belonging to CPI raised points of order in the House. Lakshmi an AIADMK member had escaped from the suspension because she was absent on that day.

Such incidents in the Assembly were considered as a brutal murder of democracy in the State. She said it was a vindictive action of the DMK Government against her political career. AIADMK and Congress-I have boycotted the Assembly session on 19.4.1989 when Durai Murugan moved the demand for grants to his Ministry. They issued a statement that Durai Murugan was responsible for the violence in the Assembly on 25.3.1989.

In an internal Party issue, her main critics K. Kalimuthu had joined the Party on 3.5.1989. Rm Veerappa, her yet another arch-rival also joined the Party on 13.6.1989. As a token of juncture she made Rm. Veerappa as Joint General Secretary of AIADMK. Following Rm. Veerappa his supporters like

⁹ THANDAVAN, R., Dr. J. Jayalalithaa- a phenomenon, (The Academy of Public Affairs, Anna Centre for Public Affairs, University of Madras, Chennai, 1996), p75

With regard to the Assembly issue she again reiterated on 4 5 1989 that her Party would continue to boycott the Assembly and the Golden Jubilee celebrations. This decision was made because no concrete action was taken to find remedy to the 25 3 1989 violence in the Assembly. In a statement on 17 8 1989 she argued that ‘neither the Chief Minister nor the Speaker has so far given the assurance’. Therefore, she wrote a letter to Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India asking him to dismiss the Tamil Nadu Assembly for the violence created by the DMK members in the Assembly on 25 3 1989.

J Jayalalithaa made S D Somasundaram as Senior Joint General Secretary which was number two position in the Party next only to her. He was one step ahead of Rm Veerappan who was the Joint General Secretary of AIADMK. On 5 9 1989 in a statement she said such a move of promoting S D Somasundaram as Senior Joint General Secretary which was for administrative convenience.

S Ramasamy the former Chief Minister of Pondicherry merged his Pondicherry Makkal Munnani with AIADMK on 26 9 1989. Krishanasamy, the former Minister rejoined the Party on 14 9 1989. On 25 10 1989 V R Nedunchezhian and P U Shanmugam also rejoined the Party. That was on that day all the Ministers of MGR have joined the Party except Panrutti S Ramachandran.

G Swaminathan was elected as the Leader of the Parliamentary Wing. Sedapatti R Muthiah was elected as the Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party and also the floor Leader of the Party. R T Gopal was made as the Deputy Leader of
he Rajya Sabha. Valampuri John was elected as the Treasurer of the Rajya Sabha Wing of AIADMK.

J Jayalalithaa all of a sudden decided to quit politics due her 'health reasons' and also announced it to the public on 18 12 1989. All the Party Leaders and Cadres appealed to her not to quit politics and they said she can take medical treatment by continuing as the General Secretary of the Party. ‘The hear-rendernng grief of the AIADMK men all over the State to the point of suicide attempts’ made her to reconsider the decision to quit political and public life in 24 hours.

To avoid disqualification from the Tamil Nadu Assembly she made a visit and signed in the register on 20 1 1990. She did not attend the House after the 25 3 1989 violence in the Assembly. She made all efforts to take action against the MLAs who have misbehaved and caused mental agony to her in the Assembly. Further, if a member failed to attend a sitting of the Assembly for 60 days is liable for disqualification as per the rules of the House. As a result, she attended the 46th sitting of the Assembly on 20 1 1990.

In order to revamp the Party she dissolved all the Party posts on 19 6 1990. She created a high-level Committee to go into the details under the convenorship of S Madavan. The Committee had 37 members and the initial task of them was to hold democratic elections to the Party posts to bring new set of Office Bearers. The post that were dissolved were Senior Joint General Secretary held by S D Somasundaram, Joint General Secretary held by Rm Veerappan, Deputy General Secretary held by K Rajaram and K Kalimuthu, Propaganda Secretary held by S Muthusami, Head Quarters Secretary by C Aranganayagam, Organising Secretary held by Munu Adhì, State Women’s Wing Secretary held by P Valarmathi, Women’s Wing Secretary held by Pulavar Indira Kumari, Students Wings Secretary held by K Liakath Ali Khan, MGR Youth Wing Secretary held by
J C S Prabhakaran and Labour Wing Secretary held by Seerkali Balasubramanian

The Committee was also asked to frame functions of the General Secretary and the post held by J Jayalalithaa


In a drastic move J Jayalalithaa, the General Secretary dismissed 16 dissident members including S Thirunavukkarasu, K K S S R Ramachandran and P Kolandaivelu on 12 7 1990 She also expanded the 37 member Committee by adding 49 members consisting of all MPs and MLAs The dismissal of S Thirunavukkarasu and K K S S R Ramachandran had resulted in the reduction of the AIADMK strength in the Assembly from 29 to 27

In another move S D Ugamchand yet another dissident was also removed from the Party on 18 7 1990 His removal brought down the strength of AIADMK from 27 to 26 Since Congress-I also had 26 members and the AIADMK also had an equal number the party in number disturbed the position of AIADMK as an Opposition Party. But the Party had retained its status of Opposition Party in terms of percentage of the vote in the Assembly election
After the expulsion of S Thirunavukkarasu there was split in the Party and hence she restored the original Party posts to the previous Office Bearers G Mathappan, yet another MLA of AIADMK left the Party and joined the S Thirunavukkarasu group on 10 8 1990. This resulted in the increase in the dissident group from 5 to 6 and decrease in the AIADMK to 25.

Adding to this S Thirunavukkarasu’s group clashed with J Jayalalithaa group in capturing the AIADMK Party Office located at Avva Shanmugam Salai. Following this incidence the Party Office was sealed by the police. She challenged the move by the rebels to seize the Party Office by resorting to fast on 13 8 1990. Meanwhile RDO level enquiry was ordered to go into the details of possession of AIADMK Party Office. In this regard the Party Office was sealed and both the groups were prevented from entry into the office.

S Thirunavukkarasu was trying to woo more Leaders from AIADMK. Therefore, J Jayalalithaa nominated Deputy General Secretaries like, V R Nedunchezhan, K A Krishnaswamy, S D Somasundaram, Rm Veerappan, K Rajaram and K Kalimuthu. This time no Joint General Secretaries were appointed, she made S D Somasundaram and Rm Veerappan on par with each other. S Muthusamy was nominated as Propaganda Secretary, C Aranganayagam as Head Quarters Secretary, Munu Adhi as Organising Secretary, S Madavan as Treasurer, Pulavar Indira Kumari as Women’s Wing Secretary and K Liakath Ali Khan as Students Wings Secretary.

After taking all steps to strengthen the Party Cadres and Leaders she went on fasting on 13 8 1990 demanding to hand over the Party Office. A parallel fasting was also made by the rebel S Thirunavukkarasu on the same day. But she wound up her fasting after 33 hours following an appeal from Congress-I President Rajiv.
Gandhi The matter was taken to court On 18 12 1990 the key of the Party Office was given to her while she was in Bangalore This was following an interim court order in her favour

She and her Party functionaries met President R Venkataraman on 26 12 1990 to apprise him of the situation prevailing in the State In another secret move she provided some confidential information to the Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar on 29 12 1990 It included the details of the 'antinational activities of the DMK Government' On the next day she met the President and submitted a three page memorandum on the law and order problem in the State She also met the Congress-I President In a similar move the Tamil Nadu Congress-I President Vazhappadi Ramamurthi also submitted a 100 page memorandum to the Prime Minister to dismiss the Tamil Nadu Government

J Jayalalithaa requested TamizhKudimagan, the Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Assembly to disqualify S Thirunavukkarasu, K K S S R Ramachandran and S D Ugamchand for their anti-Party activities But the Speaker did not disqualify them and were treated as AIADMK-II This matter was raised by S R Eradha in the Assembly on 23 1 1991 and he entered into wordy dual with S Thirunavukkarasu and P H Pandian Speaker raised his voice and ordered to clear S R Eradha and other AIADMK MLAs Objecting this J Jayalalithaa in a statement said that AIADMK members would boycott the Assembly proceedings in the future and mentioned that 'democracy had died under the Karunanidhi Government'

In an important move the Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar dismissed the DMK Government on 30 1 1991 The Official Spokesman told the reporters that during the last few months the law and order situation had deteriorated due to more

number of crimes and LTTE factor. Further, the State was used as the base by the Sri Lankan Tamil militants. The dismissal was welcomed by J Jayalalithaa, Rm Veerappan, Congress-I in the State and other Opposition Parties.

J Jayalalithaa wanted to recall the Tamil Nadu Governor S S Barnala as he had aligned with the ruling DMK and was also party for all problems in the State. In another move, the Tamil Nadu Governor S S Barnala was replaced by Bhisma Narain Singh. He had sworn in as the new Governor of the State on 15 2 1991.

J JAYALALITHAA AS CHIEF MINISTER

J Jayalalithaa announced that the AIADMK and Congress-I have entered into alliance along with Janata Dal (S), The Republican Party (Gavai), both factions of Forward Block, the Farmers Association and the Farmers and Tanners Party on 5 2 1991. The AIADMK contested in 168 seats against the total seats of 234 and the Congress-I to contest in 66 seats.

AIADMK headquarters crisis was over due to the verdict of the Supreme Court on 20 2 1991. On 27 3 1991, AIADMK filed a petition to the Election Commission to restore the ‘Two Leaves’ symbol to the Party. The Election Commission dismissed the petition filed by P H Pandian, the President of AIADMK Janaki faction claiming the ‘Two Leaves’ symbol. The Election Commissioner dismissed the petition on the ground that already both the groups of AIADMK have merged as one Party as early as 1989 and hence the claim of P H Pandian became null and void.

J Jayalalithaa released her first lists of the AIADMK candidate for the election on 18 4 1991. She had contested from Bargur of Darmapun District and Kangeyam of Periyar District. R M Veerappan, S D Somasundaram and S R Eradha
were not given seat in the election and they were assigned the work of election campaign through out the State

In the election both Rajiv Gandhi and J Jayalalithaa launched joint election campaign at a rally on the Marina on 18 4 1991 They said this Democratic Front would give a strong, stable and corruption free Government in the State and in the Centre But unfortunately Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by LTTE near Sripurumpudur of Tamil Nadu As a result the Election Commission had postponed the election by three weeks The Election Commission on 22 5 1991 issued a fresh election notification on 19 4 1991 and fixed the election dates on 12th and 15th of June 1991

In the election the Democratic Alliance made a sweeping victory in Tamil Nadu This alliance had won 224 Assembly seats and 39 Lok Sabha seats The AIADMK had won 158 seats and gained majority on its own Congress-I had 60 seats, the remaining 8 seats had gone to 6 Parties i.e., two seats to Anna Puratchithalaraivar Tamilzhaga Munnetra Kazhagam led by S Thirunavukkarasu, one each to DMK, CPI(M), CPI, Janata Dal and PMK

J Jayalalithaa was elected as the Leader of the AIADMK’s Legislative Party Bhisma Narayanan Singh, the Governor of Tamil Nadu had invited J Jayalalithaa to form the Government She had won in two constituencies and therefore she decided to give up Kangeyam Constituency and preferred to retain Bargur Constituency

The Union Government on 22 6 1991 under the Chairmanship of P V Narasimha Rao took a decision to withdraw the President rule in Tamil Nadu Accordingly, on June 24, 1991 a 17 member Ministry under the Chief Ministership of J Jayalalithaa has sworn in the University of Madras Auditorium The Ministry consisted of both old and new faces Six Ministers were taken from MGR Ministry
viz., V R Nedunchezhiyan, K A Krishnaswamy, S D Somausndaram, Rm Veerappan, K Rajaram, C. Aranganayagam and S Muthuswamy. The new faces were K A Sengottayan, E Madhusudanan, S Kannappan, Azhagu Thirunavukkarasu, K P Krishnan, T M Selvaganapathy, Mohd M Asif, M Ananadan, D Jayakumar and Pulavar Indira Kumari.

Later K K S S R Ramachandran, V Karuppuswami Pandian and Thiruppur Manimaran have again joined AIADMK by resigning from S Thirunavukkarasu’s Party. They said they were all misled by S Thirunavukkarasu.

She successfully administered the Tamil Nadu Government for the full tenure of five years from 1991 to 1996. Tamil Nadu made an incredible progress at all levels during the tenure. It is interesting to note that J Jayalalithaa proved as a living legend and also a remarkable Leader of AIADMK. In the history the volume of sacrifice made by J Jayalalithaa to AIADMK cannot be forgotten. The ability, courage and upholding the principles of Anna and MGR are the versatile qualities of J Jayalalithaa. In the next Chapter an attempt is made to study the Centre-State Relation during the study period.