CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Chief Minister is the real executive of the federal units of a country. The Chief Minister is the sole authority in the political and administrative system of a State. He or She embody the apex ruling power structure and symbolizes the authority in the efficient administration of the State in India. The office of the Chief Minister is central to the Cabinet, Party, Legislature, Nominal Executive and the Federal Institutions. The office of the Chief Minister is an institutional structure. It has emerged successfully depending upon the ideology and leadership quality of the person who holds the office. The Chief Minister has Constitutional and political responsibilities.

The four different categories of Chief Ministers are the model and represents the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration and performs distinctive complex of political practices and institutions, major but significant revision of the existing political ideology, more practical in tackling questions that face the society, and missionary zeal extending their ideological percepts to as many people as possible. As a result, the Chief Minister should be a founder, revolutionist or missionary while carrying out his or her responsibilities. Certain Chief Ministers derives authority from their personality, powerful and charismatic authority by bringing a transformation to that office.

The Chief Minister is appointed by the Governor of the State. According to the tradition the leader of the single majority party in the Legislative Assembly is asked to form the Government. However, under extraordinary circumstances the
Governor uses his discretionary powers by calling the leader of the majority party to form the Government when none of the political parties gets majority in the Assembly.

In Tamil Nadu, the Office of the Chief Ministership is the king-pin and has seen variety of Chief Ministers who were versatile, charismatic, enthusiastic, efficient, people friendly, knowledgeable, best administrators and host of other values to consider them as the model by the people. The chair of Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu was adorned by the great leaders like, A Subbarayalu, Panagal Raja, P Subbarayan, P Munuswamy Naidu, P T Rajan, Kurma Venkata Reddy Naidu, T Prakasam, K Kumarswamy Raju, O P Ramaswamy Reddiar, C Rajagopalachari, K Kamaraj, M Baktavatsalam, C N Annadurai, M Karunanidhi and M G Ramachandran from 17-12-1920 to 24-12-1987 and J Jayalalithaa was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu from 1991 to 1996, that is the period of the present study.

In Tamil Nadu, the Congress Party was ruling the State till 6 3 1967. In 1967, DMK under the leadership C N Annadurai came to power. The Congress Party in Tamil Nadu was built by the leaders like G Subramanya Iyer, V O Chidamabaram Pillai, Subramania Bharati and V V V S Iyer during the pre-Gandhian era. During the Gandhian era S Srinivas Iyengar, C Rajagopalachari, Satyamurthi and others led the Congress in Tamil Nadu. People opposing certain leaders in Congress formed a dissident group in the party. Castes were a major factor in politics in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu had registered a movement from the higher class to the lower classes. Tamil people glorify their language and oppose any move which undermine their language and culture.
The Non-Brahmins political instrument was the Justice Party founded by C Natesa Mudaliar, P Theagaraya Chettu, Dr T M Nair, the Raja of Panagal, Manavala Ramanujam and others in 1917. From this E V Ramaswamy Naicker merged the Justice Party and the Self Respect Movement to form the Dravida Kazhagam with the support of highly dedicated youths under the leadership of C N Annadurai in 1944. The difference of opinion bewilderred and parted company with E V Ramaswamy Naicker under the leadership of C N Annadurai Anna and his followers came out of the Party and formed a new party known as Dravida Monnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in 1949.

The formation of Andhra State in 1953 and merger of Kannada speaking areas with Mysore State strengthened the position of Non-Brahmin forces inside the Congress under the leadership of K Kamaraj. Following K Kamaraj, Bhaktavatsalam was the Chief Minister of the State. But under his leadership, Congress Party could not withstand the changing trends of Tamil Nadu politics. It was because of language strategies and caste politics. In the election held in 1967, the DMK led by C N Annadurai surprisingly begged 138 seats in the Assembly. The irony was that the Congress was supported by E V Ramaswamy Naicker.

Chief Minister C N Annadurai proved genuine, humility friend to one and all and impressed the Centre as a dedicated leader. After the demise of C N Annadurai on February 3, 1969, and ascendancy of Karunanidhi to the Chief Ministership, the pattern of decision-making within the DMK changed rapidly. MGR also backed Karunanidhi and he was instrumental in depositing power in Karunanidhi’s hands. In the 1971 General Elections, MGR campaigned to ensure the success of DMK. But an overt confrontation between Karunanidhi and MGR came to surface when the former tried to degrade MGR. Therefore, on October 8, 1972, MGR publicly made charges of corruption, dictatorial trends, favouritism, nepotism, misuse of
power and money against Karunanidhi Government. He was suspended by Karunanidhi on October 15, 1972. M G R announced the formation of a new Party with his supporters. On October 18, 1972 he christened his Party as Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The Party was once again rechristened as All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam on September 12, 1976 with the national status.

In the Assembly election held in June 1977, AIADMK secured an absolute majority. MGR became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. Later in the two elections of 1980 and 1984 MGR came out successful. But due to ill health, MGR passed away on 24th December 1987. J Jayalalithaa inherited as MGR’s heir, mass appeal and could easily win public confidence in the face of challenges thrown by Janaki MGR, RM Veerappan and others in the Party. In the Tenth General Election to the Assembly in June 1991, AIADMK won the election with two-third majority and J Jayalalithaa was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on June 12, 1991.

The study of J Jayalalithaa tenure has been quite inspiring to this researcher. It is because of the methods and manner used for campaigns, the genuine concern and generosity she shared for the poor, the dynamic approach with the Centre and neighbouring States, and her initiation of certain socio-economic policies in Tamil Nadu.

The major objectives of the study are to assess the expectations involved in the office of the Chief Ministership both before and after Independence, to elucidate the hope entertained by the constituent assembly of India in the office of the Chief Minister in delivering socio-economic policies and moral goods to the people, to specify the personality including her background in films, party policies and interactions of J Jayalalithaa as Chief Minister, to outline the socio-political
environment which limited the structural and functional contours of J Jayalalithaa's Chief Ministership, to examine the legislative work of J Jayalalithaa, to enumerate the policies pursued by J Jayalalithaa in setting right social imbalances and to describe J Jayalalithaa's administrative work as a self fulfilling mission of her dreams. The period of the study was from 1991 to 1996. The present study was presented in seven Chapters. Whatever discussed in the preceding pages formed the first chapter of the Thesis.

In the second chapter, the office of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was categorised into three periods viz., the office of the Chief Minister before independence, the office of the Chief Minister since independence, and organisation of Chief Minister's Office. The office of the Chief Minister before independence - during the British Government regime autonomy was given to the States for their internal administration. The State governments were allowed to enact their own laws for internal administration. In the British period there was diarchy in the administration between the British rulers and the Provincial administration. The Councilors and the Chief Minister and Cabinet were under the administrative control of the Governor. The Chief Minister and his Cabinet were part of the Provincial Legislature and responsible to the people directly. In the division of function the "transferred half" was a subject of the Chief Minister and his Cabinet and in turn to the Provincial Legislative Council of each Province.

As per the 1919 Act, the Ministries did not have any real responsibility and it abolished dual heads with much financial autonomy to the Provinces. According to the new Act, land revenue, irrigation, excise, forests and judicial stamps were given to the Provinces, and customs, commercial stamps, railway receipts, and salt were with the Central Government. According to the Government of India Act of 1935, the Provincial Executives were made responsible to the State Assembly. The
Provincial subjects were brought under the control of the Chief Minister. The Chief Ministers were also called as the Premiers. The Provinces were given legal powers and statutory authority was given to the Provinces. The 1935 Act provided that to assist the Governor there should be a council of Ministers.

The office of the Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu from 1947 was analysed in two parts viz., Constitution and the Chief Minister, and Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu in the independent India.

In the Constitution of India, the Chapter II deals with the Executive Council of Ministers. In this, Article 164 contains the other provisions as to Ministers. The Article 167 gives the details of the duties of Chief Minister as respects the furnishing of information to Governor, etc. The duty of the Chief Minister of each State is to communicate to the Governor of the State all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation, to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation as the Governor may call for, and if the Governor so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.

With regard to the Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu in the independent India, the foremost thing was the bifurcation of States and formation of Tamil Nadu. On 15 August 1947, Madras Presidency comprised of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and some territorial areas of Kerala. On the 1st of October, 1953, Andhra State came into existence. Under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, the Madras State was further divided into the States of Kerala, Mysore and Madras. Later, on 1 April 1960, territories comprising of Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh was transferred to
Madras State in exchange of territories from the Chingleput and Salem District. As of First April 1960 the boundaries of Madras State was finalized which remained as the same area even now. In August 1968, Madras State was renamed as Tamil Nadu.

In the third part of the chapter, the organization of the Chief Minister of a State was presented. In the State, the Chief Minister is the most powerful and the highest office in the administration. There is a Constitutional provision for the Office of the Chief Minister. The President of India is the Constitutional head and under his office the Governor of the State is the superior Constitutional head to run and control the State administration. The Chief Minister as the elected chief of the State will function as an important administrator of the State.

The third chapter deals with J Jayalalithaa and AIADMK. In this chapter, MGR and AIADMK, J Jayalalithaa and AIADMK and J Jayalalithaa as a Chief Minister during the period 1991-96 were discussed. The first part of the chapter traces that MGR joined DMK in 1953. After C N Annadurai’s demise, Karunanidhi became leader of DMK. He did not like MGR’s popularity and was critical of him for his own reasons. Karunanidhi sent MGR out of DMK. This caused the formation of AIADMK. The Party under the leadership of MGR ruled Tamil Nadu for eleven years. It was a golden period of Tamil Nadu. After MGR, the Party is under the leadership of J Jayalalithaa.

J Jayalalithaa was born on February 24, 1948, to R Jayaraman and Mrs Veda Jayaraman alias N R Sandhya. She 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. Her entry into film world made her very popular and she become very...
famous J Jayalalithaa is a voracious reader and owns a vast collection of books. 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.

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. 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.

When MGR passed away in December 1987 the AIADMK was without a leader. The Party was in crisis and factionalism. 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. As a result, the Tamil Nadu Assembly was dissolved on 30 1 1988 and the Presidents rule was declared in the State. In the election both the groups were defeated by DMK. J Jayalalithaa had got 27 seats against 198 seats contested. The other group got only one seat. This sparked the mind of Janaki Ramachandran group and showed their interest for unification of both the factions. Janaki Ramachandran also resigned from her group. Finally on 12 2 1989, J Jayalalithaa made a statement that both the groups have formally merged and would function as one unit.
In another important move the Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar dismissed the DMK Government on 30 January 1991. Accordingly, elections were held in Tamil Nadu. 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. On June 24, 1991 a 17 member Ministry under the Chief Ministership of J. Jayalalithaa has sworn in the University of Madras Auditorium. She successfully administered the Tamil Nadu Government for the full tenure of five years from 1991 to 1996. Her legislative performance is discussed in the next chapter.

The evolution of Centre-State Relations in India, Constitutional Provisions on the Centre-State Relations, nature of Centre-State Relations before J. Jayalalithaa's Regime in Tamil Nadu and Centre-State Relations during J. Jayalalithaa's tenure in Tamil Nadu was discussed in the fourth chapter of the Thesis. Before independence the Centre and State relations were administered by different Acts passed in different period. Some of them were the Government of India Act of 1858, the Government of India Act, 1919, Statutory Commission in 1927 and the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Constitution of India gives an elaborate methodology of division of functions between the Central and State Governments. The Constitution of India has 22 Parts, 12 Schedules and 2 Appendices. In which Part XI, Part XII and the First, the Second, the Fourth, the Sixth, and the Seventh Schedules are related to the Centre and State relations.

In Tamil Nadu, Central and State relations was not a problem till 1967, because Congress was in power both in the Centre and the State. But after 1967, non-Congress-I Governments ruled the State and hence the relation was subjective.
to the Chief Ministers' approach with the Centre. At the beginning DMK was for total autonomy to the States. After the border clashes with China in 1962 the DMK party had dropped the demand for separation. In December 1963 C.N. Annadurai, spoke in the Rajya Sabha emphasizing his views on Federalism. M.G. Ramachandran followed a unique type of relationship with the Centre that is, "policy of Anna viz., neither independence nor dependence but interdependence". MGR gave importance to unity and diversity of India.

J. Jayalalithaa is for strong Central Government to control the anti-national tendencies in the State. The Central Government's attitude on Cauvery water turned the political situation of the State. In the National Integration Council meeting held on 23-11-1992 she pointed out that in the Ayodya issue the Karseva could be allowed in the Temple without disturbing the Mosque in the Site. This was acknowledged by the Opposition Leader L.K. Advani. The Congress-I said that the AIADMK was going close to BJP. This created problem in the Centre-State relation.

The legislative performance of J. Jayalalithaa was briefly analysed in the fifth chapter of the Thesis. Her legislative performance began from her entry into Parliament as a member of the Rajya Sabha on April 23, 1984. In her first speech on 23-5-1984 in the Parliament said that her leader, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Puratchi Thalavurar Dr.MGR, the founder leader of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to which I have the honour to belong, has sent me here, together with my colleagues in the party, to echo the voice of the people of Tamil Nadu in this national forum. In particular, I have come here as the representative of the weaker sections of our society, the toiling masses, the crores of humble workers, farmers, poor agricultural labourers and women, to give oral manifestation to their feelings, aspirations and legitimate desires and make them known to the rest of the country.
Her Legislative Assembly experience commenced from January 1989 when she was elected from Bodinayakanur. She was the first Woman Leader of the Opposition in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. In the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly elections held in 1991, she contested from Bargur and Kangeyam constituencies and she won in both but remained as a member from Bargur constituency. The first Assembly session was held on 17 January 1991 on the advice of J Jayalalithaa, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, who had appointed 17 Ministers on the same day. The above Ministry was her first Ministry which included the Senior AIADMK Leaders and they were also Ministers in the MGR Ministry.

The Assembly met eleven times and 33,282 questions were admitted and 17,922 questions were answered. 47 short notice questions were asked in which 12 questions were answered in the Assembly. In the House, about 297 Acts and 42 Ordinances were passed. This includes all the bills and ordinances of all the Ministries from 1991 to 1996. All these were introduced only to revamp the whole administrative setup of the system. Presentation of bills and the apt answer given for the questions shows her in-depth knowledge on the subject. She was thorough in all the bills introduced in the House. In the next Chapter her administrative policies and programmes are discussed.

Administrative policies and programmes of J Jayalalithaa show her profound managerial skills and administrative experience. In the decision making, political factors dominate. They are decided according to the policies of the political parties ruling the government. The expenditure decisions are prepared and passed in the Parliament and in the State Assemblies. Deficit financing by the Centre, loans by Centre and State Governments, aid from International Institutions etc., are also part of the resource management to handle these the leader require skills and commitment.
The administrative policies and programmes of J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister were discussed on factors like internal security, Police Department, food, health care, Department of Justice, public works, transport, energy development, small and village industries, agriculture, industry, social justice, development of Tamil, education, Sports, temple administration and the Tamil Nadu Economy. The notable achievements during her Chief Ministership were

1. J Jayalalithaa controlled the nefarious activities of the LTTE. She kept the Police Department in readiness.

2. She took stringent measures against the forest brigand Veerappan by establishing a Special Task Force.

3. Adequate and sophisticated vehicles, weapons and ammunitions. New communication equipment and training to the police and Special commando training to the police of the State.

4. The All Women Police Station in Chennai started functioning from April 13, 1992 and there were 57 All Women Police Stations all over Tamil Nadu.

5. She took action for the renewal of 123 lakhs of family ration cards by January 1993. From September 1, 1995, rice was offered at Rs 2 per kilo. One ration shop was established for every 1000 card holders.

6. J Jayalalithaa Maruthuva Nala Thittam was launched on 18 January 1992. In the Scheme, one Health camp was conducted in every Health Sub-Centre in Rural areas and municipal areas. Totally 9226 camps were conducted and 51,64,641 persons benefited during the period.
The Government introduced "Puratchi Thalaivi Dr J Jayalalithaa Scheme for the Girl Child" with effect from April 1, 1992.

"Hospitals on wheels" was introduced in 1993.

The Department of Justice, which was in the 'Unplanned Sector', was made as the Planned Sector.

To focus attention on this she went on a public fast from July 13, 1993 for 3 days on the Marina Beach in Chennai.

Special plan for infrastructure Development 1993 – 94 was also launched in the State.

Bus service facility for villages having a population of 1000 was provided. It was a landmark in the history of transport in the State.

In her tenure 445 5 Mega watt capacity new substation was established in the State.

Industries set up in the 32 Most Backward Taluks were given a subsidy of 20 per cent - apart from setting up of industrial complexes and tax waiver for Electronic units within the complexes.

"Crop Yield Competition" programme was introduced with the first prize of Rs 50,000 and the second prize of Rs 25,000. At the District level it was Rs 5000 and Rs 3000 respectively.

Under Phase II of the Tank Modernisation Project with the assistance provided by the European Economic Community 157 tanks were taken up to benefit 20,700 acres of land.
The different schemes implemented through horticulture in the State were Integrated Horticultural Development Scheme, Integrated Tribal Development Scheme, Western Ghats Development Scheme, Hill Area Development Scheme, and Training and Visit System

Setting up of Tamil Nadu Industrial Guidance and Export Promotion Bureau

AROCHEM with an outlay of Rs 2000 crore was approved

Constitution of a permanent commission known as the Tamil Nadu Backward Class Commission to examine and recommend upon requests for inclusion in or exclusion from the list of Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes

For girl students who have studied up to the 8th standard, Special Wedding subsidy of Rs 10,000 was announced

Kalavanar Arangam was offered at 50 percent concessional rate for staging plays and dance programmes

The State Government passes Bill to make Primary Education compulsory was passed

The State Council for Higher Education was inaugurated by the Chief Minister in March, 1993

In July 1992, to develop love for sports by the youth, the 'Sports Development Council' was formed

In 1991, the Tamil Nadu Temple Administration Board comprising of religious heads was constituted for streamlining Temple Administration in the State and collections were started for this Board
During her Chief Ministership period it had increased from Rs 3,82,375 lakhs in 1991-92 to Rs 8,00,965 lakhs in 1995-96.

The total grants had increased from Rs 2,95,191 lakhs in 1991-92 to Rs 2,58,960 in 1995-96. In her tenure the record high of Rs 4,80,206 lakhs of total grants was received from the Centre in 1995-96. It is observed from the total grants from the Centre that her tenure as a Chief Minister had brought more grants than the previous period.

It is obvious that the growth rate of per capita income was more during J Jayalalithaa as a Chief Minister (138.2 percent) than in the previous period (90.62 percent).

The total enrolment in the primary and middle schools had increased from 1985 to 1996.

In her tenure as the Chief Minister, the number of schools had increased from 3163 in 1991-92 to 3417 in 1995-96.

Enrolment of children in Municipal or Corporation schools was more in J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister than the previous periods.

The growth in the enrolment to unaided schools was more in the J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister period than the previous periods.

J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister brought all necessary steps to bring down the dropouts in school education in Tamil Nadu.

The total enrolment in the colleges of Tamil Nadu had increased in her tenure and it was more to girls than boys.

The aided and self financing colleges had increased in her tenure as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.
37 During J Jayalalithaa as a Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu the birth rate showed a decreasing trend but also comparatively less than that of the all India level.

38 During J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister the life expectancy in Tamil Nadu had increased to 62.85 years for male and 63.05 years for female.

J Jayalalithaa as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and as a Leader of AIADMK strode the political scene like a colossus. She consolidated her political career in crisis and counter crisis and made even her opponents to think her righteous actions. She is determined and bold in decision making. The administrative policies, legislative actions and programmes are the proof for her indomitable will. Her administrative wisdom, manifest in all the areas of her political action. Proper direction and the right speed are the added forces in her style of governance. Modernization of police force to combat the militant activities shows her courage. Women police station and women in all important arenas in her tenure as the Chief Minister portrays her concern for the neglected women for centuries. The scheme for education shows her future plan of making the State with more human resources. Social welfare programmes for the weaker section of the society have always her prime area of concern. In the Centre-State relations and neighbouring State relations she displayed her talents with utmost statesmanship. Altogether, her political performance was a classis case and exemplify her stability, durability, and indicative of dynamism for the all round development of Tamil Nadu.