Chapter V

Dr. PAVATE AS GOVERNOR OF PUNJAB

The role of the Governor has emerged as one of the important issues in Indian politics since the 1970s. According to the Constitution of India, “the state executive consists of the Governor and a Council of Ministers with Chief Minister as its head, to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under the Constitution required exercising his functions according to his discretion.” However, there has been criticism that the Governor’s office has undergone devaluation and even debasement and the Governor had become a political appointment. It is true that the Governor is an independent constitutional office, which is not subject to the control of the Government of India, but as B. L Fadia rightly pointed out, “the role of the Governor has come in for attack on the ground that some Governors have failed to display the qualities of impartiality and sagacity expected of them.” Further “It has been alleged that the Governors have not acted with necessary objectivity either in the manner of exercise of their discretion or in their role as a vital link between the union and the states.”

Since this chapter is about Dr. Pavate’s contribution as
a Governor to the state of Punjab, it is necessary to discuss certain issues associated with the role of Governor in state politics, and whether Dr. Pavate carried out the functions and duties of a Governor impartially. This present study deals with such issues as, when President's rule was imposed in Punjab, how Dr. Pavate played a significant role as Governor in the formation of the coalition government and its working, more importantly what role he played as Governor as far as developments in Punjab are concerned.

"Dr. Pavate has been the most courageous Governor of Punjab and he never gave up his independent thinking."4 Being an academician with vast experience in the field of educational administration, he tackled boldly the issues and problems of Punjab, which was in turmoil. "Dr. Pavate proved to be one of the successful Governors of India. When the President's Rule was imposed twice during his tenure, he did a lot of constructive work. He was a unique Governor in the sense he was an educationist and academician to occupy the post of a Governor. He can be rightly acclaimed as non-partisan Governor, which the state of Punjab has never had earlier."5 He has emerged as an experienced educational administrator in various capacities such as DPI, Poona Division, and as Vice-Chancellor of Karnataka University,
Moreover, he was known for his broad vision, mission and commitment. He was not a politician. He was away from politics right from the beginning of the career as an Educational Inspector of Schools. He worked impartially, as non-partisan Governor too.

Regarding leaders of the early decades after independence, M. P. Singh and Rekha Saxena remarks that, "emerging from the freedom struggle, both the national and state Congress leaders had a good measure of autonomy from each other for two reasons. Firstly, they had to fight shoulder to shoulder during the nationalist movement and had mutual respect as well as some autonomous basis of power at their respective levels." They further say, "Secondly their autonomous power base was renewed through the process of inner party democracy and regular organizational elections in the ruling party at all levels." Dr. Pavate's contribution as a Governor of Punjab has been evaluated based on the way of his tackling the controversial issues arising out of major political crises during the period from 1967 to 1973.

For evaluating his role as Governor of Punjab, it is important to understand the political situation, which prevailed. In the fourth General Elections of 1967, the
dominant position of the Congress party declined. "The 1967 election proved to be a turning point in Indian politics."8 Non-Congress parties were able to form coalition Governments in some northern states including Punjab. After 1967, the same party was not in power both at the centre as well as in the states. The political situation in India was unstable. Because of this, the role of the Governor became vital and sometimes controversial. "The developments after 1967 show that the single dominant party system collapsed yielding place to materialization of opportunistic alliances, heterogeneous and unstable political coalitions and rampant political defections all creating highly confused political situation."9 The 1967 elections led to a number of crises and the role of the Governor became challenging.

In the 1967 elections, no political party obtained absolute majority in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The Akali Dal (Sant Guru), Jan Sangh, the Republican Party and the Communists formed an alliance, viz., the United Front, which formed a coalition government in Punjab. Obviously, the position of the Congress Party of Punjab declined from the perspective of its ability to form a government. However, it was the single largest party securing 57 seats out of 104 in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab. This was primarily due to
the lack of effective leadership of the Congress Party in Punjab after the death of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. "Under such political upheavals, Dr. Pavate was appointed as the ninth Governor of Punjab."10

**Appointment of Dr. D.C. Pavate as Governor of Punjab (16-10-1967 to 21-5-1973)**

In fact, the Punjab Chief Minister insisted that the Governor should be an educationist and that no party man or civil servant should be appointed as Governor of Punjab. The then President of Congress Party and the Chief Minister of Karnataka, S. Nijalingappa was asked to suggest a person with honesty, integrity, and high educational experience for the post of the Governor. Nijalingappa had firm belief that some great contribution would come from a person like Dr. Pavate. He had already keenly watched the performance and contribution of Pavate as Vice-Chancellor of Karnataka University. Based on this the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi preferred a suitable educationist as Governor of Punjab. Nijalingappa, asked Pavate about his willingness to become the Governor of Punjab. It was really a surprising offer to him and giving a second thought, he reluctantly accepted the offer, as he was much more interested in serving his own state by and through imparting quality higher education. Dr. Pavate used to respect the views of experts in
spite of his competence to deal with problems. "On the eve of
Dr. Pavate becoming Governor of Punjab, he asked one of the
senior professors of political science to give him suggestions
about his role as Governor of Punjab. That professor told
Dr. Pavate that if anybody could handle the administration of
Karnatak University successfully, handling Governorship of
Punjab would be no problem for such a person. Dr. Pavate
exploded with laughter."\(^\text{11}\)

He assumed the office of Governor on 16\(^{\text{th}}\) October
1967. Then Justice Gurunam Singh was the Chief Minister.
In this context, it is pertinent to note that the politics of
Punjab was complex and dealing with it was a challenge to
Dr. Pavate. He wanted to discharge the duties of the
Governor efficiently and hence he made careful study of the
precedents and conventions of the UK and the various
perspectives on the constitutional position of Governor in the
light of political developments in Madhya Pradesh and
Rajasthan. He was more concerned with regard to Indian
constitutional provisions of Article 43, 163, 174, 356.

\(^1\) Article 43 - The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization
or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage,
conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and
cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries
on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas

\(^2\) Article 163 - 1) There shall be a council of Minister with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and
advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under the
constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.
2) If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which is the Governor
is by or under this constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the governor in his
There are very few personalities who know the political culture perfectly though they have never been in active politics. Dr. Pavate belongs to this category. He studied the political culture and the politicians of Punjab. However, he never practised politics. Politics of defection had spread like cancer in the body politic of the country in general and Punjab in particular. There was a popular saying in Punjab viz., “Aya Rams” and “Gaya Rams.” Under such circumstances, it is unique to find that Dr. Pavate worked as an impartial and non-partisan Governor of Punjab.

We learn from his autobiography that as a student he was interested in understanding British politics. Dr. Pavate had his own interpretation of democracy and according to him, “True democracy is, therefore a government of the

discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not have acted in his discretion.

3) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired in to any court.

" Article 174 – 1) The Governor shall from time to time summon the House or each House of the Legislature of the state to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session.

2) The Governor may from time to time a) prorogue the House or either House b) dissolve the Legislative Assembly

" Article 356 – 1) If the president on receipt of report form the Governor of a state or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this constitution the president may by proclamation – a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of Government of the state and all are any of or any body or authority in the state other than the legislative of the state b) declare that the powers of the Legislature of the state shall be exercisable by or under the authority of parliament. c) make such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the president to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the proclamation, including provisions of this constitution relating to anybody or authority in the state. Provided that nothing in this clause shall authorize the president to assume to himself any of the powers vested in or exercisable by a high court or to suspend in whole or in part operation of any provision of this constitution relating to High Courts.

people, by the elite sprung from people."\textsuperscript{12} In present day centre-state political dynamics, it is rare to find Governors respecting viewpoints of every political leaders and parties. Dr. Pavate respected the viewpoints of every political leader and party. He used to study the position of parties on various issues of coalitions for taking decisions rationally. Therefore, largely, Dr. Pavate's stand on various issues and problems was acceptable to almost all parties. Because of this, his actions became justified.

Dr. Pavate was a democrat. He practised democratic principles and values in his day-to-day life. In his autobiography he has said, "My philosophy was that we are all born equal, only each one had his own different role to play. All service ranks the same with God."\textsuperscript{13} He firmly believed in equality, which is a basic principle of democracy. In this respect, he might have been influenced by John Locke and Rousseau, who were strong advocates of equality.

We learn from his autobiography that as a student he was interested in understanding British politics. He studied it thoroughly. According to him in democracy the party system plays a crucial role. In his words "the party system is a necessary prerequisite for the representative form of Government and the party system has to be a multi-party
system in a pluralistic society like ours with very sharp divisions of beliefs, languages, customs, creeds, castes, and interests." This clearly indicates Dr. Pavate’s deep understanding of Indian society. He knew that only multi-party system ensures representation of democratic aspirations of various communities of Indian society. It could be analysed as Dr. Pavate’s implicit suggestion to Indian polity not to pave the way for two party majoritarian politics.

Dr. Pavate had strong faith in the principles of secularism and strictly adhered to them. His observation was that the then recent developments strengthened secular forces in India. He said, “There has been a tendency during the recent past to promote the growth of secularism in the country. The chief amongst them are:

1. Emergence of strong Trade Union Movement amongst the industrial labour and Government employees, thus bringing about a community of interests based on economic considerations rather than religious considerations.

2. Breaking up of the joint system and migration of people from close-knit, caste-ridden village societies into cosmopolitan centres.

3. Spread of education with a job orientation and technical bias, thus making the younger generation more alive and responsive to the problems of material well-being than that of spiritual salvation through
religion.

4. The growth of a leftist movement in the country giving support and strength to the communist party of India and thus forcing the major political party namely the Indian National Congress to adopt a radical programme.\textsuperscript{15}

Dr. Pavate practised the principles of secularism in running administration. As regards secularism, his thinking was interesting as well as valid even today. According to him, “A secular polity, however, does not necessarily imply a secular society.”\textsuperscript{16}

Dr. Pavate viewed that a coalition government is a game of capturing political power for running the machinery of Government in accordance with a definite and specific policy of the party concerned. He made an in-depth study of the functioning of political parties in India, Britain, and Australia. His understanding of coalition politics was clear and he was able to analyse implications of coalitions in the various states after the 1967 elections. According to him, “coalition can take two forms; pre-election alliance and adjustments and post-election agreements to share political power.”\textsuperscript{17} Formation of coalition Governments was not new and even before 1967 coalition Government was formed in Kerala and Orissa. He viewed that “the chances of a coalition government at the centre and in the states can reasonably
succeed only if we develop such vital virtues as tolerance and spirit of accommodation in politics.”18 This observation of Dr. Pavate on tolerance and the spirit of accommodation in politics further substantiate consociational democratic theory’s principle of accommodation for smooth functioning of polity in diverse societies.

Political loyalties play a vital role in the working of coalition government. According to Dr. Pavate, “In our country which still has the inherited legacy of feudalism in political and social life, loyalties are more pronounced to personalities than to ideologies or policies.”19 The Congress Party represented the various interests of the different sections of Indian society.

When Dr. Pavate assumed the office of the Governor, no party had an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab. The party position in Punjab Assembly was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Front (Akalis, Jan Sangh and Communists)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dr. D. C. Pavate, "My Days as Governor", Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974, p.21
### Table 2

**Summary of Assembly Elections in Punjab (1952-2002)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Seats</th>
<th>Turn Out</th>
<th>INC Seats</th>
<th>INC Vote</th>
<th>BJP BJS Seats</th>
<th>BJP BJS Vote</th>
<th>CPI Seats</th>
<th>CPI Vote</th>
<th>State Party I Party</th>
<th>State Party I Seats</th>
<th>State Party II Party</th>
<th>State Party II Seats</th>
<th>State Party II Vote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>ZP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>SCF</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>SOC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>ADS</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>SAD</td>
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<td>CPM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>104</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>JNP</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>117</td>
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<td>45.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>JNP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: www.global.ucsb.edu/punjab/Journal_12_16_kumar.pdf, pg.122*
After the 1967 elections, the position of the Congress was up and down. The table above indicates the position of the parties in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab since 1952. Despite this in 1967, non-Congress parties formed a coalition government for the first time in the history of Punjab. Factional politics of Akali Dal played a crucial role during Dr. Pavate’s tenure. The Akali Dal led coalition government under the Chief Ministership of Justice Gurunam Singh was reshuffled, portfolios reallocated, and he approved in accordance with the genuine spirit of the constitutional provisions.

However, the Chief Minister Justice Gurunam Singh lost the majority in the Assembly due to defection. He advised the Governor to dissolve the Legislative Assembly and, under such circumstances, the Chief Minister became the head of the caretaker government. The question of accepting the advice of a defeated Chief Minister was debatable. "In view of recent controversy regarding the powers and functions of Governors, and in the context of smooth centre state relations, the Parliament has constituted 30 member committee to consider the necessary amendments in the Constitution of India." A number of newspapers correspondents were in favour of dissolving the Legislative
Assembly and holding midterm elections. However, Dr. Pavate was firm in his decision. In this respect, he proceeded to find out the possibility of the formation of an alternative Government. He came to know that the Janata Party could form a Government with the support of the Congress Party and accordingly Sardar Lachhaman Singh Gill became the Chief Minister of Punjab on November 25, 1967 and continued to remain in that post until August 23, 1968. He belonged to the Shiromani Akali Dal Party. “The opposition challenged the constitutional validity of the ministry through a point of order. Three issues were raised in this connection:

a) The Governor was bound to accept the advice of resigning Chief Minister to dissolve the Assembly under Article 174 of the Constitution.

b) The Chief Minister must be the leader of the majority party. Here the Janata Party, from which all ministers were appointed, was a minority party newly created from among several parties.

c) A party without a common programme and without branches outside the Legislature could not be recognized as a party.”21

The role of speaker became significant in the context of this situation. Here it is pertinent to
mention rulings of speaker on points of order. "The speaker, Sardar Joginder Singh Mann, gave the following rulings on three points of order:

a. The powers under Article 174 (2) had to be exercised by the Governor in his own discretion and before he dissolved the Assembly, as advised by the resigning Chief Minister, he must take into consideration the totality of circumstances existing in the democratic life of the state.

b. Neither the Constitution nor the rules, which guided the procedure and working of the house, recognized political parties as such. There was no provision that the leader of the majority party alone should be Chief Minister or that the other members of his Council of Ministers should necessarily belong to that party.

c. The speaker was not concerned with the programme and policy of any political party. He was concerned only with the recognition of a party for the purposes of making sitting arrangements for its members."
During Lachhaman Singh Gill ministry, there were controversies in the Punjab State politics. The ruling of the speaker to adjourn the Assembly, no confidence motion against the speaker and the powers/position of Governor under Articles 174, 129, 208, and 209 of the Indian Constitution became controversial. The power of the Governor under Article 213 of the Constitution, also

***** Article 129 – The Supreme Court shall be a court of record and shall have all the powers of such a court including the power to punish for contempt of itself.

***** Article 208 – Rules of Procedure 1) A House of Legislature of a state may make rules for regulating, subject to the provisions of this constitution, its procedure, and the conduct of its business. 2) Until rules are made under clause (1) the rules of procedure and standing orders in force immediately before the commencement of this constitution with respect to the Legislature for the corresponding province shall have effect in relation to the Legislature of the state subject to such modifications and adaptations as may be made therein by the speaker of the Legislative Assembly, or the Chairman of the Legislative Council, as the case may be. 3) In a state having a Legislative Council the Governor, after consultation with the speaker of the Legislative Assembly and the Chairman of the Legislative Council, may make rules as to the procedure with respect to communications between the two houses.

***** Article 209 – Regulation by law of procedure in the Legislative of the State in relation to financial business. The Legislature of the state may, for the purpose of the timely completion of financial business, regulate by law the procedure of and the conduct of business in, the House or Houses of the legislature of the state in relation to any financial matter or to any Bill for the appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of the state, and, if and so far as any provision of any law so made is inconsistent with any rule made by the House or either House of the Legislature of the state under clause (1) of Article 208 or with any rule or standing order having effect in relation to the Legislature of the state under clause (2) of that article, such provision shall prevail.

***** Article 213 1) if at any time, except when the Legislative Assembly of a State is in session, or where there is a Legislative Council in a State, except when both Houses of the Legislature are in session, the Governor is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action, he may promulgate such Ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require: Provided that the Governor shall not, without instructions from the President, promulgate any such Ordinance if—

(a) a Bill containing the same provisions would under this Constitution have required the previous sanction of the President for the introduction thereof into the Legislature; or

(b) he would have deemed it necessary to reserve a Bill containing the same provisions for the consideration of the President; or

(c) An Act of the Legislature of the State containing the same provisions would under this Constitution have been invalid unless, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, it had received the assent of the President. (2) An ordinance promulgated under this article shall have the same force and effect as an Act of the Legislature of the State assented to by the Governor, but every such Ordinance—

(a) shall be laid before the Legislative Assembly of the State, or where there is a Legislative Council in the State, before both the Houses, and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the reassembly of the Legislature, or if before the expiration of that period a resolution disapproving it is passed by the Legislative Assembly and agreed to by the
became controversial. The Power of the Governor to promulgate ordinances under Article 213 of the Indian Constitution, to prorogue the session of the house and the Deputy Speaker’s role were questioned. The nature of politics among the partners of coalitions and the politics between the ruling and opposition parties contributed to the chaotic situation in transacting the business of the Legislative Assembly of Punjab. Pavate tackled the situation objectively since he was non-partisan and honest in understanding the crisis and his motive was to protect the interests of the people. Here it is significant to note that Dr. Pavate’s role was totally unbiased and rational in terms of the spirit of parliamentary procedure and provisions of the Indian Constitution. Despite this, some people expressed their unhappiness.

“Governors according to constitutional provisions enjoy the power of causing to be laid before the state legislature the annual financial statement and of making demands for grants and recommending money bills.” Thus, the Punjab budget for 1968-1969 presented to the Legislative Assembly by the then finance minister Jagjit Singh showed a deficit of Rs.10.41 crores. He therefore announced several measures

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Legislative Council, if any, upon the passing of the resolution or, as the case may be, on the resolution being agreed to by the Council; and (b) may be withdrawn at any time by the Governor.
to raise an additional income of Rs.6.66 crores reducing the overall deficit of Rs.3.75 crores which he proposed to leave uncovered."24 Meanwhile the Punjab Assembly was adjourned in Chandigarh on 7 March, 1968, for two months by the speaker Jogindra Singh Mann on the ground that it was impossible to conduct any business of the house in a rowdy, agitated, and angry house. The speaker's ruling caused a serious constitutional deadlock in Punjab as the budget estimates for the next year and the supplementary demands for the current year were to be passed by the House.

“A resolution passed at an emergency meeting of the General Body of Punjab Legislature Party condemned this Act as the most unconstitutional, unparliamentarily and unprecedented action of the speaker in adjourning the Punjab Vidhan Sabha without any basis whatsoever.”25 The resolution said that there was no occasion or case for such an uncalled for and high-handed action. It was evidently malafide and the result of a deep-rooted conspiracy with the opposition to strangulate democratic functioning of the state and to paralyse the government machinery. By witnessing all these political developments, Governor Dr. Pavate on March 12 1968, prorogued the Vidhan Sabha and cleared the way for resummoning the house to pass the budget estimates for
the next financial year. He issued orders under sub clause (A) of clause (2) of Article 174 of the Constitution, which ended the five-day-old constitutional crisis created by the speaker's ruling adjourning the house for two months. On 13 March, 1968, the Governor promulgated an ordinance laying down that the sitting of neither house of legislature would be adjourned without consent of the concerned house until completion of the financial business. Here Governor's decision proved to be constitutionally valid and impartial by seeking the consent of the concerned house.

Dr. Pavate issued two ordinances which state (1) "until the completion of such business during the session, a sitting of the house shall not be adjourned unless a motion to that effect is passed by majority of the members of that house, present and voting; (2) Any adjournment of the house in contravention of the provisions contained in clause (a) shall be null and void and be of no effect. 3) The leader of the house may for the timely completion of the financial business move a motion specifying the time within which the consideration of such business shall be completed." These ordinances issued show that he never gave a chance for political impasse and instability to prevail in the state, which indicates his commitment to non-partisan and impartial
stands.

On March 14, 1968, the Governor summoned the Legislative Assembly to meet on March 18, 1968, and simultaneously sent a message to the two Houses, "under Article 175** of the constitution asking them to consider with all convenient dispatch the financial business pending before the House. It is also the right of the Governor to address and send messages to a house or both houses."27

As the speaker left the house there were noisy scenes in the chamber and the speaker alleged that the police and bad characters had entered the chamber. Subsequently the treasury benches also held a meeting under the chairmanship of the Deputy Speaker and passed all the demands for grants and two Appropriation Bills were passed within half an hour. "On a certificate by the Deputy Speaker the two Bills were money bills, the Legislative Council later passed these measures, and the Governor put his seal thereon."28

President’s Rule in Punjab (23-8-1968 to 17-2-1969)

“In a thirty-six page memorandum submitted on July 4,
1968, by the Punjab United Front to the President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Chief Minister Mr. Lachhman Singh Gill and his Janata Party were accused of systematic misdeeds, blatant actions of corruption, gross misrule and violation of constitutional processes." Darbar Singh, another Congress Leader observed, "We have got rid of the Gill Government which created unprecedented corruption, maladministration, victimization of services and pollution of public life." It was alleged that Gill's ministry destroyed democracy and all moral and ethical values were thrown to winds. The Punjab Congress leaders welcomed the stand taken by Congress party at the national level. The people of Punjab became happy on the downfall of Gill's ministry and expected good administration during the President's rule under the Governorship of Dr. Pavate. The Congress party, which supported Lachhman Singh Gill's ministry owing to differences, withdrew its support on 20th August 1968. S. Nijalingappa, the Congress President, formally announced the formal withdrawal of the support of the Congress party to Gill.

"The Central Congress leaders did not favour the formation of a Congress ministry in the state. Instead, they favoured the promulgation of the President's Rule to be
followed by a mid term poll." Accordingly, the Chief Minister Lachhman Singh Gill called on Governor Dr. Pavate and tendered the resignation of his nine-month-old minority Janata Party government in Chandigarh on August 21 1968. "Addressing the issue the Minister of Home Affairs, Y.B. Chavan, begged the speaker to move for leave to introduce a Bill to confer on the President the power of the legislature of the State of Punjab to make laws and the same motion was adopted."  "Earlier the cabinet met and took the decision on the basis of the report of the Punjab Governor, who had urged in his report to the President that "the present political uncertainty and the consequent adverse effect on the morale of the servants can be removed only by immediate dissolution of the Legislative Assembly." On August 23 1968, the President's Rule was proclaimed in Punjab under Article 356 of the Constitution. The proclamation said that situation had arisen in which the Government of Punjab could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution." 

The people of Punjab expected good administration during President's Rule under the Governorship of Pavate. "He took over the administration of Punjab on August 23 1968 and handed it over the popular ministry on February
17, 1969. For about six months he was responsible for the entire administration of the state."³⁵ Immediately after the imposition of President's Rule, Dr. Pavate appointed two advisors to assist him in carrying out the day-to-day administration of Punjab. He conducted weekly meetings of the council of each department appointed by him. He conducted meetings with former legislators of various political parties. In the meeting, he explained them the broad outlines of his priorities during the course of president's rule. However, Pavate retained with himself the Finance and Education portfolios and allotted all routine governmental work to the two advisors. Thus, he reviewed the performance of various departments and used to suggest measures to streamline the administration of Punjab from the viewpoint of well-being of the people. In this context, it is pertinent to note that President's Rule in Punjab proved to be a boon to Dr. Pavate as it gave him an opportunity to demonstrate his potentiality as non-partisan and impartial Governor. Besides this, all political parties also pledged to cooperate with the Governor."³⁶ During President's Rule, Dr. Pavate did his best to the state of Punjab. During the President's Rule, law and order was maintained better.

"He construed constitutional philosophy in such a way
as to have centre-state relations maintained methodically and earnestly to the current situation to smoothen centre-state relations." In this context, it is pertinent to note that he played a crucial role in maintaining cooperative federal spirit.

Mid Term Elections-1969: Installation of Justice Gurunaam Singh Ministry (February 17, 1969 to March 27, 1970)

"Over one hundred and one million voters or 40% of the country’s total electorate exercised their franchise in the mid term polls in Punjab along with West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar held on 9th February 1969." There were 470 candidates representing various parties in the field for 104 seats in Punjab.

The final party position of the candidates was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Akali Dal</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPI</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSP</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents and other parities</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>470</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 4
Party Position in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha after the 1967 Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seats won</td>
<td>Votes polled (percentage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal (Sant)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal (Master)</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>9.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra Party</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents and</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>16.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


"The elections had been conducted without partiality and it will be difficult to think of more fair and cleaner elections."39 “The two factions of Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) once again registered a resounding victory at the hustling emerging as the single largest party with 43 seats against Congress 38, Jan Sangh 8, Communists 5 and others."40
“The Akali Jana Sangha coalition Government was formed on the strength of water-thin majority of 53 in a 104 member house. Justice Gurunam Singh was elected as its leader and was sworn in as Chief Minister on February 17, 1969.” He once again became the Chief Minister and formed a coalition government.

“The coalition status of a cabinet will be a function of the interaction between the generalized a priori willingness of parties to bargain and certainty of information that exist in the bargaining process. In turn, the durability of a cabinet is a function of the cabinet’s coalition status.”

The main political problems before the Chief Minister Justice Gurunaam Singh were to obtain Bakra Nangal, Chandigarh and other Punjabi speaking areas. “The demands of the Akali Dal Leaders for the inclusion of Sikhs in the general process of reorganization of states in 1950’s and 1960’s were denied. Only in March 1966 after change in the leadership of Akali Dal and after the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965, in which Sikh soldiers and Sikh population of Punjab played a crucial role, was the demand for a Punjabi Suba finally conceded by the Prime Minister through the Governor.”

In this Punjabi Suba, however, Sikhs have a bare
political majority without the political dominance sought by the Akali Dal. The status of the capital city of Chandigarh, which still remains the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana; the status of some mixed Hindi and Punjabi speaking territories in which Hindus are the predominant population and the division, for irrigation purposes of river waters, which ran through the territories of both the states. Thus, “the Punjab Chief Minister Justice Gurunam Singh asked the Central Government on February 18 1969 to immediately handover Chandigarh, the Bakra Complex and other Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab.”44 He said that Punjab was prepared to accommodate Haryana in Chandigarh until Haryana built its own capital.

On March 14 1969, the Governor Dr. Pavate, while addressing the Punjab Legislature in Chandigarh, stressed the need for immediate steps to be taken up to abolish the Punjab Legislative Council, as its continuance caused unnecessary burden on the state exchequer. He also emphasized the need for bringing the modifications in the Panchayat Raj System, since it had resulted in increasing political factionalism. He did not make any commitments on the question of nationalization of road transportation. However, he said that “The agreement of scheme of road
mileage between private and the public sector undertaking to be encouraged." It is implicitly public-private partnership, which has become prominent in the age of the globalization. “The Budget estimates of the Punjab Government for the next financial year presented by the Finance Minister Krishan Lal to the Legislative Assembly on 25 March, 1969, showed a deficit of Rs.10.9 crores.”

There was a question whether Punjab or Haryana should get Chandigarh, over which there had been a controversy for over three years. In this respect, Sarat Fateh Singh went on fast on 26 January 1969 threatening self-immolation on 1st February, which was decided by the Government of India on January 29, 1969. The central Government's decision was announced in a communiqué. “It provided for the transfer of the Capital project area of Chandigarh to Punjab within the next five years, but pending construction of a new capital for Haryana, Chandigarh will remain a union territory.” It was also made clear in the communiqué that Haryana could retain its capital in Chandigarh for a period not exceeding five years. The popular government under the leadership of Justice Gurunam Singh did not work up to the expectations of the people. “The public expected much from Gurunaam Singh ministry.
However, it did not work on the lines and spirit as expected by the people. In short, it failed to provide efficient administration.

In the meanwhile, "the Finance Minister Balawant Singh introduced the Budget for the year 1970-71 presented to the State Assembly in Chandigarh. He showed an uncovered overall deficit of Rs.7.42 crores with neither any proposal to place a fresh burden on the tax payer nor any promise to give financial relief." He advocated the need for immediate review of the federal system in the country with a view to evolving an effective mechanism to grant greater financial autonomy to the states. He also complained to the Central Government for discriminating against Punjab and that it was giving step motherly treatment to it.

"Following a split inside the ruling Akali Dal, the Punjab Government headed by Justice Gurunam Singh was defeated in the State Assembly on 25 March, 1970, and resigned on the following day." This followed a series of events after it became evident that Justice Gurunam Singh and his supporters had defied the Akali Party whip and supported the rebel leader, Bupinder Singh, in the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha held in March 1970.

Both Prakash Singh Badal and Major Harinder Singh
met the Governor Dr. Pavate, after the defeat of the Government, claiming the right to form a ministry. Major Harinder Singh, however, later announced that the Congress would extend unconditional support to Justice Gurunam Singh. The Chief Minister in consequence did not resign until requested to do so by Pavate on 26 March 1970. "The Punjab Governor Mr. D.C. Pavate is understood to have advised the Chief Minister, Mr. Prakash Singh Badal to call as early as possible a session of the Vidhan Sabha to demonstrate his majority." Accordingly both Harinder Singh and Prakash Singh Badal submitted lists to the Governor of fifty-four members whose support they claimed; the one Swatantra member of the Assembly, however, whose support both had claimed, informed Pavate that he accepted the claim of Badal and on 27 March, 1970, nine of Justice Gurunam Singh's eighteen Akali followers transferred their support to Badal, giving him clear majority. "In our country, experiments of coalition government started only recently and have been encouraged by an indefinable process of defections. A number of splinter parties one in fact by products of such defections." In the context of Chief Minister Justice Gurunaam Singh's resignation, the leaders of Jan Sangh, Atal Behari
Vajapayee, and SSP Leader, Madhu Limaey and PSP Leader Ashok Mehta wanted to discuss with the Governor about the prevailing situation. “I instantly realized the awkward situation that would arise if I gave them an interview before announcing my decision. The press would immediately say I had been influenced by them in arriving at a decision. I had made up my mind to invite Sardar Badal to form the Government.” \(^5^2\) He announced the decision of inviting Prakash Singh Badal to form the government before the national leaders belonging to various parties met him. This shows that he was independent in taking decision without the consideration of the interests of any party.

“The Governor D.C. Pavate thwarted the move of the Chief Minister (Prakash Singh Badal) to expand his ministry by including an alleged defector from the Jana Sangha in a bid to boost his strength. The Governor was understood to be of the view that it would lead to horse trading and pollute the political culture.” \(^5^3\) Thus, Dr. Pavate as a non-partisan Governor did not allow any kind of undemocratic practice.

The period from June 1971 to February 1972 was particularly significant, because of the war with Pakistan. In fact, the imposition of the President’s Rule in Punjab in June 1971 was a landmark event with regard to the role of the
Governor in taking important and sensitive political decisions, which constitutionally vest in his discretion and judgement. It so happened that a day before the crucial sitting of the State Assembly, the then Chief Minister Badal recommended the dissolution of the Assembly. Dr. Pavate accepted his recommendation and the Legislative Assembly was dissolved. However, within half an hour, the Badal ministry had obtained a vote on account effective up to the end of June 1971 when Assembly was dissolved; it became imperative that Badal ministry must also resign. The state administration was to be placed under the control of the Parliament. In this context, Dr. Pavate advised Badal to resign. Accordingly, he resigned and it was accepted by Dr. Pavate. The inevitable outcome of “No Assembly No Ministry” was the President’s Rule. This decision became controversial. The expectation of the central leadership was that the Governor would “consult” them before arriving at such a decision. Dr. Pavate stood his ground firmly and it was Governor’s right and duty to take such decisions within his constitutional prerogatives. In the midst of a fierce controversy inside the Parliament and in the government circles, Dr. Pavate kept his cool and displayed a rare discipline of head and heart. “I recall an incident in this
regard. I was told by the then Minister of State for Home Affairs, that the Government of India wanted to talk to him on the telephone regarding the controversy. Dr. Pavate received telephonic call. I do not know what the central minister said but I heard Dr. Pavate telling him tersely 'Don't disturb me at this time. If my decision is constitutionally wrong, I go; why are you disturbing the peace of my mind'. Then he hung up the phone. Indeed, only a fearless and selfless man could say so.54 This shows that he always took right decisions not yielding to any outside pressure. No one dare question his integrity.

"On March 27, 1970, a new three-man Akali-Jan Sangh coalition ministry with Prakash Singh Badal as the youngest Chief Minister of the state was sworn in.55 Prakash Singh Badal was the chief minister of Punjab from March 27, 1970 to June 14, 1971. He belongs to Shiromani Akali Dal Party. Badal dedicated himself and his Government to the service of the downtrodden and pledged to strengthen Hindu Sikh unity. He also emphasized the need for eradication of corruption, rampant in every branch of administration. Emphasis would also be given on welfare of the scheduled castes and backward classes and implementation of welfare schemes. The new ministry won its first victory of confidence
motion in the State Assembly by eleven votes on March 30, 1970, before the house adopted the Appropriation Bill by a voice vote and adjourned abruptly. A motion expressing lack of confidence in the ministry tabled by the chief Whip of the Congress Legislative Party, Umarao Singh was withdrawn after the house granted him leave.

After cabinet expansion, the Governor prorogued the Legislative Assembly sine die on April 10, 1971. "On the various legal and constitutional objections raised by the opposition to the prorogation, Dr. Pavate said that he was satisfied that the notice for moving the resolution for the removal of the speaker was received late and that the speaker was within his constitutional rights to ignore it."

President’s Rule (June 15, 1971 to March 17, 1972)

"On 15th June 1971, after several members of the ruling Akali Dal demanded a reduction in the size of the ministry and also made allegations of corruption against some ministers which led all the ministers to submit their resignations to the Chief Minister. On 1st June to enable him to reconstitute his government, Trilochan Singh Riasti, Minister of State for Public Relations, resigned from the Government declaring that no honest and sincere political worker can remain in a corruption ridden party like Akali
“The Governor of Punjab announced on August 11, 1971, that a prime facie case had been established in eleven charges of corruption and nepotism against certain members of the Akali Dal ministry led by Prakash Singh Badal which had resigned in June 1971, paving the way for dissolution of Assembly and imposition of President’s Rule.”

Later, on the same day, Badal advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly alleging that the ruling Congress was trying to encourage defections. He accepted the advice, signed the order dissolving the Assembly, and asked Badal to remain in office until alternative arrangements were made. The Governor reported to the then President V. V. Giri and made it clear that there was a breakdown of the constitutional machinery in the state. He signed the proclamation taking over state administration under Article 356 of the Constitution. Dr. Pavate in his report to the President, after the resignation of Badal ministry, said, “No party or combination of parties was in a position to form a stable government in the state.” Once again, Punjab was under President’s Rule on 15th June 1971. Divergent views were expressed on the Governor’s stand to dissolve assembly and to recommend for President’s Rule. Gurunam Singh
vehemently criticised the action taken by Governor Pavate. "He charged the Governor with acting in haste in accepting the recommendation of the chief minister who had lost majority support or to say the least whose majority was in doubt." On the other hand, some Akali leaders admired Pavate's stand. "The Akali leaders praised the Governor for his bold and imaginative action in foiling a conspiracy and placing the whole issue before the people, the ultimate sovereign of Punjab." Similarly, the president of Punjab State Jana Sangh appreciated Pavate's action by stating that the Governor had acted wisely and constitutionally in ending the corrupt, communal and lawless Akali regime. In view of these considerations, it is significant to note that whatever might have been the controversy, Pavate was right in dissolving the Legislative Assembly. During this President's Rule, Pavate did his best to the administration and people of Punjab. This was the second time that Punjab had been brought under Central rule, since the 1967 General Elections and four times since 1960. In his proclamation the President said, "After considering the Report and other information received by me, I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the state cannot be carried in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India."
The Governor justified the dissolution of the State Assembly on the ground that if he had allowed things to drift it would have resulted in political instability and paralysed the administration of the type experienced during Gill ministry, 1967-68. He also underscored the point that he had accepted the advice of the Chief Minister Badal, as he thought that was the best course in the situation. Reacting to the defections from Akali ranks on the eve of dissolution of Assembly, Pavate said, "The situation had become such that political horse-trading was going on. If such a situation had been allowed to persist it would not have been conducive either to the growth of healthy democratic conventions or to provide a cleaner administration." Dr. Pavate, therefore, thought that it would be in consonance with democratic conventions to accept the advice of the Chief Minister and allow the people to exercise their right to vote afresh.

"The Governor is not a representative of a party; he is a representative of the people of the entire state. It is in the name of the people that he carries on the administration. He must see that the administration is carried on a level which may be regarded as good, efficient and honest." Accordingly, Pavate worked as a representative of the people of Punjab as a whole. There has been a trend of Governors
being accused by party leaders that during the President’s Rule, Governors run the administration of the state with bias, and as if they were agents of particular political parties. Dr. Pavate was free from such criticism and he proved that during President’s Rule the Governor could run the administration smoothly and efficiently without any bias.

The Indo-Pak war on 3 December, 1971 was a signal for all political parties in India to forget their differences and meet the unprovoked aggression by the enemy. Accordingly all parties demonstrated their unity in the Indo-Pak war situation. Once the war broke out, the rehabilitation of border dwellers had been taken up by giving adequate compensation to those who had to surrender their land for defense purposes. "The cash doles were paid at the rate of Rs.1.50 for adults, 60 paisa to Rs.1 for children between three and eight years and from 30 to 50 paisa for children below three per day." Thus, during President’s Rule, Dr. Pavate saw that nobody suffered because of war. One could witness a number of problems during wartime. Dr. Pavate as perceptive and efficient administrator did not allow common people and women to face any major problem during wartime.

The twenty-third anniversary of Indian Republic was celebrated with noticeable dignity, pride, and enthusiasm.
over India’s victory in liberating Bangladesh from Pakistani domination and over the capture of sizeable area of Pakistan’s territory on the western front. Land Tenure Acts of Punjab were effectively implemented as a result no farmer could hold land exceeding 30 acres. Thus, during President’s rule, the tempo of development was not only maintained but also accelerated, about the construction of link roads and the campaign to bring larger area under Khariff and rabbi crops.

"The Green Revolution had affected the political process in Punjab in a major way. The new pattern of production in the agriculture sector in the state is capitalist and production is done largely to organize markets with the aim of realizing profits."66

It was found that the Akali Dal played a major role in the formation of coalitions and their working in Punjab during the period 1967 to 1972. "Ministry-making in Punjab, as the preceding survey shows, has been almost entirely the work of the Akalis. Even the minority governments were formed by the Akalis; the Gill Ministry by a rebel group and later the Badal Ministry by its dominant faction. The Akalis took all the initiative in bringing together the non-Congress political parties to form the United Front and Akali-Jan Sangh ministries."67 The ideology was less important in the
formation and working of coalition governments. It appears that the United Front was anti Congress. "The United Front was indeed a cocktail of ideologies brought together by one consideration: to keep the Congress party out of power in the state."68 "The coalition governments which came into existence after the General Elections in 1967 were functioning in a climate of distrust, hostility, and contempt."69 Dr. Pavate did commendable work during President's Rule. He contributed to the development of Punjab by taking number of measures. This promoted the well-being of the people.

After the end of the President's Rule, Governor ordered fresh election in the state. "The Punjab Assembly elections were held on March 11, 1972. The Congress party formed ministry in Punjab under the leadership of Giani Zail Singh, who was elected chief minister on March 17, 1972."70 He remained as Chief Minister of Punjab up to April 30, 1977. Pavate's last act as Governor was to swear in the new ministry headed by Giani Zail Singh, who at fifty-six, headed a ten-member ministry. This was on March 17, 1972.

The Governor administered the oath of office and secrecy to the ministers. Table 5 illustrates that the Congress Government came to power and continued until 30th April
1972 thereby establishing political stability in the state and thus the Governor's role became routine and Pavate's term ended on 21 May 1973.

A coalition government was not able to continue in power due to lack of confidence of the Legislative Assembly. As a democrat to the core, Dr. Pavate consistently followed the principle of seeing the possibility of formation of an alternative government by other parties. Generally, it is the political trend on the part of many Governors to dissolve the assembly when there is lack of confidence. There are few examples of finding alternative government. If no party / parties are able to form the government, then Dr. Pavate dissolved the Legislative Assembly. This is exactly according to the spirit of the provisions of the Indian Constitution.

Dr. Pavate was a straightforward person and did not like sycophancy. "I have always stood for self-respecting and straightforward men as against sycophants." The experience of Pavate as Governor made him to form an optimistic view about the future of the people of Punjab, in spite of so many complex political crises during his period. He was successful in resolving the crises. "Finally I would say that I left Punjab more optimistic about its economic and political future than I found it on my going there. All good
luck to the brave and energetic Punjabis.” The present
success of Punjab in economic development and political will
of the politicians of state in making it progressive validates
Dr. Pavate’s optimism.

Table – 5

Punjab:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>No. of Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Valid votes polled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>66*</td>
<td>20,83,328</td>
<td>42.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal (Sant)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13,44,423</td>
<td>27.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,16,722</td>
<td>6.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1,58,309</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,41,543</td>
<td>4.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swa.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cong. (O)</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11,659</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45,590</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal (Gurnam Singh)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42,757</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPI</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13,676</td>
<td>0.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,04,192</td>
<td>12.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 104 48,63,472 100.00

Source: 1. Asian Recorder, May 6-12, 1972, p.10745
Table – 6
The stability pattern of coalitional Governments in Punjab since 1967 General Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>No. of governmental changes</th>
<th>Average period of government's life (in months)</th>
<th>No. of spell of President's Rule</th>
<th>Average period of President's rule (in months)</th>
<th>Leader of the Present State Government together with the date of appointment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>P. S. Badal, March 27, 1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


“The Akali-Jana Sangha alliance was of a very temporary nature. The central issue in the context of coalition politics in any state is the discretionary power of the Governor. Pavate was consistent in exercising his discretionary power in appointing the Chief Minister and dissolving the Legislative Assembly of Punjab. With regard to controversies arising out of it, conventions play a vital role. The provisions of the Indian Constitution do not explain how to resolve a specific crisis arising in this context of exercise of discretionary power of the Governor.
Contribution of Dr. Pavate as Governor of Punjab:

"During the five years that D.C. Pavate was the Governor of Punjab, the state had two periods of President's Rule. His reminiscences are not bed time reading; they are valuable source of material for students of Punjab history."74 Dr. Pavate played significant role as a Governor of Punjab, particularly when president's rule was twice imposed from 23rd August 1968 to 17th February 1969 and from 14th June 1971 to 17th March 1972. During the Presidential Rule, he did lot of constructive work. He can be considered as unique Governor in the sense he was an educationist and academician to occupy that post. He is rightly acclaimed as a non-partisan Governor, which the state of Punjab never had earlier. He treated all political parties alike. The developmental activities did not suffer primarily due to the non-partisan approach of the Governor. His background as an eminent educationist made him to function impartially and objectively. It can be rightly said that Dr. Pavate was quite successful as Governor of Punjab. "His tenure as Governor proved to be momentous for Punjab."75 He made an important contribution to the well-being of Punjab despite instability of the popular governments during his term. "As a Governor he handled the affairs of the politically turbulent
state of Punjab with dexterity and won the admiration of Punjab and the Central Government.”76 He is a role model to Governors. He took important policy decisions without fear or favour, because he was impartial on all occasions and under all circumstances, whatever might have outside pulls and pressures on him. The following are the significant contributions of Dr. Pavate as a Governor of Punjab:

(1) Concern for Stability

(2) Educational Reforms

(3) Gaining Confidence of the people in the State Administration

(4) Preventing Anti-Social Elements

(5) Structural Reforms in Public Service Commission

(6) Thrust on Agriculture and Industrial Development.

(1) **Concern for Stability**

There was a political turmoil in Punjab and it witnessed political instability, wherein Dr. Pavate identified its chronic political problem confronted by the state. He did not like repeated political defections resulting in toppling of Governments through defection.

Dr. Pavate within the constitutional parameters brought political stability during President’s Rule as, “there was a tendency among politicians to shift loyalties as early as
they change coats. Defectors are in quest of money and power." Hence, he was convinced that passing up of anti defection, Act was the only remedy to overcome the political instability in the state and he tried for healthy democratic conventions in the state.

The unique feature of Punjab politics was coalition politics where Dr. Pavate witnessed it as a cause for political instability resulting in frequent elections causing heavy burden on state exchequer. He contributed towards setting the trend towards stable and progressive Government in the state, which could be found in the formation of stable Government by Congress party under the leadership of Giani Zail Singh in March 1972.

(2) Educational Reforms

"Dr. Pavate came to Punjab, rich in experience, as an educational administrator and was a mathematician of repute with academic records in Cambridge Universities and educational institutions in Punjab." Dr. Pavate being a renowned educationist brought educational reforms by bringing education under his direct control and effected necessary changes in both primary and higher education to promote quality education. Accordingly, he brought sustained changes in educational hierarchy by
appointing senior educational officers as DPI in place of IAS officials. He appointed Govardhan Bakshi and Smt. Parampal as Additional DPI to promote the cause of girl education in the state.

Dr. Pavate had deep concern for teachers. In view of this, he annulled the transfer of three hundred primary school teachers to distant place, which was causing disturbances thereby affected teaching efficiency. He abolished Selection Board, which was constituted to appoint teachers as there were severe corruption allegations against it and he recommended direct recruitment of teachers based on merit.

Dr. Pavate noticed number of obstacles in the functioning of Guru Nanak University Amritsar. One of such obstacles was about the issue of affiliation of colleges. He advised Justice Gurunam Singh, the then Chief Minister of Punjab to affiliate thirty colleges of Amritsar and two other neighbouring districts to the university. Thus with the help of advice given by Dr. Pavate this problem was easily resolved.

(3) Gaining Confidence of People in State Administration

"The Punjab Government had always faced difficult problems of law and order." Dr. Pavate tackled this issue
tactfully. He said, "My first responsibility was to restore the confidence of the people of the state in the administration."

He streamlined the police department by creating and appointing Additional Inspector General of Police Midha in view of restoring the confidence of the people.

The people of Punjab had lost faith in administration, law and order situation deteriorated, police officials utterly failed as due protection was not given to weaker sections of society, the delay in the disposal of cases and rampant nepotism and favourtism were noticed. This unhealthy atmosphere made people to loose confidence in the state administration. This sad sate of affairs made Dr. Pavate to restructure the police department by appointing Kulawant Singh as new secretary for the maintenance of law and order. He made sincere efforts to overcome all administrative evils of corruption, nepotism, favourtism, and redtapism. "Pavate wanted to weed out corruption and warned bureaucrats against indulging in corruption and asked them to behave with unpartisan spirit without favour or fear."80 Dr. Pavate appealed Deputy Commissioners and Heads of Departments to serve the people with a sense of impartiality and service mindedness. He recommended to the Central Government for the appointment of commission to enquire into allegation
of corruption against Prakash Singh Badal ministry. Accordingly, the Government appointed an Enquiry Commission under the chairmanship of Durga Shankar Dave, former Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court.

(4) Preventing Anti-Social Elements

“During President’s Rule Dr. Pavate took steps to prevent Naxalite Movement which disturbed law and order situation in Punjab.”81 With the help of strong police action, Dr. Pavate was able to suppress the violence and vandalism of Naxalites and smugglers. He during President’s Rule got checked more successfully threat to peace like riots, agitations, Naxalites, anti-social elements and left wing extremism.

In the first week of 1971, about one hundred four arrests were made in Amritsar district alone in a drive against anti-social elements. In Patiala district, an illicit distillery run by permanent liquor contractor was unearthed. A scrutiny of arms licenses issued in Sangur district by Badal ministry was also ordered, as there were complaints that over five thousand licenses were issued without any verification. There were instances of indiscipline at Muktsar Government College, wherein some students had been expelled from the college as a result of their misbehaviour. As a result, the
students indulged in rowdyism. Dr. Pavate with the help of police took timely action.

The Punjab students Federation had called a statewide strike on September 1 and 2 1971 and to make use of situation, he decided to transfer Sub Divisional Magistrate, Deputy Superintendent of Police, the Inspector of Police and the Principal of the Government college without owing that they were in any way to blame. In August and September 1971, Dr. Pavate took steps to curb down a spurt of Naxalite activity, which were creating terror in a few districts by murdering of police officials, trades and landlords and attacks on police force and escape of seven Pakistani spies from Amritsar Jail, with connivance of jail authorities. “Dr. Pavate had to repair the damage done by the politicians; he reimposed land revenue on larger holdings, put down the naxalites and student gundas and kept up the morale of the people.”

(5) Structural Reforms in Public Service Commission

In view of strengthen the administrative system; Dr. Pavate brought a change in the appointment of members of Punjab Public Service Commission. He streamlined the functioning of this body by giving adequate representation to military officers and scheduled castes in the commission with
a view to make it more democratic in its style of functioning.

(6) Thrust on Agriculture and Industrial Development

During President’s Rule, Dr. Pavate made significant contribution towards socio-economic development of Punjab. He undertook various developmental activities to improve socio-economic status of underprivileged classes. In economic and industrial fields, he made sincere attempts to start new industries. It was with his imitation it was decided to have collaboration with a tyre and tube factory with Delhi cloth and textiles mills, for synthetic detergents with Tatas, to start a dry battery cell with Japanese collaboration. All these projects involved an outlay of rupees fifteen crores to augment and boost industrial production and development in the state.

During President’s Rule, Dr. Pavate was instrumental in providing adequate irrigation facilities to increase agricultural production. He made a provision for improved techniques in agriculture and irrigation, use of pesticides and fertilizers, high yielding variety seeds through co-operative societies. “Dr. Pavate took steps to provide adequate loans through credit facility to farmers through banks.”

Dr. Pavate did commendable work as Governor of Punjab. He left a rich legacy in the history of the state. In
fact, he created a history in its turbulent politics. The constructive work which he did as a non-partisan Governor is a testimony to his broad vision and mission. It is pertinent to note that future generation always read and remember Dr. Pavate. He subordinated his own personal interests in the pursuit of public service. To put the idea in the words of Socrates, “A wise man will not try to make money or dream of wearing fine clothes or desire to live in a big house.”

Dr. Pavate was such a simple man who neither made money nor aspired to live in a big house. Service, sacrifice, simplicity, commitment and concern were the part of his life. The last work that Dr. Pavate did, as a Governor of Punjab was that he administered oath of office and secrecy to Giani Zail Singh, who became Chief Minister on March 11, 1972. He hoped that newly formed Congress party Government under the leadership of Giani Zail Singh will provide stable Government and thereby fulfill the aspirations of the people of Punjab. On the whole, Dr. Pavate made a significant contribution to social and economic welfare of the people of Punjab.
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