

ANNA

Commemoration Volume



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**The
ANNA
commemoration
volume**

Editor & Publisher

A. P. JANARTHANAM, M.L.C.

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MADRAS - 7.**



Dr. C. N. ANNADURAI

Born on September 15, 1909; As a student of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, participated in the literary activities of the college, as Secretary of the College Union and the Economics Union; After Graduation (M. A. Economics; worked as English Assistant in Govindu Naicker School, one of the affiliated Schools of the Pachaiyappa's Charities, for nearly one year, and later, took part in Labour Union activities.

Edited 'Bala Bharathi' and later 'Nava Yuva', Tamil Weeklies published in Madras; Served as Sub-Editor 'Justice', English Daily of the South Indian Liberal Federation, under the aegis of the Raja Saheb of Bobbili, the then Chief Minister of Madras; Was on the editorial staff of 'Viduthalai', Tamil Daily, Erode and Madras, and 'Kudi Arasu', Tamil Weekly, Erode, published by Periyar E. V. Ramasami, Founder of the Self Respect Movement; Organiser for Tamil Nad Justice Party and General Secretary, Dravidian Federation; Founded and edited 'Dravida Nadu', Tamil Weekly, Kancheepuram.

Founder and General Secretary of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam; Edited 'Malaimani', Tamil Daily founded by Thiru T. M. Parthasarathy on August 10, 1949 to expose the cause of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam; Founder and Editor, 'Nam Nadu', Tamil Daily, Madras, till 24th April 1955; 'Kanchi' Tamil Weekly, Kancheepuram; 'Home Rule', English Weekly, Madras, till 1st March 1967 and 'Homeland', English Weekly, Kancheepuram and Madras.

Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1957 - 62, Member, Rajya Sabha, 1962 - 67; Elected to the Lok Sabha from the Madras South Parliamentary Constituency in February 1967 and subsequently, elected to the Madras Legislative Council from the Madras Local Authorities Constituency in April 1967.

Toured Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Hon Kong, Combodia and Japan in 1965; Assumed the office of Chief Minister on 6th March 1967, as head of the first non-Congress Government in Madras State, formed after independence. Died on 3rd February, 1969.

Playwright and author of several works in English and Tamil; noted for his fluency and alliterations; foremost speaker in Tamil and English; Charismatic Leader in South India.

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THE FIRST MEETING

In 1945 Anna appeared for the B.A. (Hons) examination. The results were not yet published. Anna was invited to preside over a youth's conference in Tiruppur. It was there that Anna first met Periyar. Anna had already avidly read 'Kudi Arasu', Periyar's dynamic weekly and got attracted to him. Periyar asked Anna whether he intended to take a job after passing. Anna replied that he did not want to enter service and that he liked to plunge into public life. Periyar was much pleased with this and took Anna to his gallant fold. To the last Anna considered and regarded Periyar as his only leader.

INTRODUCTION

It is more than one year since Anna has passed away, but, still I feel that he is there, influencing millions of his followers and admirers. To the last, he will be our model for magnanimity, sobriety, and mature wisdom. His fight against want and ignorance will be carried on. His speeches and writings will certainly inspire the future generations. Whenever we face a crisis or take a crucial decision, the touchstone will be how Anna would have acted in a similar situation. Time will undoubtedly prove that Anna's ideals and ideas will save the great race to which he gave his time, work and life.

Anna's thoughts should be put across to the world. My ardent desire is that Anna's centenary celebrations should go on for centuries till the ideals he strove for, get fulfilled. Anna is a model not only to Tamilnad, but to India and the entire world. Future statesmen and reformers could get benefitted by his wisdom and maturity.

This commemoration volume is a humble tribute to Anna. To the end of my life, I will be singing Anna's glory.

I sincerely thank the contributors of articles, the good friends who canvassed advertisements, the firms and societies which patronised with their advertisements and the Asian Printers who have done a fine job.

A. P. JANARTHANAM

**TRIBUTES
TO
ANNA**

Mr. V. V. GIRI,

The President of India.

A person of cheerful disposition, 'Anna' a popular figure, was adored for his great qualities of head and heart. He had the pulse of the people and was always concerned with the improvement and well-being of the common man.

A forceful orator, Anna was an outstanding parliamentarian.

Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI,

Prime Minister of India.

Mr. Annadurai gave Tamilnadu a dedicated leadership and made a valuable contribution to the evolution of harmonious relations between the centre and the state.

It is tragic that death has taken him from us when he had so much to give to the people.

The nation mourns a man of wisdom whose high sense of duty earned him widespread respect.

Mr. Y. B. CHAVAN,

Union Home Minister.

We have lost an able administrator and a valued friend.

Mr. S. Madhavan,

Minister for Industries, Tamil Nadu.

Leaders like Anna appear only once in a thousand years. Our generation will be proud that it had lived when Anna was alive.

His light of Reason will shine bright and guide us for all time.

Mr. S. J. Sadiq Pasha,

P. W. D. Minister, Tamil Nadu.

This land will never forget Anna who was a great writer, artist, magnetic orator, actor, shining star in the literary firmament, magnanimous statesman, capable administrator, affectionate leader, comrade of the poor, a walking university and a perfect gentleman.

Mr. M. Muthusami,

Minister for Local Administration, Tamilnadu.

Anna was Tamil and Tamil was Anna. Every word and every breath of Anna was for Tamil. Nature has bereft us of this fountain of Tamil at one fell stroke.

Anna—that vast ocean of knowledge, love, humility, affection, righteousness, integrity, truth and Tamil has mingled with the ocean of the Bay of Bengai.

Yet he lives in our heart. Let us uphold the principles of Duty, Dignity and Discipline enunciated by him and pledge ourselves to follow his path in the service of the people and Tamil language which were very near to his heart.

Mr. S. P. Adithanar,

Minister for Co-operation, Govt. of Tamil nadu.

After the assumption of office by Anna on March 6, 1967, the soaring tide of Tamilian feeling took a new turn in Tamilian history.

Today we witness a great love of Tamil, race and country which was not existent for the past 600 years.

Mr. K. Vezhavendan,

Minister for Labour, Govt. of Tamilnadu.

Anna! The story has come to an end. Darkness has engulfed everything. The hearts of our people have broken into a thousand fragments. The heart of the Tamil mother is broken. Anna! We thought you are the Rising Sun!

Prof. K. Anbazhagan, M. P.

Leader of the D. M. K. in Lok Sabha.

As a playwright he was the Tamilian Bernard Shaw! In new thinking he was Socrates! In expounding social reform, he was Ingersoll! In bountiful mercy he was the Gandhi of the South.

What Revered Anna's life has taught me ?

(Mr. G. Krishnamoorthy, Vice-chairman, Tamilnadu Legislative Council).

1. Have a mission in life.
2. Spend all your energy and enthusiasm in fulfilling that mission.
3. Efface yourself in the cause you undertake.
4. Sympathy and generosity should be your guide.
5. Never say 'NO' to any request from anybody.
6. Never get intoxicated with power.
7. Simple living leads to high thinking.
8. Treat even your foe as friend.
9. Let service to the poor be thy motto.
10. Go to the root of every problem to be tackled.
11. Root out Routine if it is against commonsense.
12. Never hesitate to change the procedure if you can have a more sensible one.
13. Love all, Hate none.



Dr. S. Chandrasekar.

Minister of State for
Health, Family Planning, Works,
Housing & Urban Development
India, New Delhi.

Power and fame are bestowed on some people. But for many others, it is acquired by dint of hard work and untiring efforts. Thiru C. N. Annadurai with his sustained interest and efforts to better the common man's lot talked his way into the hearts of his people. His oratory with masterly alliteration, wit and humour, drew the people towards him. He became their 'Anna' (elder brother).

It was Thiru Annadurai who gave the DMK a firm basis as a political party. He gave the Kazhagam a political orientation and economic goal. The sweeping victory of his party in the 1967 polls vindicated his leadership.

Thiru Annadurai's political acumen revealed itself on two occasions - first, when he founded the DMK organization and second, when his party gave up its secessionist demand. According to Shri Annadurai, "the best way of achieving our objectives is to educate the public on federalism."

The best tribute one can pay to Anna is to tread the path laid by him and carry forward the task he had left unfinished.

I am sure this commemoration volume will bring to light the versatile genius and the many facets of Thiru Annadurai's life.

I wish your venture all success.

Sardar Ujjal Singh

Governor of Tamilnadu.

Annadurai was very popular among the people and to our great grief he passed away at a time when his stature was growing as a leader of the people and the country. He possessed many fine personal qualities which endeared him to all with whom he moved. His integrity, calmness and sober judgment marked him out as a leader of outstanding eminence. His sympathy for the poor and concern for their welfare were guidelines for his policy-making. What made him a true democrat was his desire to understand the other man's point of view.

By his suave manners, pleasant disposition and sympathetic understanding, he carved out a place for himself in the hearts of the people of Tamil Nadu and commanded respect from all sections of the people. He shouldered the great responsibilities of his office with a keen sense of dedication and service. Let us remember his watch-words - "Duty, Discipline and Decorum".

Mr. K. Brahmanandha Reddi,

Chief Minister of Andhra.

He is a fine gentleman. I feel it as a personal loss.

Mr. Veerendra Patil,

Chief Minister of Mysore,

An able politician, a good administrator and a cultured Tamilian.

Mr. V. P. NAIK,

Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

By his wit, sagacity and humour, he had endeared himself to all of us.

Mr. Hitendra Desai,

Chief Minister of Gujarat.

Mr. Annadurai was a dynamic and lovable person, a model for selfless social service.

Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadhia,

Chief Minister of Rajasthan,

Anna was a most popular and dedicated leader with an amiable disposition and a tower of strength to Tamilnadu.

Mr. Michael Stewart,

Secretary of State for
Foreign affairs, London.

He was an inspired leader who will long be mourned by all who knew him.

Mr. Thomas M. Recknagel,

American Consul-General in Madras.

Mr. Annadurai made an unforgettable record as an outstanding leader widely respected and beloved for his wisdom and deep humanitarian conviction.

RAJAJI.

I woke up after midnight, to hear the sad news.
I am grieved beyond words.

Periyar Ramasamy.

Anna is dead. Long live Anna (i.e. his ideals)!

Mr. K. Kamaraj.

It is regrettable that Annadurai's sustained service is lost for Tamilnadu. His death is a great loss to Tamilnadu.

Kalaignar Karunanidhi,

Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu

Our great leader Anna who hails from that historic city of Conjeevaram had made history by his unstinted service to the people and Tamil language. With kind and tender heart like that of a mother he held sway over the youth of Tamil Nadu and in effect was their unquestioned leader. He stood for the establishment of democratic way of life and socialistic pattern of society. He toiled for the elevation of the Tamil language to its pristine glory, fought against Hindi imposition and even courted imprisonment and worked hard for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden. His speeches and writings had initiated an era of Renaissance throughout the Tamil speaking world.

By his sudden and untimely death a void has been created which is very difficult for us to fill. He advised us to have a stout heart which can endure anything and everything. But, we do not have a heart which can endure even this great loss.

Navalar V. R. Nedunchezhiyan,

Education Minister of Tamil Nadu.

The great lion which roused Tamilagam has now fallen — it has breathed its last.

He gave Tamilians new life and fame. He made the Tamilians realise their glory, heritage and identity. We could not dare to think that he is 'no more.' But still we are grief-stricken for he has vanished from our midst.

Mr. K. A. Mathiazhagan,

Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu,

We cannot believe that Anna has left us and Tamilagam and its crores of people. The thirty lakhs of people who partook in his last journey plunges us in unforgettable anguish.

We cannot to the end of our days, forget our sorrow and tears over his death.

Mrs. Sathiyavani Muthu,

Agriculture Minister, Tamil Nadu.

Anna's end is a great blow to the Tamil World and the World of Reason. Nature has claimed Anna too soon. It has left a great void in our lives.

Mr. N. V. Natarajan,

Minister for Backward Classes, Tamil Nadu.

Anna removed the superstitions in society like an expert surgeon.

His method of fighting social evils was unique. Slowly, gradually, those who clung to the old customs adapted themselves to the new trends through his persuasive, gentle reasoning.

Anna's Victory in the language issue - enthroning Tamil and never submitting to Hindi domination is unparalleled.

Mr. P. U. Shunmugam,

Minister for Food and Commercial Taxes, Tamil Nadu.

Anna never posed as a leader. He always mixed with the followers with great love and affection. None who followed him were orphaned. He never spoiled any body. He never made enemies. He did not run after wealth and power.

Malcolm S. AUDISESHIAH,
Acting Director General,
UNESCO, Paris

Adult Education and Parliamentary Democracy

THE DEMOCRAT

Thiru Annadurai was a democrat. He was the product of Indian democracy. He devoted his entire life to building the fabric of democracy in Tamilnad. He was of the people, his life was for the people and his reward was by the people. He used all the resources of Adult Education, as a poet, writer, dramatist, actor, journalist, propagandist, social reformer, party organiser and above all as the focus of the renaissance of Tamil language and culture to establish democracy firmly in his motherland, India and land of his birth Tamilnad. I wish to commemorate Arignar Annadurai's memory by tracing the abiding relationship between Adult Education which he embodied in his life and parliamentary democracy which he leaves behind for us as his heritage.

NO EDUCATION NO DEMOCRACY

At first blush the relationship between adult education and parliamentary democracy seems a simple, direct, unilinear one. No adult education, no parliamentary democracy. The Paris daily, *Le Monde*, in its issue of 22 November carried a startling headline : seventeen military takeovers in six years, and most journals followed with a sombre recital of the events. Look around you here in Asia, where since their independence over half the governments have been overthrown by their military leaders. Latin America is

experiencing a similar spate of replacement of democratic structures by military rule. The Third World, with over 96 per cent of the world's illiterates living in it, seems to be bearing out the view - No Education, No Democracy.

COMPLETE EDUCATION NO DEMOCRACY

On further reflection, however, this simple, direct relationship, no education, no parliamentary democracy, does not seem to exist. Turning now to Europe of the inter-war period, another relationship, complete education, no parliamentary democracy seems to have equal validity. Europe had had universal education for decades : illiteracy was almost non-existent. Mass media and books had been developed in all their plentitude for the literate masses. Education was general and complete. And yet led by Fascist and Nazi societies, democracy was on the retreat in the continent. In country after country, the individual man of the semi-literate Nineteenth century was being turned into the mass man of the literate Twentieth century. This mass man was ready and willing to surrender his sacred rights and inherent responsibilities and become party to a most flagrant display of primitive passion and savage brutality through service to a State which was completely contemptuous of democracy.

THE MASS MAN

At the first World Conference on Adult Education called by Unesco at Elsinore, Denmark in 1949, Jean Guehenno recalled in vivid terms this odious and bloody page of our educational history and sounded a solemn warning :

I shall say nothing here, lest I cast gloom over the discussions of all we have been forced to learn of man and men in the last ten years. I shall not speak of that world which another of our writers has called the "concentration world" and which stretches far beyond the boundaries of the concentration camps, for it perhaps involves us all : we bear a great blemish. We now know that Sade was right and that man is that, too, "that" of which we dare not speak. Man has perhaps never undergone so deep a change as in becoming a mass man into which he is turning. What has since become of the individual man? What an advance here, too ! We march together, we shout together, we go to the factory together, to prison together, to the concentration camp and death - always together, we think together or we believe we do. In fact we can never think together. But we do everything else together. The sole desire of every man is to be saved or lost with the multitude, to think by proxy and the common grave may soon become, by law, the fittest charnel house for the depersonalized masses.

HAMLET'S GHOST

Thirty years before Guehenno, after the war to end wars, Paul Valery painted an equally sombre picture of the seeming antinomy between the life of the mind and the life of the spirit, between education and democracy :

Now on a vast battlement of Elsinore, stretching from Basle to Cologne, and reaching out to the sands of Nieuport, the marshes of the Somme, the chalklands of Champagne and the granite hills of Alsace, the European Hamlet faces millions of ghosts.

He is a Hamlet of the mind. He is meditating on the life and death of truths. His ghosts are the subjects of all our disagreements; his remorse is for all on which we pride ourselves: he is weighed down by the burden of knowledge and discovery, powerless to embark anew on those boundless endeavours. He reflects on the weariness of beginning the past over again and the folly of constantly seeking something new. He wavers between two pitfalls, for two dangers continually threaten his world: order and disorder.

When he picks up a skull it is a famous one. Whose was it? This was Leonardo. He invented the flying man but the flying man has not done quite what the inventor intended: we know that today the flying man astride his mighty swan has other things to do than to fetch snow from the mountain tops to scatter it, on hot days, in the streets of the cities. This other skull is that of Leibnitz, who dreamed of universal peace.

Hamlet is not sure what to do with all these skulls. Suppose he left them behind ! will he cease to be himself? His terribly penetrating mind considers the path from war to peace. That way is far darker and more dangerous than the way from peace to war. And I, he asks, I, the intellect of Europe, what will become of me? And what is peace? Peace is perhaps that state in which the natural enmity of men takes shape in creation instead of being turned to destruction as in war. But am I not weary of producing? Must I follow the rest of the world and copy Polonius, who is now the editor of a big newspaper? Or Laertes, who is something in the air force?

Farewell, ye ghosts? The world needs you no more. Nor me. The world which gives the name of progress to its fatal desire for certainties, is trying to combine the advantages of death with the good of life. There is still some confusion, but yet a little while and all will be explained: we shall at last see the miracle of an animal

society, the perfect ant heap for ever more.

May I recall, however, that ants do not maim, mutilate, murder each other, nor devour themselves.

OUR KURUKSHETRA

How apposite these words are to the record of the short history of independence of this our beloved land and its increasing volatile peoples. This land where every step is haunted by the ghosts of its great men and wise, whose every square inch is marked by glorious events recorded in the Gita, the Asokan edicts and the Kural and Tholkappiam ! Its peoples which were suckled, since the dawn of the century, on the milk of non-violence, led by that apostle of *Isatya* and *ahimsa*, whose centenary of birth we and the whole Unesco world are celebrating this year! And yet we ushered in our day of liberation with a mass violence, mass slaughter and mass displacement of some ten million men and women, young and old, babies and children an opening which almost destroyed the delicate democratic fabric of our nascent free society. How many of us can recall that other great leader of ours, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had only two nights ago called us to join him in our rendezvous with destiny, standing back unbelieving, aghast and confused at this national orgy, this dance of death, and shaking off his weariness rushing to the side of his friend and fellow worker at Jamia Millia, ready to lay down his own life in attempting to bring us back to sanity and some semblance of democracy.

But this scene is, alas, not just of the past, a very near, mere 22 year past ! Every day, today we see how near the surface violence is in our land in its challenge to democratic living. Whether it be in the burning of trams and buses, the looting of shops and houses and the rioting and killing of minority communities and political minorities, we, who with our sub-subdivisions of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Muslims and Christians are a nation of minorities, we are gradually moving

into a society where disagreement is not settled by debate and a counting of heads but by declamation and a cracking of skulls. Or again, whether it be in the acts of corruption, nepotism and power-seeking that we indulge in or condone, in the reckless hurling of charges and counter-charges in and outside our legislative assemblies, in what has come to be called floor crossing in these bodies, parliamentary democracy is daily being brought into disrepute and whittled away. And in the vanguard of this whole process is the intellectual elite; the torch bearers of this procession are the educated minority of the land, not the illiterate masses.

It may well be that we as individuals may feel exempt from this indictment. But as Anna taught us and Valery reminds us, where one of us, educated, is guilty, all are guilty. Being members one of another, we carry a common responsibility.

LESSON OF HISTORY

Can we learn from this history—Ancient and Modern? Or are we once more going to demonstrate that the only lesson that we learn from history is that we never learn from history? I hope not. I pray not.

History shows us that the absence of education and military takeovers go together: it also demonstrates that the presence of education and odious and tyrannous dictatorship coexist. Our own brief history tells us that the education we received and the education that the majority of our fellow citizens have not received provide fertile ground for the erosion, if not death of democracy. In other words, there is no simple, automatic correlation between education and freedom, between adult education and parliamentary democracy.

ADULT EDUCATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY DEFINED

I have elsewhere explained that education is not preparation for life but life itself. Adult education is not an educational stage of life : it is an educational style of life. Parliamentary democracy is basically the

participation of every citizen in the functioning of society. Adult education for parliamentary democracy is thus an educational style of living, of living democratically. This style of living, this democratic living, involves the following institutions :

'The family;

The school;

The work and leisure-time institutions;

Society generally.

This style of living involves the participation of the citizen :

As voter ;

As member of party ;

As officeholder.

This style of living involves the use of certain methods and techniques :

For dialogue and discussion ;

For decision making.

INSTITUTIONS

The family

How far is our family a democratic cell? Is family living democratic living? How can the dichotomy of parental authority and freedom of the individual child, respect for elders and initiative of the young be reconciled? How can the sanctity of the human person and the equality of all persons in dignity and rights be expressed in (a) the relative position of men and women, boys and girls in the family ; (b) the decision as to the number and spacing of children in the family? Can we stop asking a family at childbirth whether it is a child or a girl which was born? Can the size of the family and the number of children and their prospects be discussed and agreed upon by both parents? How can both the elders and the youth in a family be involved in planning of the future size of future families?

One expression and base of democratic living is genuine communication between parent and children. Over 80 per cent of American adults, but less than 30 per cent of French adults, are able to report what their parents' political party preferences are. I would guess that, given our family tradition of treating children as morons and of

demanding that they be silent in the company of their elders, the Indian percentage would be very low. Is our familial tradition of passive obedience by the young vis-a-vis their elders responsible both for our being easily ruled and liking it, ("the slave mentality") and our outbursts into violence (when we cannot have our way)? A study of two pre-literate tribes in Africa shows that one, the Gusii, where children are thoroughly subordinate to adults, were compliant to British colonial rule, while the other, the Nuer, with its egalitarianism under which the children talked back freely, were in constant revolt. Patterns of family relationship have an important impact on the acquisition of beliefs, loyalties and personality traits. Living democratically in the family is an excellent learning experience for living democratically in the wider society.

Undemocratic practices, however, are not all on the side of the elders and parents. The sixteenth century French philosopher Jean Bodin, seemed to be describing life today in 1968 when he said :

Children who stand in little awe of their parents and have even less fear of the wrath of God, readily set at defiance the authority of the magistrate.

Children can be tyrants and can easily perfect their techniques of tyranny in the permissive atmosphere of the family. A recent study in the United States showed that where children made the decisions on what television programmes to see, educational televiewing was minimal. The family is the training ground for learning the know-how of democratic or tyrannous decisions.

The school

The school system must be a prototype of democracy. I have elsewhere indicated how the school system based as it is on compulsion and conformity, instils anti-democratic attitudes. Its goal-oriented, antediluvian and autocratic teaching and learning methods must give place to role-oriented techniques of instruction and thought which can become

the basis for dialogue and tolerance of disagreement. I have then set forth the implications of this change for the objectives, organization, content and methods of education. We will have taken a long step forward toward the achievement of democracy in this great land of ours when our institutions of education are themselves democratically organized and operative.

Work and leisure-time institutions

The mode of organization and method of functioning of the farm, factory and office, the trade union, the Chamber of Commerce, the agricultural workers cooperative, the community block, the club, the theatre and the cultural centre could either promote understanding and respect for parliamentary democracy or develop anti-democratic, anti-parliamentarian attitudes. A recent study of the structure of the labour force in Norway and the United States indicates, despite their great differences, (25.9 per cent in primary and 19.8 per cent in tertiary industry in Norway and 12.5 per cent and 31.2 per cent in the United States), to what extent full membership participation is or is not built into these institutions. Where the structure is oligarchic, the procedures pre-cooked and the areas of decisions vague and undefined, there is a real threat to democracy. Our institutions in India need to be reviewed from the double point of view of leadership variables (higher versus low ego strength) and participation procedures (life situation variables).

Society generally

The manner in which society is organized and the values by which its members live have profound influence on democratic living. The rigid stratified hierarchical order which the caste system and many religious institutions have come to represent, against which Anna taught all his life, the curious strength of the joint family and the negation of our neighbour if he is not of our closed circle, the preponderant role which linguistic and geographic affinities have

come to play, the apparent high values attached to renunciation and self-imposed poverty together with basic self-centredness, greed and desire for material wealth - all these need to be subject to full and frank investigation, study and research. Only then will we know what to conserve, what to throw out and how to replace what, for living democratically.

PARTICIPATION OF THE CITIZEN

How far and in what manner do these institutions permit the citizens in this land to participate in the governance of his country as: (a) a voter; (b) a member of a political party, and (c) as an elected official. Democracy is enhanced by political participation and is thwarted by political apathy.

The simplest test is voter participation. In the United Kingdom, 76-85 per cent of eligible voters voted in 1955, 80 per cent in France in 1958, 73 per cent in Finland in 1956, 78 per cent in Norway in 1960 and 60 per cent in the recent presidential elections in the United States. In the 1966 general elections in India, 61.43 per cent voted. Should one then say that the United States and India are only a 60 per cent democracy?

Turning to the second index, membership in political parties, in the United Kingdom 45-50 per cent of the electorate subscribe to a political party and 10-12 per cent claim to be keenly interested, in Finland 40 per cent, in Norway 15 per cent, in France around 4 per cent, in the United States 2-3 per cent and in India around the French/United States percentage. It is clear that these figures of party membership, are not comparable as their statistical base is variable and political participation in countries like France and the United States is expressed outside of party membership.

The third index of political participation, the percentage of candidates who offer themselves for elective office, is generally around 0.2-0.5 per cent of the electorate. There are wider variations in the proportion of elected local officials, rising from a low 13 per 10,000 electors in the United

Kingdom, to 32 in the United States, 49 in Finland and 72 in Norway. In India the various estimates indicate a 5 per 10,000 ratio.

May I add the brief comment that the extent, reality and intensity of these various forms of citizen participation are both inclusive and parameter setting in regard to "direct democracy," (which is the use of revolutionary means to achieve reformist ends) expressed in boycotts, demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, teach-ins, fastings, Satyagraha, which my generation used as an instrument of national liberation and the current generation employs as a prelude to violence and violent manifestations. A fascinating point of historical speculation would be to try to guess when India would have become independent if it had followed the constitutionalism of Tej Bahadur Sapru instead of the non-violent, non-cooperationism of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Equally the parameter to such revolutionary means were set by him when as a result of the Chandni Chowkh violence, Gandhiji called off the independence struggle.

There is a growing body of literature on the parliamentary profession, to which we in India should contribute as one means of strengthening parliamentary democracy. We have left behind the days of Dadhabai Naoroji, Ashutosh Mukherji, and even those of Rajaji, Panditji and Anna just as the US senator is no longer the classic figure with the mane of white hair sweeping down over his collar, the dignified paunch, the frock coat with the stetson covering the mottled jowls. (In fact, last week I was introduced to a senator who looked more like a young university don than the stereotype countenance of the slightly apprehensive Roman emperor.) The parliamentarian of today is one who is endorsed by his party (which degenerates into bossism and produces the party hack), harassed by his constituents, (the Soviet Deputy's preoccupations in this regard, as recounted by Mr. Gubin, are exactly similar to those of every member of our Lokh

Saba), well educated in all countries, though in India a university law degree is no longer a must. He has unequal political knowledge and a strong personality inclined to authoritarianism. His competence for political activity develops out of his life environment and his *affect*, his concern and indignation expressed in opposition and protest which are fed by all the voluntary bodies he is associated with. French sociologists point out that French voters do not particularly want the man they return to parliament to resemble themselves and this is true of other lands, including ours and may in part account for the parachuting of candidates in certain constituencies. The parliamentarian comes from a fairly well to do background, because his profession is badly organized and poorly paid everywhere. There has been a decrease in the number of parliamentarians from the working classes, in Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and France. Looking at parliamentarians the world over, the need for its professionalization, by developing common norms, specific abilities and expert knowledge together with long experience, is an urgent need. This may be one specific task of adult education for our own parliamentarians.

In a study on the influence of adult education on Swedish elected officials, it was found that 66 per cent of the parliamentarians, 79 per cent of the social democrats, 87 per cent of the agrarians, 41 per cent of the liberals and 33 per cent of the conservatives had recourse to adult education. Adult education preparation for city council members in Stockholm and three other selected communities ranged from 51 to 80 per cent. Even in the cabinet, 7 of 15 ministers prepared for public service through adult education. The success of parliamentary democracy in Sweden is certainly assured by its adult education activities.

In our country, as in most newly independent countries, parliamentary democracy faces further strains. In these countries, the united national front as the sole

political party which led the fight for liberation must in time evolve into two or three political parties with distinguishable programmes and alternatives. Revolutionary or underground opposition of pre-independence days must develop into "His Majesty's loyal opposition" after independence. The transitional phase which sees the growth of what one African leader called monarchy, what we in Asia know as splinter groups and guided democracy based on personalities and not principles, is a long and difficult one and can be both shortened and usefully employed by planned civic education. Such educational programmes must also develop the art of losing, including the healthy tradition in Europe and North America of publicly conceding defeat to the opponent. In parliamentary democracy, the demos speaks and our Faustian-Karman heritage, which lies somewhere between making a demon of success and a cult of failure, must help us accept its voice unconditionally and go on to the next act of the drama.

Citizen participation which is the basis for a functioning parliamentary democracy, and to which the indices referred to earlier are no more than a rough guide, has been the subject of careful study from the time of Lord Bryce. He divided citizens into (a) a very small percentage who made opinion, (b) a slightly larger group who talked and discussed, read the news and attended meetings and (c) the vast majority who had no opinions, were "indifferent to public affairs, reading little and thinking less about them".

Studies by political scientists of this last group distinguishes two types of politically apathetic citizens. First there are those who disdain participation in the political process because it seems to them corrupt, immoral and self-serving. (A plague on both your houses!) Second, there are those who fail to participate out of political indifference (what does it matter whether it is Rama who rules or Ravana), exclusion (women in the past and youth today) or incapacity (the illiterate and inarticulate). This second group is the numerically preponderant one. Political

participation must be learned and for such learning there must be capacity, motivation and opportunity. In this group all three pre-conditions are observed to be missing and it is the function of education to create or contribute to them.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF PARTICIPATION

Education bears a major responsibility for overcoming political apathy. Where society and its institutions contribute to democratic living, studies show that education offers high and reliable correlations with political participation, because: (a) education helps to develop a sense of civic duty; (b) the schools can serve as a setting in which the skills of political participation are acquired, such as joining organizations, participating in meetings, discussing broad social questions and organizing for the achievement of group goals; and (c) the more educated are able to transmit more effectively their political interest and knowledge to their children. Conversely, does illiteracy imply low civic participation?

The branch of education most directly concerned with training for parliamentary democracy is the area known as civics and civics training. This was a problem central to Plato's concern with the *Republic* and Manu with his *Smriti*. Since then, educational systems—peoples' colleges, cultural centres, evening classes, workers universities and all forms of mass education—have concerned themselves with unknown degrees of success with the preparation of citizenry at all stages and in every forum for participation in public affairs. In parliamentary democracy there is special need for education about parliament because the government leaders are well known and possess a charisma. I have a feeling that civics is a neglected area of our educational system, with no more than a fitful start made in our programmes for social education and national integration. When I was a student, every village bhajan and drama, every kalakshebam and college enter-

tainment, ended with a secretive tableau of Mother India and the seditious rendering of Vande Matheram, Sen Tānilnadu and Janagana Mana. What is the similar spontaneous, the parallel political instruction of today?

The part played by the election campaign in the 'civic education of the citizen requires further cross national research. Rousseau, two centuries ago, made the caustic comment that the British people enjoyed political freedom only once in five years. Civic education, however, is not simply a function of the length and intensity of the election campaign. Election jamborees are useful but not necessary educational experiences. The reaction in the United States to the recent nominating conventions, the dangers of "over-exposure" and the problem of "peaking too soon" of the nominees, and the fact that the three presidential candidates wore themselves so ragged that they were hardly audible on the television screen as I listened to them two

weeks before the end of the campaign, all raise questions as to the relative merits of the short, inexpensive quiet electioneering of the parliamentary system (which also have other means of civic education) and the more elaborate election processes of the presidential system.

In this task of informing citizens as to political issues, attitudes and the imperative to vote, in the whole decision-making area, the educational process and adult education have not only the traditional techniques of the primary group, that is, the family, the school, the group of work associates and friends, which we had in my student days but since independence a whole new method and technique, the mass media, that is radio and television, films and filmstrips, exhibitions, newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets in all our national languages. These media provide quick, universal, powerful, relatively inexpensive, precise and simple techniques of civic education.¹ The dreary

- (1) Referring to the revolutionary effect of mass media under the title "The Medium is the Massage", an acknowledged authority in this field states that it shows up politics as giving yesterday's answers to today's questions and is instead producing a new form of politics in which the living room has become a voting booth. Studies indicate that television, which brought the horrors of the Viet-Nam war into every American drawing room every night for the last 18 months, contributed to important political decisions such as the emergence of Senator McCarthy as a presidential candidate, the decision of President Johnson not to run for a second term, the majority trend in public opinion polls against the war, et al. The Milton Eisenhower Commission on violence in its last report on 1st December, states that the role of the news media substantially influenced the behaviour of both demonstrators and law enforcers during confrontations at the Chicago convention last August. It speaks of a

"police riot" as well as "Yippie provocations". "What 'the whole world was watching', after all was not a confrontation but the picture of a confrontation to some extent directed by a generation that had grown up with television and learned to use it." Abbie Hoffman, the Yippie leader, testified as to how he hoped to use television and the report summarizes his testimony: "This theatrical concept was a primary ingredient of their approach. The audience would be the American public, the means of communication would be the mass media, manipulated to create distorted images of themselves. The stage would be the streets and the message would be a demonstration of disrespect, irreverence and ridicule." Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore: *The Medium is the Massage*. Penguin Press. Middlesex 1967.

Rights in conflict: Report of the Special Task Force of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington D.C. 1st December 1968.

controversy about the effects of the absence of personal confrontation need no longer worry us. The Lazarsfeld hypothesis links the two methods of communication through the group of *opinion leaders* or *influentials*, who are the persons who have more and continuing contact with mass media, who transmit and interpret information and ideas gained from the media to the others. Recent studies of the application of this two-stage hypothesis show that the apparent dangers of mass media dividing society between those who think for themselves, and those who are taught what to think, are non-existent. The evaluation, now in progress, of the reactions of the 1,000 persons in Tiruchi and Tanjore districts to the films on high yielding varieties of paddy should throw further light on this subject.

AGENDA FOR ACTION

And so we see that we have the potential and we have the knowledge to build adult education in the service of parliamentary democracy. Our task is not an easy one: our massive population stands today at 524 million requiring massive resources and materials; its scatteration in 560,000 separated villages and 3,000 towns makes communication difficult; the low income and education levels of over 80 per cent of this population which is also rural, go along with low motivation for betterment; the wide variety of cultures, habits and traditions have in common in-built resistance to change; and finally, there are the limited channels for mass communication, recent studies showing only 20 per cent of our people, living mainly in the cities, being reached by any of our media. And yet the job can be done as the major campaigns mounted for food production and family planning demonstrate.

Civic education can be a fall-out or feedback in all our programmes, national or State, district or village, governmental or voluntary, public or private. In 1956, Unesco and the All India Radio launched a Radio Farm Forum project in 150 villages in Bombay to which two broadcasts a week were directed every Thursday and Sunday for six

weeks. Each broadcast was followed by a one-hour group discussion. The evaluation of the project (despite pointing to certain limits such as the breakdown of radio sets, lack of women participants, Harijans, youth, too many extroverts) sums up much that I have been trying to say.

Radio Farm Forum has beyond any doubt proved itself a success as a medium for transmitting knowledge. The Forum developed into an institution capable of unifying the village around common decisions and common actions. Where it worked at its best it served both to widen the influence of the Gram Panchayat and to broaden the scope of its action. In some places it took an intermediate position between that of a Panchayat meeting and a town meeting—less binding in its decisions than the former but more flexible in its deliberations than the latter. The hundreds of decisions taken, the wells dug, the pure-bred bulls and leghorns bought, the marketing societies and balwadis established, all bear witness to this new function of the Forum. But equally so do the changes, great or small, in habits and attitudes that have been brought about, the greater determination, too, to treat certain problems as a common concern of the village and as something that the villagers themselves can help solve through action.

But perhaps even more important is the fact that the Forum as a decision-making body allowed numerous villages to participate in the decision-making process. The present form of organization which calls for a leader and a convener is excellent. If the forums were in future operated with a rotating membership, as many villages suggested, in the course of a few years almost all the villagers with initiative could have the experience of participating in important village decisions. Radio Farm Forum could thus become a most important instrument in developing village leadership and village democracy.

The one other lesson of the forum is that for the average citizen, the issues are not party political but pragmatic, not platform oratory material but concerns of daily living and dying. This calls for open-minded *engagement* rather than just party loyalties. Adult education through families and schools, community organizations work associations, youth and women's organizations, music and theatre groups may contribute toward fostering a personality of the citizen who is both independent and tolerant, affirmative and co-operative, action-oriented and reflective. Such citizenship is the foundation stone of any real democracy. Parliamentary democracy has become equated too much with party politics; parties and ideologies have today limited meaning to the individual and in particular to youth. (Witness the reaction of youth the world over to political parties.) It is issues rather

than parties which count. Parties count only in so far as they reflect issues. I believe parliamentary democracy can survive only if it succeeds in reflecting the kaleidoscope of popular aspirations without casting them into the frame of party bureaucracies. Such was the major motivation of Thiru Anna-durai's whole adult education campaign and democracy building activities.

As a memorial to him, we should use all voluntary bodies which are private professional initiatives and not politically oriented, as a means of steering civic participation into issue-oriented discussion and action. This will, in the long run, both transform and strengthen the roots and fruits of parliamentary democracy in this land. In turn, the practice of parliamentary democracy will then become a major component of and contributor to adult education.

THE LITTLE TRICK

In his boyhood, Anna had a great fascination for carroms. Whenever he had leisure, he used to play carrom with his boy-friends. Later on he took to card playing.

But he did not attend the physical drill classes regularly. In this, he was, abetted by his grand-father. The grand-father directed Anna to sprinkle red ink on the feet, bandage, and feign as though he had a sprain. Limping, Anna told the drill-master that he had a nasty sprain and that he could not take part in the drill. The master, believing this, sent away Anna to his home.

By Albert B. FRANKLIN

ANNA: A KANSAS MEMORY

When Spring last came to the Flint Hills of Kansas, it brought amid its garish tumbling of flowers and its impudent quarreling of birds, the visit of a human being who was both a song and a flower. Springtime here does not forget Annadurai. There will be some in Manhattan in the Flint Hills whom every Spring will remind of the sparkling-eyed, erect figure, minute but commanding in the majesty of an inner warmth of understanding. Though I knew him little more than a year, Anna was one of my teachers. Courage, joy in humanity, the strength of integrity, the warmth of compassion, these sovereign qualities were joined in a unique amalgam that we called "Anna". They communicated to everyone who came in contact with him a pride in the humanity we all share with him.

As a student of India, more particularly of South India, I found it exciting that these qualities of soul, the selflessness, the non-attachment, the one-ness with all humanity that are the keystones of the Vedanta should be so forcefully embodied in this brave political campaigner who specifically and outspokenly spurned the forms and rituals of organized religion. Born in the humblest of homes in the city where once Sankaracharya lived and spoke, in the shadow of hundreds

of temples. Anna shared with that greatest of world philosophers the ability to separate the teaching from the non-essential formula.

Anna returned in triumph from that American tour, only to turn back to the United States for further treatment of a lingering ailment. Before he took his final departure in November, 1968, I made a pilgrimage to New York to say goodbye once more. I treasure the memory of those last moments with Anna last Fall. Never had I seen him so brimming with life, so full of ideas for Tamilnad, so interested in the life going on around him. For some days he had had strength to visit New York's parks, to feast his eyes and heart on all the treasures of the world's great civilizations that New York has stored in her museums. He was returning to his beloved Tamilnad with great new perspectives and hopes for his people.

But before another Spring could come, he had gone. He is more than a memory: his life is a reminder that the India that produced Sankaracharya, Vivekananda, Gandhi, and so many others of larger than human stature, can still give humanity the teachers humanity will need to rise toward the new era of compassion which he so clearly foresaw.

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ANNA IN HISTORY

At the time Anna was born, Tamil History was not in a golden age. But he left a golden era when he died. It was a great social burden to be a non-brahmin when he was born. What he left was an age, that spoke of equality and progress. At the time he was born, Tamils did not realize the greatness and depth of their history. When he left, Tamils realized their history and were extraordinarily proud of it. What he said in those times to millions of people, never appeared in print; instead the newspapers gave importance to small 'Katha Kalatchepams' done in temples. But when he left, the same Mount Road journals published special numbers in praise of him.

How did Anna bring about this extraordinary change? What made it possible for him to effect this change?

As a great literary figure of this century—of this generation—Anna influenced the minds of Tamils. As a great social reformer, along with Periyar, he brought about changes in the people's thinking and attitude.

As a great leader, he symbolized the intellectuals' dreams and he stood as a model for leadership.

He did not achieve these things by hate; not by fear; not by the show of strength; but by speaking of justice. He made his ideals accepted even by his opponents; he did it by

talking of equality. He achieved it by projecting the Tamils ancient history.

We can see Anna in three different angles: as a writer, as a social reformer, and as a political leader.

Anna was a powerful writer; a journalist; and a great literary figure. His writings gave a turning point in Tamil Literature. He brought out the shortcomings and defects of the social caste system in his books, for instance, 'Kumarikottam' 'Velaikkari'; short stories, like "Grandson in Bangalore". His ideas lit a fire in the contemporary minds and influenced them. Where they flamed, society has changed. Even such top writers as Kalki followed the style of his writings which shows the depth and breadth of Anna's literary influence. In his writings and speeches, there was humor, satire, clarity, original ideas and a new line of thinking. His speech was almost an intoxicant. We have never seen Socrates. But in Anna we saw Socrates in flesh and blood.

Had Anna joined the popular party of Congress, had he been swept into the Congress party river, he would have become by now a leader equivalent to Nehru or Rajaji. He would have won all India fame and an international name.

But he supported unpopular causes and fought for them all his life. He felt deeply

the ignorance of his own non-brahmin brothers and realized how the caste system had crippled the initiative and progress of Tamils. He felt sorry that Tamils have forgotten their glorious history. He wondered why the Tamil nation should not live again independently as it did before.

The two causes for which he fought were the most unpopular causes of his time and were opposite to the beliefs and thoughts of the influential people of the times. To relieve non-brahmins from the stronghold of brahminism is just like swimming against the current in Ganges and getting drowned in the process. The 3 % of the population which were Brahmins had the newspapers in their power, had enough influence with the government to achieve what they wanted. Hence they opposed Anna ; called him a brahmin-hater and an atheist.

The second unpopular cause he took was Dravida Nad. In those times People thought of patriots as those who spoke of Bharata Nadu. When Anna spoke of Dravidam, Tamil nad and separate nation he was ostracised as a traitor.

But what he accomplished ?

He swam against the current and changed the course of the river. people realized that a separate nation can become a reality and is not that unholy to talk about.

It was his political talents that took him to the heights of power. Because of this, other people had an opportunity to know him and to understand him. Had he not been after political power, the political wolves would have brushed him aside, saying that "Anna is a mere talker". His great thoughts and the social revolution he brought about would have been considered by magazines and journals as something special only to certain people.

The greatness of a person is realized and accepted only if he comes to power and position. This is the curse of the world. But fortunately for Anna, the ideals he held pushed him up and put him in power.

Did Anna have great qualities of leadership, such as foresight, flexibility, intelligence,

trust and loyalty of followers, courage, and the capacity for making decisions ? How much did he have ?

There is one type of leader who understands which way the wind blows in his nation and follows it. There is another type of leader who understands the course of the wind and by his own courage and initiative changes the course, bringing the country to his goals and dreams. The former description is of the leaders who were in power, the latter describes Anna.

Anna thought of the greatness of Tamils of tomorrow. He thought of yesterday's golden era and tried to achieve it for today. When he was in U. S., he heard with great interest the plans for tomorrow's Tamilnad from science to education. The ideas were sown in his mind. Unfortunately time was not enough for him to fulfil his dreams.

To write about Anna's intelligence is just like saying that jasmine flower has fragrance, and that honey tastes sweet.

He had tremendous loyalty and trust among his followers. Even the commonhnan—lowest of the low—came to understand him and was prepared to sacrifice his life for his cause and goals. He was above any shady deals. He was unselfish. The joys and sorrows of his followers were his, whether in personal matters or in national causes. He had tolerance and understanding of his followers. When he realized that Karunanidhi wrote better than him, there was no jealousy in him. He stopped writing for movies in order not to compete. Because of these tremendous personal qualities he had younger brothers who stood with him in thick and thin.

The flexibility of Anna is remarkable. He led his party as a big family. He understood the people's defects and shortcomings. He never magnified them. He considered himself as an elder brother of the family (ANNA) and never as its dictator—father.

This made people move with him easily. He opposed brahminism, but he appreciated brahmins for their intelligence and talents. He was against the domination of North

India, but that did not blind him to the greatness of Shastri or Mrs. Gandhi.

As for diplomacy, Anna had an abundance of it, one could say that Anna was made of it. Taking advantage of the fear of China's invasion, the central government passed a rule that it was illegal to talk of separatism. Anna's party was founded on the theme of a separate southern country. That was the very basis of life of the party, therefore, a big problem arose. Is it good to oppose the legislation or is it good to drop the separatist proposal. It was extremely difficult to drop the proposal on which the party was founded. If they left their goal they might as well dissolve the party. The alternate solution was opposition. Then there would be revolution, bloodshed and after all this, they might not have achieved their goals. People would have suffered and members of the party would have been jailed. What was the right solution?

Anna graciously backed out. He placed patriotism first and pointed out an external threat. Probably he was thinking "we will get hold of the power, and times will change. We can shift our policies at those times." He never openly said that, but he often said that he had buried wishes and old dreams.

After he came to power he made all people accept his leadership. People still have not forgotten that his goals and dreams were for a separate nation.

With this background, let us look into the future. As things stand today, one can very positively say that there will not be a Congress Rule in the centre in 1972 or next general election. If there is no Congress Government rule in Delhi, the opposition parties in parliament will not have the single majority and the country will end up with coalition government. Then the story of Hariyana will repeat itself. Unstable governments will form and dissolve, power will change hands and instability will prevail. When Delhi does not have strong leadership and is unstable, and when Madras is stable, no one can say which direction the country will go. No one can write anything

definite about the horoscope of Bharata Mata. Rajaji has once said, "It is not a sin to ask for a separate nation." In my opinion, Anna's dropping of the separatist goal was a diplomatic move—expediency is the art of politics.

The echo of the separatist movement was heard in 1965 (February) as Hindi agitation. Because of the wrong moves of Mr. Bakta-vatsalam, bloodshed and fighting spread all around the country. Though the agitation was not inspired by DMK, Anna understood the deeper sentiment of the people from the agitation.

Another proof of his diplomacy is his new relationship with Rajaji. Anna sought the advice of Rajaji whom he once called the man who sees things with colored glasses. (Rajaji had once called Anna a brahmin hater and atheist.) Anna made use of the very same Rajaji and formed the government with his influence and blessings. This is Chanakyam or Machiavallism.

Anna has made great decisions, his judgement has always been good. Many times his decisions weighed more on the human side, for example : the recent students' clash with the Transport people. When he felt the obstinacy and dictatorial outlook of Periyar, he made the right decision of forming a separate party. He has chosen good second rank followers. Everyone of them proved to be up to his expectations and confidence. He judged people rightly.

Anna had the same charisma and oratory as Nehru. Millions of people gathered to hear Anna speak. He had the greatest crowds next only to Nehru. However, Anna did not have the short temper of Nehru : Anna was always calm and patient.

Nehru was not aware of coming things as in the case of the formation of Andhra and Maharata states. Anna was always aware of things ahead of time. Nehru trusted China and was betrayed. Anna could judge others extremely well. Nehru depended on senior people like Azad, Rajaji and Rajendra Prasad for advice. Anna got himself out of the hold of Periyar. Anna grew with the young. He gave the youth a new look and a new mood.

Anna may not be well versed on winning elections as Kamaraj is. But Anna had with him youngsters who excelled Kamaraj in the art of winning. In the 1950 elections Congress had a steam roller majority and Kamaraj had an iron fist to deal with dissenters. Anna was soft and saw the principles of democracy prevail in his party.

Many a fault can be attributed to Anna. People say that Anna did not have the capacity for action and administration. It is unfair and hasty to criticize him when he did not have enough time to prove himself.

Anna was most human and was large-hearted which stood in the way of achievement. He hesitated to take action. He hesitated for a long while after getting to power. The country would have gone along with him very well on most matters, he previously proposed as policy. After he came to power, he did not want to offend people. He criticised Mutts before coming to power. After coming to power he failed to influence them to do the things he wanted them to do. On the contrary, he clothed himself with honors from them.

The same thing happened in the field of education. He was not able to bring the system of education out of the rut-out of the hands of the selfish power-mongers. He did not have the courage to oppose the established institutions.

He hesitated to oppose the old, so that one began to wonder whether he himself was growing old in ideas.

Anna was an original thinker. He made a social revolution. A very excellent group of second rank youngsters spread the message and worked with him. But there was a vast difference between him and his youth group in intellectual ability.

Anna did not pick up an Ambedkar or a Shanmugam Chetty from outside nor did he call for a brain trust to formulate plans to take Tamil Nad to greater heights.

Anna was not strict in dealing with men. This was quite contrary to his nature. He was very kind to his fellow men.

We are not here to judge him. Even the God of Justice will be intoxicated to hear Anna speak. Hence, who can judge him?

For all his ideas and for all the capacity of his followers, Anna could have achieved many of his dreams had he lived. But Tamil Nad was unlucky.

When we see him in the historical context, his shortcomings look light and disappear as dust. He stands as a short, stocky person, with deep, penetrating eyes, his flesh made of goodness. He stands as a great social reformer, infusing a new life into the Tamil nation. He stands as a great literary figure. He stands as a great historical personality who gave new meaning and new direction to Tamil Nad.

Anna's words will live in Tamil Literature. Anna's ideas of social change has shaped the destiny of Tamils for centuries to come. He climaxed his social revolution by achieving political power.

Anna lives in history.

THE FROG IN THE WELL

When Anna was studying in the eighth standard, Gandhiji was put in the Yeravada jail. The local Congressites arranged for a hartal. They went round the town requesting every shop-keeper to close down his shop. They came to a petty shop-keeper selling camphor and repeated the request. That simpleton, with all his ignorance of the world, asked, 'Who is Gandhi?' The wonder grew how such innocence of the world could exist in that worthy.

Charisma and Politics in South India

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C. N. Annadurai was often characterized as a charismatic leader. Most writers who use the term charisma incorrectly utilize it as a synonym for popular or well known. Charisma, properly understood, refers to more than mere popularity or notoriety, it defines a specific kind of relationship between leader and follower; a relationship which usually has significant political and institutional ramifications for society. A cursory examination of the theoretical literature on charisma will serve to elucidate the meaning and consequences of charismatic leadership in general and will provide a model of didactic utility in defining the dimensions of C. N. Annadurai's impact on his society; its cultural, social and political patterns and institutions.

The Theory of charisma

Charisma was originally a Christian concept. Etymologically, it stems from the Greek for "gift". Charisma is found in the new testament of the Christian Bible in the meaning of "gifts of grace" conferred by the spirit. In the apostles of Paul (Romans 12 and 1 and Corinthians 12) we find that these 'gifts' are knowledge, wisdom, faith, prophecy, etc. This meaning of charisma, with its religious implication, was secularized by the German sociologist Max Weber. He defined charisma as :

.... a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernature, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual is treated as a leader.

For Weber a crucial defining characteristic of a charismatic was a feeling of duty on the part of followers; a sense that their commitment to a leader was vital to the achievement of some desired goal. Therefore, the charismatic leader-follower relationship is defined as personal, intense and emotional. Charismatic leaders often articulate compelling goals and/or ideologies and their own sense of mission to achieve these goals, while followers evince a feeling of complete devotion to the leader. In the ideal-typical model of charismatic leadership the organization which is formed by the leader is based on this personal relationship and only slowly becomes bureaucratized.

More recent studies of charismatic leadership have revealed a dichotomous distinction between the emotional foundations of charismatic leadership and its potentially rational consequences. While

charismatic leadership might have an emotional basis, its power and historical effects depend on the ability of charismatic leaders to inspire men to a rational assessment of their social and political universe and to the development of pragmatic methods to achieve their desired goals. Thus charismatic attachment to a leader is not inconsistent with ideology. Rather ideology is integrated with and mediated by charismatic attachments. Therefore, the leader can maintain adherence to a party or movement through his ability to embody a set of goals and principles. Before we examine the role of charismatic leadership in the development of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, it is necessary to emphasize that no leader is universally charismatic. A leader who may be charismatic (i. e., emotionally compelling and viewed as exceptional and endowed with exemplary powers) for a large number of his supporters may evoke a plethora of reactions from the general public ranging from admiration to disdain. However, it is the depth of commitment displayed by charismatically affected followers which distinguishes charismatic leaders from ordinary popular leaders and which provides these leaders with the potential for effecting structural transformations in their societies.

Charismatic Leadership and the D.M.K.

It was mentioned above that charismatic leadership is not inconsistent with ideology. Certainly C. N. Annadurai's leadership and its role in the development of the DMK cannot be separated from the principles which Annadurai espoused during his years in the Justice Party, Dravida Kazhagam and of course during his leadership of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. While I was in Tamil Nad, studying the history of the DMK, I was fortunate in having surveyed* (by 'Mail') almost five hundred village, district and urban DMK leaders and having interviewed many supporters and leaders of the DMK in person. Responses to the question: "What first

attracted you to the DMK party?" yielded interesting insights into perceptions of C. N. Annadurai by followers and supporters. A majority of local leaders surveyed by 'Mail' mentioned Annadurai as a primary reason for joining the DMK. Some specifically referred to his writings, speeches, or political philosophy. The slogan "கடமை, கண்ணியம், கட்டுப்பாடு" was repeatedly cited as were many of Annadurai's pamphlets and books such as "கம்பரசம்", "நாடும் ஏடும்" and of course his journal Dravida Nadu. Many respondents, particularly those that had joined the party between 1949 and 1956 or who had been Dravida Kazhagam members, mentioned that they favored a social revolution and that they felt that only through following Annadurai could this be achieved. Some respondents stated that they considered Annadurai as a "God on earth." Two Points seem important from the above: First, both the frequency of reference to Annadurai and the depth of emotional attachment which they reflect contrast Annadurai's role in mobilization with the role of political leaders elsewhere. Secondly, the tendency to associate possibility of social change with a specific leader, Annadurai, might have interesting explanatory consequences. Since 1949, the DMK evolved from a social movement to a strong opposition party and finally to the ruling party in 1967. This diachronic development was accompanied by modifications in party ideology and emphasis. Yet for many followers these changes were acceptable because of faith in Annadurai and feelings of duty and devotion toward him.

Charisma and Society

In strict Weberian theory charisma is said to be incompatible with bureaucratization. Because attachment to the leader supersedes all rules and regulations, decisions, depend upon the charismatic leader and cannot be delegated according to the schematic dispersal of authority typical of bureaucratic organizations. This theoretical

model of course appears in a highly modified form in reality even according to Weber. Furthermore, with later modification of the theory of charisma as embodying inspirational elements, the assessment of its bureaucratic impact requires even further re-examination. We know for example that for many people John Kennedy was a charismatic leader, yet his charisma served to strengthen formal organizational attachments rather than weaken them. Annadurai also could be cited as a charismatic leader whose charisma facilitated the process of organizational routinization. In this sense charisma was a stabilizing element in Party bureaucratization.

In its overall impact we must say that charisma is a fundamentally revolutionizing force and the lasting impact of charismatic leaders stems from their propagation of new ideas and the challenge they represent to

traditional organization and institutions. Because charisma has a compelling effect on men it is capable of detaching them from traditional modes of thought, imbuing them with new ideas and inspiring them to radically alter their environment. It is this fundamentally revolutionary or destabilizing element in charismatic attachments which makes the charismatic leader controversial during his lifetime.

Through their followers, their organizations and the principles which they have espoused, charismatic leaders tend to have a continuing influence on society and its institutions even after their demise. It is this continuing effect which cannot be predicted or foreseen with absolute certainty and which makes authoritative assessment of charismatic leaders a difficult task; a task which must finally rest with the future.

THE CONSOLATION PRIZE

It was while Anna was studying in the III Honours that he took part in the first oratorical contest held in the Loyola College. It was arranged under the auspices of the Loyola College Economics Association.

All the Professors and students were struck by Anna's brilliant delivery. They expected that Anna would get the first prize. But they were surprised to see that Mr. Varrier a Student of the Presidency College was a first prize. The audience roared that Anna should get the first Prize. Subsequently Anna was given a consolation prize.

¹ Max Weber: *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations* translated from the German by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Oxford University Press, 1947).

* I would like to take this opportunity to thank the leadership of DMK party for their cooperation in making this survey possible.

"A LEADER TO REMEMBER,"

by Norman D. PALMER

(Professor of Political science, and South Asian studies,

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Chairman, Friends of India Committee of the U.S.A.

C. N. Annadurai the beloved "Anna" to millions of his admirers was certainly "one of the finest leaders of the country," as India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, described him, and indeed one of the finest, most versatile, and most attractive personalities in the public life of any country. He was a political leader *par excellence*, a charismatic leader who had "the gift of grace," the ability to inspire and win the loyalty of millions of people. A man of unquestioned integrity and high personal and political standards, he was above factionalism and petty partisan quarrels; yet at the same time he identified himself with the masses and kept the common touch.

In his own Tamilnad "Anna" was a well-known and important personality for many years. He made his mark as a writer, a journalist, an editor, a story-teller, an actor, and an orator. He was well known in literary and motion picture circles. Gradually he emerged as an important figure in the politics of the Tamil-speaking areas, first in association with the Justice Party and the Dravida Kazhagam as a disciple of his political guru, E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, and then as a founder leader of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The political successes of the D.M.K. in the elections of 1957 in Madras and in capturing control of the Madras City Corporation

two years later made Mr. Annadurai a political leader to watch, and perhaps for the first time won him considerable prominence outside of his native State. Even after he was defeated in a campaign for re-election to the Madras Assembly in 1962, he continued to grow in stature and in reputation. His election to the Rajya Sabha, which many thought was a sentence of political exile or perhaps even political death for this champion of Dravidian culture and autonomy, turned out to be an opportunity for him to assert the claims of his State and party on a national stage. His "maiden speech" in the Rajya Sabha, a masterful oratorical performance, attracted national, and even international, attention. When he led his party to overwhelming victory in the elections in Madras State in 1967, and when his party elected 25 of the 25 candidates to the Lok Sabha—surely a record in a democratic election—thus becoming the fourth largest party in the Lower House of the national Parliament, all India took notice of the emergence of a new political force in a key Indian State, led by a charismatic political leader, a man of great ability, mass appeal, and personal charm. It is unfortunate that he did not have time to fulfil his destiny and to carry out his mission.

"Anna" was a man who grew in wisdom and in stature with the passing years. All

who knew him were impressed with his growing maturity and expanding horizons. In 1957, when he first led his party in an election campaign, he remarked: "We realise that we must either breed political capacity or be ruined by democracy." He worked hard, with great success, to "breed political capacity" among his followers, and in the process his own political capacity broadened and deepened. He believed deeply in democracy, and he was not ruined by it.

For all his political success, "Anna" remained shy, reserved, and charmingly human in his private life, but on the platform he never lost his ability to stir his listeners. I recall vividly listening to some of his street-corner political speeches in Madras City during the election campaign of 1962, and being moved, long with the rest of his audience, even though I understood very little of his Tamil oratory. Later I had an opportunity to discover how eloquent he was in English as well as in Tamil.

"Anna" never lost his special concern for the poor and the oppressed, and his interest in social reform and democratic justice. He appealed primarily to the masses of the people in Tamil Nadu, and they responded to him with affection and support. He was emerging as a State leader of commanding stature, one of the ablest of the new leaders who were rising in national importance. Many people outside of Tamil Nadu feared that he and his fellow-D.M.K. leaders would return to their separatist ways, and would follow policies which would divide North and South, create grave problems in Centre-State relations, and threaten national unity. Instead, as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself has testified, he worked effectively with the national Government, while at the same time strongly asserting the rights of the States and the special linguistic, regional, and cultural claims of his part of the country.

In the last year of his life he spent some

time in America, once in the congenial role of Chubb Fellow at Yale University, where he conducted a course in Tirukkural and endeared himself to the students and faculty who came into contact with him, and again in the less pleasant role of patient at a great cancer hospital in New York City, where he impressed all who met him with his calm demeanour and winsome personality. Although he had little experience outside of his own country, or even his own State, he had no difficulty in fitting into the life of a foreign land, and he won friends and admirers wherever he went. He was that kind of a man.

Like many others far removed from his personal and political arena of action, I was somehow strangely moved by this charming man who emerged in the south of India—out of nowhere, it seemed—and who made such an impact on the character and style of Indian political life. I was impressed by the response of his followers to him, by his personal integrity and attractiveness, and by the appealing combination of personal modesty and public magnetism. When I learned of his passing, I too was saddened, and when I read that some three million people turned out for his funeral and that cries of "Anna, Anna" filled the air, I felt that I too was in their midst and was joining in their cries. In a sense, therefore, I too, an American with a long and deep interest in India, shared in the loss.

"Anna" left a great personal and political heritage, not only in Tamil Nadu, where his roots were so deep, but also in India and many other parts of the world. His inspiration and example, as a humble man of the people and literary artist who galvanized the politics of his own State and carved new channels in Indian politics, made him, as *The Hindu* observed on the day following his untimely death, "A Leader to Remember."

I am privileged to have this opportunity to join in a tribute to such a man.

WE SHALL FONDLY CHERISH HIS MEMORIES

DR. G. SOUNDARA RAJAN
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The untimely passing of our beloved brother Anna is an irreparable loss and a monumental tragedy of such magnitude that there is no parallel to it in the entire history of the nation. His death is a loss not only to the people of Tamilnad but also to the people of India and even to the world. Those who love such rare human virtues as love, kindness, magnanimity, patience, pure and sharp intelligence, and wisdom in man mourn the loss of this great and wise leader.

Anna, who was the personification of these finest human qualities and talents that are rarely seen in most men, was an example of a rare genius. In losing him we have lost an orator of outstanding ability, an orator whose power of persuasion is comparable to those of Cicero and Demosthenes and Churchill. His orations were a source of joy, inspiration, and enlightenment to millions of people—Tamils and non-Tamils alike. Indeed, his speeches were a movable feast to millions—young and old, men and women, friends as well as foes.

In losing him we have lost a great writer whose skills can be comparable only to the best creative writers of the world. He was a writer of great imagination and verbal facility. He was also a fine story teller, for he knew the magic powers of the written word. His writings have brought happiness and enlightenment to millions and millions

of Tamil youth and have made many of us conscious of the richness of our heritage as well as our degradation.

In losing him we have lost a great playwright who was instrumental in changing the century-old domination of mythological and superstitious stories on screen and stage. In losing him we have lost an actor of outstanding histrionic talents, for those of us who saw him in his "*Chaadreo dāyam*" and "*Siraji Kanda Indurajyam*" find it hard to believe that he is no longer with us.

In losing him we have lost a noble statesman and a wise counselor. For millions of youth he was a guiding star: he inspired us, moving us to serious thought, prompting us to action, and motivating us toward achievement. But for him, many Tamil youth would have settled down for a lesser life.

In losing him we have lost a great leader. He made politics a noble endeavor, for he brought beauty to politics, and he added a moral dimension to it. As a political leader he was free from blinding prejudices, binding fanaticism, and depressing dogmatism. As a pragmatist he achieved power in two decades that others failed to achieve in many decades, and as a man of power he proved that power need not corrupt men.

In losing him we have lost a fine and noble human being. In an age when modesty is

a rarity, he not only believed in it but he also practiced it, even when fame and fortune were his. He respected everyone, poor and rich alike, though he satirical of the rich and wealthy for their callousness toward the poverty-stricken masses. He forgave his enemies, for he was a noble adversary, not an avengeful one. Although many who owe their comfortable life and popularity in Tamilnad turned against him and spoke ill of him, he neither hated them nor said anything ill about them. He had love for all, for he was truly generous and magnanimous toward them. In losing him we have lost a champion of the causes

of the poor and underprivileged, for he was a courageous crusader against religious as well as political myths that had kept the poor as poor and the underprivileged as underprivileged.

Anna was born as an unknown person, for he came of ordinary parentage, but he died as a hero and a great leader of the Tamil people. He achieved greatness by serving others and won immortality by loving the people of Tamilnad. Because of him we, the Tamils, are better off today than ever before, and for this we shall fondly cherish his memories for ages to come.

A PINCH OF SNUFF

● When Anna was writing his answers for the S.S.L.C. examination, ●
● suddenly one day, he could not suppress his addiction to snuff. ●
● So in the midst of the examination he drew out his pinch of ●
snuff and took it to his nose. This was noticed by the
Superintendent of the examination. He suspected that Anna was
drawing out some tips for the answers. At once he demanded
from Anna what he was taking out. Anna, a bit embarrassed, began
saying 'It is nothing.....' The Superintendent demanded that the
thing should be shown to him. Anna took out the snuff box adding
● that snuff made him answer the questions briskly. ●
● the Superintendent not to divulge this to anybody. The Superin- ●
● tendent nodding approval, withdrew quietly. ●

ANNADURAI'S IMPACT ON ADMINISTRATION

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

It is true that apart from the general responsibility for administration and the proper working of the executive machinery, a Chief Minister does leave an impact on administration. I am obliged to write on Mr C. N. Annadurai's impact on Madras Administration by the solicitude of the Editor of this Commemoration Volume, although the task, apart from its being difficult and delicate, is tinged with a sadness that so promising a stewardship as Annadurai's was so suddenly cut short by death before he could more fully develop his ideas and plans and impact a distinct leavening as an able administrator.

It should at the outset be observed that Mr Annadurai did not come into government like some others with a certain antipathy to or distrust of the administration, and in one of his very first speeches he generously acknowledged the reputation of the administration in Madras as one of the best and always loyal, and he gently hinted that having been so long under another Party, the administrative machinery would have to adjust itself to new tunes and keep step. Quite candidly he expressed his own diffidence owing to lack of experience to face the tasks of government with an Opposition which was previously entrenched in power for twenty long years and had considerable experience. While cocksureness is the virtue of little minds diffidence is

always a quality with men who can comprehend the magnitude of the tasks, and it is not a weakness.

At a party given soon after his assumption of office as Chief Minister, Mr Annadurai in his speech acknowledged three influences in his make-up, viz., (1) his association with the Justice Party with high Parliamentary traditions of the British pattern, (2) his discipleship under Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy which gave him mass contact and (3) his contacts with some eminent Congress leaders during his work as a Member of the Parliament in Delhi. With this training and his University qualification, to say that he really lacked confidence at the beginning is simply not true. It was obvious that he was realistic and conscious that he had to bear collective responsibility, and by nature he was modest. He was willing to take advice and help. He was contentious.

Mr Annadurai's very first concerns on taking up office were food and finance. He was obviously dismayed to find the bad shape of the State's financial position due to the very heavy interest charges to be paid to Central Government on loans and advances and the very low food stocks left by the previous government which was pre-occupied with its desperate Election campaign. He saw the dire need for economy in Administration before anything

else could be done. He limited the Ministers' salary to Rs. 500/-and prescribed only small cars dispensing with the costly and luxurious ones. He began by retrenching a few posts which were candidly superfluous (in the Police and Judicial departments), but he could not go on with the process as the Opposition twitted that these were the first fruits of the new government. There was however at that time an outcry in the Press against the heavy cost and poor performance of the Community Development Organisation. It must be said to the credit of Mr Annadurai that when he asked me to report on this matter after visiting Madhya Pradesh where they had a different pattern, he had no preconceived ideas and he was prepared to know the facts and views given by a person with experience and with no interests of any kind. The Opposition party thought, quite wrongly as it afterwards found, that Mr Annadurai's intention was to curtail the Congress party's influence in rural areas as the huge official organisation was created when it was in power and many of the elected persons belonged to that party. He was at pains to demonstrate his good intentions and so held more than one meeting with the Opposition parties to arrive at a consensus and even invited them to give their written views finally. He had read my Report in full himself and at the first meeting he requested me to explain the salient points in my Report apparently not to give the impression unwittingly that he had already formed his views. When I explained the Report, the misconceived fears appeared to have been removed. I asked Mr Annadurai after the meeting which was attended by his Cabinet colleagues whether I had dropped any brick in my exposition and he quite seriously remarked that it was clear and analytical. He ordered that the views of the official side might also be obtained by including the subject at Collectors' Conference that followed at Tiruchirappalli. The views of the Chairmen of Panchayat Union Councils

were also expressed at a conference of theirs in Madras. He also had the Report circulated at the conference of Chief Ministers in Madras in May 1968, which was convened by the Central Ministry. All these indicate that Mr Annadurai aimed at thoroughness in consideration of important matters.

Mr Annadurai's first Budget speech, over the drafting of which he spent considerable time, care and energy, demonstrated his grasp of the economic and administrative problems of the State within a short time he had been in office. As an economist he realised that there was very little scope for adding to the burden of taxation by additional taxes and that the only solution was devolution of tax revenues from the Centre to the State and a re-scheduling of debts payable to the Centre, in the same way the Centre was asking for re-scheduling in respect of International loans. His views were spelt out fully through the Governor's Address to the Joint Session of the Legislatures on 10th Feb. '68 in the following passage ;

"In terms of the Constitution, the States do not have independent resources of their own. The transfer of resources from Centre to States on a statutory and non-statutory basis has also fallen short of needs particularly in the last two years, thus disturbing the even tenor of progress in spheres for which the States are responsible. It is the firm view of my Government that in the light of the experience of the last fifteen years, a high level review of the provisions of the Constitution dealing with the delimitation of resources and powers between the Centre and States is essential. Meanwhile it is possible to meet atleast partially the points of view of the States, if the terms of reference of the Finance Commission could be enlarged to take care of the more progressing needs of the States."

Apart from the devolution of revenues and allocation of grants, Mr Annadurai also pressed for a fair share of the investments

by the Centre in major industrial projects. It is in this view that he steadfastly urged the Centre to approve of the Salem Steel Plant Project and the Tuticorin Harbour Project. His industrial policy touched fundamental issues like the equal need for mineral and heavy industries for industrial development and small industries for employments and to bridge the technology gap.

For the first time perhaps in Administrative history larger issues were looked at from an economic angle because he was the first Chief Minister with University training in Economics. But the response of the Centre was in most cases wooden and not encouraging and partly politically motivated. Mr. Annadurai believed that in a Federal Constitution and a new political set up in the country in which Government belonging to different political parties were in power the only satisfactory solution was to have a permanent Finance Commission to which every important issue could be referred. Similarly he had a realistic view and a sense of proportion in the matter of outlays for the competing demands of State expenditure. For example, he provided only a limited grant for the Madras City Water supply from the Cauvery as he knew that it would be impossible to go beyond investigation without Centre commitment to this huge scheme. It is on account of this careful husbanding of expenditure and arrangement of priorities that the performance of the State's Plan was creditable earning the appreciation of the Planning Commission asked the Central Government in spite of the financial stringency.

As regards the question of Nationalisation of industries approach was cautious. He asked me to take up the investigation of the Nationalised Bus Transport after finishing some other items of work. He was well aware of the financial and administrative implications and the managerial capacity needed apart from the purely political aspects in these issues. On one occasion I gave him Hanson's bulky volume on India's Five Year

Plans (Price Rs. 100 and odd) when he was going on tour to Madurai and I was told he was reading the book on the train journey far into the night. His first phase of the Bus nationalisation was one without tears and it did not create political bitterness or a crop of cases in Law Courts as it had done in some other places. Nevertheless, he was not happy over the efficiency or the smoothness of the Madras City operations and the clash of busmen with students caused him great sorrow and even earned him some slight unpopularity for a while.

He had his own ideas about investments on social service like slum improvement and was of the view that investment on slum improvement should be on a permanent basis and so insisted on fire proof housing for the slum people.

Mr. Annadurai termed his political theory as 'scientific socialism' which by and large means I think a pragmatic social and not a doctrinaire one. He does not appear to have expounded detail this concept in any writings of his or speeches. On one occasion he explained Socialism as follows: "Socialism I should say, is not merely one amongst many patterns of economic activity—it is as much a fact as it is a system. It demands the head alone, but more especially the heart. It is sustained by charts and graphs alone but by the sincerity and the spirit of missionary. It is not bookish. It is borne out of the notes warning issued from the proper section—the groans of the downtrodden." In his opinion, doctrines and dogmas were apparently antithesis of a scientific understanding of the problem, the science being the proper understanding of the peoples' emotions and urges for self-fulfilment which would avoid class conflict and also State's management of all economic activity which is normally supposed to be function of Socialism. The Marxist-Leninist theorists conceived of their 'scientific communism' as a creative concept and not a collection of immutable fossilised principles accepted as faith. It is a developing and creative science which mirrors objective

reality, social life with all its contradictions and complexities in its movement and development." They also hold that "the content and organisational forms of administration are constantly improved in the process of building socialism and communism, this being accompanied by changes in Society's class pattern and growth of the economy and cultural level of the people." The dominant feature of scientific socialism contemplates State Administration gradually making way to social self-administration giving the new Man in the Socialistic Society 'ability to administer'. It is probably in this view that Mr. Annadurai (conceived of the experiment of the Prosperity Brigade (Serani), the main feature of which is the participation of all people without reference to their party or class in constructive and creative work by contribution of their labour and managing the works for themselves. It is in this sense that a very small grant only was originally provided as administrative expenses for this scheme. Beveridge in his Social Security Scheme in England visualised voluntary services to supplement Government Services in a Welfare State. I had suggested in my Report on the Community Development Re-organisation the possibility of organising a land army for agricultural work. Inaugurating the Prosperity Brigade on 16th August 1967 he said, "Government's efforts alone will not be sufficient for improving national wealth and the welfare of the people. Voluntary organisations like the Prosperity Brigade are essential for supplementing the efforts of the Government if we want to eradicate the poverty, illiteracy, untouchability and other social evils from the country." In his Budget speech he reiterated "The programmes with which the administrative machinery will be concerned in supplementing them will not by themselves be adequate to create a new social awakening in the country. We should kindle fervour which will rouse the society as a whole and evoke from every one his contribution towards the shaping of a new social order." Although Mr. Annadurai declared

that the Serani was non-party his critics alleged that it would be used for strengthening the Party but it was found baseless, whatever else might be said about the achievements of the organisation. It was obvious that Mr. Annadurai wanted to reform the Community Development Organisation also to bring it closer to the people and avoid big spending. On one occasion he told the Press that he only wanted that there should be no duplication of staff which prevented the people from managing their own affairs. Similarly in the matter of food distribution, he observed that there would be no need for Government to procure too much if rich ryots released their stocks freely to benefit the poor. Although a firm believer in social justice he rarely spoke about doctrinaire socialism and nor adopted dracobian measures in Administration in the name of socialistic necessity.

Mr. Annadurai did not want that Government should monopolise all major industries in the public sector. In his second Budget's speech in Feb. '68 he said that increased agricultural production should give stimulus to industrial production and that private entrepreneurs should evince interest in the establishment of major industries. At the same time he wanted that the Government should have a commanding position over food stocks because he said, "the market mechanism cannot be depended on to strike a satisfactory balance between the interests of producers, traders and consumers. As regards food policy he said (June 1968) "to my mind the only solution seems to be as I said before a competent machinery of procurement and also a gradual reduction of the commitments under public distribution system after building of sizeable stocks so that as and when food production gathers momentum it will be possible gradually for the State to undertake less and less to distribute under its public distribution scheme." This is sound policy which has progressively led to the decontrol of rice by his successor in January 1970, was fully justified. At the very commencement of his coming into power he tightened up the

border check posts and banned exports of rice outside the State. This was mis-interpreted as denying rice to the sister State of Kerala although Andhra Pradesh was doing the same. In actual practice sizeable stocks were allotted to Kerala State but it was felt that it was essentially the responsibility of the Central Government to help deficit States from the surplus States or from P. L. 480 imports. Mr. Annadurai's policy worked fairly smoothly without harsh rigours or careless laxity, and the State was saved from the sufferings of the pre-Election period of the previous regime which failed to use its influence with the Centre to meet the needs of Madras.

One of the earliest administrative acts of Mr. Annadurai was the subsidised sale of rice at Re. one a measure in the statutory ration areas of Madras city and Coimbatore. His Party speakers had promised in its Election campaign that the Party would bring down the price of rice if it came to power and that rice would be available at 3 measures a Rupee. This was apparently overpitched and irresponsible Election boost as there was nothing in the Party's Election manifesto to that effect. Nor was it practicable politics. After the Election the Congress Party which was smarting under a crushing defeat used the election promise of the Party that had come to power unexpectedly to decry the new Government for its inability to fulfil its pledge. Street corner meetings were held, as though it was a continuing Election campaign, at which top leaders of the Opposition used this as a charge to denounce Mr. Annadurai's Government. In a congratulatory letter to him immediately on his appointment as Chief Minister I had suggested to him that it would be possible to supply rice at Re. one a measure to low income card holders whose means was Rs. 100/-and below in all statutory and informally rationed areas and that even that would entail a very heavy subsidy. Obviously this could not be done because it was said that when the previous

Party quitted office there was no more rice than 500 tonnes in stock in Government Godowns, and there was financial deficit due to increase of dearness allowance to Government employees and other factors. Further the enumeration of card holders below a stipulated income would be a laborious and time consuming affair by which time confusion would be worse confounded by the constant bullying by the Opposition. Mr. Annadurai's decision to supply rice at Re. one a measure to only two cities without the income criterion was a practical one and did not lead him into difficulties, although the opposition did not spare him the criticism that his party was unable to perform an important Election promise. It must be remembered that the Centre did not extend the slightest financial assistance for Mr. Annadurai's scheme. The then Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai was reported to have said that the State Government did not introduce the scheme in consultation with him or at his encouragement and so the Centre was under no obligation to foot any part of the expenditure. Thus the 'One rupee a measure' scheme remained unmodified but it undoubtedly gave a great relief to the working and lower middle classes to get second grade rice of tolerable quality at about 65 paise a Litre. What was more, it stabilised the price of rice for consumers in suburban and rural areas not covered by family card rationing. This decision of Mr. Annadurai had to be a quick one. Apparently he believed that better should not be the enemy of good, and he was obviously under no illusion or undue optimism about the Centre's help in the matter gushing forth on his request. This one rupee a measure rice was the most popular measure of Mr. Annadurai's administration which captured the psychology of the masses. The public took kindly his intention for the deed realising fully the impossibility of his doing any further although the Opposition naturally wanted to make political capital out of it.

Mr. Annadurai's administrative courage was manifested in his not yielding to the temptation of scrapping Prohibition although the State's financial position required badly the huge revenue lost by Prohibition and although many Congress State Governments revoked or relaxed Prohibition. He passionately espoused Prohibition because it increased the standard of living of the people and brought happiness and dignity to the womenfolk who were previously given a raw deal by menfolk due to their drink habit. He even defended Prohibition economically by saying that what we lost in excise revenue was got back in by some measure by increased tax returns as the poor people bought more consumer goods and spent more on entertainment. He felt sad at innumerable cases of deaths of addicts drinking varnish but he maintained that this should not deter Government from continuing Prohibition and was steadfast to the last.

Mr. Annadurai secured the best co-operation of the Police. In his address to the Police Force on 9th March 1967 he said apparently half seriously and half in good humour "Of course having been all along a critic of the Police Force and every department needs criticism to get along on right lines, 'You won't expect me to turn overnight into an admirer of the PoliceOf all the forces in a State, the Police Force needs to be very strong. Because it is in charge of Law and Order without which no legal form of Government can exist in any part of the World.' I think a new age - a new democratic spirit and a new public urge ought to be fitted into the age-old theory of maintenance of law and order. We have to find certain ways and means wherein the people will have to accept the activity of the Police as fitting to the welfare and stability of Government." He well understood, as a practical administrator the problems of the Police and he did not let down the Police although there was a furore in one or two instances like the Busmen-student clash and Thanjavur Kisan troubles.

On the language issue he waged a relentless war against the imposition of Hindi as sole official language by the Centre and rejected the three language formula for education and abolished Hindi in educational institutions. The Opposition criticised the abolition of Hindi as harming the youngman of the State in the matter of Central employment, but, he did not budge from his position. He introduced the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the State and free education in the Pre-University stage. He was extremely popular with the student community but he could not within one and a half years of his regime initiate far reaching reforms in education. The adamant attitude of the Centre in the matter of language policy diverted much of his Government's time when more urgent affairs claimed its attention. He was of the view that the Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1967 passed by the Centre would result in creating among those connected with Administration two divisions with mutual hatred, friction and inevitable confusion and therefore urged the amendment of Constitution. Similarly he urged for a review of Centre-State relations in every other matter to secure greater freedom for the States consistent with their responsibility.

Mr. Annadurai's humanism made him approach his administrative responsibilities with great humility. In his first broadcast on 15th March 1967, he said, "Many ideas spring up in my mind; I will state only a few today. But all ideas centre around a basic objective — to provide a happy life to the people The objective is very big and I am an ordinary man. Nevertheless I am your comrade. Therefore I undertake this task depending not on my capacity, but on the capacity of you all." Later on 7th August 1967 addressing the Collectors conference at Tiruchirappalli he said, "We, the Ministers and officers are very small in number—about fifty, into whose arms are entrusted the responsibility of the welfare of the four crores of people

of the State. This will indicate the magnitude of responsibility we have to discharge. We should therefore strive hard, realising the responsibility and arrive at conclusions, keeping the entire good of the population of the State as our ideal." He constantly decried against big spending and corruption in the administration and upheld the broad ideals of humanism which would compel administration to be an instrument of human welfare rather than of political power. He placed great emphasis on small savings and appointed a popular figure as the Director for the success of the movement. Mr. Annadurai was very fair in making appointments and promotions in the Civil Service. His appointments to Law posts were guided by merit and public interests.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's advice to Mr. Annadurai was that he should keep out Partymen from the corridors of the Secretariat, that is to say, that there should be no political interference in Administration. This advice of course is not to be taken literally but in its spirit and underlying implications. Mr. Annadurai's administration was on the whole uninfluenced by unreasonable or crude Party pressures. His relations with civil servants were cordial and

sincere. He encouraged officers to give special attention to the grievances of the Public and to give relief on the spot wherever possible. He could not be more freely accessible to the officers owing to legislative and party work and public calls on his time but there was mutual regard. His public relations and relations with the Press, having himself been a journalist were good. He could brief the Press on administrative measures clearly and precisely without camouflage or needless argument or sophistication. His slogan "duty, discipline and dignity" (Kadamai Kattupaadu and Kannyam) though addressed to all was no less applicable to those who worked with him. By his consideration and courtesy he earned popularity and esteem. His impress on the administration would be remembered for a long time, although he held the reins of office for less than 2 years towards the end of which he worked devotedly in spite of a malicious illness. He shared trust with his colleagues on the principle that trust begets trust and did not fuss about minor issues.

Those who thought he would be a stormy figure found in him the calm of the sea. He was acclaimed as a good administrator throughout India, being a political leader of national stature much loved and esteemed.

THE BIG HEARTED PRINCIPAL

Anna secured a first class in the Intermediate Examination. The Pachayappa's College Principal Prof. V. Chinnathambi, gladdened at this, urged Anna to take up the Honours Course.

Anna replied, 'It will take three years for B.A. (Hons). I have not the necessary resources for that, so, I shall finish B.A. and seek a job.

The Principal drew Anna aside and said: "Annadurai, it is very rare that backward class boy gets such marks like you and pass with distinction. So, is it not necessary that you should study further?" "I shall arrange for a scholarship for you."

This changed Anna's heart. But he consented to take up Honours on the condition that he should be supplied with books also. The big hearted Principal acceded to this request also and Anna joined the Honours course.

ANNA'S FLAMES OF FURY!

A man may die, Nations may rise and fall but and ideal lives on. Ideas have endurance without death.

—JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Dr. C. N. Annadurai - popularly known as "ANNA" in every household of Tamil Nadu was a born leader of "the lowly and the needy." During his childhood and adolescence, he had little of the charisma which later made him the mass leader of the National Movement in that part of the sub-continent i. e. Bharat. His humble beginnings under the tiled roof of his simple abode gave him ample opportunities to study the innermost recesses of the poor man in the dingy hamlet and the lavish aristocrat inside the glittering palace. His surroundings bristling with social degradation and economic inequalities emboldened his heart and soul to fight for injustices at all costs. And thus he became a social crusader to be ranked amongst the world celebrities who strove ceaselessly for the establishment of a new social order based on equality of man duly cemented by the bond of fraternity so as to ensure liberty to one and all, irrespective of race, religion, caste or creed.

He was first known as a facile critic of the old order. He demolished the cob-webs of superstition, blown up the fossils of blind belief and dismantled the theory of the other world and the life beyond death. "Vedantins" had to run for succour and the "Puranics" remained dumb-founded. His

was a spell of Demosthenese oration tinged with rationalism all through. The role of a critic is like that of a gardener who tends and clips his plants to a particular shape. A creative critic could play a valuable role in giving the audience a deep insight into men and matter, which he did.

His Marathon speeches punctuated with humour and versatile satire pierced through the head and heart of all cross-sections, young and old, literate and illiterate. His plebeian voice began to resound and echo in the midst of Tamil pundits and English professors who paid encomiums for the Niagara flow of eloquence stemming from his silver-tongue. His ideas and formulations reverberated in a bountiful measure announcing the harbinger of a new Anna Era of true socialism, economic emancipation and political resurgence in South India.

Revered ANNA pictured before the masses, the many-splendoured life of the ancient Tamils, their culture and tradition, their art and literature and how they became victims of foreign civilization, forgetting their own land and sinews of a glorious living which their ancestors had had in the past. Tamilians woke up from their long drawn out slumber and began to taste their ancient lore found in their "Kavyas" which spoke

highly of 'One God and One community' as contra-distinguished from the puranas and epics which preached the hierarchy of gods and hegemony of religions and thus sought to create distinction between man and man, and community and community.

His writings probed deep into the great literature of even "Kamba" and "Manu" and ridiculed their contributions and formulations as an anathema to a rational but sophisticated cum socialist society. He projected a taste for sound reasoning and logical disquisition into those "smrithis" and "srutis", rites and rituals, festivities and feastings engulfing, enveloping and eclipsing the great Tamilians, who once had a hoary moral culture of their own. His outstanding contributions in "Kamba Rasam", "Arya Mayai", and "Kumari Kottam" to mention only a few, are thought-provoking and soul-stirring for any true rationalist. His mental grasp, his power of will and the habit of industry gave him the unmistakable character of a man fashioned in a large mould. There was nothing small about him. It was well and truthfully said that among any company of leading men in any part of the world, he would have stood high.

He was not only a precursor of a new society but also the first Doctor who practised the norms and concepts on himself. His flames of fury shook the very foundations of the dogged communalism, rugged religious bigotry and vested political vandalism which reigned supreme in the South.

His advocacy to practise monotheism is essentially to destroy the superficial distinction wrought in society by the exploitation of the super man over the innocent and the destitute. He captioned the theory of "Varna" as man-made. Hoodwinking the innocent and the weak, that it was all the will of God as resulting from his creation, the intelligent and the strong barricaded themselves to enjoy a life of pleasure and plenty and in seclusion. Thus the caste and creed, sub-caste and servility, superior in birth and inferior by wealth - all these ugly features entered and constructed

the present day society of high and low, allowing ample room for exploitation and practising civilized brigandage.

He succeeded in changing the Society to a large extent. People who once prided themselves with caste appellations began to disown their caste or sub-caste openly. He arranged many a marriage whither the bridegroom or the beloved knew not their respective castes. He instituted prizes for inter-caste matrimonial alliance when he became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. To-day the mental make-up is such that every one is proud of calling himself as a Tamilian first and Tamilian last. Where the seers and saints, munis and rishis could not succeed, comrade ANNA could make a striking success.

The "Self-Respectors" movement was enlivened and vigorous propaganda appealing specially to the intellect of the educated sections of the Society was meticulously carried on. A new orientation was thus given to shape the rationalist thoughts and progressive ideas to suit the ushering in of a new Society based on equality of opportunity and affording equal opportunity for all. Dr. ANNA had thus emerged as a social reformer of the South. His exposition in this field found favour with the masses in no time. His play-wrights to mention only a few like "Velaikari" "One Night" and "Swarga Vasal," bear eloquent testimony to this aspect of his genius.

His economics had almost a parallel with the theory of Karl Marx but with a superb distinction. Economic inequality was considered to be the bane of all evils and ills in society and revolution (of course tinged with violence) was the only inevitable remedy suggested by the great philosopher politician. But ANNA had glittered the theory in his own inimitable way. He propounded that a caste-ridden society could not be emancipated only by bridging the economic gap but transformation of the whole Society into an egalitarian one would automatically bring about the desired change in all spheres of human activity.

He thus laid stress on social-reformation as the primary task.

The Marxist theory as is known reduces old history to one of class struggle. To quote Marx "the mode of production conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determine their existence, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." Around this pattern of production are developed appropriate social and political institutions, legal and moral codes, social standards etc. While the means of production keep changing, the social structure does not keep pace. Then crisis grips society and revolution results. Thus violent revolution is an indispensable part of the Marxian theory.

Revered ANNA discarded the theory of violence at all costs and in this respect he was a close collaborator with the "Father of the Nation" who led us the path for right thinking, truthful speaking and blood-less action. He, like Gandhiji, was essentially a moral force appealing to the conscience of man. He made no distinction between religions, nations, or races and was thus a great inter-nationalist believing in the essential unity of man and all nations. He had therefore during the later part of his life attracted world-wide attention. He believed in a non-violent Society and pinned his faith in the individual. The ultimate excellence of a non-violent act must depend on the individual. He wanted the individual to change and in *en masse* and through him transform Society—"Total man in a total Society."

Dr. ANNA reminded that the conflict between the individual and the Society which was so basic was not reducible to a class struggle and could not be dialectically resolved because it was a part of the unchanging human situation. This, in fact, had been the main conflict in communist society which was progressively advancing. Also the major weak link in Marxist Society was the insignificant role assigned to the individual. Brother Anna executed the economic theory

propounded by him assiduously minus the spirit of violence by thought, word and deed. He endeared himself as Anna—the Elder Brother. He thus laid the foundations for a fraternal brotherhood of "One God and One Community."

He advocated that the farmer should become the partner of the land he tilled; that the labourer and the employee should become co-partners along with the employees of any concern or industry and that the "under-dog" and the common man should have social, economic and political protection from the powers-that-be. He never believed in the rule of the rod and held that the opponent in any walk of life should be persuaded and intellectually converted, not by the rule of law and regulation and not even by authority and power. He was resplendent with such charismatic quality and purity in public life. Veritably he was projecting the image of "ANNA—The Great".

Dr. ANNA'S political philosophy was one of seizing power by peaceful means. He believed in the ballot-box and not in the power of the bullets. He taught the masses with the magic spell of these words—"DUTY, DIGNITY AND DISCIPLINE." His stentorian voice against polytheism, corrupt cum commercialised religion, vested interests of the capitalist society, monopolistic imperialism and chauvinistic nationalism was considered as one of hatred born out of prejudice which would ultimately turn into a fascist facade; but to the great disappoint of many—these urges and upsurges were canalised carefully and harnessed dextrously by the Great Leader ANNA for reconstructing Society. To the great surprise of his opponents, his party grew from the screens to that of a colossus so that it could take over power in Tamil Nadu State in less than two decades.

Dr. ANNA discovered that the people had lost direct participation in the decisions which dictate their lives. His concept of Parliamentary Democracy was that the Society should have maximum power at the bottom

and not at the top. He spread the idea that people should neither categorise nor institutionalise themselves into parties but to think of themselves as members of the community. That was the only way, he averred, to self Government and direct democratic participation. He deplored that people were made to accept violence as practical and peaceful methods as impracticable, because each nation spent a high percentage of its budget in training people to kill, little knowing that violence had become so violent that it defeated its own purpose.

Dr. ANNA gave up the theory of separatism at the appropriate time for he realised the quotations of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru that "no government can afford to ignore the urges of the common people. After all, democracy has its basis on those very urges and if any government flouts them, it is pushed aside and other governments take over." Leader ANNA entered the arena of the masses, spoke to them in their language, moved with them as a brother, exhibited *esprit de-corps* in struggles and sufferings and made them to stand erect and speak to the powers - that be that they had a right to live in their own motherland, not as sewers of wood and drawers of water but as the great citizens of the country with self-respect, dignity, liberty and equality.

Dr. ANNA'S flames of fury covered a wide-

range of subjects, touched the life and activity of all cross-sections of Society, influenced all the spheres of activity of human beings and wrung out transformations, radical changes and provided new-look to every strata of Society. It would be hardly possible to describe his qualities of head and heart in one single attempt but suffice it to say that he was the embodiment of a "Moving University" resplendent with Tamil culture and forensic skill and that only a "Research Laboratory" would be able to bring out the quintessence of his all—treatise on social philosophy, economics and politics.

Woe unto the Tamilians who lost their indefatigable and dynamic leader for, had he been alive for some more years to come, he would have made the country fertile both intellectually and materially. It was unfortunate that the icy hands of death had snatched him away so suddenly that the "rising sun" was eclipsed all in a trite. But let us be confident that the treasure he left behind was his ideas, principles and policies and that should be preserved for the well-being of the future and to be handed down to posterity. **May his flames of fury enter the portals of many a domain to blast injustices—be it in the political, economic or social fields. May his soul rest in peace.'**

THE FATAL ADDICTION

Just as Anna was an addict to snuffing, so also he was an addict to betel and tobacco. Even during his college days, he could not hide his desire for these three.

He began to snuff and chew even in the classroom. In order to escape the attention of the Professors, he preferred to sit on the bench next to the window. Somehow Prof. Mr. Kandaswami Mudaliar, Anna's Preceptor in Tamil found this and gently chided Anna.

A LIFE IN REVOLUTION

C. N. Annadurai was one of those great humanitarian spirits that influenced with rare intensity the age into which they are born. In any study of the man's social and political thinking, one has to regard him above all others an essentially a lover of mankind, a soul that contented itself with the subject MAN and opposed all that derogated the dignity and worth of MAN. By upbringing, by associations, and by temperament, Annadurai was revolted by human degradation and suffering whether brought about by religious or political beliefs and practices. Endowed with a mind largely pragmatic and rational, he diligently sought the causes of injustice and exposed them fearlessly regardless of the hostility or indifference of the traditionalists who lived and profited by irrationality. Though disgusted with things around him, he never lost faith in his fellow men even in his darkest days, nor sought the aid of the supernatural. He felt himself optimistic about the future despite the tremendous odds against change. It was his firm conviction that loss of self respect and honour caused by hoary religion and its sinister priestcraft, could be recovered by honest endeavour after truth; and that human sloth and misery conditioned by the capitalist society could be mitigated by bringing home to the credulous people, the truths about human rights and honest labour. He discovered early in his life that the press and the

platform must be fully utilised for intense propaganda to prepare the people for the great and inevitable change. He was convinced that the greatness of a nation is founded on the principles of humanity.

It may be said that a great humanitarian like Annadurai is born and not made. But at the same time it must be conceded that innumerable factors served to propel him into the rationalist and political paths. Not the least of the factors was Annadurai's association with and discipleship under Periar E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker of Erode. In all his writings, he bestows on Periar anadulterated praise as the most courageous and undaunted reformer and philosopher who could do what others either never thought of or failed to do. The task undertaken by Periar was of a stupendous character which baffled the most learned in India for the last two thousand years. Annadurai built upon the foundations laid by Periar, with this difference that where the appeal of Periar was to the unlettered, Annadurai, carried the same message to the educated youths in schools and colleges as well. What may have been slighted or ignored as something emanating from an unlettered leader, obtained respect and esteem when coming from Annadurai reinforced by high collegiate degrees. The egalitarian arguments of Periar stood doubly strengthened at the hands of Annadurai learned in the classics of ancient, mediaeval and modern

Tamil literature and the science and reason of the west. He was an expert in casting to the winds the doubts of the intellectuals about the brand new path laid for them. If to-day schoolboys and collegians and others are imbued with the rationalist Dravida spirit, the credit must largely go to Annadurai.

Annadurai's mission and work have to be viewed from different angles. The first is his love for Tamil and its vindication as an ancient and rich heritage that can stand competition with any modern language and which can stand independent of Sanscrit. His championship of Tamil as the media to contact and covert the deceived and exploited people was recognised in him even as a student of the pachiappas. Those were days when politicians conducted their deliberations exclusively in English. When the Justice party met at Thiruchirapalli in 1936, the leaders felt that some talking should be in Tamil if any headway is to be made with the people stationed away from the drawing rooms and smoking lounges of the zamindars in their lace turbans and tweed suits. They wanted a man to translate their speeches into Tamil and someone spotting a young man in dhoti and jubba in the audience, was recommended for the job. The young man did the job in such chaste Tamil and in such a good and fluent style, that he became the cynosure of all eyes. The people felt he would soon make a mark in the destinies of Tamilnad. The youth was Annadurai.

Ever since, the inimitable oratory of Annadurai of an excellence unparalleled before, served to attract the youth of the land and to demolish many old and outworn beliefs that still dominated and enervated the credulous people whether educated or not. Without wasting time on the insipid talk about his incapacity to deal with the subject or in profusely thanking the organisers of the meeting, Annadurai would plunge straight into the subject, much to the relief of the audience panting to hear his diction and grasp his ideas. He knew how to drive

a point home without naming or mauling the opponent. He would intersperse his talk with good humour by narrating parables and jokes, that would hold the audience spellbound and in pin-drop silence. His silvery tongue was musical and his extempore prose poetical. The style of his speech was new and modern and is well emulated by the youth of Tamilnad to-day. The flow of words was continuous, for, he never hesitated or struggled for a word. Annadurai's opponents in the ruling party, envied him and his compeers for their brilliant oratory which became an art with them, but chose to ridicule them in their helplessness by meekly babbling that alliteration and polished peroration would deliver no goods. Annadurai lived to effectively enthrone Tamil as the official language of the State.

The second great aspect of Annadurai's mission in life was rationalism. Self educated in the rationalist literature of the West, and by self culture given to humanitarianism, Annadurai was soon attracted to Periar's great self-respect movement that had already revolutionised thinking among a section of the people under heavy odds. Periar was also looking for well educated graduates to intensively reach the student world. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Periar and Anna looked for each other being on common ground. Annadurai's defeat in the Madras Corporation elections, his first attempt to enter politics in 1936, and the failure of his maiden venture in journalism, the launch of the Tamil Weekly Navayugam in 1937, drew him into the anti-Hindi agitation of Periar in 1938. Annadurai's anti-Hindi posture may be cited as the third big aspect of his struggle to find a place for Tamil under the sun.

As a journalist, Annadurai proved that the pen is mightier than the sword. He was one of those mortified by the monopoly of the press held by the opponents of all those things he stood for and realised the need to wield his pen to re-orientate Tamil. Joining the editorial staff of 'Viduthalai', Periar's daily, in 1939, Annadurai became the idol of

the people by his iconoclastic writings and radical speeches. He was solicited to speak at so many places that he found it impossible to keep up time and unpunctuality became almost a trait in him. But it has to be admitted that at no time were the people found to complain about his late coming. On the contrary the people's love and regard for him were so great that they were prepared to wait for him for hours and then wished him to speak longer.

Annadurai was too much of an intellectual and leader to continue under the direct surveillance of Periar. Leaving 'Viduthalai', he started his own weekly, 'Dravidanadu' in 1941, to independently lead the crusade against superstition, caste and ignorance.

After the defeat of the Justice party at the 1937 elections, Periar was requested to head the organisation in order to revitalise it. With the able aid of Annadurai, Periar converted the Justice party into the Dravida Kazhagam. Discredited by the ruling party, ridiculed by the opposition, dishonoured by the Aryans, exploited by the northerners, the Tamil people had lost their land and their wealth, their honour and their pristine glory. They must now fight for real freedom—Viduthalai. The re-orientation of the party's programme and policy at Salem frightened the former leaders of the Justice party. The result was the emergence of a new leadership to a different type of delegates that met next at Tiruchirapalli. This was a gathering bereft of ex-ministers, and knights, mittadars and zamindars, lace turbans and tweed suits, millionaires and sycophants. The Dravida Kazhagam was now a mass organisation of the common man for good. The delegates swore to retrieve the land from the subtle but iron grip of Brahmanism and its infamous varnashrama system. The Dravida Kazhagam became a rationalist people's party or rather a movement, pledged not to enter the legislature or seek office. The call was for sacrifice and service. There was to be no profit or privilege in it. The lot may be penury and suffering. Annadurai was appointed the

Dhalapathi or Commander of the Faithful.

The gods, sastras and puranas that stood for falsehood, hierarchic caste, superstition, obscurantism and exploitation began to be meticulously exposed. The pathetic condition of the people, degraded by religion, enslaved by the priestcraft and exploited by the money bags, were to be remedied only by a pure Tamil government. The demand for temple entry for the depressed classes was emphasised as also the demand for equality of rights for women. In a few years time, the political demand for Dravidastan was also made. That Tamilnad should belong to the Tamils or Dravidians was made clear. It became a slogan and a call.

One aspect of Annadurai that has been bequeathed to posterity, is his aspect as an author. As a rational writer, he has added lustre to modern Tamil literature. His books have done as much to enlighten the people as his speeches. His 'Arya Mayai' (Aryan Illusion), 'Ilatchiya Varalaru' (History of the Self Respect Movement), 'Viduthalai Pore' (Freedom Fight) are a few on his sociopolitical list. His insight into Tamil classics served to expose the inconsistencies and stupidities in literature. In Kamba Rasam, the pornographic scenes have done in for severe criticism. Short stories and novels, each with a moral, have endeared Anna to the student world.

Annadurai was an outstanding dramatist and actor. He never wrote for fun. His plays have done a great deal to disabuse the people of their superstitious beliefs and helped them to rebel against spurious religion. As to his aspect as a dramatist, he has been eulogised as the Bernard Shaw of India. 'Chandrodayam' exposes the indignities to which the great Shivaji was subjected to on account of his caste. That Ravana, even as per legend, was not a heartless despot is brought out in 'Needidevan Mayakkam' (Judge's Confusion). How rich prodigals are responsible for the sins of poor women is pictured in 'One Night'. 'Servant Maid' exposes the hollowness of the plutocrat's

piety. 'Nallathambi' is an exercise on the arrogance of the zamindarini who is taught a lesson in socialism and village uplift. Some of these plays have been filmed. The conservatives wailed against these films as godless. Ministers Bhaktavatsalam and Madhava Menon had to see the pictures themselves to certify that god was not in danger.

It is said that two geniuses cannot co-exist in a single organisation. It is difficult to control the effervescence of original thought and the acumen for leadership under a dictatorship. After India became independent, the political condition of the country changed and Annadurai discerned opportunities for development of his principles in the political field. As a first step, he participated in the celebration of the independence day. But Periar objected to it as he observed the day as a black day on the ground that freedom did not bring relief from the domination of the priestcraft and the north. The rift between Periar and Anna started. When lesser men in the spent force of the Congress could seize the legislatures and rule the roost for maintaining the status quo in the undemocratic Hindu polity, why should not the Dravida Kazhagam, which had sufficiently awakened the people, enter the legislature, argued Annadurai. But Periar had no faith in the constitutional field over his preference to reform and revolution. He held that politics would corrupt the party and lead them away from the rationalist path. The rift between Periar and Anna further widened and waited for an opportunity to break.

Old Periar's second marriage with his young private secretary as an arrangement for the management of his property and the propagation of his ideals after him, served as the opportunity for the final break. Charging the marriage as irrational for a rationalist, Annadurai and his friends broke away from the Dravida Kazhagam in 1949. It was an abandonment of Periar's leadership, but not of his principles which were sought to be advanced through political power.

Nevertheless, Annadurai's new party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, was under constant attack by Periar and his followers who were, however, few, for the bulk of the mass and students joined the new party. Annadurai was on his own now and his D.M.K. posed a threat to the ruling Congress party.

At the Kancheepuram Conference of the D.M.K. Annadurai indicated the future of the party by calling upon his brothers (Thambis) to speak as members of a shadow cabinet, each for a portfolio. At the next Conference in Tiruchirapalli, he democratically obtained a mandate from the people to contest the next elections and enter the legislature. The young party bagged 15 out of 206 seats in 1957, Annadurai himself being one of the successful candidates. The number was increased to 50 in the 1962 elections. Annadurai proved to the world that the D.M.K. was the potential alternative to the Congress in Tamilnad. His defeat at this election did him good for he was able to go to the Council of States and impress upon the parliamentarians and the central government both by his eloquence and reasoning, the viewpoint of his party and its power in the south. Every defeat has turned out to be good in the long run for Anna. The Centre recognised in him the future leader and one to be reckoned with and respected.

It was an act of statesmanship that made Annadurai give up the party's basic demand of Dravidastan. By this adroit move, he kept his party within the constitutional limits, without, however, changing either the name of the party or giving up the fundamental social principles of the party. The other big strategic move to win the elections and gain power was the restraint he placed on the party leaders in the matter of open attack on religion. Annadurai appears to have realised that when the 1950 Constitution is pledged to liberty, equality and fraternity, has banned discrimination based on religion, race, caste and sex, and has granted adult franchise, the power of the priest-plutocrat oligarchy is

bound to crumble. He felt there was no urgent need to rub the traditionalist on the wrong side and earn his hostility. No power on earth can deprive the depressed classes of the equality of rights granted them in the Constitution, nor restrain the rights vouchsafed to women both under the Constitution and the new Hindu Code. There is nothing under the Constitution to prevent the State from undertaking socialist measures to put power in the hands of the proletariat. When this takes place, the exploitation of the religionists and the capitalists will have to wither away. It is a question of time. Having supported the demand of the Muslims for Pakistan ever since its demand in 1940, it was not difficult for Annadurai to obtain the co-operation of the Muslims for the next elections. All these altered policies, though criticised by some and ridiculed by the ruling party, obtained for the D.M.K. the unalloyed support of the Swatantra party, the Muslim league and the Communist party in the matter of forging a United Front against the Congress for the 1967 General Elections.

Congressmen and other parties who thought they could drive the D.M.K. into political wilderness if only it stuck to its old policies of separatism, iconoclasm, and abstention from the legislatures, were sadly disappointed. Instead they were now forced to face the solid phalanx of the United Front under Annadurai's leadership. A further evidence of Anna's forethought and preparedness was furnished by making the United Front in Madras accept the principle that if the D.M.K. obtained absolute majority in the 1967 elections, the ministry to be formed must be exclusively D.M.K. The result of all these discreet political moves was for Annadurai to gain absolute majority, 138 seats in a house of 234. Elected to Parliament from Madras City, Annadurai was called to head the Madras legislature D.M.K. party and the ministry.

Annadurai's unique success was achieved not only over the entrenched Congress party in power, but also at the teeth of Periar's

hostility for over seventeen years. Crowned with unqualified success and enthroned as the Chief Minister of Madras, Annadurai could have ignored and giped at his old leader and mentor. Instead, such was his infinite grace that he instantly chose to translate into action what Thiruvalluvar had advised.

The proper punishment to those who have done evil to you, is to put them to shame by showing them kindness in return and to forget both the evil and the good done on both sides. (Kural 314)

One of his first acts after being sworn in, was to go and meet Periar in his house and seek his blessings for his new role. In turn, Periar forgot the past and promised him all support. He has kept up his word. Similarly Annadurai met C.R., the old enemy of the Dravida movement and now an ally, and sought his blessings as well. The manner in which he converted two of his political enemies of great eminence, speaks of the man's noble character and the episodes will go down in history as landmarks in correct human relationship.

Even during the self respect propagandist days, Annadurai made it plain that his quarrel was with the iniquitous Brahmanism and not with the Brahmins. In fact, opposition to his rationalist policies was more from the non-brahmins than from the Brahmins. Annadurai was a honest agnostic and remained true to it till the end, convinced and unafraid.

As the Chief Minister of Madras, Annadurai added many feathers to his already big and bright plume. His popularity rose sky-high. He drew encomiums from the high-ups in Delhi. His administration was clean, smooth, and socialist. He changed the name of the State to beloved Tamilnadu and raised the status of Tamil as the official language of the State and effectively resisted Hindi imperialism by courageously closing down the N.C.C. and declaring for the two-language policy. Free education upto the P.U.C. has earned for him the gratitude of the back-

ward classes. His simplicity, plain living, concern for the downtrodden, and courtesy for the opponent, impelled some people to call him the South Indian Gandhi. He is one of those great men who realised in their lifetime their cherished ambitions. His mission started in self respect and ended in triumph. His was a life in revolution.

THE STRICT PROFESSOR

Prof. R. Krishnamurthi, who is famous for handling English classes, was a strict disciplinarian. He was a terror to the new Students. But gradually the students would like him and mix with him freely.

In an after-dinner speech Anna referred to this and said, "Prof. Krishnamurthi is a dictator in the first year. In the second year he is a constitutional monarch. In the last year, he is a comrade".

Mrs. M. CLUBWALA JADHAV,
M. L. C., J. P.

Thiru C. N. Annadurai As I Know Him

I met Thiru Annadurai when we both worked together in the Refugees Committee in 1942-1943 when we were receiving refugees from Burma and Malaysia both by steamers and trains and housing them in Refugee Camp. Later Thiru Annadurai and myself were the Members of the New India Planning Committee of which Pandit Nehru was the President, which was the fore-runner of the Planning Commission and we worked on this Committee for two years. I had the pleasure then of knowing Thiru Annadurai at close quarters. He was a social worker par excellence, a gentleman of warm sentiments and above all a gracious humanitarian.

I had the pleasure of again meeting him when he was in the State Assembly and I was a Member of the State Council. When he became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, his assumption to that high office was hailed with great joy. The Swearing-in-Ceremony is still vivid in my memory. After the function, how Thiru Annadurai came and took the blessings of Rajaji and then gave a big hug to Mr. R. Venkataraman, the then Leader of the Opposition, and how for the first time hundreds of people gathered in and outside the Rajaji Hall and listened to the Swearing-in-Ceremony! He was very active

during his Chief Ministership. He would spend nights over the files and see to the quick disposal of files and made correct and quick decisions.

During the two years of Chief Ministership, he made his presence felt and respected on the national scene. His quick decisions to rebuild the slum homes in a much better way were greatly appreciated by all. Though as the South's most outstanding spokesman of reform of Centre-State relations, he was Vehement, he was never bitter. During his Chief Ministership he wanted to keep the Centre-State relationship cordial and did so on a most exemplary manner.

Thiru Annadurai would come to any meeting or function—be it political, social, educational, national or international—and talk in a matter as if he was an expert on the subject and part and parcel of that organisation.

Regarding his views on Social Reform and Social Work, his views are reflected in a speech he made at the Fourteenth Convocation of the Madras School of Social Work, an Institution which offers postgraduate, two-years training in Social Welfare Administration. He observed :

“SOCIAL WORK is distinct from SOCIAL REFORM. While Social Reform

would create animosity. Social Work would bring solace to afflicted, education to the illiterate, light in the midst of darkness and create friendship. Social Work distinguished from Social Reform is very much needed as society is just emerging out of the clutches of habits and traditions. We are not a backward community and we have solved problems with which backward nations are confronted, but we are a country with so many walks of life and yet the masses are steeped in ignorance: We have the best of philosophers and yet there is also human callousness not prevalent in any other part of the world: There are rich rivers and yet there is drought and famine: there is rich harvest and in spite of it we have rationing. There are many such paradoxes and these placed a question mark before us and we would take up the challenge and solve the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. If we analyse the psychology of people, we will find two different characteristics—one a sense of frustration and the other of exasperation; both are explosive and it is a wonder that there has not been social and political convulsion. This is because the old spirit of balanced people has been so patient; but their patience should not be mistaken for docility or surrender. Unless people trained in Institutions such as the Madras School of Social Work carried the message of humanity and service and put them into action quickly and with velocity, we may be left panting and gasping in the competitive world.”

Then again, Thiru Annadurai's speeches at the National Convention of the Indian Conference of Social Work held in I.I.T. in Guindy in December 1967 and the speech he made on the occasion of the World Tamil Conference were memorable. People would wait for him for hours to come—for he was a latecomer always to meetings—but when he came and addressed them, they would be entranced in his speech and would forget the

long hours they waited impatiently for him to come and address. His speeches were couched in superb language and his delivery was musical and a delight to hear.

Regarding the characteristics of Thiru Annadurai, his character and conduct have been shaped and moulded under the influence of many intellectuals including the Professors of Pachaiyappa's College from where he graduated. But the one influence that really shaped his outlook was that of Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the reformist leader of the “Self-respect Movement.” He was a man of warmest humility, kindness and consideration. Anna, as he is called by the masses, was supremely confident of his own capacity to overcome any situation. He was a man of simplicity in habits and costume. He was sweet-tempered and was loved by all.

Thiru Annadurai also excelled as an author and as a playwright. **“Dravida Nadu for Dravidians”, “Beloved Dravida Nadu is the music of my heart”**—these were the two words of Anna echoed throughout Tamil Nadu.

God does not let live good men in this world for long. Thiru Annadurai was suffering from Cancer. He had his operation in America done by Dr. Miller. His love for his own men and state was such that even after his operation and coming back to India, he still attended to many of his duties as Chief Minister.

One of the last meetings that he attended was the All-India Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society in the Rajaji Hall. He came up by the back steps of the Rajaji Hall, being feeble and halted in the verandah to rest. After a while, he walked on to the platform and I introduced him “There is our Chief Minister Thiru Annadurai”. There was a catch in my throat when I introduced him, for his appearance was sad, a frail gentleman—once such a robust person. I little knew then that was the last public meeting. He made one of the finest speeches on the occasion.

Another incident lingers in my mind. That was when the Busmen and the Students' clash took place. He has gone to the Medical College to meet the students to talk to and hear their grievances and appease and reconcile them but the students were not in a mind to heed him. He came to the Council to report on the incident. I saw his emotion as he narrated the incidents with tears in his eyes.

He died when the rising Sun was at its zenith. To put in a nutshell, he was a man of many parts—politician, a man of culture, envoy of peace, man of letters and learning, wisdom and restraint and politeness. During his Chief Ministership, the State of Tamil Nadu progressed and above all it has come into its own in every way. His dream of a proud and powerful Tamil Nadu has been realised.

ANNA'S ORIGINALITY

The English professor was one day struck by the wealth of new ideas and facts in Anna's essay. He wondered how Anna could write like that. He doubted whether Anna had copied some work. On being questioned about this, Anna told the Professor that the essay was an entirely original one containing his own ideas and facts, and that he did not borrow. The professor was all praise for Anna.

Dr. V. SHANMUGASUNDARAM,
Professor of Economics,
University of Madras.

C. N. A

With the sweep of his career between those days of sonorous speeches, scintillating similies, Burkean Oration and rapturous rapport with many a young student audience in the early forties when I heard him first, and to this day when on his mortal remains there stands a column rising to the skies on the Marina sands caressed by ceaseless waves of the Bay of Bengal—Annadurai became almost a legend in his life time and an idol of the masses in countless contexts. The learned, the wise, the elderly and the influential men in every walk of life have a good word for him, sometimes in public conversation when discrete silence and often by his adoring followers in words of superlative excellence.

Over these years I have heard him defend his colleagues, his ideals and his own institution which he loved so much—the Pachaiyappa's College with commendable affection and sweet reasonableness. His defence of any one or any ideas was so constructive or so edifying and couched in such pleasantries of thought that none in the audience would have anything but the most amiable of impression of Annadurai. He was in contrast to many public figures who revelled in mocking political opponents, heaped abuses adinfinitum on rivals even for quite trivial purposes and enjoyed recounting the ancestral glories as if the offsprings were responsible for it and

obligated to live upto it in the context of changed circumstances.

The forbearance of Annadurai in such context is classic. His humour quite classic and his denouements exceedingly dignified. I remember quite a few occasions on which he spoke in sheer appreciative terms of his political opponent. When his audience expected of him a scathing attack, Annadurai could see and turn the Nelson's eye to the evil. That was the quality so rare to practice that earned for him inestimable affection of his fellowmen. No King or leader in recent years barring perhaps Nehru and Gandhi has aroused a state of domestic calamity in millions of households as did Annadurai on the eve of his demise. To a student of current affairs Annadurai was both a maker of events and a writer of them. He spoke tirelessly when he had no political power to exercise and when he had to speak to arouse his fellowmen to higher purposes. Soon after assuming his office he gave a few speeches which I have heard. It is the purpose of running the Government which is a continuing business that bound him to desk. He admonished his fellow workers not to feel elated by the victuals of the hour of victory. But it was typical of him not to offend those who were not equally fortunate.

Addressing the joint session of the Chambers of Commerce he exhorted those

present to view the whole Government as a good friend and companion of all those who serve the public cause, traders and men of commerce not excluded.

Many of his speeches in due course of time will become part of the best collection of orations and speeches. But I wonder whether the appeal of those speeches would be the same as it was to the listeners. Annadurai held forth with such purposiveness and sweetness, such rhetoric and inimitable simplicity, such logic and yet with the blood letting by rapier thrusts.

Should the collection of his writings be made available in the coming years an editorial responsibility would be to identify a few who having listened to him could offer their commentaries on the impact of his speeches heard by them and the implications which they discerned like the finest diamond. Every one of his speeches was a many faceted beauty. And every such reproduction should have atleast two or three commentaries to enable the future studies on South Indian thought to proceed on right lines.

BURNING BRITISH

While Anna was studying in the Pachaiyappa's College, a student was addicted to chain smoking. When asked why he was indulging in such an excess, he replied that he was Burning British Goods, and thus indirectly helped the freedom movement.

Anna used to narrate this to illustrate how some people misunderstood the fight against foreign domination.

S. M. BALASUBRAHMANYAM,
Head of Maya's Language School.

ANNA—

a short appreciative sketch

Death has snatched away the man in the news, but the man remains buried deep into the hearts of the millions for whose progress and uplift he strove through and through. At the time he won laurels and the people looked for many noble deeds, as misfortune would have it, he fell into the arms of sleep, never to wake up.

Sleep, indeed, he relished as much as politics or any public activity, but that was only to vitalise his energies, to rise against backwardness, to trim himself to face opposition, to rank among the first-grade men of public affairs. He never slept out of lassitude, no.

Many times he rushed to the public meetings straight from sleep, but on no occasion he was less than an orator *par excellence*. Unless the mind is clear and active when closing the eyes for rest, unless the mind is already rich in thoughts and well directed, one cannot come out so brilliant suddenly on opening the eyes. Anna slept hence a thoughtful sleep! woke up fresh and worked with determination. Alas, he now sleeps never again to wake up.

As if to ignite his enthusiasm, he occasionally snuffed. But the fuel for the fire in him came unceasingly from the people, perhaps, with a steady increase. After the General Election in 1967, however, he found

himself engulfed in duty and could set no time for anything else than work. In his own words :

"I have, however, set aside more time for work than before. No time to enjoy the sweetness of literature; no time to think of the beauty of art; work ! work ! work !—to the extent that tire both body and mind. Duty to perform and just the duty, time is not sufficient. To be at pleasure, to have a free talk with you, it has become the most difficult thing!"

Thus he wrote in the 1969 Pongal issue of his Tamil Weekly, 'Kanchi', on his return from New York, after undergoing a surgical operation there at the Memorial Hospital for the fateful Cancer of the Gullet, the recurrence of which at last made India, more particularly Tamilnadu, lose the most useful services of an illustrious son of the soil that was Anna.

All wept,—everyone; literally so, was the day when every pair of eyes got dilated, every human heart throbbed with extreme agony in mind. Like one family mourned the entire State with deep affection that was honestly personal. Many swooned at the news of his death; some fell dead, too ! The like is too rare an occurrence and that is evidence enough to mark his greatness.

What then is the charm that attracted even the worst of his critics? In his appeal to the South Madras Parliamentary Constituency, he reveals it: 'Though I have differences with the Congress party on various issues, I have never allowed rancour to enter my thoughts and indecency in my activities.' That to prove, immediately after his great success in the 1967 General Election, he unhesitatingly called on people like EVR and Mr Bhakthavatsalam, the one till recently was hurling abuses on him and other dealt with him and his partymen with no sympathy whatever.

With unflinching faith and firm resolve he brought together the different parties, convinced the electorate of his sincerity and selflessness, and defeated the party in power. During the Chinese aggression and Pakistani attack he placed the country above the party and extended his whole hearted co-operation to the Government of India. When abroad on a good-will tour, he spoke not a word that would belittle the Indian Government, but, on the contrary, answered with wit and ease the questions put to him by foreign reporters in spite of his own feelings. He was broad-minded and always represented nobility.

The great turning points in Anna's political career,—his separation from Periyar in 1949, his discontinuance of the demand of Dravidanadu in 1957, and his assent to power as Chief Minister of Tamilnadu in 1967, are remarkably the three great instances of his able leadership. As a journalist he rallied round him the younger generation; as a statesman he always took the right decision at the right moment; as a speaker he spoke with massive rhyme and irrefutable reason; as a man he was always simple and sympathetic.

He had great regard for Jawaharlal Nehru for his love of democracy; Lal Bahadur Shastri he praised as a simple man of rich human experience in human passions; he held in esteem people like Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narain; he actually built a memorial to Gandhiji in enforcing the law of

prohibition, in replacing the lathi by love, and in identifying himself with the common man.

Anna never failed to appreciate those who deserved appreciation and when appreciation was really happy about the rise of Mr. Kamaraj to heights; he openly appreciated the resignation of Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Alagesan at the time of the horrible agitation launched by students here in 1965. It wouldn't be out of place if I say that Anna certainly did not like students take part in any political agitation. He always advised them to mind their studies and improve their acumen so that they could lead the country from progress to progress when their services were called for.

Anna was a 'Karma Yogi' and a Field Marshal in one. He did what he rationally believed to be good for one and all and in doing it he never once feared arrests, lathi charges, shooting, the use of the DIR by the Government in power and showed extreme tolerance to personal attacks, wanton charges, and uncharitable remarks. With a stout heart and a calm mind he led the non-violent army of his partymen, time and again checking the discipline with the cries of 'Kadanai—Ganniyam—Kattuppadu' (duty, nobility, unity). Never once he stooped down to the lower level to repudiate a charge, never once he instigated muscular retort.

Socialism, he said, is not merely one amongst the many patterns of economic activity—it is as much a faith as it is a system. It demands not the head alone, but more especially, the heart. It is sustained not by the charts and graphs alone, but by sincerity and the spirit of a missionary. It is not bookish. It is born out of the notes of warning issued from the proper section—the groans of the down-trodden!

A-rupee-per-measure supply of rice to the poor, fire-proof tenements built for the huts-dwellers, legal sanction accorded to the self-respect marriages, extension of the Teachers' Pension Scheme to all retired teachers including those who retired prior to

April, 1955, fee concession to the children of the NGO's at the PUC, are a few samples of his sympathy for the common man.

Anna was not opposed to any religion as such, but he only emphasised the need to put into practice the great principles involved in a religion rather than engaging oneself in all sorts of irrational superstitions and meaningless rituals which made the mind degenerate into utter backwardness. He strongly criticised the caste system and the communal feuds that helped none and stunted the growth of the country to a deplorably large extent.

Buddha and Ramalinga Adigal, Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinoba Bhave and Dr. Radhakrishnan, the ex-President of India, to mention only a few great names, have all looked down upon such backward tendencies and wanted people to be united and care more for the service of humanity as long as they are attached to everything mundane. Renunciation or Enlightenment is possible only when you care to live in the present in all its reality. Anna, too, was of the same opinion, but unlike others he exposed the misdeeds of the pseudoreligious, hierarchy and condemned

them outright. For this very reason, if I may say so, he was more a man *of* religion than a man *against* religion!

Anna was really proud of Tamil. He worked relentlessly to earn for it its original status and make it reign supreme. There was, however, no iota of fanaticism in it. Tamil has got classics and literature of inexhaustible knowledge. It has its own civilization, oldest of all on this planet. It can rule; it can serve; it can survive without foreign help! Anna spent almost all his time to make people realise it. It is Tamil that introduced Anna to everyone of us and it is Anna who gave Tamil a good turn: (Cf. My Article, 'Anna's Era of Tamilian Renaissance' in 'Anna 60' edited by APJ.)

Let me close, dear Readers, using the very words of Anna:

"We are in charge of the task of rejuvenating our culture and civilization—our entire thought. Let us not sit near the shattered rampart and narrate past glory, but scale new heights by persistent and patient search after truth!"

Vanakkam !

ANNA'S INDEPENDENCE

Anna's aunt was very anxious that he should get fixed in a job. Unable to withstand her entreaties, Anna applied for a tutorship (Pay : Seventyfive Rupees) in the Pachaiyappa's College. The present Raja of Chettinad, saying that the justice party wanted fine speakers like Anna, offered Anna the post of Personal Assistant to him, on a salary of Rs. 120/- (One hundred and twenty Rupees). Anna after coming home, wrote to the Raja regretting that he could not take up the offer.

Dr. S. R. RANGANATHAN,
National Research Professor in Library
Science, and Honorary Professor, Drtc,
Bangalore-3.
(Written in 1968)

*LIBRARY PERSONALITY
OF
TAMILNADU: 1909 to 2009*

1. FLIGHT THROUGH A CENTURY

Let us get on the time-machine and make a quick survey of the development of the library personality of Tamil Nadu during the one hundred years 1909 to 2009. "Why is the century started from 1909?" whispers a passenger. The answer should be obvious: "The dedicatee of this volume was born in 1909." We shall first have a view of the state of libraries in 1909. We shall then watch the germination of the library idea from 1910 upto 1928, the year of foundation of the Madras Library Association. The third period of survey will be from 1928 upto 1948, the period when library consciousness was nurtured in Tamil Nadu leading to culmination in the Madras Public Libraries Act of 1948. Next we shall take a view of the development of public library service during the period 1948 to 1968. All these are retrospective views. We shall then take a futurist view covering the period 1968 to 2009. Here we shall see the legislative and administrative changes taking place in order to make the library personality of Tamil Nadu attain a steady state of adult growth. We shall finish off with a view of the Library condition of Tamil Nadu in 2009, the hundredth year of the dedicatee of this volume.

2. TIME-STATION 1909.

Let us begin with 1909.

21. Madras Literary Society Library

The oldest library seen is the one next to the Old College in Nungambakkam. It is the Library of the Madras Literary Society. Its origin was about the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was established by the British residents of the city of Madras. It is rich in nineteenth century books; but by 1909 it has begun to pay more attention to fiction, travels, biographies, and essays. We see that its organisation and service are of as old a brand as the Library itself—shelves reaching upto the ceiling, books arranged in accession sequence, and lent out only to the Chosen Few capable of paying a subscription and being introduced by their peers.

22. Connemara Public Library

Let us move on a Kilometre to the north. Here is another old library of the city—the Connemara Public Library—established in the year 1860. It is virtually an annex to the Government Museum. Here too we find books in locked cupboards going upto the ceiling—tier over tier: three and a half tiers. The collection is biased towards the Museum. Its long central corridor is beautiful. It is flooded with mellow lights passing

through the coloured glass pieces forming the curved flanks of the tall roof. This "glass" was allowed to come in there because the building was intended to be a Fine Arts Gallery. The glass pieces allow also the invisible heat rays to fall in the corridor. This makes the readers withdraw from the Library within a short time. In spite of this handicap, we find some readers sitting in the beautiful central corridor. Most of them are enjoying picture magazines; but a few are reading serious books. But none of the books is allowed to leave the four walls of the Library. The book racks are on either side of the long corridor. They form several bays. Verily, this is a copy of the nineteenth century library architecture of UK. The building of the Patent Office Library is typical of it. Even as late as the 1920's the Reading University had its library building designed in this fashion.

23. Subscription Libraries

As we move through Tamil Nadu, here and there we find subscription libraries in a few towns.

24. Academic Libraries

No university library is functioning. The Madras University Library has just taken the four southern alcoves of the Connemara Public Library building to keep the Government reports and a few books received as gifts through half a century. Hardly any college has a library in active use; but some have collections of books in a few cupboards.

25. Christian College Library

Let us enter into the Madras Christian College—my own college. There is a library called Consulting Library. It is now lunch interval. Therefore, it is crowded with students. Don't you see me among them? Some are turning through the pages of picture magazines and a few are copying university question papers. Here enters a professor with a map in his hand. It is "Merry" MacPhail. Immediately there is perfect silence for a minute. "I thought I

was entering a fish market. Is it the Consulting Library?" he says. Then comes the thunderous clap of hands to honour the humour of the Professor; the shouting, the joking, and the bullying among the students begin again in right earnest.

26. Pachaiappa College Library

Let us now walk into the Library of the Pachaiappa College—the college of Shri Annadurai. It has a carved out verandah with locked book cases all along the walls, with a long narrow gangway in between. No student and no teacher. Certainly, Shri Annadurai is not there! For, he is not yet born!! There is a person sitting at one end on a broken chair. Soft. Let us not disturb him. But he has been disturbed from his sleep. Listen to what he says. "Do you know the name of the man who has written the largest number of books?" asks the Librarian with gleaming eyes. Then he says triumphantly, "I know that you do not know. Listen, he is 'Mr Anon!' Look at this printed catalogue. Look at the number of books entered under his name. Principal Drew himself helped me in preparing this catalogue."

27. Quantity

The total number of volumes in all the Libraries of Tamil Nadu in 1909 does not reach even 100,000.

3. PERIOD 1910-1927: GERMINATION OF IDEA "BOOKS FOR ALL"

Let us now fly over the period 1910 upto 1928. This is the period of the germination of "Books for All" in Tamil Nadu.

31 Time - Station 1913

We are now in 25 November 1913. Look at that huge crowd to the west of the Senate House. Many are in academic robes. There is also a large crowd of students. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, is laying the foundation stone for the building of the Madras University Library. But do not look for the library building until we reach the time-station 1936. A passenger whispers, "Did you then know that you

will be its first Librarian and that you will design its building!" No, not at all Not even dream or wish. The idea of library building was conceived by the University as a result of its receiving a few lakhs of rupees from the governments of India and of Madras. The amount grew at compound interest to about 12 lakhs before 1936.

32 Time - Station 1921

We are now in 1921. The University Library is functioning. It now occupies the entire southern half of the Connemara Public Library building. We see the evidence of its functioning. During the whole day we watch a dozen people entering into the Library and walking home with books in their hands. The books have been lent out for home study. Why such few persons? The Library lends out only to the Fellows of the University and to Professors. Don't you see me sitting in one of the alcoves. I am taking down notes from a periodical, in order to enrich my teaching Infinite Series to the students of the Mathematics Honours class of the Presidency College.

33 Time - Station 1927

We are now in 1927. We shall have another look at the Madras University Library in the Connemara Public Library building. It is better we get into its corridor. We find only a staff of seven. Three of them are cataloguing books; for, new books are coming in large numbers. One man is bent over the files and account books. One man is at the counter receiving returned books and issuing books to readers. Another man is frequently going to the various tiers of shelves to replace returned books. The librarian himself is fluttering about among the alcoves in the ground floor. There are many readers in the alcoves. The glass doors of all the cupboards stand flung open. The Librarian has brought all the oft-used books to the lower tiers in the different alcoves. He helps Every Reader to Find His Books. This is the beginning of reference service. This marks the germin-

ation of true Library Service in Tamil Nadu, nay, in India as a whole open access and personal service to each reader in the choice of books. The Librarian himself is on floor duty and does reference service most of the time during the day. Look here, a few peons are coming out of the University Library with bags of books on their shoulders. Let us follow one of them. He rides to Mylapore on a tram car. He carries the books from house to house. You see he is giving some new book to the house owner and taking back the old book from him. Incidentally, all this amounted to a demonstration of true library service. This was a useful by-product of the activation of the Madras University Library. This threw the library ferment among the people. People have become library-conscious. The Presidency College and the Madras Christian College have provided spacious rooms for their libraries. But the books are still in locked cupboards. However, each Department has book cases of its own. An Assistant Professor walks into the library room of his Department, does some reference service, and lends out books to students. Some of the mofussil colleges have also begun to do similarly.

4. PERIOD 1928 - 1947:

PERIOD OF PREPARATION

41 Time - Station 1928: Foundation of the Madras Library Association

Today is 31 January 1928. Let us hasten to the Senate House. An important library event is expected there. The gentleman in the chair is Justice V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar. The gentleman addressing the gathering is K. V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar. This dynamic personality has been excited into non-stop action by the Library Conference held a month earlier in the Spur Tank in Madras along with the meeting of the Indian National Congress. Within one month he has enrolled about 400 members for forming the Madras Library Association. The Association is just now being formed. Don't

you see me there feeding the speakers with the necessary speaking points? You see the election for office bearers going on. K. V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar is elected President. K. Balasubrahmaniam Ayyar, S. M. Fossil, and myself are elected Secretaries.

42 Achievement of the Association

Let us now move through the period 1928 to 1947 at a low speed observing the successive

achievements of the Madras Library Association. During this period, its representatives—particularly S. M. Fossil—toured each district, taluk, and town and made the people library-conscious. Fundamental books on Library science were published.

43 General Achievement

The following table gives and a statistical date about some of the achievements of the Association:

Activity	No.	Details of Publications	
Publicity Meetings	600	Series	Number
Publicity Articles	200	Publication Series	15
Popular Lectures	150	Bibliographical	16
Publications	56	Legislative	3
		Popular Lecture	15
		Everything about something	4

Some of the publications of the Association are said to have made a great impact on world thought on library Science and service; they have become classics. Examples:

Five laws of Library science (1931)

Colon classification (1933)

Prolegomena to library classification (1937)

Classified catalogue code (1934)

Theory of library catalogue (1938)

Reference service (1940)

44 Improvement of Library Service

1930: The Association succeeds in persuading the Government of Madras to make the Connemara Public Library a lending library and to create a professional librarian's post for its head.

1930: It institutes an annual reading habit competition for high school students.

1932: It succeeds in persuading the Director of Public Instruction to provide for library hours in the time-table of each class.

45 Training of Librarians

1929: The Association starts a three months Certificate course in Library Science. This is the first of the still surviving training schools for librarians in India.

1931: The Certificate School is taken over by the University of Madras.

1937: The University makes this course a full-year post graduate diploma course.

46 Training of Teachers in Library-Centred Teaching

1933: The Association starts a course for headmasters and teachers of high schools on School Library Work.

1935: The University of Madras takes it over.

47 Attempt at Library Legislation

1930: The **Model Library act** is published.

1933: The Model Library Act is adapted to the conditions in Tamil Nadu and a Bill

is introduced in the Legislature by Janab Basheer Ahmed Sayed.

1936: The Bill lapses as the Legislature is dissolved as a result of the Government of India Act.

48 Time - Station 1946 : Seed Sown for Library Act

The seed for the Madras Public Libraries Act (1948) is being sown in the house of the Education Minister Shri Avinashilingam. Let us go there immediately to this eventful function. Here we are. We find the Minister and myself as the Secretary of the Madras Library Association taking part in the sowing of the seed.

Minister: As soon as I became the Minister, I wanted to bring out a Library Act. I asked for you. I was told that you had left Tamil Nadu. Why did you go away at this important time?

Secretary: I was always available by post. Never mind, I am here just now.

Minister: What shall we do now?

Secretary: I have brought a draft library Bill with a Memorandum of Twenty-Year Library Development plan.

Minister: What is that book in your hand?

Secretary: It is my **Five laws of Library science**. It was written to provide speaking points to the representatives of the Association in their tour of our State for promoting Library Legislation. I shall leave it with you. It may be of help to you.

Minister: Can you persuade the Director of Public Instruction to give his support to your Bill and not to obstruct it? I can't trust bureaucracy.

Secretary: The present Director Dr. Savur is not of that make. We were both teaching Mathematics in the Presidency College about twenty years ago. He is a good friend of mine. He is a patriot.

Within two years from the time of sowing the seed it sprouted lusciously. The Minister was all attention to it. The labour of the Madras Library Association in the matter of

Library Legislation thus began to bear fruit within twenty years.

5. PERIOD 1948 - 1968:

PERIOD OF PARTIAL FRUITION

51 Time - Station 1948: Passing of the Library Act

The year 1948 is a landmark in the history of libraries in India. Let us go to the Madras Legislature. The third reading of the Library Bill is going on. The Bill is being passed into an Act. Here comes out Shri Avinashilingam in all triumph. He has made library history in India. Let us congratulate him and ourselves.

Let us next go to Delhi. You see me landing in the Palam Airport. It is September 1948. You see a press reporter talking to me. He says, "At the meeting of the International Committee of Library Experts of the United Nations, you had pleaded successfully what you called the *Magna Carta* of Library service. You insisted that book service from public libraries should be free to all. The press telegram reported here that you were able to carry this idea through in the UN Committee. But I have brought with me a copy of the *Madras Public Libraries Act*: recently passed by the Madras Legislature. It empowers a public library to collect subscriptions from readers. In fact, it has inserted the very money-sieve against which you have protested in the International Committee. Do you feel happy about it?" I immediately write to Shri Avinashilingam. He writes back saying that I have the freedom to nullify this improper provision, by framing the rules suitably, when he asks me for it.

52 Time - Station 1958

Let us go to 105, Linghi Chetty Street, Madras. You find a big **pandal** in front of it. Let us see what is going on there. They are opening the Maraimalai Adigal Library. The Governor is presiding and Shri Bhaktavatsalam, the Education Minister, is declaring the Library open. Don't you see me sitting on the platform along with Shri

Annadurai next to me? Both of us have been put down for a speech.

Annadurai : I used to visit your Library quite often when it was in the Senate House and later after you moved into the new buildings. Delightful library, is it not?

SRR : I hope you are still a patron of the Library.

Annadurai : I wish to be. But look at my fate. Nowadays whenever I enter the Library, most of the readers leave their seats and flock round me. Therefore, I am not able to go to the Library and make use of it.

SRR : I suppose the penalty for Eminence.

Annadurai : Is the Library Act functioning well?

SRR : Quantitatively yes. Qualitatively very poor.

Annadurai : Why? You were the author of the Act I was told.

SRR : Yes, I was. But I had never expected that in implementing the Act they would fail to appoint a librarian as the Director of Public Libraries but make the Director

of Public Instruction *Ex officio* Director of Public Libraries. After I learnt about it, in the Bills I have drafted for the other States, I am specifically changing the term 'Director of Public Libraries' into the term "State Librarian." I am also explicitly adding that the State Librarian should be appointed from among those qualified to practice as Librarians.

Annadurai : That can be changed easily by the Administration.

SRR : Unfortunately, it does not change it.

Annadurai : Even then, why should the quality of the library service suffer?

SRR : Because it is not realised that there is need for a professionally qualified staff to persuade people to accept library service and to give them the right kind of service. There are also some difficulties in the financial clauses and in the constitution of the Local Library Authorities, introduced by the select committee.

Annadurai : If you draft an amending Bill, I shall table it at the Legislature.

53. Time Station 1966 : Achievement in Quantity.

Category	N of Units			Total Library Staff			Total N of Volumes
	Central	Branch	Libraries	Professionals	Semiprofessionals	Non-professionals	
State Central Library	1	—	—	5	11	43	200,000
District Library System	13	1,100	12	9	175	2,000	2,800,000
Total				14	186	2,043	3,000,000

54. Poor Quality of Library Service

The Public Library System of Tamil Nadu requires a hundred professionals. But it has only 15. This is due to the salary level repelling the professionals trained by the University of Madras to seek employment in the academic libraries and in the libraries in other parts of India. The Department

of Public Instruction uses the public libraries as a dumping ground for some of their own non-graduate employees. In response to a protest against this, they give a make-believe course of two or three months to these non-graduates in library accounts and in the repetitive clerical jobs in the libraries. Generally, the District Educational Officer,

who is *Ex Officio* Secretary of the District Library Authority, bosses over the library professionals. This sucks out all the initiative and enthusiasm from the library professionals. They become glum and disgruntled. There is nobody to heed the readers and serve them individually. This is the reason for the poor quality of library service in Tamil Nadu, in spite of the number of libraries having grown up satisfactorily.

55. Time-Station 1968 : Hope, the Root of All Efficient Service.

Still let us not loose heart. Listen: The Minister for Education is stating that the amendment of the library Act will soon be taken up. Perhaps he may also make an Expert Committee to review the working of the libraries. Perhaps, this Committee will suggest the ways and means to bring the quality of library service to a proper level. We are on the eve of great improvement of library service in quantity as well as in quality.

6. PERIOD 1969-2009 : PERIOD OF FULL FRUITION

61. Time-Station 1969

When we were at the time-station 1958, you remember Shri Annadurai making an offer to amend the Madras Public Libraries Act (1948). He was then in Opposition. Now that he is the Chief Minister, he is carrying out that intention. His cabinet colleague for Education is piloting the amending Bill. Its chief features are the following:

1. The State Librarian shall be *Ex Officio* head of the Department of Libraries, in addition to having the direct charge of the State Central Library, he shall also implement the Library Act as a whole.

2. The State Librarian shall be appointed from among those qualified to practice in the library profession.

3. For the purpose of organising and administering Public Libraries in the State, there shall be constituted Local Library Authorities.

31. For the cities of Madras, Madurai, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem, Palayamcottai Town Group, Tuticorin Town Group, Vellore Town Group, Kurichi Town Group, Thanjavur, Nagercoil, and for such other urban area having a population of more than one lakh as the State Government may by notification specify—called a City Library Authority; and,

32. For each revenue district, excluding the area for which a City Library Authority is constituted, called the District Library Authority.

4. Every City Library Authority shall have the Mayor of the Municipal Corporation, or the President of the Municipal Council, or other municipal body of the City as *Ex Officio* Chairman and the Chief Librarian of the City as *Ex Officio* Secretary.

5. Every District Library Authority shall have the Collector of the District as *Ex Officio* Chairman and the Chief Librarian of the District as *Ex Officio* Secretary.

6. The Finance of a District Library Authority shall include 3 per cent of the land revenue collected in the District in addition to surcharge on property-tax levied in the urban areas within its jurisdiction.

61. The power given to a Local Library Authority in Sec. 11 (1) of the original Act of 1948, to levy fees for admission of the public to the public libraries is deleted.

7. All posts in the Department of Public Libraries, the State Central Library, and every Local Library Authority shall be filled by appointment of persons belonging to the Tamil Nadu Library Service.

71. The classification of the posts in the Tamil Nadu Library Service, the professional qualification and the salary scale for and the number of posts in each class shall be regulated by such rules as may be prescribed. (The rules in this behalf, follow the recommendation of the University Grants Commission as contained in Sec. J3 to J5 and K2 to K5 of the Report (1965) of its Library Committee).

- 72 All members of the Tamil Nadu Library Service shall be Government servants, and

their recruitment and conditions of service shall, subject to the provisions of Article 309 of the Constitution, be regulated by such rules as may be prescribed.

73 The salary, allowance, gratuity, pension, and other benefits of the members of the Tamil Nadu Library Service shall be met from the Consolidated Fund of the State. Thus the Government's contribution to the Public

Library System will not be in the form of money but in the form of meeting the emoluments of the Library Staff.

62 Time - Station 2009

In the time-Station 2009 A. D., we find that the library personality of Tamil Nadu has attained great dimensions. The number of volumes in the Public Library System is as follows :

SN	Category of Library	N of Units	N of Volumes per Unit	Total N of Volumes
1	State Central (including Dormitory Library)	1	20,000,000	20,000,000
2	City Central	20	300,000	6,000,000
3	City Branch	200	25,000	5,000,000
4	District Central	50	300,000	15,000,000
5	Rural Branch	1,000	25,000	25,000,000
6	Librachine	700	2,000	1,400,000
Total :				72,400,000
In round figures :				70,000,000

63 As Busy as Beehives

Each Library is as busy as a beehive. Each library is full of readers. A squad of reference librarians moves about energising them. The number of library personnel in the Public Library System of Tamil Nadu is as follows :

Abbreviations Used :

AD = Administrative Staff
AR = Artisans
P = Professionals
SP = Semiprofessional
U = Unskilled

SN	Library	N of Units	Library Staff									
			Per Unit					Total for all the Units				
			P	SP	AD	AR	U	P	SP	AD	AR	U
1	State Central (including Dormitory Library)	1	40	60	75	50	120	40	60	75	50	120
2	City Central	20	20	30	15	2	50	400	600	300	40	1,000
3	City Branch	200	—	6	—	—	9	—	1,200	—	—	1,800
4	District Central	50	10	15	15	2	50	500	750	750	100	2,500
5	Rural Branch	1,000	—	6	—	—	9	—	6,000	—	—	9,000
6	Librachine	700	—	4	1	1	4	—	2,800	700	700	2,800
Total								940	11,410	1,825	890	17,220
In round figures								1,000	12,000	2,000	890	17,000

Trainees to be trained per year : 20 240

64 Other Libraries

Besides public Libraries, we find in Tamil Nadu, active Libraries in 10 Universities, 200 Arts and Science Colleges, 100 Professional Colleges, 4,000 High Schools, and 40,000 Lower Secondary Schools. They hold among themselves 70,000,000 volumes.

65 Training of Librarians

The Public libraries and the other libraries of Tamil Nadu are recruiting each year 40 professionals and 400 semiprofessionals. The 40 professionals are trained by 4 universities. 400 semi-professionals are trained by 70 City and Rural Central Libraries.

66 Research in Library Science

In order to keep the library system of Tamil Nadu up-to-date in its method of service, continued research in Library science is going on. The spearhead for research in library science is the Department of Library Science of the University of Madras, with Sarada Ranganathan Professor of Library Science at its head. It is engaged in pure research and in developmental research blending applied and pragmatic researches. It is running a learned periodical for publishing the results of its research. It is also maintaining India's essential books on library science—particularly Colon Classification and Classified Catalogue Code up-to-date.

7. DE-PLANING

Let us now switch back the time-machine. Now, we have reached the "Now". Let us de-plane from the time-machine. I hope you all enjoyed the flight through the century. "Yes, indeed. We enjoyed it very much. We thank you for this free flight. We hope that your dream of the amended library Act becomes a fact in 1969—the sixtieth year of Shri Annadurai. We also wish that your dream of the full library personality of

Tamil Nadu becomes a reality by 2009—the centenary of Shri Annadurai."

8. FULFILMENT OF WISH

It was an evening in June 1925. I was sitting at the top of the Primrose Hill in London. My mind looked backwards and forwards. A quick picture of the Library personality of UK passed through the mind. During the seven months I had wandered through UK, I had visited more than one-hundred libraries. I had seen how the libraries had been woven into the weekly routine of many of the people. I had seen how the minds of the people had been dyed by the wide use of the library system of the country. I had also read in great detail how this had happened in USA and in many of the countries of Europe. I had read particularly about the great transformation that free library service to all had brought about in the social advancement and well-being of Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. I then looked forward. My wish took the form of a series of questions: "When will our country have similar free library service for all? When will our people be helped to develop the future of our mother-land with positive knowledge? When will the leaders themselves escape and wean away people from passion driven, intolerance-centred way of life? When will our leaders themselves begin to live and help the people to live intellect-driven, tolerance-centred life and thereby help the peaceful coexistence of all the people of this ancient land of ours? When will free nationwide library service play its distinctive part in making our people to live in amity and work for the continuing betterment of one and all of our society? Tamil Nadu was the first constituent State of India to take the first step in the fulfilment of my wish. Tamil Nadu still continues to be the pioneer. I wish that the library personality of Tamil Nadu blossoms in full measure before 2009 AD.

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ANNA - THE SHINING STAR

Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai was born on September 15, 1909 at Conjeevaram in a poor, backward family. There was no astrologer then to predict that Thiru C.N. Annadurai would one day shine in South Indian Politics as an unrivalled leader and carry Tamilnadu with him as its Chief Minister. Nor was there any prophet at that time to announce to the world that a Comet appeared in the sky synchronising with the birth of this humble child in a simple family. Astrology and religion bungled before Annadurai as he baffled the astrologers and prophets alike in later years with his rationalist, radicalist and humanist views.

After the completion of higher studies in the Pachaiyappas College, Madras where he had distinguished himself as a brilliant student, voracious reader and a fine orator both in Tamil and English, C.N. Annadurai left his alma mater in 1934. He served for some time as a teacher in Govindappa Naicker High School at Conjeevaram. The impatient youth in C.N.A. could not live in compromise with a dry-as-dust, routine, parrot-like profession of a teacher and for that matter, any profession. He was in search of an ideology and a leader—an ideology radical enough and a leader revolutionary enough. He found such a dynamic leader in Periar E. V.

Ramasami and a progressive ideology in Periar's Self-Respect Movement. He had a rigorous political training under E.V.R. for about 14 years which stood him in good stead in later years when he himself grew into an astute politician and a graceful leader.

Having served the Dravidar Kazhagam and the Self-Respect Movement for about 14 years, Mr. C.N. Annadurai, popularly known as "Arignar Anna" by that time, severed his connections with his political and social Guru in 1949 and founded the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the same year. He carried with him Periar's social ideology and blended it with his pet political objective of the creation of a free State of Dravidanadu. Gradually, more as a political expediency than as a result of reversal of rationalism and atheism, he relegated the social objective to the background and brought the demand for an independent Dravidanadu to the forefront. Still later, in the context of changed conditions in Indian Politics, he set aside the claim for a separate sovereign State for the Dravidians, waged a war against the Indian National Congress, had a sweeping victory over it in the General Elections of 1967 in Madras State after a relentless democratic battle with it for about 18

years and established the D.M.K. Government in Madras.

There were pessimists in politics to forecast from the statistical evidence of the Congress having won three successive elections, that the Congress would remain in power for years to come both at the Centre and in the States. Those who were disillusioned left politics once for all. Those interested in loaves and fishes of office became turncoats. Men of wisdom there were in politics to enlighten the public on the virtues of a democracy as against the perils of a dictatorship. But they thought that it would not be dignified for them to contest the elections, for they were afraid of their own wisdom betraying them to the masses. They spoke evidently the language of the classes, not the masses. They were well equipped in aristocratic politics, not in mass democracy.³ They were not prepared to face the electorate—the gullible! Historians like K.M. Panikkar were, in a mood of self-complacency, prepared to be content with a “Single-Party Democracy” which is obviously a self-contradictory expression. Arm-chair politicians there were and, in fact, many who showed constitutional courage in suggesting a unitary form of Government and political foresight in predicting the downfall of democracy.

In the midst of such muddle-headed men, Anna by contrast, stood above them, miles away from them, as a singularly exceptional, shining star, always optimistic about the future, clear about the objective and certain about its realization. He was not an opportunist to pledge his views for the sake of power. He did not allow his political career to fly away on every wind that blew. In his political journey, Annadurai with patience and determination marched onward with a steady pace, without showing delight in occasional deviations to pluck every flower and repose in every shade until he reached his destination—the establishment of an alternate Government in Tamilnadu. At the same time he was not an idle politician

to indulge in description and analysis of political events and be content with it. Rather an astute politician as he was, he was pragmatic enough to aim at the possible but to confront his political rivals with impossible suggestions to them.

Anna was no doubt a well read man. But the scholar and the man of action in him were never at loggerheads. Ideals he had, but never held them in antagonism to practical wisdom and pragmatic approach. He used his political wisdom to establish a perpetual contact with the masses which alone, he realised, would help a political party to succeed in mass democracy. He had made full use of two essential tools of mass appeal—his silver tongue and graceful pen.

His oratory and writings drew close to him millions of youths whom he introduced into the Self-Respect Movement as spring into seasons. Though a large tree himself, he gave comfort to the youths under his shade and allowed them to grow in the sunlight which knifed through his leaves and branches. The young and the old were delighted with his oratory which had the warmth of a West Indian climate marked by bright sunlight, vernal foliage, juicy fruits and occasional thunder and lightning. If they were ready to bask in his eloquence they were equally ready to their nights and days to the study of his effective journal “Dravidanadu” week after week and also his novels, short stories and plays. His readers knew that the trenchant columns in his journal would march across the pages like winged angels, sweet and smiling. His close associates have enriched their knowledge in his intellectual company. The inexhaustible fund of entertaining and enlightening conversation which C.N.A. possessed in abundance soothed the savage breasts and paid rich dividends to the party.

The D.M.K. as a well-knit organization of scholars, orators, writers, field workers and actors began to grow from strength to strength, captivating the imagination of the youths and electrifying the masses. And even the classes

rallied under its banner. The D.M.K. is, by any standard, the only State party in the Indian Union with a wide coverage, large horizon and broad organizational set-up. Its mass appeal is total. Its words are bonds and its oaths are oracles in cosmopolitan centres, in urban areas and rural parts of the country.

After 18 years of labour in politics Anna has evolved and kept alert a political party democratically constituted, popular with the sons of the soil, well trained in democratic tradition, to offer an alternative Government in Madras in case a general debacle occurs by choice or chance.

The year 1967 was a crucial year for Indian democracy. At the time when the Congress was mercilessly thrown out of power in some States, there was neither an all India party to step into her shoes nor State parties to replace her in the States. Coalition Governments of parties of self-contradictory ideologies were formed to the utter dismay of the electorate as they were confronted with instability in administration. In many States the corridor of power became the vestibule of demoralized public men who crossed and recrossed the floor unashamedly. The verdict of the electorate was not clear-cut. In the midst of political anarchism which spread like wild forest fire, Madras with its maturity of mind and clarity of thinking allowed the Congress to rule with stability for 17 long years and gave the chance truly in a democratic spirit to the D.M.K. to rule in 1967. When choice is to be made, there must be something worthy enough to choose. Anna had a vision to foresee that the people may at any time turn away from the Congress in search of an alternative party. His calculations proved right, and he was quick enough to strengthen his party, imprint on its back the democratic tradition and pushed it into the breach caused by the fall of the Congress at the State level. He brought a new breath of realism to the democratic set up in India.

In the pages of contemporary history of India, Anna has secured for himself a very high place of honour and distinction for

yeomen service that he has rendered to our democracy through giving new confidence to the frustrated politicians in the possibility and practicability of establishing alternative Government to the Congress through democratic means. He was really a person "greater than his deeds and more honest than his surroundings." He was harder than a diamond to the diehards and softer than a flower to the poor and the feeble. A critic though, he was not at the same time a noisy, empty patriot and by the standard set by J.B. Priestley, he was not a dangerous citizen. Delhi understood it. Though he had to face, during his life time, undeserved abuse, he had also to his credit well deserved fame. If a man's fame is to be measured by the number of hearts that honour his memory, by the number of tongues which admire, adore, and even worship, then Annadurai is easily the best among his contemporaries.

The secret of C.N.A.'s success in politics lies in the fact that he saw everything as a materialist, turned a blind eye to much of it as a philosopher and corrected a little as a statesman. In his political game he walked slowly and steadily but radical as he was, he never walked backwards. His shrewdness helped him to look at things and into them also; to read the lines and between them too; and he knew the pulse of the nation.

It is difficult to paint the portrait of C.N. Annadurai in one single colour or with an even brush. He was a politician, statesman, orator, conversationalist, dramatist, novelist, essayist, actor and even a cartoonist—all bundled up in one integrated personality.

Arignar Anna climbed up the mountain of knowledge higher and higher and saw farther and farther. For an observer from a distance, his knowledge and wisdom seemed to be ocean-like and equally his beach line of wonder was longer. He tried his hand at short stories, novels, dramas and even cartoons and came off with flying colours. He had a quick hand to write the whole play of "One Night" in one single night. He attacked mercilessly the caste-ridden, traditional society based on

religion, Vedas and Puranas through his powerful plays and novels. Hundreds of his beautiful articles and effective editorials contributed to "Dravidanadu" linger still in our unfailing memory and produce wonder and splendour.

In his speeches and writings there were rhyme and rhythm, alliteration, frills and figures, parables and allegory. He applied words and phrases which in his trained hand and tongue got embellished. He coined words which enriched literature. His prose is seductively beautiful and his rhetoric grip us with poetic charm.

His parliamentary speech was a performance par excellence in which many of his rivals who were ready to scoff could scarce forbear

to applaud in the end. Anna adopted a method, a knack while delivering assembly speeches or addressing public meetings—alternately twitting his political rivals and pulling up his own disciples. His speeches even to the uncompromising were convincing enough as he developed with habitual thoroughness the art of scattering flowers along the path of business, to compress a weighty argument into a rosy phrase.

The D.M.K. no doubt reached the meridian of its glory during Anna's period. At the time when India looked forward to him with eager expectations, envious Death snatched him away all of a sudden. When can we have such another charismatic personality?

A TURNING POINT

When Anna entered politics, his aunt was anxious that he should seek employment. She procured a recommendation letter to a Sub-Magistrate for a clerk's post and Anna, armed with this, went to..... meet him. When he received Anna's visitor's slip, the Sub-Magistrate was dining. Half finishing his meals, he rushed to Anna saying, "Come on, you are quite welcome. Are you Annadurai? You are so young. But I thought you will be atleast fifty. You should help me. Please recommend to Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and secure me a place on the Bench." Anna was flabbergasted. He at once realised that he would have a strong pull and bright future in Politics. So, without pressing for clerk's post, he returned home and took to active Politics.

"A N N A -

Robert L. HARDGRAVE, Jr.

Reflections on Leadership"

When C.N. Annadurai died on February 3, 1969, all India mourned his death. Tributes came from around the world, and in the United States, his passing—so soon after his visit to America—was felt with particular sensitivity.

India and not Tamilnadu alone had lost a leader of great stature. It is perhaps strange then that only a few years ago, Annadurai had been viewed with fear and suspicion as a separatist not only by people in the north but by many in the south as well. He was a man who had been little known or understood. His party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, was either dismissed altogether by those who knew little of its program or, by others, relegated to the lower depths as a seditious movement, bent on a separate state of Dravidasthan, godless, and both anti-Brahmin and anti-northern. The D.M.K. came into being within an aura of radical social reform, nurtured on a vision of a glorious Tamil past, but under the leadership of C.N. Annadurai, the movement sought

not so much to resurrect the past but to achieve a new society in terms of greater social and economic equality. It did not abandon the techniques of extra-parliamentary struggle, but electoral competition became increasingly its avenue to the people.

In Parliament, Anna's speeches attracted both attention and admiration. Articulate and full of lively wit, whether he spoke in Tamil or in English, Annadurai presented a position of moderation which contrasted sharply with the national image of the D.M.K. The victory of the DMK in Tamilnadu in 1967, in fulfilment of long years' of struggle, was accepted by the nation without panic. Indeed, the party, commanding an absolute majority in the Assembly, brought stability to the states when throughout India ministries were in a constant state of flux. In his year as Chief Minister, Annadurai moved to implement his aspirations for Tamilnadu, but death cut short the achievement of his vision—but not the memory of what he stood for.

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ANNA AND PROVERBS

Many people are born, but only a few find their place in the history of the world. Mr. C.N. Annadurai, popularly known and most affectionately mentioned as Anna, the late Chief Minister of the Tamilnadu, was one among them. Anna has become a household word not only in Tamilnadu but also in Tamil world. This corroborates beyond a shadow of doubt how popular he was.

It is an undeniable truth that Mr. Annadurai was the father and pioneer in the art of public speech in Tamil. He was a fluent orator of a high calibre capable of speaking on any topic extempore, and holding the audience spell bound. Millions of people, particularly youngsters were attracted by the wonderful eloquence of Mr. Annadurai. Statistical evidence shows that Mr. Annadurai stood first among the Indian leaders in attracting the largest number of audience. It should be mentioned that he was equally proficient and well in eloquence in English. His speeches were very attractive, interesting, inspiring and above all thought provoking.

As a writer, he had a very powerful pen which produced a number of good books in Tamil. He was an excellent writer of essays, short stories, plays, novels, film scripts and tit-bits. His speeches and writings are characterised by beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity in diction, simplicity of

style, intelligibility of language, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, modernity of approach, rationality in thought, catholicity in character and universality in out-look. Euphonic alliterations and rhymes, appropriate and arresting similes and above all revolutionary thought are the special features of his speeches and writings. From the point of view of the history of Tamil literature and culture, the contributions of Mr. C.N. Annadurai can be considered as a significant renaissance. His literary and, intellectual contribution is a land mark in the history of Tamil.

Throughout his career in public life he fought the kaleidoscopic variety of social evils. His aim was to establish social equality, social liberty and social fraternity and to reconstruct the entire society on perfect democratic lines. He rendered yeoman service through his speeches, writings and action to establish a harmonious and welfare society free from all the social evils, particularly from casteism and untouchability. It deserves a special mention that among the Chief Ministers of the various states of India Mr. C.N. Annadurai was the only gentleman who stucked sincerely to the principle of prohibition one of the directive principles of the Indian constitution.

He was modest in behaviour, gentle in words, accomodative in spirit, frank in expression, generous in action and humane in attitude. He never wounded the feelings of others on any occasion. He had such a divine heart to forgive and even to forget his worst political enemies who have barbarously attacked him. A politician is one who thinks of the next election whereas a statesman is one who thinks of next generation. Mr. C.N. Annadurai was not a politician but a statesman of a very high order. He was a statesman among scholars, and a scholar among statesman.

The rationality of Socrates, the catholicity of Jesus, the democratic spirit of Lincoln, the scholarship of Bernard Shaw and the simplicity of Gandhi were all blended harmoniously in Anna. The motto of C.N.A. was duty, dignity and discipline which is applicable to every cultured man under the sun. In him we found harmonious combination of so many rare qualities. He was a mass leader, original thinker, able editor, distinguished scholar, lover of books, famous journalist, versatile writer, talented actor, extempore orator, efficient organiser, able administrator, cultural ambassador, friend of all, popular Chief Minister and a perfect gentleman.

The Tamilnadu was very fortunate in having Anna as the Chief Minister under whose regime the people witnessed and enjoyed the II International Conference Seminar of Tamil studies, National Olympics and Indian International Trade and Industries Fair in the beginning of the year 1968. It is a matter of profound pleasure to record

that the Yale University in U.S.A. has honoured Mr. C.N. Annadurai by conferring on him the Chubb Fellowship.

It should be mentioned that some of his thoughts have become proverbs in Tamil language.

Duty, Dignity and Discipline.

(கடமை, கண்ணியம், கட்டுப்பாடு.)

Kadamai, Kanniam, Kattuppadu.

We have the heart that will withstand anything.

(எதையும் தாங்கும் இதயம் எங்கட்கு உண்டு.)

Ethayum thangum ithayam engatku undu.

The jasmine in the opponent's garden smells as sweet.

(மாற்றான் தோட்டத்து மல்லிகைக்கும் மணம் உண்டு.)

Matran thoattathu mallikaikum manam undu.

It should be remembered with a deep sense of gratitude that Anna contributed the above sayings to the Tamil Proverbology. His sayings are pregnant with profound meaning. There cannot be two opinions regarding the sanity and sagacity of the sayings of Anna. The first proverb (Duty, Dignity and Discipline) explains the code of conduct to be followed by one and all. The second proverb (We have the heart that will withstand anything) clearly emphasizes the inevitability of courage for every human being. The third proverb (The jasmine in the opponents' garden smells as sweet) proves in the unambiguous language the breadth of vision of Anna.

Though Anna is no more his words have become immortal proverbs of universal applicability.

Thiru Dr. C. N. ANNADURAI

Sri PRAKASA

I was glad to learn that friends in Madras have decided to bring out a commemoration volume in honour of Dr. C. N. Annadurai. While I was Governor of Bombay (1952-56), I used to know a great deal about him as an intrepid public worker who was wholly devoted to the cause he had espoused, and in the interest of which he was giving all his time and energy.

I had often wished to meet him, but unfortunately I came in contact with him only on one occasion which I recall very vividly. There was a public meeting in the Rajaji Hall. At this distant date I am forgetting what the object of the meeting was. The Chief Minister, Shri K. Kamaraj, was also present on the platform with me. Curiously enough, the assembled audience was not prepared to hear any one except Thiru Annadurai. Speaker after speaker were howled down. Neither Mr. Kamaraj nor I could speak. I then requested Mr. Annadurai to speak saying that they would listen to no one but him.

As soon as Dr. Annadurai got up to speak, there was pin-drop silence, and he was listened to with great respect and attention. It was clear that he commanded the highest regard of the persons present though I must confess I was sorry that the assembled people should not have had the patience and tolerance to hear others nor extend to them the courtesy that I think was due to them.

I constantly read of the activities of Dr. Annadurai in the press, and I was not at all surprised when I learnt that after the last General Elections, his party had secured a majority of seats in the Assembly, and that he was invited to take upon himself the burden of the office of Chief Minister. Though my direct contacts with him were practically nil, there is no doubt that he kept a track of my activities as I did of his, for as Chief Minister, he used regularly to send me cards of greetings and good wishes on festive occasions. I very greatly valued and appreciated his kind thought of me.

I found that he was a very careful and prompt correspondent, and I got replies to the letters that I sent to him. I was much distressed to learn of his serious illness which took him abroad. His last letter to me was on his return when I felicitated him on his recovery, and wished him a happy and successful term of further office. It was a matter of deep sorrow to me, as to his innumerable friends, that he passed away so prematurely. Fitting tributes were paid to him after his death by large numbers of persons who even risked their lives travelling on roofs of trains and being caught up in surging crowds in order to do him honour.

Having not come in touch with him either officially or non-officially, I can say nothing regarding either the ideals that he entertained or the methods he followed to achieve them.

The universal tributes that were paid to him on his death, certainly showed that he was a most popular and successful leader of men. I have had occasion to meet many visitors from Madras since Dr. Annadurai's death who all praised him for his work as Chief

Minister, and expressed deep sorrow at his early death. I join with my Madras friends in paying tribute to his memory, and hoping that all those who follow him will carry on his work for the good of the State, the country and society at large.

THE POOR TEMPLE

Anna was, in his teens, a great devotee. Later on, after reading 'Kudi Arasu', the torch-bearer of Rationalism, he became a great Rationalist and Humanist. In his early days Anna was brought up by his parents as a religious-minded boy. He went to the temple regularly. Even then, he had a peculiar way of worshipping in the small Punyakoteswarar temple, which did not attract the attention of the majority of devotees. He visited the big temples only when there was no crowd. Anna was much devoted to the elephant God, Pillayar. Even as a worshipper, he was a patron of humble temples, the abode of poor gods, contrasted with the rich Ekambareswarar and the affluent Varadaraja, the popular gods of Kanchee.

Some Reflections and Reminiscences

W. S. KRISHNASWAMI NAYUDU,
Retd. Judge, Madras High Court.

It was in the confederation of the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party) presided over by the Hon'ble Rajah of Bobbili held in the Victoria Public Hall, Madras on the 29th and 30th September, 1934 that I had first a clear estimate of the prospective leader of the masses Thiru C.N. Annadurai affectionately called 'Anna'. I was an office bearer of the said Confederation as Honorary Treasurer, as I was also the Honorary Treasurer of the Madras City Branch of the South Indian Liberal Federation for several years. It also so happened that my association with the Justice Party and politics which commenced ever since its inception, began to cease from then.

Thiru C.N. Annadurai and Thiru K.M. Balasubramaniam both erudite in Tamil Language and literature and both of whom have made a mark in their respective fields of activity, the former in the political field and the latter in the religious sphere, spoke in English at the Conference. Both were youngsters just fresh from the College and they spoke so fluently and with intelligent appreciation of the resolutions they were speaking on, that every one of the elders seated on the dais and the audience appreciated and applauded them, and it was widely remarked that those two youngsters had a great future in the public life of our country.

That Conference of the Justice Party held under the presidency of the Hon'ble Rajah of Bobbili was one held after the tumultuous

Conference held in Tanjore in 1932 which ended in a fiasco and led to the change of the leadership and of the Chief Ministership from Hon'ble B. Munuswamy Naidu to the Hon'ble the Rajah of Bobbili. I may be pardoned in this article to be in a reflective mood and I feel justification for it, as the D.M.K. party led by Thiru C.N. Annadurai is only the successor in interest of the original Justice party started by Sir Theagaroya Chetty and Dr. T.M. Nair. It was my privilege to have been present and associated ever since its inception beginning with the drafting of the memorandum called the "Non-Brahman manifesto" by the then leaders who met in the lawns of 'Rama Mandiram' the residence of T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, a leading Original Side lawyer under whom latterly I served my apprenticeship before enrolling myself as a High Court Vakil. My subsequent association in the profession with O. Thanickachellam Chettiar, a fearless leader of the party, as a junior in the legal profession enabled me to continue my association with the party and I have attended and participated in almost every Conference of the South Indian Liberal Federation held in the State as also in the two all-India Non-Brahman Conferences held in Belgaum in 1924 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Jadhav and the other in Amraoti in Central Provinces in 1925 under the presidency of the Maharaj of Kolhapur.

Reverting to the subject of the article, Thiru C.N. Annadurai, though I met him

for the first time in 1934, our families appear to have been associated for more than a half a century. I knew of it only from my father W.S. Swamy Naidu who was looking after our ancestral Shrotrium estate Uttukadu, a village about six miles from Conjeevaram. Conjeevaram, the birth place of Thiru C.N. Annadurai was, if I may say so our 'Summer Resort' as every year for our vacation we used to go to our village Uttukadu and then stay in Conjeevaram for at least a fortnight in connexion with the Brahmotsavam of Sri Varadarajaswamy. I came to know of the friendship of our families when Srimathi Bangarammah, the venerable mother of Thiru C.N. Annadurai came and stayed with us, when my father was alive, in our house at Madras in about 1945 for a few days and was treated as a member of our family. She is a dignified and amiable lady and moved with us during her stay as a member of our family. I was trying to meet her, both before and after the sad demise of her beloved son but I could not do so. But my son W.S. Venkataramanjulu had occasion to meet her recently at Conjeevaram and he told me she made kind enquiries about our family.

The next occasion after 1934 to have a personal contact with Thiru C.N. Annadurai was in 1957 just after my retirement from the Bench, at the wedding of the daughter of a common friend of us, in Purasawalkam, Madras, where the wedding was celebrated without the aid of a priest. No doubt the tali tying ceremony was gone through. Sir P.T. Rajan, Thiru C.N. Annadurai and myself were asked to bless the couple and we spoke on the occasion. I remember to have then remarked that though it was a self-respect marriage, it satisfied the requirements of both the textual and statutory law as to marriages, marriage being both a sacrament and a contract. The tali tying ceremony was gone through to satisfy the sacred texts and the contractual aspect was emphasised by the evidence of witnesses of whom one was an ex-minister of the Government of Madras, and other a leading journalist and leader of

the D.M.K. party and myself an Ex-High Court Judge.

After several years when Thiru C.N. Annadurai became the Chief Minister of Madras, being an old student of the Pachaiyappa's college like myself, the Pachaiyappa's Old Students' Association of which I have been the President, gave an entertainment to Thiru C.N. Annadurai, a distinguished old student. In my speech welcoming Thiru C.N. Annadurai, I mentioned that though he was popularly called 'Anna' by every one, as Chief Minister, he had become virtually the real 'Anna' or elder brother of every one in the State of Tamil Nadu, i.e., the elder and managing member of the great family of Tamil Nadu, though not a Hindu joint family but a composite family of the people of Tamil Nadu. Thiru C.N. Annadurai spoke appreciatively of the college in which he and I studied and paid tributes to the past professors and teachers and to the distinguished old students.

I may mention that he honoured me by presiding over the function of the unveiling of my portrait in the Pachaiyappa's College Hall by Hon'ble Dr. V.V. Giri, now President of India. Out of his kindness and affection he is reported to have spoken in appreciative terms about me.

The last and final occasion we met was when I visited him in his house a few days before his leaving for America for medical treatment. Then we had a heart to heart talk and I left him wishing him to continue his services to the country and to the people of Tamil Nadu.

The young man whom I saw in 1934, by 1967 when he became 'Anna' and the Chief Minister of the State of Tamil Nadu has grown beyond recognition and became not only a leader but an idol of the masses. No one in South India, in living memory, or in the past for a century or more has attained that unique position. A man may become erudite by learning, great by his achievements, popular by his munificence, loveable by his goodness and kindness, esteemed for

his character, worshipped for his piety, liked by his easy accessibility, and for his humility, applauded for his oratorical speeches, but for one to achieve as 'Anna' did that is, to carve for himself, a corner in the hearts of the old and the young of the people of Tamil Nadu, especially, the millions of the poor,

depressed backward, and the downtrodden, he must not only be having all the said virtues and many more but must be a phenomenal creation. He is not a mere man of wisdom, as our Prime-minister has so kindly said, but a man of infinite wisdom.

THE THIEF'S BALLOON!

When Anna was seven, he was taken by his mother to Madras. On alighting from the train in Egmore, Anna, seeing the various toys on display, began pestering his mother to purchase one for him.

Anna had gold bangles and anklets. A thief, throwing covetous glances, carefully followed. He began talking to the mother. Pleading for the boy, he gently admonished the mother for not purchasing a balloon for Anna who was crying. The mother, shamed at this, pleaded that there was no balloon. The thief replied that there was a man selling balloons at the other end and that he would buy one for the child. So saying, he took Anna to the other side where there was a goods train. His wicked plan was to strangle the child, throw away the body in a goods wagon and escape with the ornaments. The little Anna, not seeing his mother, began to cry hoarse. Some passers-by, scenting crime, questioned the thief. He faltered and blabbered. They handed him over to the police and Anna was restored to his grief-stricken mother.

As the D. M. K. Matures

An Analysis of Organizational Demands and Leadership Requirements

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In a previous article, which appeared in "**Anna '60**", this author has traced the development of "The DMK From A Movement To An Organization" and emphasised the need for different style of leadership, goal orientation, policy formulation, rank and file relationship and adaptation to environment. The very fact that the DMK has withstood the loss of its charismatic leader, Mr. C.N. Annadurai, is a testimony and tribute to his extraordinary ability in having built an effective and efficient organization based on functional relationship rather than on pathological dependency. The above fact is an indication of DMK's maturity as an organization. The basic problem for any matured organization is "how to keep it a going concern."

Internally the DMK is a fraternity and externally a fighting organisation. It is a fraternity based on regionalism and linguism and consequently it has to act as a bargaining agent and pressure group for its constituents. Bargaining involves compromise and costs and benefits. Once such a bargaining is over, the party has certain promises to keep up and reciprocal obligations to be performed. To perform these functions effectively, the organization needs internal discipline which can be easily achieved if there

is homogeneity within. On this point, Mr. Annadurai has repeated time and again that though the DMK is predominantly a middle class organization, it cannot afford to ignore other sections of the society and the party should continue to be broad based. The strength and weakness of the party will be centered around this problem in future. The organizational dilemma in this respect is how to achieve homogeneity with heterogeneous elements and how do achieve the concept of united front and coalition without diluting the power to bargain.

The politics of economics revolves around the question of 'who gets what and how?'—Given the constitutional set up of the nation, the leadership of a regional party like the DMK will have to be a combination of polis and cosmopolis; polis in terms of its regional interest and cosmopolis in terms of its necessity to adjust to the national and constitutional reality. Because the party in politics follow the coalition concept, it has unconsciously adopted the philosophy of political pluralism and ideological relativisms. With political vision, Mr. Annadurai has laid the foundation for this approach long back when the party had decided to give up the demand for separation of the South. This pragmatic approach has operational validity but not

without strain on the part of the leadership as some of the factors mentioned above are complementary as well as contradictory.

As mentioned earlier, pressure group implies accumulation of power. Though power is only a means, there is a tendency in any political party that the same becoming an end in itself. Robert Michels is of opinion that at first in political party there is control by the masses, but physical limitations of time, space and even physiology soon produce a system based on delegation. Leaders and officials at first are closely tied to the will of the majority and can easily be removed from office. At a time people are in the process of creating a new organization, they are forced to solve problems which are quite new. Since there are no established patterns to go by, individuals must be free to create new ones—a true democratic process in terms of accepting creative ideas. As the organization continues an elite develops, composed of its leaders. Technical specialization is called for and creates expert leadership. The leaders, who possess this expertise emancipate themselves from the mass and become independent of its control. The membership must give up the idea of supervising the administration and the leader conducts an increasing amount of organization business. Though it grumbles occasionally, the majority is really delighted to find persons who will take the trouble to look after its affairs. Thus, according to Michels, the oligarchical tendency manifests itself.

Mr. Annadurai, during his leadership, had made a successful effort to prove Robert Michels wrong in his predictions, a remarkable achievement and an example to be emulated by his followers.

Apart from avoiding the oligarchical tendencies and renewing the mass contact, the other major problem for the DMK is to keep its contact with the younger generation in constant repair. Hitherto the youth has been the main source of DMK's strength because of Mr. Annadurai's idealism, oratory

charisma and vision. The existing gap between the students and the party is bridgeable by taking some corrective measures. The themes of student-protest in different parts of the world are some combination of the following factors: (1) Romanticism (quest for self expression), (2) Anti-authoritarianism (antipathy toward arbitrary rule and manipulation); (3) Egalitarianism, Populism (stress on participatory democracy and distrust of elites); (4) Anti-dogmatism ('You can't trust anyone over thirty'); (5) Moral purity (society is hypocritical); (6) Community (desire for "human" relationship) and (7) Anti-institutionalism (a strong distrust of conventional institutions, spiritual as well as temporal.) In many researches these values have been found strongly related to student-activism and protest.

The 'old' looks back and lives by its past glory while the 'youth' looks forward to new idealism and 'promised land'. The more marginal they are to the employment market, greater their alienation from big 'establishments' and greater their propensity to follow some one who speaks against status quo. The old heroes are just old men for the youth. The present is no longer measured by the fear of the past but by hopes for the future. If there is one political party in India which knows best about the youth, it is the DMK; it still has the potentials to provide the leadership once again and to channelise their energy for constructive purpose. The pit-fall to be avoided by the party is that it should not presume monopoly over the youth and take their support for granted.

Invariably the elites of any political party after having come to power, have the following to say about the public: "These people want us to perform miracles; they don't understand the magnitude of the problem we face; we can't do much because neither we have the powers nor the resources. They should be patient." Greater the number of times the elites begin to deliver this sermon, closer their organization to its decline. Organization by definition is to set reasonable

goals, use the available scarce resources in a most efficient manner, in a given period of time. Tamil Nadu is fortunate in having the necessary brain-power which is capable of achieving the maximum out of minimum given the political leadership. The initiate should come from the party in this respect. The contact of the party with the intellectuals should be a continuous one, in formulating the policy, during its execution and while evaluating the plus and minus of such policy retrospectively. It is fool-hardy and short-sighted to use them as fire brigades.

The dealing with many of the problems raised above, Mr. Annadurai had proved himself to be an eminent leader. He was a man who would use the flame of his oratory to keep aglow a hot spirit, from which he would try to draw more light than heat. He would flex his muscles but not use them except as a last resort. He would hold to his grand design but would rationally lay down a foundation and then proceed to place brick on brick. He accepted the dictum that the

'form (the ruler) cannot eternally replace the content (the ruled)'. He disproved the assumption that idealist cannot be practical and practical men cannot be idealists, that intellectuals cannot be political and the politicians cannot be intellectual. These are the qualities Tamil Nadu expects from the present leadership of the party which has all the symptoms of living upto this expectation.

To sum up : It is man's dilemma that in the search for freedom he comes together into organizations within which he must again begin the search for freedom. It is the leader's dilemma—and he, too is a man—that the organization—which has given him his freedom must also be allowed to be free. The man who would stand alone, apart from his fellowmen, is lost. The man who cannot stand and remains indistinct from his fellow men, is lost. To reflect Mr. Annadurai's idealism in public life, here are the words of a Hebrew sage :

If I do not speak for myself, who will ?

If I speak for myself alone, what am I ?

If I do not speak now, then when ?

THE STINGY LADY

Anua's home was a bit distant from his school. So, it was arranged that he should have his mid-day meal in a relative's home near-by. The dominant mother-in-law of that house used to lock even savoury dishes in an almirah. After serving rice, the daughter-in-law would demand fried potato. The great stingy lady opened the almirah and gave the dish to be served to Anna. The almirah was again locked !

ANNA - AT A TELEVISION INTERVIEW

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Anna was hailed as the "Journalist-Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu" by all members of the Fourth Estate, in India and abroad, and no wonder, the eyes and ears of the world, were focused on him. Representatives of the Press, Radio and Television from the various parts of the world rushed to interview him and record his views and news of his Government.

The special privilege of arranging a few important interviews with foreign Journalists, was a part of my official duty. (I was then, the Public Relations Officer of the Government of Tamil Nadu, and Secretary of the State Publicity Co-ordination Committee.) Most of the Foreign Journalists were impressed with the modesty of that creative genius, Anna. As soon as the Official interviews were over, I used to hear the spontaneous outbursts and heart pourings regarding their appraisal of the great administrator Anna. His innate affection and matured understanding made them realise the reason behind his immense popularity and unique personality.

In view of his pressing engagements, it was not always possible for him to meet all the people at his office in Fort St. George, Madras. Hence, certain interviews had to be arranged at his residence (No. 9, Avenue Road, Nungambakkam). During one such interview, a foreign correspondent enquired the reason for the Chief Minister, living in such a small house. Anna's answer to that

question was at once, straight and simple. It revealed the depth of his heart and nobility of his mind.

"As a humble servant of my people, it is enough if I live in this house. Further, I preferred to live in *my own* house, however small it is" was Anna's reply, with his artistic accent on "*my own*." His self-respect and contentment were clearly visible in his reply. Foreign correspondents admired his charming replies and extolled his qualities of leadership, coupled with ready wit and humour.

A Television interview took place at his residence and it was a very memorable day for me. It happened in the first week of June 1967. A French Television Team, consisting of Mr. J. Claude Creator (Team Leader) and Mrs. J. Creton (Script-Girl) and the Sound Engineer came to India, with a view to produce special Television programmes for a net work of T. V. stations in Europe. Their main work was interviews with great personalities all over the world. The Government of India have agreed to provide necessary facilities for this team and it was given to me, to arrange a special interview with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The suggestion was submitted to the Hon'ble Minister, and the interview was fixed at 7 P.M. at his residence.

The three members of the French Team arrived Madras and very anxious to make the

programme a complete success. They were repeatedly putting me a number of questions over the phone and in person, regarding the interview. It seems they were told at the big hotels they were staying at Delhi and Madras, that it was a difficult job to get an interview with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and that too, to keep up the punctuality. Their extreme anxiety made me embarrassing. I told them firmly, "Remember, Our Chief Minister is a journalist and has respect for the journalists. He will keep up the engagement."

I went to Chief Minister's residence one hour in advance, for making preliminary arrangements. There was a stream of visitors, waiting at his residence. I had to check up certain plug points for the installation of the Television equipment. It will take at least half-an-hour to instal the tele Camara - and sound equipment on-the-spot and I also know, how valuable is the time of my Chief Minister.

With a view to remind him, I entered the main hall, after having informal discussions with the private Secretary, in the front room. The Hon'ble Chief Minister Anna, who was in the midst of a discussion with the legislators, greeted me smilingly and said, "Please go ahead with your arrangements. I know, it will require some time for checking up the television equipment. You may select any place, including the upstairs."

I wondered at his masterly skill and hastened to finalise the preliminary arrangements. After verifying all the rooms, including the one in upstairs, the front room in the ground floor, was selected for the purpose.

The time fixed for the interview was drawing near and the Chief Minister was not aware of the questions, proposed to be put to him. Mr. Creton, the leader of the team was getting panicky. "Will your Chief Minister answer my questions extempore? Will there be any time for rehearsals? Television-shooting cannot be perfect without rehearsals. Please tell him this," he was

whispering in my ears, with a list of questions in his hands.

"I know your problems, my friend, and they will be solved in time" I replied. I heard my esteemed friend Thiru Arangannal, M.L.A., indicating the arrival of the Chief Minister.

At the stroke of eight, the Hon'ble Chief Minister entered the front room and the two French men and the Lady greeted him, with folded hands saying 'VANAKKAM', with their peculiar accent.

Anna had a hearty laughter and exclaimed, "You have learnt Tamil, so soon. My Publicity Officer deserves commendation for this," he said, looking at me.

Immediately, he got ready for the interview and asked for the questions. The French Journalist passed on the list of questions at once. Before perusing the questions, he requested the French people to make necessary check up regarding light and sound arrangements. It took nearly 10 minutes, to adjust the equipment and during that brief time, Anna made a few jottings on a piece of paper and was ready for recording.

"You can proceed with your questions" directed Anna and the questions were put. Anna answered questions, one by one, clearly and candidly.

On the whole, there were three questions, mainly relating to the economic policy of the new D.M.K. Government, the language issue of the Government of Tamil Nadu, the future relationship of Tamil Nadu with the Government of India. ANNA'S replies contained the basic thoughts in his mind and they have taken a concrete shape, in due course.

The historic resolution on the official languages, which he moved on 23-1-1968 in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, spelt in detail, the unanimous voice of the people of Tamil Nadu. The formation of a special Inquiry Committee on the Centre-State Relations, was ANNA'S brain child.

At the end of the interview, the impression he made on the French Journalists, was so

tremendous, that they wanted to know whether he knew anything of film-making. When they were told by me that he was an experienced screen play wright, they understood the reason for his directions regarding the interview, in such a brilliant manner.

During the same interview, the Hon'ble Chief Minister had an informal talk with me and directed me to utilise the film and Radio activities more effectively, as we have no television in our State. I have apprised him of the facilities available with the Tamil Nadu Institute of Film Technology, and I assured him a workable plan, with minimum cost.

It was left to him to work out the details of the proposal to form a State Film Section, with special reference to News Reel, containing the important activities of the State Government, based on the idea given by the Hon'ble Anna, during the television interview referred to above. A concrete shape was given to it, after formal discussions at the State Publicity Co-ordination Committee, held in February 1968.

The inauguration of the Tamil Nadu News Reel was finalised, just before Anna left for the Yale University, in April 1968. The All India-Conference on Prohibition, held at Madras, on the eve of his visit to the United States, was an ideal subject for all India and International publicity and it was a surprise and a co-incidence, that the Tamil Nad film unit had its beginning and blessings at the residence of the present Hon'ble Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi. Before leaving for Yale University, Anna agreed for a Press Conference and he ordered, that it should be held at the residence of the then Hon'ble Public Works Minister, Tiru. M. Karunanidhi, at exactly 8-30 a.m. on 4-'68. All the Press

Representatives of Madras gathered at the residence of the Hon'ble M. Karunanidhi and Tamil Nadu news reel was, thus inaugurated informally, without fanfare. Thiru Murasoli Maran, M.P., was also present on the occasion and it was a happy beginning of a new diminision added to the State Publicity media.

Actually, the first Tamil Nadu News Reel was released at Madras and in all the theatres of the City and the districts when the Hon'ble Chief Minister Anna was on his world tour. The Hon'ble Minister V. R. Nedunchezian, M. Karunanidhi, M. Muthuswamy and Thirumathi Dr. Sathiyavani Muthu, have participated in the inauguration function of Tamil Nadu News Reel, held at Children's Theatre in May 1968.

Anna had a special regard and respect for journalists and his speech on the eve of the World Tamil Conference (on 1-1-68), at the annual function of the Reporters' Guild at Hotel Ashok, was most memorable. He has indentified himself so intimately, with the journalists and shared their problems, that he has agreed to extend certain facilities and privileges to them. He has assured them that the system of Accreditation pending for a long time, would be finalised by the Government of Tamil Nadu. In fact, it was given to the Hon'ble M. Karunanidhi, the present Chief Minister, to fulfill the assurances of ANNA, regarding the Accreditation of Press representatives, arranging Press party study-tours, etc.

The journalism had lost a great champion in the demise of Anna. However, the journalistic traditions he kept up and the patronage he extended, to journalists, will certainly be cherished by one and all.

HEED TO ANNA'S CLARION CALL I

M. S. VENKATACHALAM

"The spectre of casteism is perhaps more dangerous, because, it is a widely prevalent malady inherent in our social order, in our attitudes, beliefs and behaviour.

"Social tensions and the spirit of violence are on the increase—every village is riven with explosive possibilities—conspicuous and vulgar consumption goes on unchecked side by side with abject poverty.

"A professor from the Philippines said to me the other day, how he found a large number of women going about in tattered rags, in places where society ladies sported extremely costly sarees worth hundreds of rupees, and he wondered why no revolution occurred in the country.

"With 47 per cent of the families owning one acre of land and 22 per cent owning no land at all, with only three to four per cent of big cultivators enjoying all power, wielding all influence, making all decisions in collaboration with the governmental machinery and appropriating to themselves all the skill, the resources, the expertise governmental agencies offer, the poor half of the villages have little to thank anybody for."

"The governmental machinery, reflecting the caste, and class structure in the village, plays a supporting if not subservient role in perpetuating the existing order.

"All this has to change. A new leadership has to emerge and reliable agencies at the village level have to be created.....

"Such an agency must consist of all those who have hungry stomachs and willing hands, meagre or no lands and no means of production.

"It is clear that the monopolistic trends are getting intensified, that money-power is creating big pockets of political pressure, vitiating and distorting the political life of the country.

"The class-feeling of the employers and employees will have to be eliminated so that all those engaged in any undertaking regard themselves as workers in a common effort to enrich and serve the country.

"Workers' participation in management is one way of creating this feeling and should be introduced in all undertakings.

"Programmes of educational reform, now lying in cold storage have to be implemented and efforts made to provide the youth, avenues and opportunities of gainful employment, through all possible methods—co-operatively-run industrial estates and self-employment scheme."

We have given here some excerpts from the speech of **Mr. Jagjivan Ram**, President of the New Congress, at the recent Azadnagar plenary session. The speech is replete with revelations, frank and blunt!

And Mr. Y. B. Chavan, quickly following J. Ram's foot-steps has contributed his mite.

Says he, citing the glaring disparity that exists between the rich and the poor:

"It is the real tragedy that one who works most is the least beneficiary, while the one who has little work to do is a millionaire. But it is to be remembered that even the chosen few have become rich on the sweat of the working class.

"This disturbing picture has to be changed, and changed rapidly. We have to make the worker the real 'owner' of the country."

Too long in Power

We are, and as a matter of fact, the whole nation is, highly indebted to these stalwarts for their frank appraisals. But, one would ask, naturally enough, who is responsible for the continuance of this sorry state of affairs?

The Congress perched in power from the day of Independence, till now, has come out in the open, to wash its dirty linen in the public. Matters are bubbling out, to the dismay of all unbiased observers.

When those, who happened to be on the other side of the hedge, who happened to profess other schools of thought, ventilated such and many other similar grievances, these same personalities, their bosses and stooges as well, vied with one another to pounce upon those 'doubting-Thomases', and the brute majority was shown as the stupendous answer for all the allegations raised.

Erowbeating, brandishing the big stick, curses and calumnies, and all sorts of weapons in their armoury were employed unsparringly, and at all times!

Enlightenment

We are glad to see that now at least, after ruling this sub-continent for over two decades, enlightenment has come at Azadnagar.

Now, the malady is known, the disease diagnosed—and the people may well think that the powers-that-be will be prescribing the panacea to cure the ills.

But, no! they are not for that! They are digging deep, to find out the root—and to throw the blame on their adversaries!

Mutual accusations

"See, Sir, these bosses of Congress, the syndicate men, have been an obstacle on the path and hindering the progress"—this sentiment seems to be the burden of the song of the stalwarts of the New Congress.

The syndicate assembling at Ahmedabad, a week earlier, did not miss the opportunity to denigrate, to throw the blame on Mrs. Indira Gandhi as well as on the late Pandit Nehru.

Mr. Nijalingappa was pungent, he likened Mrs. Gandhi to the Queen Bee, he detected in her the semblance of Dr. Sukarno. "She is becoming the woman Hitler" declared **Mrs. Kripalani**. **Mr. Manubhai Patel** M. P. from Gujarat said that Mrs. Gandhi was not heading towards democratic socialism or the ideals preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but was following communism. "She is becoming the superboss," stated **Mr. Morarji Desai**.

One **Mr. Malhotra** of Allahabad went to the extent of declaring that the "sins" committed by Mrs. Gandhi could not be cleansed even with the waters of Jamuna and Ganga!

Approver's role

So, the mud-slinging went on, both at Ahmedabad and at Bombay, and it assumed nauseating dimensions, much to the disgust and dismay of the masses! The game is still on. Leader after leader begins to virtually play the role of approver, thereby incriminating those at the other camp, forgetting for a moment, that an approver will not be ordinarily relied upon and his testimony would be put to much scrutiny! **Mr. P. M. Kamath** portrays the picture of the Congress thus:

"The Congress is split. The pent-up anger against one another has been let loose by each faction. Erstwhile friends have become political foes. Each faction has discovered new bed-fellows from former common rivals."

So the political observers say that the two camps have reached a point of "no-

return"—and why should they still engage in castigating each other? The people have had too much of that stuff already from the same persons, and it is high time for them to stop the stinking business and render what service they could to the teeming millions and the toiling masses!

Tax dodgers

Political divorces of this kind are nothing new. A rift among the leaders resulting in a split in an organisation is not a novelty or the peculiarity of the Congress alone. But is this the method to be followed when parting company? Does this not degrade all those engaged in the devastating business of accusations and counter-accusations?

"The name of Jagjivan Ram was recommended for the office of the Presidentship—but it was not accepted by the syndicate because he had not filed income-tax returns for 10 years and wealth tax returns for four years"—exposes Morarji Bai.

Not only he, but the leaders of the syndicate like Ram Subhag Singh, Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha, Mr. Ashok Mehta and Mr. C.M. Poonacha are also tax-defaulters—alleges **Mr. Shashi Bhushan**, M.P., and he is frank enough to admit that he himself is a defaulter!

Worthless ones in the saddle

Why such allegations and counter-allegations? "See, all of them have been in the Congress, for a very long time. And if, these persons accuse one another, the natural inference would be that only worthless persons have been in the saddle"—will be the line of thought of a layman. And nobody can say that the layman's reasoning is baseless. This simple logic the Congressmen should know—both new and the old! Mutual mudslinging will, as Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has stated, not only tarnish the image of the Congress—but the image of the whole nation!

We are not here to advise those bosses and the barons. But in the interests of the nation,

we cannot resist the temptation to offer our humble suggestions.

At this critical juncture, one is reminded of the events of 1949 when Periar, leader of the DK, decided to marry Maniammai, thereby burying some of the principles, he had been so eagerly and enthusiastically preaching! That was a crucial time in the annals of the Dravidian Movement. Arignar Anna, who was the Chief lieutenant of Periar, decided to form Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

DMK born

A separate banner, a distinct arena—everything was chosen—and the party had its birth, dramatically enough, on the birthday of Periar, 17th September 1949.

There were, of course, some gumbblers in the camp of Anna, who wanted a suit to be filed against Periar, for a division of the properties in his hands.

But, Anna was the last man to accede to such a wish. "Let us not wash our linen in the public, whether it is dirty or not," he stated and started his onward march, crossed the Rubicon and had a safe landing!

Anna's magnanimity

When the DMK was founded, it was characterised as "**drops of tears**" by Periar, who descended to unimaginable depths in cursing and castigating the organisation. Not a word of retort, not even a symbol of protest or acrimony, was forthcoming from Anna who was interested, absorbed in roving the rudder, not in the ridiculous **art of** rebukes and recriminations!

Why not the Congressmen—new and the old—follow Anna's footsteps and bid good-bye to wrangling and cease their wrath? Anna has given the lead, as early as in 1949, and the leaders of the Congress should not fight shy of learning from his valuable, noble example. It will do good both to their organisation and to the sub-continent.

Power-mongering in Congress

At this juncture, one is naturally inclined to look for the real origin of the tussle and

the split. Here again the views differ and the leaders of the divided camps accuse each other.

In the tone of Brutus, the syndicate leaders accuse Mrs. Gandhi of becoming a dictator and contend that only her personal ambition to become a "super-dictator" has led to the split. The other camp accuses the stalwarts of the syndicate as reactionaries acting as a damper on the progressive forces and activities.

Political observers cannot but openly declare the truth that the fight and the split are not due to ideological differences, but to clash of personalities, whose only, gross aspiration is to be in the saddle. Naked lust for power and nothing else is the unwholesome force that wrecked the party. This is the verdict of the common man.

Centre—a Leviathan

The reason for the squabbles and the ruinous split goes beyond individual personalities. The set-up of our constitutional machinery is such, that the Centre is the cynosure of all aspiring politicians. It is just like a Leviathan, arrogating all the powers and responsibilities, while the States are reduced to the status of Local Boards!

Decentralisation of power, has been prescribed by many a political scientist, to remedy the various ills afflicting the sub-continent. But no, the powers-that-be would not heed to sober suggestions. When the deft device of decentralisation was shown up as best fitted to resolve the conflicts, the leaders, who at present are hurling fire and filth at each other, were united at that time in pouncing upon those political scientists and statesmen. And now the time has come for a virtual rethinking on the subject of Centre-State relations.

Decentralisation urged

Kalaignar Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, has openly declared that unless the powers of the Centre are reduced, there will be no end to the power-mongering at the Centre. Even the Lawyers' Conference

held at Bangalore on Dec. 27, 1969, endorsed the same view. The news item reads,

"On the Centre-State relations, it said it was the duty of the Centre to maintain the balance without in any way depleting the powers of the States, which were already very weak.

"It also suggested the appointment of high-power commission to recast the Centre-State financial relations and to re-allocate the financial resources having regard to the requirements of the Centre and the States and to take steps to amend the Constitution."

The Chief Minister of Kerala, **Mr. Achutha Menon**, addressing the 31st Indian Political Science Conference stated,

"There is a lopsided concentration of economic power with the Central Government far out of proportion to any definition of its legitimate responsibilities. Conversely, the economic power of the States is far too meagre in relation to its clearly defined responsibilities.

Experience has shown that a system of financial arrangement by which all the States rely on discretionary grants and loans by the centre for budgetary needs and for development expenditure is certainly not conducive for developing, healthy Centre - State relations."

So, the trend is clear, Region-consciousness is growing day by day, which can neither be ignored nor stifled. The giganticism at the Centre is despised by each and everybody, and the remedy is therefore nothing but decentralisation.

Evils of giganticism

A political prophet he was and so **Anna** was able to predict the future. In "**Home - land**" issue dt. 28-12-1958 Anna has this to say on the subject.

"Unless there is perfect decentralisation, plans are not going to produce the expected results, commensurate with the crores spent and labour involved.

"It is the **States** that should be the planners—not those at Delhi. Delhi, in its present position can at best be a co-ordinating agency, not the planner and dispenser of doles,

If, instead of issuing orders, Delhi allows, through a process of decentralisation, the States to formulate and work out schemes, then and then alone could there be tangible results.

"All the evils that Pandit Nehru perceives in the giganticism in the economic field, are to be found in still uglier forms, in the political giganticism that is today being lodged in the imperial city of Delhi.

"Giganticism produces awe, not affinity ! That is exactly why Pandit Nehru finds no warmth, no enthusiasm and no spontaneous co-operation from the people. Instead of taking the people to task for this lack of warmth, Pandit Nehru should take courage in both hands and work out a genuine scheme of decentralisation, and do away with gigantism that he is today confronted with.

"His stature will, we can assure him, rise a hundredfold, if he exhibits this superb statesmanship. Mughal gardens and the Red Fort, are as much the centres of grandeur, as they were and are seats of political giganticism.

"If only Pandit Nehru could listen to the sermons that those very stones are bound to issue, he will be busy planning for an entirely different political set-up-wherein there would be a comity of Nations bound, not by fetters, but by a union of hearts ! Could he ?"

What was true of and applicable in the case of Pandit Nehru is equally valid and applicable in the case of his daughter, Mrs. Gandhi.

Will she, endowed with much ability, sagacity, and enjoying wide popularity, imbibe and exhibit in her the prudence and virtues of real statesmanship as brilliantly outlined and demonstrated by Anna ?

Yet to be seen.

THE TAMIL MOTHER

When, during the first anti hindi campaign, Anna was waxing eloquent over the beauties of Tamil, comparing it to a mother, angry congressmen in Kumbakonam sent him a chit to the dais demanding the address of the Tamil mother ! They were chuckling that they had cornered Anna. Anna stunned them by replying "Congress friends ! If you can show me Bharatha Matha, I can show you the Tamil Mother. She lives next door to your Bharatha Matha."

SCINTILLATING SPEAKER!

V. R. MADANAGOPAL

Rhetorical skill and oratorical power are inborn and inherent qualities. Very few possess those qualities. It may be true that some people by hard work acquire these abilities even though they are not born with the gift of the gab. One such was Demosthenes, who even though was a stammerer had overcome his defect by strenuous efforts and painstaking struggles. But, we come across in history great speakers, who have born with the gift of the gab and effortlessly and without trepidation, deliver beautiful rhetorical pieces. Chief Minister Anna belongs to this category.

Anna is a born genius. He is a silver-tongued orator. He is a golden voiced rhetorician. **In Anna's speeches we can hear the melodious music mirthfully played by a master musician, the jingling sound emanated from the anklet worn by the swift-footed dancer, the joyous note of the jubilant cuckoo, the pleasant sound of the pouring showers, the rhythmic rumblings of the running water, superb song sung by a scintillating singer, humming of the bees, whispering sound of a wasp, lusty laugh of a lovable lady and above all, they contain articulate accents, pedantic pronounciations, reverberating rhymes, awe-inspiring alliterations and flowery language.**

Speaking superbly is a spontaneous and inherent quality in Anna. Effortlessly and with ease he delivers his speeches on subjects varied and topics different. It is proverbial

that Anna will speak on any topic, interestingly and inspiringly. In fact, he has delivered a brilliant speech on 'no topic' when the organisers of a meeting told him that there was no topic. Another awe-inspiring speech is 'riverside'.

His speech 'Nadum Edum' (country and book) is one of the best speeches of Anna. Denoting and distinguishing clearly "**what is a country and what is a book?**" Anna spoke :

"Books are inevitable but, it is important they are intelligible. Books must reflect the people, their culture, their civilization and their mind. They should serve as a mirror to show a straightforward path to the people. There should be a connection between the country and the books. Books must kindle the patriotism and fervour of the people and make them righteous and justiciable."

He also reiterated that books should not serve the people in the ivory tower. Books are not meant only for pundits. It will serve no purpose if books are written in praise of gods, their consorts and concubines, their deeds and misdeeds. Books must be written to improve the knowledge, uplift the masses and educate the people of what is happening around us.

Before concluding his speech Anna appealed to the pundits and professors, writers and scribes to reckon with rationalism and keep in their view the country's welfare first and write books. He also asked them to move with the modern age and write books accordingly.

This 'Nadum Edum' is one of Anna's classic speeches. Though delivered a couple of decades ago, it is still fresh and full of ideas for the present times. It is significant that this speech was delivered in Pachaiyappa's college at Madras, where Anna studied.

Another speech which stands along with the above one is "Nilaiyum Ninaippum" (Position and Reckoning) with an introductory remark "my position and reckoning of today, what people reckon about me, what I reckon about them, on account of which how our positions have changed—just like this I balanced both the position and reckoning together and conclude. Now I shall speak on the topic "position and reckoning" and continued :

"The reckoning of a country is influenced by its position. If a country is high and affluent, its reckoning would be high and soaring; if a country is in a low and backward position, its reckoning would be low and miserable.....How people, especially in the villages, do believe, what to be believed? They will keep their belief on unwanted and silly things. They will be knowing irrelevant and unnecessary things. You just ask them which is the capital of America? Don't know! Which is the Capital of Russia? Don't know! Where is Berlin? Don't know! Do you know Sulmarines? Don't know! Alright, do you know the Vahana (Vehicle) of Yama Dharma Raja? Oh! That's buffalo! They are not bothered to know about scientific achievements, historical and geographical facts. But they are particular about Yama Dharma's Vahana! What a sorry state of affairs?"

How true this is! Regretfully we must accept this sorry state of affairs prevailing even today in our country. Our people are not bothered about men orbiting the moon, man landing in lunar and expanding cosmos etc. But they are wondering about many farces. What a pity!

Anna concluded his speech with this remark "Comrades! Rationalism should play an

important part in our life. Youngsters, with full of rationalistic and progressive ideals, should come forward. With their support and help we can redeem our masses from ignorance and illiteracy."

In 1950's, Anna has delivered a series of Radio Speeches broadcasted by AIR, Madras. They radiate his remarkable rhetorical powers and his magnificent ideas which still hold good for the present day.

When Mahatma Gandhi was shot down by Godse, Anna delivered a speech in AIR, Tiruchirapalli and he immediately complied with the request, as he regards Gandhiji as a great apostle. His speech on Gandhiji, even though short one, was best and brilliant. It was soothing to the teeming millions who were tearfully sorn asunder by the dastardly act of a mad fellow. The Congress Poet Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai then praised Anna: **"I have heard so many speeches about Gandhiji. But, when I heard your speech in the radio, I was really enchanted. Nobody has spoken like you. It is a superb speech."**

Other brilliant speeches of Anna of those days were "Nool Nilayangal" (Libraries), "Porul" (Economics), "Sollum Payanum" (Words and Deeds), "Ara Nilayangal" (Philanthropic Institutions) etc.

When the Chinese invaded India in 1962, Anna was requested to deliver a speech in AIR, Madras. Promptly put forth his views as follows :

"When we are engaged in economic development, rural reconstruction, political awakening, scientific research, industrial growth and social education, we have been confronted with a grave danger of invasion by an alien country. So we have to stop everything and concentrate on mobilising our forces to resist the invasion.....unconditionally and unequivocally we should lend support to the government, whatever colour and shade of thought we may have, to save our country from mischief and menace.....On the path we tread there will be difficulties, hurdles, disappointments and devastating delusions,

yet we should proceed undeterred and unafraid, till we achieve success, and we will strive our best."

He finished his speech with these words:
"We will definitely win!"

Anna's platform lectures, radio speeches, Rajya Sabha and legislative speeches, addresses delivered in associations, orations in the conferences, talks in meetings are there in volumes to show Anna's remarkable

rhetorical power and splendid oratorical skill. If his radio speeches are remarkable, his platform lectures are brilliant; his speeches in Rajya Sabha are superb, his speeches in the legislature are stupendous, if his talks in associations are tremendous, his orations in conferences are magnificent.

In short, the world's great orators like Demosthenes, Edmund Burke, Robert Green Ingersoll, Gladstone, Winston Churchill are all rolled in one and that is Anna.

THE BUDDING ACTOR

Even as a boy, Anna was much attracted to the street-dramas conducted in the open-air. They were very humorous and entertaining. Anna sat through these dramas, enjoying them till dawn.

As a boy, he used to enact his own dramas with his friends, in a cattle-shed near his home. He used to make-up and dress as an actor. Anna's grand-mother, incensed on hearing this, went to the shed, caught Anna in the act, dragged him with make-up to the home and beat him severely. Even this did not lure away the irrepressible Anna from drama. Later on, to propagate his ideals, he wrote dramas and acted in them with consummate skill. Durairaj, Kakabhatta and the great debater, were all his famous roles.

A PRECIOUS JEWEL

A. P. DAMODARAN, M. A.

In the death of Thiru. C. N. Annadurai, former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Tamil Nadu had lost one of its precious jewels. The jewel that adorned the Tamil Nadu was snatched off by the cruel hands of Time. But his thirty years of public life had left a deep imprint on the Sands of Time.

He was not born with a silver spoon; but was born with a silver tongue. By his eloquence he was able to attract millions of people. They were spell bound with their mouths wide open. His speeches in the legislatures could be compared with The Philippians of Demosthenes and that of Burke and Macaulay in the parliament. It was said when he was on his legs in the Rajya Sabha the house heard his speeches with rapt attention. When he was lashing the social evils of the day the Flames of Fury were emitted so forcibly that they produced a strong effect on the minds of the listeners.

He was equally powerful as a forcible writer. He wrote thousands of words which attracted millions of youths to rally under his banner. His style was his own creation: simple, clear and convincing. Many were thirsting to know how he got that style and many tried to imitate it. "The pen is mightier than the sword" runs a proverb. He is an apt illustration for that proverb.

He was a rationalist. After finishing his education he boldly took that hard path of social reform. The Self Respect Movement

started by Periar Ramaswami attracted him much. He threw his heart and soul in propagating and spreading the ideals of that movement. He used all his natural gifts to foster that movement. He travelled throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu to preach to the ordinary masses the lofty ideals of that movement in the teeth of severe opposition. He wrote innumerable articles, stories and dramas to popularise that movement. He adopted all media of propaganda to spread the ideals of that movement of reformation. It was a rationalist movement and that movement became a mass movement in Tamil Nadu, one of the wonders of the world!

Even though he was vehement in criticising and attacking the social evils of the day he would listen with great respect the views of those who opposed him. "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." He followed this saying of Voltaire in the true spirit.

He was a rare combination of all these glorious aspects. No wonder people of all shades of opinion gathered in millions to mourn so deeply at his sad demise. His loss is an irreparable one. Thousands flock together to pay homage to his tomb daily. That place would attract millions of those who follow the principles for which he stood and served, for days to come. For the rationalists the place of his interment is a Mecca to get inspiration.

A HOMAGE TO ANNA

(By : KRISHNA SRINIVAS)

O, weep for him who wiped the tears of others,
O, weep for him who lived all life for brothers,
O, weep for him who lives now dust to dust—
A million deeds to blossom frozen in his breast
You came from Kanchee a rivulet wee
And gathered thousand streams to weave a sea,
A million hands, a million deeds
And sowed in hearts galore a million seeds
And brick by brick a towering edifice raised—
Navalar hued and Karunanidhi based.
Justice — Steeleed,
Tolerance — fleshed,
Agony — boned,
Thirty million toiling Tamils
Two decades ago unfurled their sails
And braved all odds with giddy joys and raptures pure
Athirst of scaling slopes of tireless Work
And sweats and tears cementing their path
Dreamed earthly Eden gained —
Three meals a day to muscle their frame,
A little home to keep the howling winds away,
A little rest to start next day all gay.
The darkest night in fury lashed
Our flesh with savage whips,
Planted fevers in heroic hearts,
And bullet tore the students' flesh
And destruction grinned with demoniac ire—
Breeding corpses everywhere.
Rajaji blessed, the Rising Sun flamed East
Sowing hopes and freedom joys—

Every home a paradise,
Every field a flowering Eden,
And man and woman a dual heaven.

The rage of rampage that silenced Lincoln's life,
The bullet fire that scorched a Mahatma's heart,
The flame of gun that quenched a Kennedy flame
All speak the wrath of despairs grim.

But you Anna, dear Anna
Fell a silent prey to silent pain—
Left us orphaned, grieved and slain
Of hopes of morrow, hopes of rise to front.

The night is dark,
The way is weary
We know not when we reach our goal
The deep cleft yawns,
The wind unfurls diabolic jeers;

As foamy shore keeping the rage of waves at bay
You alone can shelter all from fuming crash—
A lethal end or truthful pursuits,
A waning longing to endure ills,
An anaemic urge to pursue truth that thrills.
Anna! 'DearAnna'! Beloved Anna!

The floor is neat,
The lamp is clean,
The oil is up to the brim
O Master Guide! 'Give us the Light'!

“AN ELEGY FOR ANNA”

G. MARIA JOSEPH XAVIER M.A.

Lecturer in English

Saraswathi Narayanan College

PERUNGUDI, MADURAI-12

- 1 ANNA the greatest — Is he dead ?
Then say the gracious heart and head
Have ceased to love and feed us all
And made us mourn in bitter gall.
- 2 Then say the guiding star has gone
‘Dimming as dusk the early morn;
The Samson’s post has fallen down
And hence a palace of renown.
- 3 Say the sun has set in his nest
Drowning in darkness all the rest.
The shepherd has left us, his fold
In the dale of distress untold.
- 4 Then Ho ! my friends my sable bring.
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry !
Awake and mourn his death with me !
- 5 With him have gone our hopes and joys
Imparted by his pleasing voice.
Can we hear the words of ANNA,
So sweet as the hallowed Manna ?
- 6 With him have gone our peace and pride,
Our ‘friend, philosopher and guide’.
Like a deserted child we are
In trackless woods when house is far.

- 7 Ours is a vineyard fresh and new
Of tender grapes and hues with dew.
Ere it gives us fruits ripe and gay
The husband man has passed away.
- 8 Then Ho! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry!
Awake and mourn his death with me.
- 9 He did not care for pow'r and pelf.
To lift us he denied himself.
Against all the evils he fought.
To us a blissful state he brought.
- 10 As Moses led the chosen seeds
He led us all with noble deeds
Love and kindness with a high hand
Towards the pleasant promised land.
- 11 He saw and also stepped inside
Canaan with shoreless Joy and smiled.
But ere he spent some suns of rest
The callous death has chilled his chest.
- 12 Then Ho! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry!
Awake and mourn his death with me.
- 13 Even the Greeks who lost Plato,
The Romans who couldn't save Cato,
The French bereft of bright Rousseau,
Wouldn't have lamented so in Woe.
- 14 Even the Psalmist the demise
Of Jonathan with sobs and sighs
Would not have 'Wailed as we today
Mourn Anna's death in dark array.
- 15 Let's curse and hate the heartless death
That has stolen the precious breath
Of ANNA great for whom we pine.
Let's weep in sorrow and in brine.

- 16 Then Ho! my friends my sable bring.
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry!
Awake and mourn his death with me.
- 17 Honoured A P JANARTHANAM !
Didn't you bid me sing a poem
Epic in form shedding bright light
On ANNA'S life brave and upright ?
- 18 Prithee bear with me for I can't
A happy eulogy now chaunt.
The Potent Fate has made me sing
A dirge on him an uncrowned king.
- 19 Befits it all of us to blame
The death that at the peak of fame
Has snatched from us ANNA we love
Just as a vulture steals a dove.
- 20 Then Ho ! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry
Awake and mourn his death with me.
- 21 I beg ye friends go out this day
And through a thousand valleys stray
To cull some flowers like daisies.
Eglentine, blue bells and pansies
- 22 Gather sweet smelling rose, woodbine
Snowy lilies, Jasmine so fine.
Then strew them on a scented bed
And lay on it the mighty head.
- 23 The world is empty still and dull
All men are in the capital.
The countless people let him see
And lament in great agony.
- 24 Then Ho! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry!
Awake and mourn his death with me!

- 25 Then place inside the sandal bier
His frame and on it, hues shower
Bear it away ; the people throng
In streets and to see him they long.
- 26 Bear him gently when people weep
Bearing the heat in sorrows deep,
When the human hearts beat as drum
And wireless stations moan and hum.
- 27 Harken Ye the trumpets' cry shrill
That fills our aching hearts with thrill
Behold his frame is 'der the sod
Can we see him ? TOO too too hard!
- 28 Then Ho! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry
Awake and mourn his death with me.
- 29 He had shed his mortal coil
Which lies buried in the soil.
His breath has gone to scent the breeze.
His sprite to speak to stars at ease.
- 30 We tried to hold him but in vain.
The sage relates 'To die is gain'.
Then let the hasty sky take us
That we may soon gain his status.
- 31 Till then let's mourn in sorrows' dell
When thousand of the sad bells knell !
The trumpets are loud in their cries
And mortal lungs send heart drawn sighs.
- 32 Then Ho ! my friends my sable bring
Sabled let me steep in mourning.
Awake Ye harp, lute and psaltry
Awake and mourn his death with me.

ADHERE TO ANNA'S PATH!

T. K. KARUPPAIAH

In this amiable, antique soil,
Incarnated Anna to help us in turmoil.
People struggled in the shroud of rites,
Rescued them he throwing light.

We exist here as thine own shade,
Which could never wane nor fade.
Anna bore all abuse and curse,
Taking them as tinkling verse.

He who built the honey comb,
Lies in peace in the nature's womb.
Let us take a luminous oath
To adhere and adopt Anna's path.

People begin to deify and adore,
The radiant lord who rests on shore.
Though you at a distance shine,
Anna ! You are, ever, mine !

Uncrowned king, you sit at peak !
Under thee, the shelter we seek;
As the viable moon and sun,
Anna continues to animate men !

" ANNA - MY SOUL "

KUMARA KARUPPAIAH

Able and astute earnest man,
Ever that glowed as peoples dawn;
Noble, naive and notable peer,
Never once again'll Come to this sphere !
Numerous tasks he rendered the nation,
Now he calmly sleeps before the ocean;
Alas ! my Anna where thee gone ?
Orphan like I rambling alone.

Marvellous, splendid, amusing tales,
Morals and mottos thine are pearls;
Young or old even father and mother,
Everyone calls thee Anna hither!
Shrewd and sagacious sincere life,
Showed me path as beacon to ship
Oh! that great and glorious pioneer,
Steered me over one decade more;
Under him much I derived in this terra,
Chance I got to live in 'Anna's Era.
Love and wisdom leader all.
'Anna' you are my heart and soul.

A VERSATILE GENIUS

A. P. JANARTHANAM

I was attracted to Anna in 1937. Since then he had been my affectionate elder brother in public life. I have not yet fully recovered from the physical and mental shocks I suffered as a result of his unexpected death.

With his amiable disposition, tact, sobriety, statesmanship, brotherly feelings for his party associates and compassion even for his opponents, Anna endeared himself to one and all. He stood for stability, order and progress in the South. He was claimed by all India. But cruel death snatched him away when he was most needed.

He championed the cause of the poorest of the poor. The lamentations of over 30,00,000 people who paid him homage on his last journey brought out their deep affection for this great commoner.

Anna was a versatile genius who moulded the destinies of a great people. A staunch follower of Periyar Ramasami Naicker, he became the Rising Sun of Tamil glory.

He reigned supreme for over three decades as the greatest orator of Tamil Nadu. He drew the biggest crowds. His oratory was relished as much as the music of M. K. Thyagaraja Bhagavathar and the nadaswaram of T. N. Rajaratnam—the timbre and rhythm of his voice was such. He was the model for a host of speakers. He was the Tamilian Demosthenes. Alliteration, vast erudition, penetrating insight, fine anecdotes and choice parables marked his speeches.

Anna was a great journalist, a fine novelist and a noted playwright. As editor of *Viduthalai*, *Dravidanadu*, *Kanchi*, *Home Rule* and *Homeland* he wrote page after page, week after week for over 30 years. He distilled the essence of the great Sangham literature in his writings. Bharathi Dasan, the great revolutionary poet, influenced him very much.

He was a master of history. He wrote history—and made it. References to British, Greek, Roman, French, American and Russian histories abound in his writings. The Buddha, the Tamil Sidhars, Bradlaugh and Ingersoll, all inspired him.

He was a voracious reader. To the last he was a great lover of books. He mastered all great political thinkers and economists. He studied with great interest the working of democracy in underdeveloped countries. He had a keen insight into Indian conditions and problems. With his breezy style and humour, Anna made hard facts and dry statistics palatable.

Anna was a talented playwright and a gifted actor. “Kalki,” the well-known Tamil writer, compared him to Shaw, Ibsen and Galsworthy. Anna conducted many campaigns through his plays. He encouraged talented artistes. Sivaji Ganesan, K. R. Ramaswami, N. S. Krishnan and S. S. Rajendran were all attached to him very much. The popular matinee idol, M. G. Ramachandran, drew inspiration from Anna. DMK playwrights like Kalainjar Karunanidhi (the

present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu , T. K. Srinivasan, Murasoli Maran, Arangannal, Radhamanalan and Prof. Pandurangan are all his followers. To the Tamil people, Anna was Rousseau, Voltaire, Shaw and Russell.

Anna was the golden link, the great connecting bond, the affectionate elder brother, to all DMK men. With great care, patience and affection, he trained his comrades into becoming legislators and ministers. Anna accommodated the humblest of workers in his big heart.

Anna was a great statesman. He rose above party, encouraged his followers to appreciate the good in others. He did not harbour malice or ill-will. He spoke well of India in America and Japan.

He was a staunch believer in democracy and Socialism and always accommodated the Opposition's point of view. The smooth deliberations of the Tamil Nadu legislature during his time bear this out.

Throughout his public life he was maligned

and slandered. But he never retaliated. He chose to conquer his opponents by love.

He was a brilliant administrator. The rupee-a-measure scheme was proof of his great concern for the common man. He stuck to prohibition. His prosperity brigade serves the people very well.

His budget speeches are fine examples of Tamil prose. He presented the cream of Tamil thought to the delegates who attended the Second World Tamil Conference.

Anna's performances on the floor of the Madras Assembly and Council were remarkable. The packed visitors' galleries were hypnotised by his ready retorts, flashes of wit, devastating satire and masterly analyses.

In short, he was the watchdog of Tamil rights, the great ambassador of goodwill, the focus of anti-Hindi sentiment, the architect of the United Front which brought about the big change in 1967 and the leader of the Dravidian movement.

He has left a great void. But he had trained a strong band of followers who will nourish and cherish his ideas and ideals.

ANNA'S HAND BILL

When Anna was studying in the Pachayappa's College, Pandit Nehru addressed a large gathering in the Prabhat Talkies. The whole country was excited over the Tilak Fund. The Justice party stand was drafted by young Anna and he handed over the hand bill direct to Pandit Nehru. The Congress organisers of the meeting became very angry at this and thereon menacing glances at Anna.

Dr. C. N. Annadurai

Born on September 15, 1909, in a lower middle class family Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai endearingly called by the masses as Anna is by any test the darling of the masses.

He took his early education at Conjeevaram. After taking Master of Arts Degree at Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, he plunged headlong into Justice Party Politics. While in College he took leading part in college debates and evinced keen interest in politics. Dr. Annadurai first met Periyar Ramaswamy in 1934. By slow degrees and relentless efforts, Periyar and Dr. Annadurai provided a mass base for the aristocratic Justice Party. Their efforts were crowned with success at Salem in 1944. Dr. Annadurai's resolution renaming the Justice Party as the Dravida Kazhagam was adopted at the Conference.

Though a follower of Periyar, Dr. Anna - durai did not hesitate to differ from his leader when occasion demanded. Periyar in his own way declared in 1947, that August 15 - the Independence Day - was a day of mourning for the Dravidians. Dr. Annadurai did not agree. The parting of ways came in 1949. Dr. Annadurai came out of the Dravida Kazhagam and founded the Dravida

Munnetra Kazhagam on September 15, 1949. Under his guidance the Party has grown from strength to strength and has become a powerful political force in Tamil Nadu. The party contested the 1957 General Elections for the first time and secured fifteen seats. Dr. Annadurai, who was the leader of the D. M. K. Legislature Party represented the Conjeevaram Assembly Constituency. In 1962 he was elected to the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) where he proved himself as a great Parliamentarian. In 1967 General Elections the D. M. K. won an absolute majority with 139 seats in a House of 234.

Dr. C. N. Annadurai who was responsible for this "big change" in the political life of Tamil Nadu has been in office as Chief Minister hardly for two years. Yet, within the short period, he proved himself as an able administrator and statesman.

Dr C. N. Annadurai was a many sided personality. He was a politician, a statesman, a social reformer, a powerful speaker, a journalist, a dramatist, an actor, and above all a man of the masses. Rightly has he been affectionately called as "PERARIGNAR - ANNA".

ANNA'S LIFE - Milestones

(15-9-1909 to 3-2-1969)

- 1909 Sept. 15. Born in Kancheepuram to Mr. Natarajan and Bangaramma.
- 1914 Admitted in Pachaiappa's elementary school.
- 1927 Worked for some time as clerk in the Kancheepuram Municipality.
- 1928 Admitted to the Intermediate class in the Madras Pachaiappa's College.
- 1930 Admitted to B.A., (Hons.) Economics group, in the same college.
 - „ Married Rani Ammal.
 - „ Joined the Self-Respect Youth League.
- 1931 Contributed articles to 'Tamil Arasu'.
 - „ Elected Secretary to the College Union, Bagged many prizes in the inter-collegiate oratorical contests.
- 1933 Chairman of the College Economics Association.
- 1934 Passed the B.A. (Hons.) examination.
- 1935 Admitted to the M.A. degree.
 - „ Worked as teacher in the Govindu Naicker Secondary School.
 - „ Met Periyar in Tiruppur.
 - „ Contested to the Corporation election from Peddunaickenpet as Justice Party candidate and lost.
 - „ Took part in the symposium in the Y.M.C.A. on the 'Wardha scheme' in Rajaji's presence.
- 1937 Editor of 'Navayugam' weekly.
 - „ Campaigned for the Raja of Bobbili along with Mr. P. Balasubramaniam and T.A.V. Nathan.
 - „ Presided over the Thuraiyur Self-Respect Conference.

- 1938 Editor, 'Viduthalai', Tamil Daily from Erode.
Convicted for four months and sent to jail in the anti-Hindi agitation.
- 1939 Elected Secretary of the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party).
,, Call for 'Tamilnad for Tamilians' given by Periyar.
- 1940 Seconded 'Dravidanadu for Dravidians' Resolution in the Justice Party conference in Tiruvarur.
- 1942 Published own weekly 'Dravida Nadu' from Kancheepuram.
- 1943 Staged 'Chandrodayam', social drama with comrades. Took the role of hero Durairaj himself.
- 1944 Proposed resolution in the Salem conference changing the name of the Justice Party into the Dravida Kazhakam.
,, Kumbakonam Dravidian Students' Conference. Anna converts students
- 1945 Periyar introduces Black shirts. Anna's disagreement.
- 1947 Aug. 15. Independence day. Periyar calls it a day of mourning Anna disagrees.
- 1948 Compulsory Hindi introduced again Picketing resumed. Anna jailed. Presided over the Erode Dravida Kazhakam provincial conference convened by Periyar.
- 1949 Periyar marries Mani Ammai. Anna parts company with Periyar. Sept. 17. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhakam is launched in the Robinson Park in pouring rain. Anna is elected first General Secretary.
- 1950 Sept. 18. Anna jailed for his writing 'Ariya Mayai'.
Oct. Agitation for communal G.O.
- 1951 Anna presides over the first provincial D.M.K. Conference in Madras.
- 1953 July 15. Three-pronged agitation. 1. Black flag demonstration against Pandit Nehru. 2. For changing name of 'Dalmiapuram' into 'Kallakudi'. 3. Against the new education scheme of Rajaji. Anna jailed for three months.
- 1956 May 17-20. D.M.K. Provincial Conference in Trichy, presided over by Navalar Nedunchezhiyan. The D.M.K. decides to contest elections.
- 1957 Anna elected to the State Legislature from Kancheepuram Constituency.
- 1959 The D.M.K. captures the Madras City Corporation.
- 1961 Third D.M.K. special conference in Madurai.
- 1962 Anna lost the Kancheepuram assembly seat. Elected to the Rajya Sabha. May 1. Anna's marathon speech in the Rajya Sabha. Makes a fine impression on Delhi.
July 19. Anti-price rise agitation. Anna jailed.
Oct. 24. Anna released. Pledges support to India's war efforts.
- 1965 Jan. 26. Hindi becomes the official language. Anna declares it a day of mourning and calls upon his followers to hoist black flags over their houses. Anna and thousands jailed.
July, Tours Japan, Malaysia and Singapore.

- 1967 Virugambakkam conference. Anna forges the United Front to fight the Congress.
 Feb. D.M.K. sweeps the polls.
 March, 6. Anna sworn in as first D.M.K. Chief Minister.
 July, 18. The resolution, changing the name of Madras to 'Tamilnadu' passed by the assembly.
- 1968 Jan. 3. The Second World Tamil Conference in Madras.
 April 15. Anna leaves for the United States getting the Chubb Fellowship of Yale University.
 Sept. 10. Anna again leaves for the United States to get treatment in the Miller hospital.
 Sept. 15. Anna's 60th birthday celebrated with great enthusiasm.
 Dec. 1. Spoke in 'Tamilnad' day.
- ' ,, Spoke in english in the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Justice party
- 1969 Jan. 14. Unveiled the statue of Mr. N. S. Krishnan. Anna's last public function.
 Jan. 20. Admitted in the Adayar cancer institute.
 Feb. 2. 12-22 Anna passes away.
 Feb. 4. Laid to rest in the Marina sands.

THOSE HARD DAYS

Some thirty years ago, Periyar and Anna wanted to convene a Conference in Tanjore. For two days they went from place to place in the town requesting the site owners to let the sites. But nobody obliged them. At last they convened the Conference in Palliagraharam, in the outskirts of Tanjore. Undaunted by such hardships, they carried on their mission.

ANNA'S LAST LETTER

Dear Brother,

Ever since I assumed office, I had to deny myself the pleasure of that intimate contact I developed with your goodself, week after week, through the epistles. It gave me such a delight that compared with that nothing seemed to be more pleasant. Nor was it merely pleasantry that I exchanged. Whatever the issue I wanted to explain, argue and propagate, this epistle method came in handy. We, you will remember, used to discuss problems of immediate importance as well as of long-range value.

Gone are those days! Gone that delight! But yet, am I to conclude that those days are gone, never again to return? No! Nothing could be more unbearable than that. And yet, being in office, you are fairly well informed about my views on many a problem of the day, either through my speeches inside the legislature or outside through many a forum.

But though I had to pay this price for the office in which I am confined, I dare not miss this one opportunity of bestowing my greetings and good wishes on this unique Pongal—a veritable national festival. Tamilnadu stands in the forefront in celebrating this festival—one that is distinct and different from the hundreds of festivals we are having—the distinction being, it is a festival in which the entire family takes part—even prodigal sons return to their hearth and home. Young and old, the peasant as well as the well-to-do, consider this as a festival depicting the dignity of labour and the benefits of mutual co-operation.

True, when one reads about the Apollo encircling the moon, or the unmanned space-

craft of the Soviets bound for Venus, one is so thrilled that the significance of the Pongal is bound to fall flat on our ears.

But, dear brother! Did you notice, that the Apollo pioneers, dazzled by the dizzy heights, enthralled by the mighty achievement of science, did not minimise the X'mas festival. In fact, a thoughtful government did include in the spacecraft X'mas present! So I need not apologise elaborately for greeting you and your family on this happy day.

I said I am airing my views on many a subject, whenever I get the chance to do so—but knowing me as you do, I do not have the itch to intrude too often. As a matter of fact, I do not even issue periodical statements refuting allegations, insinuations and inflammatory digs that men—eminent no doubt—out of office do indulge in, rather much too often. A sympathetic press is ready to accommodate them—they do not, of course, refuse me common courtesy—but I do not like unnecessary heat injected into issues.

I would far rather wait for the light—patiently and hopefully. Just because some of the allegations go unchallenged, some at least are bound to rush to hasty conclusions. I am not much worried by that, because I have robust faith in the ultimate power of judgement of the common man.

After all, dear brother, you and I are common men—me especially! A commoner called upon to shoulder uncommon activities and responsibilities not because I was hankering after power and Office, but simply because the people wanted a change—for

the better—and they took this decision and delivered their verdict not on the spur of the moment but after the deepest deliberations.

The party in power—the Congress—never expected this verdict—in fact, the party thought that no single party nor a combination of parties could send them to the ditch. On the pinnacle for such a long period, it is no wonder that they thought they were unassailable. So when they were floored and common men came forward to shoulder responsibilities the first reaction in the mind of Congressmen was one of frustration, anger, sorrow and pang.

For two years they were in the grip of such a pang, that, the victory registered at Nagercoil has given them the pep and the pull, pleasure and hope, and once more, they are bound to hug at the illusion of “the unassailability of the Congress.” Almost all the dailies have come forward to eulogise the victory of Mr. Kamaraj.

It is a significant come-back—comments one journal. His stature has been vindicated—says another journal with poetic fervour. More than that the victory proves beyond doubt that the people have lost their confidence in the DMK—says not only journals but the redoubtable ex-Chief Minister, Mr. Bakthavatsalam.

The fact that this victory is only retention of their ‘seat’ is nothing to them. We have won—they thunder forth! One can understand their frenzy after successive defeats at South Madras, Sankari, and Thenkasi.

The fact that the parliamentary constituency consists of 6 assembly seats, out of which, five are held by the Congress—conveys no significance. They have won! They have to celebrate the victory with fanfare and festivity. Nay, with warnings and ultimatums to the DMK Ministry.

Dear brother, they know not of what mettle I am made up. Never have I been mad after power. Nor am I happy of being the Chief Minister of our State under a Constitution which on paper is federal but in actual

practice tends to get more and more centralised. On that account, I do not, like my good friend E.M.S. declare that it is my intention to irritate the Centre or pick up quarrels with Delhi. That helps none.

True, a sense of determination at the appropriate stage is all important. But this should be preceded by educating the public on federalism itself. In that, dear brother, I am quite confident of your active co-operation and intimate participation.

If, by being in office, the DMK is able to bring to the notice of the thinking public, that the present Constitution is a sort of dyarchy by the back door that would be a definite contribution indeed to the political world.

Whenever Congress leaders, big and small and of indefinite size, issue ultimatums to the DMK, I laugh within my sleeves. I am not enamoured at all by office or power nor are they presenting before the public anything more attractive than a ‘stable government.’

If, for one reason or another, the public want to bring back the Congress to power, I, as a robust democrat, would not be discouraged or disheartened. Let them have one more chance. If two years in wilderness has given them sobriety and idealism it is good for the country and for democracy. If on the other hand, they are still in the enticing habit of indulging in illusions, I am really sorry for them. For unlike some, I do not think that it is correct to write off the Congress! No, even the blind emperor, *Thruthirashtra*, was alive during the epic fight. So if the Congress wants another bout, through a mid-term poll, none dare deny them that pleasure.

Nagercoil, they say, has kindled in their minds hopes about midterm elections. That is why they applaud this victory and ejaculate ‘*Hail Kamaraj*’. Well! Let us not deny them the pleasure of holding aloft this trophy won in a marathon race. Mr. K. was never in the life time so brisk and all-vigilant as this time. He wanted to take no risk absolutely. For, apart from the natural glee

that he would get through the victory, it is a chance, so they say, a significant chance for him, to get himself rehabilitated in all India politics. A defeat would have been disastrous. But does this victory assure him the place that is his due in the All-India set up? None can predict.

It is to be seen. Mr. K.—reports tell us—smiled when questioned about the prospects of his getting into the Central Cabinet. Well! Significant smile indeed! For the master of 'K' plan to get into the cabinet is something that would become the butt end of ridicule—not surely by me—but certainly by some of his colleagues—at any rate by those whose prospects of rehabilitation seem to be none too bright. So, it poses a problem to them.

The only risk we have to face is being toppled! Well, that does not cause me any anxiety or worry. Let them try—for what it is worth. But what about the unsolved problems—that loom so large and disturbing on the political horizons—for instance, the language problem. If Mr. K. has got some substantial solutions, it is better he spells them out. But Oh! I forgot, it is not his way! He smiles significantly or stares meaningfully. Or is it vacantly? But this cannot last long—especially if he is determined to enter the Central Cabinet.

But I know his knack at avoiding real issues by parading illusions and hurling allegations. Well! Well! What I should do, I shall decide! It is not for the DMK to dictate to me.....especially after Nagercoil! But what are your achievements? Spell them out!

And his lieutenants will raise the chorus, "Spell out! or Step out!" I am told they are to have a 'day' for this 'laudable' (!?) object. And in another forum, I have pointed out that the amendment of the Indian Constitution, ensuring the historic and appropriate name of Tamilnadu for our State, is one of the achievements of the DMK.

"Name change? Baha! What is it that the people got out of it?" asks the poppies—Poppies, dear brother, who re-named India as

India that is Bharat, Parliament as Lok Sabha, Council of States as Rajya Sabha, President of the Republic as Rashtrapathi, so on and so forth!

But they are adepts in the art of misleading the people! They think that public memory is short, slippery! So they would dare be illogical. And they would pose the biggest of questions—the crux of the problem is 'bread'! Will this change, in the name of the State, give one more loaf to the people? Their idea is — of course erroneous — that a hungry populace will be highly attracted by this argument about 'bread'.

I remember to have read sometime ago a short note on this subject—entitled, **Not by bread alone!**—and I offer the same to you—not to them—they are after loaves and fishes of office—and nothing else will satisfy them.

"Man does not live by bread alone, but by beauty and harmony, truth and goodness, work and recreation, affection and friendship, aspiration and worship.

Not by bread alone, but by the splendour, the firmament at night, the glory of the heavens at dawn, the blending of colours and sunset, the loveliness of magnolia trees, the magnificence of mountains.

Not by bread alone, but by the majesty of ocean breakers, the shimmer of moonlight on a calm lake, the flashing silver of a mountain torrent, the exquisite patters of snow crystals, the creations of artists.

Not by bread alone, but by the sweet song of a mocking-bird, the rustle of the wind in the trees, the magic of a violin, the sublimity of a softly lighted cathedral.

Not by bread alone, but by the fragrance of roses, the scent of orange blossoms, the smell of newmown hay, the clasp of a friend's hand, the tenderness of a mother's kiss.

Not by bread alone, but by the lyrics of poets, the wisdom of sages, the holiness of saints, the biographies of great souls.

Not by bread alone, but by comradeship and high adventure, seeking and finding, serving and sharing, loving and being loved.

Man does not live by bread alone, but by being faithful in prayer, responding to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, finding and doing the loving will of God now and eternally."

This has no meaning for those, whose one hunt is after office—continuously. But, dear brother, you are destined for something better and hence I have given the quotation extensively. It is not by 'bread' alone that humanity progresses. True, bread sustains them—but when once the animal instinct is accommodated, man will like to soar to higher spheres in thought—in idealism.

And when one talks about idealism, a section in the Congress—they are sometimes called as Young Turks, at other times as ginger group—will come forward with gusto proclaiming that in Mr. K. — they have a powerful advocate for socialism. 'All are socialists today,' as a 19th century British statesman remarked jocularly. And there is nothing to be amazed at Mr. K. being a socialist — though if you ask him to define the same, he would say, "I have no faith in definitions. In fact, 'isms' irritate me!"

But what I am attempting to explain is, not about Mr. K's sincerity in socialism, but something far different and more significant. There is no dearth for the advocacy of socialism. In fact, if Mr. Tata is approached, he would release a booklet on socialism. But advocacy is one thing and achievement an entirely different thing. I do not charge Mr. K. of insincerity. I am too good a friend of this stalwart to indulge in cheap jibes.

But under the present set-up, especially under the present Constitution, is socialism easy of attainment? What attempts did Mr. K. make to clear the vicious atmosphere? None, these twenty years! Has he now at least a plan of action? I doubt very much. Let him come out boldly and spell out his programme especially the role he proposes to play from within the Central Cabinet.

For unless something tangible is set-up before the public as a worthy objective, mere mouthing of socialistic idealism will carry us

nowhere—perhaps we may be going from one conference table to another. Nor is mouthing socialism something unheard of before. Many a century ago socialistic thoughts were propagated by poets and statesmen.

Let me give you one instance — it is an attack not on capitalism as is to be found in the world, but a strong stricture about the happenings in the 'other world'.

**Doth some one say that there be gods
above ?**

There are not : no there are not.

Let no fool

Led by the old false fable,

thus deceive you

Look at the facts themselves,

yielding my words

No undue credence; for I say that kings

Kill, rob, break oaths, lay cities

waste by fraud

And doing thus are happier than those

Who live calm, pious lives day

after day.

How many little States that serve

the gods

Are subject to the godless but

more strong,

Made slaves by might of a

superior army ?

This stricture is from the classic poet of the old world—not Shelly or Burns or any of the revolutionary age. This is from **Euripides**, the Athenian poet. (B.C. 480—406.)

It is not possible nor is it necessary to improve upon this. So too with regard to the powerful advocacy for socialism.

Small thieves

lie in towers fastened to

wooden blocks ;

big ones strut about

in gold and silver

—thundered forth **Cato**, long long before ginger groups were born.

Not in derision am I arguing in this strain. I am not condemning socialism, in fact, I am all for it. What I am stressing is that if powerful and passionate pleading for socialism is to be the mission of Mr. K. and his

section in the Congress, there is nothing to get unduly enthused. Any such pleading will be but abridged editions of the opinions expressed by eminent men centuries ago.

Not only in the distant past nor in climes where sense of justice and fairplay was held in high esteem, but even in the dollar infested United States of America, socialism is not only advocated but a socialist contested the presidential election.

Perhaps most of us were caught by the din and dust raised by the top contestants so much we missed the entire facts. There were more than three contestants. Here is the list and the votes secured by them,

Henning A. Blomen

Socialist Labour Party
Votes secured : 52,588

Fred Halstead

Socialist Workers Party
Votes secured : 41,300

Charlene Mitchell

Communist Party
Votes secured : 1,075

E. Harold Munn

Prohibition Party
Votes : 14,519

Dick Gregory

New Party ; Votes : 47,034

Eldrege Cleaver

Peace and Freedom Party :
Votes : 36,385

While the three top contestants secured massive votes, these candidates were not deterred from manifesting their democratic right to stand for what they believe sincerely.

Richard Nixon — 31,770,237

Hubert Humphery — 31,270,533

George Wallace — 9,906,141

Let me hasten to add that I have given these facts not to deride the 'idealists' but simply to point out that advocacy of socialism is not unheard of even in the richest country. So if what all we can expect from the victor Mr. K. are pious platitudes about socialism, there can be no significant gain to society especially the progressive section,

But, before we take delight and comfort in the 'great expectations' — are we not entitled to get an explanation about the past records from this victor ? How is it, if he is such a robust advocate of socialism, that he has allowed—or is it connived at—the growth of capitalism to such a height ?

Let me not tire you out by a narration of the history of the business houses and how they were able to flourish so well and what is that reciprocity shown by these 'Industrial Empires' to the Congress.

Suffice to say that the statistics for 1966-67, tells us that the value of the assets held by,

Tatas	....	416.3 crores
Birlas	....	437.5 „
Sahu Jain	....	67.7 „
Mafatlal	....	149.6 „
Larsen and Toubro	....	12.1 „
Martin and Burn	....	22.2 „
Singhanian	....	59.2 „

What possible explanation can come forth ? Perhaps these advocates of socialism will come forward with new and newer definitions about socialism—so new indeed that the basic concept of socialism will be given a burial — unsung, unwept and unhonoured ! !

Certain young men were once questioned on what constitutes the most beautiful girl in the world. Know you, dear brother, the definition given !

“The ideal beauty would have,” one young man exclaimed, “an English complexion, an Irish smile, French curves, a Spanish walk, Italian hair, Egyptian eyes, a Greek nose, American teeth, a Viennese voice, a Japanese laugh, Argentine shoulders, a Thai neck, Swiss hands, Scandinavian legs, Chinese feet and an Australian bosom.”

A catalogue of his 'likes' —not necessarily a definition. If asked to define socialism, those who have connived at the growth of unsocialistic edifice will have to define in a like manner. And being a man of minimum words, Mr. K. is not expected to give a detailed explanation. What then is to be his

great contribution ? That is the million dollar question !

And an answer should come forth, sooner or later, sooner rather than later. That is more important than the jubilation exhibited, challenges issued and taunts distributed with gusto, just because of the victory at Nagercoil—against not an All-India figure, not even an active politician, but an honest, simple and sincere doctor of that constituency.

I do realise that it is highly difficult to resist the temptation to be jubilant. Let them have their day—let trumpets blow and rallies held—but let there be also some ‘introspection’. Such jubilation comes once a way. But, dear brother, the Pongal festivity is one in which all of us have got a legitimate right to take part. Two thousand and more years ago, a culture and civilisation was perfected in Tamilnadu. Art and literature, architecture and almost all branches of knowledge reached such a pinnacle of excellence that many a foreigner have paid rich and deserving tributes to Tamilnadu.

To realise that we are the inheritors of such a rich legacy is bound to give strength enough to overcome the present trials and tribulations and instil hope and confidence in us. The Pongal is the one day when we are almost in communion with the ‘Dawn’. To march towards the day of sunshine when all are assured full life and happiness is to be our objective.

The saying is as you know, better late than

never. Though we failed to realise the basic truth that agriculture is the bedrock on which other sectors, economic prosperity can be built up, after having paid dearly for the folly, that an all-out effort should be made to register significant success on the farm front. The farm front can become strong only when mutual suspicion and apprehension is hunted out and an era of purposeful co-operation and fairplay become the order of the day. To harp upon the rights without attempting to carry out duties and responsibilities, will lead us only to frustration and bickering.

With that objective firmly placed before us, let us march onward and forward, augmenting production and perfecting the system of distribution, so that economic justice is fully realised. With that end in view a one-man commission has been constituted to go into the whole question of the farm front. This is, I am sure, a significant stage in the history of agricultural operations. It is the bounden duty of all of us to co-operate in this effort by maintaining peace and order.

Pongal day has been set apart by the government as the ‘Peasants Day’ — appropriately enough.

Let me so send my greetings and good wishes to all of you ! Let there be sunshine in your life and let that sunshine radiate throughout society so that all can be happy and prosperous without exploitation and slavery, without cant and hypocrisy !

Your Affectionate Brother,

C. N. Annadurai.

March Onwards!

(Anna's Annamalai University Convocation Address delivered on 18—11—1967)

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Pro-Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Graduates of the Year and Friends :

Thankful as I am for the unique honour conferred on me by this institution, it is not without hesitation and a good deal of trepidation that I stand before this august assembly to-day to deliver the Convocation address, for though it is a pleasure to be present on the happy occasion of greeting the graduates of the year and wishing them all a bright and prosperous future, it is not an easy task to place before them appropriate guidelines—conscious as I am of my own limitations and aware of the eminence of those who stood at this rostrum in the past and gave weighty and worthy advice to the graduates. Stalwarts in various walks of life, scholars of erudition and experience, administrators of rare abilities, have all been here to deliver instructive discourses, and I do not for a moment imagine that I have the capacity to add anything substantial to what has been already said by those who preceded me. I am convinced therefore that to be called upon to deliver this address is not so much an invitation as a command to me to bestow the most careful and considered thought on the role of Universities in general and of the Annamalai University in particular.

The fact that I am conscious of my own limitations gives me a sense of relief, for attempt I shall not to offer original ideas or theories with a special stamp, but only reiterate some of the cardinal principles

enunciated by those who offered their advice in past years, perhaps with annotations here and there, bringing to bear the lay-man's point of view to the findings of experts in various fields connected with education. This is the age of the common man—whatever the regrets some might have—and it is his point of view that matters most and I do claim to represent him in all his ruggedness. Systems and schools of thought, whether it is in philosophy or politics, ethics or economics, are certainly meant for him. Of course, the interpretation should come from scholars and experts and the art of translating them into every day activity is to be undertaken by the administrators. Universities, as the repositories of knowledge and the nursing ground for the emissaries of thought, wisdom and service, have got a prominent role to play—and the prominence is growing every day, as more and more individuals get themselves equipped for the task of bettering society in all its sectors and spheres. This is all the more so in this age when we have eschewed monarchy and autocracy and have inaugurated the era of democracy. During the monarchical or feudal days, Universities had to train scholars and poets to adorn the chambers of Royalty or the gilded mansions of Lords and nobles and their wisdom was meant for the mansion, not for the marketplace. Those were days when numbers did not count,

nor were eminent scholars asked to face the problems confronting the masses. They were content to work in secluded spheres, far from the din and noise of the common man, and weave the costly fabric of philosophy or poetry which in turn was to be converted into dazzling garments for the select and the privileged.

The role of the University to-day is not cloistered and confined as in the past. Its function has been enlarged—not in its fundamentals but in its domain. It has to take into account the common man—not to perpetuate his commonness, but to trim and train, guide and lead him, for he is called upon to-day to perform uncommon tasks. He is asked to do his duty as the citizen of a democracy—a task which kindles sweet hopes but which demands patience and perseverance, faith and confidence, faith in himself and in others and confidence in his inherent ability to shoulder the responsibilities. The common man has become the Ruler of the land—he holds his destiny in his own hand. Unlike in a bygone age, when rulers were born either in palaces or in mansions, to-day every hamlet and every hut has become the birth place of a potential ruler and the duty to-day, the responsibility to-day, of the Universities is to fashion out of him an individual fitted and equipped for the task of making democracy fruitful and effective.

I said that the duties and responsibilities of Universities have grown in dimension and scope, but pointed out that the fundamentals remain unaltered and these fundamentals are of permanent value and of perennial interest. The supreme task before the University is to give those who seek a vision of knowledge in its true proportions and perspectives, to maintain the sovereignty of ideas and ideals in the world. A balanced mind, the ability to discriminate between what is merely trivial and what is important, the capacity to look at a problem from all its angles without fear or favour, to be tolerant of the other man's point of view,

these are fundamentals which are unalterable and it is only the Universities that can provide society with a continuous stream of men and women endowed with these qualities. While addressing the University of Brussels, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, our former President, made the following statement :

“For its proper functioning democracy requires more qualities than other forms of Government. It is in the Universities that we can develop the true spirit of democracy, appreciation of other points of view and adjustment of differences through discussions. It can be kept healthy and strong by the exercise of individual responsibility and judgment. In Universities we have to re-call the struggles of the past and realize the perils and possibilities, the challenges and opportunities, of the present.”

Democracy is not a form of Government alone—it is an invitation to a new life—an experiment in the art of sharing responsibilities and benefits—an attempt to generate and co-ordinate the inherent energy in each individual for the common task. Hence we cannot afford to waste a single talent, impoverish a single man or woman or allow a single individual to be stunted in growth or held under tyranny and the Universities should, through the graduates it sends forth year after year, annihilate the forces that attempt at aggrandisement and tyranny, fight against cant and hypocrisy and enthrone human dignity.

Graduates of the year, I wish you all a prosperous future — for, after all, the immediate concern of every individual, graduate or no graduate, is to acquire the means for a decent living. That is the first motivation for all human activity and no one can ignore it, but that ought not to be the sole objective. Something higher and nobler than mere individual material advancement is expected of you—for remember that this University education is a privilege that you enjoy, for which you are deeply indebted to the community

of which you are a member. Most of the money needed for maintaining institutions of higher education come from the revenues collected from the community through the State, and a good proportion of that revenue comes from the tillers and the toilers, men who did not enjoy this privilege, men who willingly submit themselves to discomfort, so that they can enable the next generation to lead a better life. Graduates of the Annamalai University, may I ask you, how are you going to repay—what is to be your contribution to the social chest on which you have drawn so largely? Unless you replenish it richly, coming generations will find only an empty coffer. Your superior education increases your responsibility to society and therefore, apart from or along with your own individual advancement, society has got a right to expect an adequate return from you—not so much in terms of money as in terms of service—in toning up society, in bringing light into the dark alleys, sunshine into dingy places, solace unto the afflicted, hope unto the despondent and a new life unto every one.

That this is a welcome and worthy ideal none would dispute, but not every one will come forward to translate that ideal into action—and yet our ancient as well as modern thinkers have all stated in unmistakable terms that wisdom is manifested in action.

Unless service is the outcome, the sermons become sweet nothings. As Jefferson stated,

“We must dream of an aristocracy of achievements arising out of a democracy of opportunities.”

And when I seek your help and co-operation in the supreme task of serving society, please do not wink and smile and say, it is all so easy to say. I am not unaware of the difficulties in the way, nor am I going to brush aside the influence of the environment on you. May be, the world in which you are to begin the journey is one which will dim your hope, disturb your determination. You may come face to face with the unpleasant sight of practices widely differing from the principles

inculcated in you. You may find self-seekers enthroned and the patient worker decried. Tyranny of all sorts may stare at you and every step you take will be a struggle. I admit that the environment is such that even people with robust optimism will be discouraged and forced to take to the path of ease and comfort.

But, we should also realise that a continuous stream of men and women endowed with the spirit of service have been carrying on the crusade successfully and have conferred rich benefit on humanity.

We, the Tamilians have been holding aloft this ideal for more than two thousand years and hence we find in **Pura Nanuru** this passage,

“உண்டால் அம்ம இவ்வுலகம்

... ..

தமக்கென முயலா நோன்றுள்

பிறர்க்கென முயலுநர் உண்மை யானே !”

As inheritors of that rich legacy, you are best fitted to overcome even the environment and serve society to the best of your abilities.

Anyone, who proposes to do good must not expect people to roll stones out of his way, but must accept his lot calmly if they even roll a few more upon it. A strength which becomes clearer and stronger through its experience of such obstacles is the only strength that can conquer them — says Albert Schweitzer.

Though the problems in various countries are of a similar nature, the peculiarity attached to the problems of our country is of a pronounced nature.

Ours is not a case of starting from scratch — had that been the case the only thing needed would have been the intensity of effort to be put forth. Ours is a case of erosion of the mind—we are not in search of fields, but have to engage in the task of fertilising it, irrigating it. We are not in search of ideals, but are engaged in the more intricate task of classifying, codifying and verifying layers of ideals. We are not wanting in culture—but have to cleanse it from the cob-web of time and de-adulterate it. In short, we have to re-discover ourselves,

and re-construct our entire thought. Once we were the custodians of everything noble, but we have allowed the germs of decay to multiply and thrive. Our task to-day is to allow fresh air and sunshine and regain the original shape and stature—that which made us well-known in distant lands and climes.

Our literature, art and architecture are fine specimens of human intelligence—but they bear the ravages of time and also the effect of currents and cross currents so that to-day we have to listen to the Foreign historian or scholar in order to realise the “Glory and Grandeur” of our own country.

Age commands veneration—but unless it is recuperated, decay sets in. Our culture and civilisation are hoary, but we have allowed scars and wrinkles to disfigure them. It is our duty therefore to re-discover and re-construct what is ours and enrich it by drawing liberally upon the achievements of other countries.

Our problem is not want of a system—in any branch of knowledge. We have fine specimens in all spheres. We claim also—and that rightly—immortality for our systems, but we have not succeeded in keeping them fresh and young, effective and energetic, for we have allowed them to decay.

If a system has to endure, says Dr. Radhakrishnan, it must be perpetually young and ready to change. In other words, it must be capable of accepting new ideas, have the resilience of mind which the young have, have the openness, flexibility and spirit of adventure by which they accept what is given to them and transform it out of recognition.

Eos, a Goddess falling in love with a mortal, prayed to God to grant immortality to the lover—‘Yes’, said God, and the mortal gained immortality. But he grew old, infirm, senile, decayed—and what was a feast once to the eyes of Los became a sight to shun and grieve over—and he who gained immortality longed for death—for what is life if it becomes a prey to decay? Then Eos sighed and said, “I prayed for immortality for my lover, forgetting to pray for perpetual youth.”

We in this country are facing some such situation—and we are in charge of the task of re-juvenating our culture and civilisation—our entire thought. Instead of attempting that, we have been, for too long a period, doting upon the decayed forms attempting to defend them from critics and currents of new thought. And while other parts of the world, after persistent and patient search after truth, have arrived at new conclusions and are scaling new heights, we are content to sit near the shattered rampart and narrate past glory. Our religion has degenerated into rituals, our society which was once classless and caste-less has degenerated into water-tight compartments of caste and creed, and, all the while, we have kept either silent or have been supplying defence to superstition and orthodoxy by offering liberal interpretations in a scholarly way. Unwittingly we have been allowing this state of affairs to exist, despite condemnation and protest. And, more than that, whenever a doughty warrior comes forth to fight against the evils prevalent, we decry and denounce him as an annihilator of noble values and hoary systems. Periyar Ramasami represents and symbolises the fury and frustration in a sizable section of society at this state of affairs. To allow systems to degenerate and at the same time denounce those who champion the cause of Rationalism is but to perpetuate superstition and orthodoxy and allow this society of ours to get decomposed.

Universities offer the proper forum for a free and full discussion of these intricate problems and graduates trained here are to go forth as emissaries of that social reconstruction which is long over due. The country looks to centres of learning like this University to enable the people to pursue the path of progress, braving difficulties and, if need be, courting danger.

Graduates of the Annamalai University, let me call upon you to carry on the crusade against caste which cannot co-exist with democracy, against superstition which cannot co-exist with science and against tyranny of

various dimensions which cannot co exist with liberty, equality and fraternity.

Pursuing vocations for you and your families' well-being, you have to perform your duty towards society. You are to become torch-bearers of Rationalism—and Rationalism does not mean repudiation of basic and fundamental truths and maxims, but the annihilation of dubious modes of thought and action. You have to work hard and with daring and dash, for we have to clear cobwebs which are centuries old and let reason reign supreme.

Another peculiar feature of our times is the fact that we are a nation in the making, and, if in their anxiety to forge integration, some confuse unity with uniformity, it is the duty of men trained here to clearly enunciate the principle and see to it that, in the name of unity, no part of the country is made to become the vassal of another part—knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot be a party to foul play, however worthy the goal. Just on the eve of Independence Rajaji stated with an acumen all his own, "Our political experiment is really like melting iron and metals and pouring them into a crucible and making an alloy, an alloy which can stand wear and tear. It is not like the chinaware that other people have turned out in their countries. Their democracies were easy to make—like plastics. But we are dealing with metals." National integration is a goal, worthy and much-sought after, but neither in the field of language nor in the economic sphere, could we tolerate injustice and domination. That is exactly why this Government was brought into existence—it represents the determination of the people not to be coerced into accepting Hindi as the Official Language.

When we plead for the continuance of English as the link language, some people do misrepresent us and misinterpret our motive. They trot out untenable arguments and disputable statistics, bring in the bogey of disintegration and want to silence people by threats and troops. Problems were never

solved by autocratic methods—and this problem of language is intimately connected with our way of life, not for the present alone but for the future as well.

The Government of Tamilnad has stated in unmistakable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes, the former as the Official Language of this State and the latter as the link language. If it is accepted—and the most emphatic of Hindi protagonists do accept that—if it is accepted that English can serve admirably as a link between our State and the outside world, why plead for Hindi to be the link language here? What serves to link us with the outside world is certainly capable of rendering the same service inside India as well. To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in a wall for the kitten while there is a bigger one for the cat. What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well.

English is foreign, some argue, as if we were out to destroy or give up everything foreign. We bring foreign wheat in foreign ships. We seek foreign aid not only in the shape of money but also in the form of technical know-how and not a week passes without one or other leader undertaking a journey to the West or East to secure whatever aid is possible to secure. And on top of all these things, we have given up so many systems peculiarly our own.

We are not content with Rural economy, we want Trombays and Ennores. And we are not conscious of their being foreign; only in the matter of language we pose as ultra-nationalists and dub the English language as foreign.

Shelley and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon—they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all World Citizens—World Teachers. And the language enshrining their thoughts is not to be discarded just because it comes from another country. That we are not going to accord a higher status to English is borne out by the fact that we have accepted and

are implementing with due caution the principle of making Tamil the medium of instruction in colleges—progressively.

University education is an epitome of all that is best in thought cultivated in various countries, and from you should radiate universal thought and cosmopolitan ideas.

And if we are to get all these and more from out of the Graduates of the University we have to re-examine the methods in vogue in Universities, in teaching and in administration, and so perfect them that every student feels that he is a co-sharer of the pleasure and privilege of knowledge along with his Professors. I shall not dabble in methods of teaching or administration—experts in that field are the natural custodians—my plea is only as regards the necessity for a re-examination.

While the functions assigned to Universities are mostly of the same type, the Annamalai University, by its structure and spirit, has got a special function of its own. The great founder's nobility and generosity had made this institution gain the esteem of eminent men here and elsewhere; but if we analyse the thought and motive force of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, we will find that he wanted this place to be not only a seat of learning but also a centre of learning and research of Tamil Culture and Tamil polity. He had the foresight to realise that Tamilians were going to cultivate their special talents and that was exactly why he started and made a success of the Tamil Isai movement. Rajah Sir was never a man of tall talk—he believed in solid work and he knew the time was bound to come for us to delve deep into our annals and literature, culture and civilisation, and succeed in getting due and adequate recognition in the world forum.

Truly great has been our achievement in the field of literature. To be able to announce to the world that we, the Tamilians, do possess.

“நற்றிணை நல்ல குறுந்தொகை ஐங்குறுநூல்
செுத்த பதிற்றுப்பத் தோங்கு பரிபாடல்

கற்றறிந்தார் ஏத்தும் கலியோ டகம்புற
மென்

றித்திறத்த எட்டுத் தொகை”

and to present to the world the great Tirukkural which is a Code of Conduct for the entire humanity are something about which we can have pardonable pride and pleasure.

And yet, are we devoting enough attention to these Tamil Classics? Not till the last decade. Addressing the Convocation here in 1943, the late lamented Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty had the following to say:—

“I graduated with a complete ignorance of Tamil Culture and history; in fact with a great deal of contempt for these. I attained a fair degree of proficiency in English Literature and the history of European culture. I acquired some knowledge of even Anglo-Saxon and Gothic. I read the translation of the Bible in the Gothic language by Bishop Ulfilas, but I had not read the Kural of Valluvar. I could understand Chaucer, but the name of Ilango was nothing but a name. Even after leaving College, I kept alive my interest in these studies and built up a Library in which there was not a single Tamil book.

“In my early youth when I lived in a World of my own with no sense of responsibility, all this made no difference to me and I was proud of my learning. Soon when manhood came with its cares and problems, I found myself a stranger in my own home....Gradually I began to realise the incongruity of my scheme of life and for some time now I have been endeavouring to rectify the balance. It was only a few years ago that I seriously attempted to study some of the Tamil Classics. I find that they are fit to rank among the immortal works of the World. I now bitterly regret my neglect of the treasures of my own land”.

It was not an apologia, but the expression of a new determination and Sir R. K. Shanmukham lived to establish the truth that he

had mastered not only the Tamil language but Tamil literature as well. Had he lived for some more years, he would have travelled many a land carrying the message of the Tamil Classics, which spoke at such a hoary past about

“ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும்”

“யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்”

“வினையே ஆடவர்க்கு உயிரே”

“நல்லது செய்தல் ஆற்றீ ராயினும்
அல்லது செய்தல் ஒம்புமின்”

“எவ்வழி நல்லவர் ஆடவர்
அவ்வழி நல்லை வாழிய நிலனே”

“செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல்”

“தீதும் நன்றும் பிறந்தர வாரா”

“பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஒம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை”

thoughts now placed before the world as blossoms of the modern age.

You, graduates of the Annamalai University, have got to undertake the special task of carrying the message that our classics contain to the entire world and declare that what was the most ancient here is what is being introduced to-day as the most modern.

South India is the home of the most ancient culture. Though for a fairly long period there was the mist of ignorance, thick and widespread, it has now been acknowledged by all that Dravidian Civilisation of a highly developed character can be traced back to the second and third millenia before Christ. Many a foreign scholar has borne testimony to the perfection with which Tamil language has been developed into an instrument of precise and subtle thought and to the beauty and richness of the literature—which is contained in it. Dravidian literature, philosophy, art and architecture offer therefore a rich and fruitful field for exploration and critical investigation.

Not for mere glorification but for a just appreciation of all that is of real value and beauty in our past heritage, we need this research and investigation.

I do not propose to talk about your responsibility in the political arena. Suffice it

to say that you should make democracy safe and sound, salubrious and fruitful.

Carry the message that this University has given to you wherever you go, whatever the station you find yourselves in and elevate the common man—the average man—who is the back-bone of this and other countries. Permit me to present before you a portrait of the Average Man---

“He seems incredible but represents two-thirds of mankind. He lives in a hut. He cannot read or write. His energy is sapped by disease. He labours up to 15 hours a day. He works on land he does not own. He and his family are usually hungry. He will die young. But he still has hopes for his children; that they will be strong and healthy; will be able to read and write. Will know individual freedom in a peaceful world. This is the world's Average man.”

And the world over, this Average Man has become conscious of the injustice done to him and as a consequence we find agitations and marches, struggles and clashes. In many a country, measures to raise his level have been undertaken. Take a pledge, here and now, that we will not lag behind and leave our Average Man in the lurch. For if the base is weak, the dome is doomed. Inheritors as you are of a noble heritage, you are eminently fitted for this noble task, and on its success depends the future of this nation as of others. Let us remember what Woodrow Wilson said,

“Nations are renewed from the bottom not from the top.....real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life comes like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the level of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file,”

May I submit my plea to you, youths
blossoming forth from this institution, be firm
but not obstinate, let there be a blending of
ideas, but never cheap imitation and injurious
adulteration, beware of mistaking obsessions
for principles and fads for facts, strike at a
synthesis and avoid subservience, fail not
to protest against injustice but project not
your own view as the final one, forget not the
ancient saying

“கற்றதுகைம் மண்ணளவு கல்லா துலகளவு”

and falter not when you practice what you
profess.

University education gives you the basic
needs for this stupendous task, but that is not
enough. Say along with Lafayettee

I read, I study

I examine, I listen,

I reflect, and out of

all this, I try to form

an idea in which I can put as

much of commonsense

as I can.

And remember the longest journey is the
journey inward, and since graduation is but
the starting point of that journey, I wish you
success—reach the goal yourselves—teach
others to march towards the goal, and let
that goal be,

a world without the

beggar's out-stretched

palm, the miser's

heartless, stony stare,
the piteous wail of
want, the pallid face
of crime, the
livid lips of lies,
the cruel eyes
of scorn,
a race without
disease of flesh or
brain, shapely and
fair, the married
harmony of form and
use—where
life lengthens, fear
dies, joy deepens,
love intensifies, and
Man regains his
dignity.

And to get these things realised, let us one
and all strive towards the ideal enunciated by
Thiruvalluvar,

“உறுபதும் ஓவரப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேரா தியல்வது நாடு”

I am confident that you are being sent into
the wide world by the Annamalai University
with this objective—you are bound to win,
for you are adequately equipped with the
spirit supplied by this great institution. May
your life be a bright one, and may its lustre
brighten the entire land ! Accept my con-
gratulations, and march onwards, towards the
land of smiles.

PASTING POSTERS

In 1938, when C. R. introduced compulsory hindi in
Madras, Anna and his comrades carried on a raging and
tearing campaign against Hindi. Posters for the meetings
cost just a Rupee and eight annas per hundred. The
comrades made up this amount with great difficulty.
The charges for pasting them on the walls was one
rupee. Even this, they could not afford. So Anna and
his select band, including Mr. N. V. Natarajan, the present
Minister for backward classes pasted wall, posters till
dawn and dispersed to their homes after taking a cup of
tea in a Broadway hotel.



எங்கள் சங்கப்பற்றிச் சில

கூட்டுறவே நாட்டுயர்வு

G-1250, சைதாப்பேட்டை தாலுக்கா கூட்டுறவு வர்த்தக சங்கம் லிட்.

165, நெல்லூர் நெடுஞ்சாலை, செங்குன்றம், சென்னை-52.

துவக்கம் 1946

தொலைபேசி எண் 67214 & 67244.

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,, G. கிருஷ்ணன்:

கூட்டுறவு மேற்பார்வைக் கழக பிரதிநிதி.

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(மாவட்டக் கூட்டுறவு மத்திய பாங்கு பிரதிநிதி)

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,, P. S. நடராஜ முதலியார்,

,, விவசாய விஸ்தரிப்பு அலுவலர், } பரங்கீமை வட்டார பஞ்சாயத்து ஒன்றியம்.

,, கூட்டுறவு விஸ்தரிப்பு அலுவலர், }

துவக்கம் :—4-12-1946ல் உற்பத்தியாளர் உண்போர் கூட்டுறவு சங்கமாக பதிவு செய்யப் பட்டு விவசாய விளைபொருள்களை கொள்முதல் செய்து விநியோகித்து வந்ததுடன் மேற்கொண்டு பணிபுரிய விரும்பி, அரசியலாரின் விருப்பப்படி கூட்டுறவு வர்த்தக சங்கமாக மாற்றம் செய்யப்பட்டது.

பணிகள் :—1. விவசாய விளைபொருள்களின் ஈட்டின்பேரில் கடன் கொடுப்பதோடு ஷே சரக்குகளை நல்ல விலைக்கு விற்பனை செய்து தருகிறது. (2) ஷே விளை பொருள்களை, நல்ல முறையில் சேகரம் செய்து, விரும்பிய விதம், பதன்படுத்தி தரவும், உரிய வகையில், தானிய சேமிப்பு கிடங்கும், அரிசி ஆலையும், வேர்க்கடலை உடைப்பு ஆலை & எண்ணெய் ஆலை, மாவு ஆலைகளும் அமைத்து செயல்பட்டு வருகிறது. (3) அபிவிருத்திக்கான ஆக்க பணிகளில் விவசாயிகளுக்குத் தேவையான உர வகைகளையும், பூச்சி நாசினிகளையும், அவற்றை உபயோகிக்க வாடகை முறையில் பணிபுரிய 2 லாரிகளையும் அமைத்து உதவி வருகிறது.

இதுவரை அங்கத்தினராகாதவர்கள் அங்கத்தினராகவும், எமது சங்க உர வகைகளை பயன்படுத்தி பணம் பெறவும் விரும்புகிறோம்.

வளர்க கூட்டுறவு.

அன்பன்,

க. வரதராசன், கூட்டுறவு உப பதிவாளர், காரியதரிசி.

மதுராந்தகம் தாலுக்கா கூட்டுறவு விற்பனை சங்கம் லிட்.,

எண் G. 864. மதுராந்தகம்.

நிறுவியது 1928.

தொலைபேசி எண் 34.

திரு K. முத்துலிங்கா ரெட்டியார்,

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திரு M. கோதண்டராமன்,

தலைவர்.

உப தலைவர்.

பொருளாளர்.

நிர்வாகக் குழுவினர்

திரு V. கோபால் ரெட்டியார், B.Sc. ...

மத்திய பாங்கு நிரதிநிதி.

,, N. V. முனுசாமி நாயுடு ...

ஜில்லா விற்பனை சங்க பிரதிநிதி.

,, L. S. ரங்கப்ப ரெட்டியார் ...

விவசாய விளக்குனர், மதுராந்தகம்.

,, L. வெங்கடவரதா ரெட்டியார் ...

கூட்டுறவு அபிவிருத்தி அதிகாரி.

,, A. E. கிருஷ்ணன்

மதுராந்தகம் மேற்பார்வைக் கழக பிரதிநிதி.

,, A. N. ஆதிநாராயண ரெட்டியார் ...

எங்கள் சங்கம் இரசாயன உரம், எல்லா வகையான கலப்பு உரங்கள், பூச்சி மருந்துகள், விவசாயக் கருவிகள், மற்றும் விவசாயத்திற்குத் தேவையான எல்லாப் பொருள்களும் மதுராந்தகம் தாலுக்காவிலுள்ள கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்களின் மூலமாகவும், எங்கள் டிப்போக்களின் மூலமாகவும் விற்பனை செய்து வருகிறது.

சங்க உறுப்பினர்களின் நெல்லை நல்ல விலைக்கு விற்பனை செய்ய நெல்லை அரிசியாக்கி விற்பதற்காக ஒரு நெல் அரைவை மிலின் (Rice Mill) மதுராந்தகத்தில் இயங்கி வருகிறது என்பதையும் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறோம். எல்லா விவசாயிகளும் எங்கள் சங்கத்தில் அங்கத்தினராகி பயன்பெற வேண்டிக் கொள்ளுகிறோம்.

K. முத்துலிங்கா ரெட்டியார்,

தலைவர்.

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