

"In any country of the world society is reformed more by individual social reformers than by the people running the Government."

-ANNA



Editors

A K. MOORTHY
G. SANKARAN







## ANNA'S GUIDE ....

"Deep in Tamil lore, he set to himself the ideals envisaged in early Tamil literature *Thiruvalluvar*, the saint of 2000 years ago was, as it were, his guide, philosopher and friend."

-Dr S G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM



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# Felicitation Addresses

of ANNA

editor-in-chief

A. K. MOORTHY

Associate editor
G. SANKARAN

with a foreword by

Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM



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of Anna

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It is appropriate that the speeches and writings of the wonder-man of the South who made political history in the brief span of three decades as the author, and builder of a reformist party-political and social-should be made known to a much larger reading public. His political and reformist speeches were made mostly in his native tongue of Tamil in which he developed a new style of oratory and eloquence—a style pleasing and captivating to the masses—a new style now characteristic of the party and his followers. It is gratifying that these Tamil speeches will be rendered into English but it is no easy task to bring out his easy flow and the alliterative character of his speeches.

But he was no less a past-master in the art of speaking in English. His first speech in the Parliament, demanding a change in the Constitution to delete Hindi as the national language, was a master-piece of argumentative eloquence. It made Nehru and others on the Treasury Bench sit up and for Nehru to remark to his friends: Here is a coming man who would count. His English addresses to University audience and abroad breathe a clarity of thought and facility of expression of any renowned orator or writer.

He could be regarded no less than a Nehru of the South. While Nehru inherited the leadership of a

great organisation fostered and hallowed for over hundred and fifty years and by the magic name of Mahatma Gandhi, was conscious of his rich and noble birth. in consequence perhaps aggresive, overbearing and dominating. Annadural was of humble origin, considerate and respectful of the other side view and owns the credit and prestige of starting and steering a new movement which captured in the all brief space of three decades the power of administration of his State, to the amazement of the whole of India.

Deep in Tamil lore, he set to himself the ideals envisaged in early Tamil literature. Thiruvalluvar, the saint of 2000 years ago was, as it were, his guide, philosopher and friend.

Annadural was a man of active ability and moral nobility in public life; a generous, humane and self-denying man. He was a brave, skilful and successful general of a party, a laborious and sagacious administrator, in the all too short a period of his Chief Ministership.

He was a versatile man, playwright, novelist, actor, essayist, editor of journals, leader of a party, who magnetized the masses.

No wonder that the public sorrow called forth by his early death was like that of a great national calamity. What is national and what is cosmopolitan had in his genius been fused into one.

Such a great man was Annadural, beloved for his learning, wisdom and knowledge that he had been lovingly called Arignar Anna—Anna, the wise and learned.

His brilliant and same utterances are well worth handed down to posterity, for the study of the philosophy of political and social life that he adumbrated.

His utterances have been so varied and voluminous that the editors have proposed to publish them in several volumes. I hope the public will extend a hearty welcome and rich support to this costly enterprise.

Medras-7. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam.

ANNA was the greatest orator that Tamil Nadu had ever produced. For over three decades he had enthralled the people of Tamil Nadu by his matchless eloquence. The speeches delivered by him during this period, on various occasions and on varied subjects are fine pieces of literature. They are classics by themselves and they can be ranked among the best speeches of the world.

Anna's speeches have been published in a book form. But they have not been published as they deserve to be published. Therefore, for the first time, herein, an honest, humble and systematic attempt has been made on academic and literary lines to translate his select Tamil speeches into English in his characteristic style, to edit them critically and to publish them in a novel and useful manner.

All the select speeches included in all the series were delivered by Anna since he assumed office as Chief Minister in 1967. Here and there his †original English speeches, easily available, have also been included in the compilation. The plan, thought out carefully to publish the translated Tamil Speeches of Anna in appropriate series, is as follows:

- 1. Assembly Speeches of Anna.
- 2. Convocation Addresses of Anna.

<sup>†</sup> delivered in English

- 3. Felicitation Addresses of Anna.
- 4. Inaugural and Presidential Addresses of Anna.
- 5. Occasional Speeches of Anna.
- 6. Radio Talks of Anna.

These remarkable speeches breathe the accumulated wisdom of Anna, for over three decades. If they should be widely read and enjoyed, it goes without saying, that they ought to be rendered into English. Hence, an authentic English translation of Anna's speeches becomes inevitable. Infinite pairs have been taken not only to collect the scattered speeches in a condensed volume but also to make the translation quite natural.

The chief considerations in the selection of speeches are the importance of subject, the sublimity of ideas and the excellence of style

Anna is a great lover of books. All the oratorical series have been prepared according to his wishes and aspirations.

In this connection the editor-in-chief is indeed happy to inform the readers that Thiru C. N. A. Parimalam, the eldest son of Anna has promised him his whole hearted co-operation in bringing out the Speeches and Writings of Anna in several series by placing all the back numbers of *Home Land* and *Home Rule* and other relevant materials at the former's disposal.

The editor-in-chief is equally happy to inform the readers that Thiru K. Manoharan M. A., M. P., the powerful and elegant orator has assured his kind cooperation in bringing out the Rajya Saba Speeches of Anna by furnishing the former with the text of all speeches.

It has also been planned to translate his select writings from Tamil into English as follows:-

- 1. Anna's Essays.
- 2. Anna's Letters.
- Appa's Novels.
- 4. Anna's Plays.
- 5. Anna's Short Stories.
- 6. Wit and Wisdom of Anna.

Of course, all these planned series will be published one by one, after the laborious task of translating and editing is completed.

Translating Anna's Speeches and Writings into English is a stupendous task indeed. It is rather a task worthy to be aimed at by an individual organisation or a University. Yet the editors have embarked upon it as a labour of love and in a spirit of dedication. In this connection, they solicit the whole-hearted co-operation of all concerned—the Press, the readers, leading book distributors and Anna's family—to make their hold attempt and ambitious plan fruitful and successful.

Anna was not merely an individual man. He was the symbol of several eras put together. In the long history of Tamil Nadu, never in the pest nor in the future can we find such an extraordinary genius who had left no field untouched without stamping his genius. It was Anna who brought about a renaissance in all fields of Tamil by his speeches and writings within a short period of thirty years to the great surprise and admiration of all. Tamil Nadu is highly indebted to Anna for his tremendous achievements which he had made all by himself as an individual.

Anna is no more; a versatile genius has gone. What greater homage can we pay to him than to publish the English renderings of all his speeches and writings, as permanent records of history, so that the world at large can know their inestimable value. Besides, such publications will be highly useful to the critics who desire to assess his contribution to the growth of Tamil and to the development of Tamil Nadu.

Anna's speeches are being published in a series in order to make every series as thorough as possible in all aspects. Every series has an apt title. All the speeches in the series have been compiled in chronological order and their classification is arbitrary.

Of the oratorical series planned, the third one Felicitation Addresses of Anna has been published now. In this series select twenty three addresses of oratorical excellence have been included. The text of the original Tamil speeches is taken from Nam Nadu (now closed) the official Tamil Daily of the D. M. K.

Anna was a staunch follower of Thiruvalluvar. He preached and practised Valluvar's ideals both in his private and in his public life. It was rather his ambition. In order to cherish his ambition, an apt Kural translated into English, is inserted at the beginning of every speech. For purposes of clarity and easy reading, every speech is divided into many units. An arresting title appropriate to the context and substance of the speech is also given. To increase the usefulness of the book to a greater degree, well and carefully prepared appendix and index are included at the end

of the book. An appreciation of Anna's Speech is a special feature of the book.

The editors thank their colleague Thiru S. Raman, B. A., (Hons), Lecturer in English, Sri Pushpam College Poondi, for his valuable help in preparing these series. The editor's special thanks are also due to (the late) S. R. Pandyan, M. S. (Indiana) Correspondent, St. Peter's High School, Thanjavur, for his ready permission and constant encouragement to translate the speeches in the series and to publish them. The editors wish to convey their thanks to their colleague, Thiru T. K. Ramamurthy, typist, for his timely and voluntary help to type neatly all the speeches in the series for easy printing.

Lastly, the editors express their sincere thanks to the following gentlemen:

Dr. M. Manivannan M. D., D. D. son of Dr. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam for his kind help to get the foreword from his father and Dr. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam M. A., Ph. D. (Lond), D. I. C., F. R. M. S. a veteran educationist and former Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University for his fitting and magnanimous foreword.

Every care has been taken to make this critical edition the best possible one.

If, however, there are any shortcomings in this edition, they may be kindly overlooked. At the same

time, constructive suggestions for the improvement of the book, are solicited with pleasure.

Finally, the editor-in-chief is indeed happy to receive from the readers of Anna any rare and relevant materials in connection with his speeches and writings. They may be speeches, short stories, essays, letters and back numbers of *Home Land*, *Home Rule* and *Dravidanadu*. They will be accepted with special thanks and due courtesy.

"To discern the truth in everything is wisdom"

-The Kural.

THIRUVALLUVAR ACHAGAM NORTH MAIN STREET THANJAVUR- -A. K. Moorthy.

# Anna's Speech-An Appreciation

### 1. The Substance

The twenty three felicitation addresses included in the book are extempore addresses of Anna. They are perfect specimens of elegant oratory.

In the first address, the pedagogues who are the real architects of society figure prominently. In six addresses (4, 19-23) the arresting qualities of artistes are spoken of highly. In fifteen addresses (2-3, 5-10, 12-13, 15-18) the prominent party leaders and the dynamic personalities of Tamil Nadu are unequivocally glorified. In one address (14) the Jain religious leader Acharya Tul(a)si is regarded with high veneration. Only one address (11) deals briefly with the aching language problem of India. In all these felicitous addresses, Anna is at his best and lives up to the great expectations of his ever-satisfying audience.

In the first address, Society is indebted to Teachers, Anna congratulates the teachers on their winning the coveted award. Having been himself a teacher for sometime, Anna is quite aware of the intrinsic worth of teachers. According to him, teachers are remarkable for their wealth of learning. They produce the future citizens of the country in spite of their poverty and worries. Their wealth is blameless and incensurable. Their onerous responsibility is to foster the growth of society with admirable culture. He highly respects teachers thus: "I bow to the teachers who create an ideal society."

In the second address, Dr. Ambedkar a Champion of the Down-trodden. Anna remembers with gratitude the noble and selfless services of Dr. Ambedkar for the uplift of the down-trodden community in the midst of many hardships. He reminds us that we too should follow his example and strive hard for the advancement of our society, removing the undesirable social evils such as castelsm, untouchability and superstition.

Anna empasises that people of all parties should vie with one another in serving the oppressed community people. At the same time he sincerely advises the backward and the scheduled caste people to make honest efforts to progress on the basis of merits and talents alone.

In the third address, Kamaraj the People Leader, Anna pays his glowing tribute to Thiru K. Kamaraj for his notable services to Tamil and Tamil Nadu. His justification for the tribute is this: "It is Tamil tradition to appreciate a man of culture who deserves appreciation It is also the usual custom in democracy."

The gist of his conclusion is: "I believe this portrait-unveiling ceremony will drive home the lesson that he who has rendered meritorious services in the public life of the country should be honoured by one and all, irrespective of political differences."

In the fourth address, The Greatness of Artistes. Anna proclaims proudly that our artistes are highly talented people and they produce equally talented artistes. The artistes who have received the awards of Tamil Nadu Music and Drama Society are men of versatile scholarship and undoubted talents. Indeed their greatness lies in their pains-taking efforts to promote art though they are obsessed with abject poverty.

In the fifth address, Muthiah Chettiar a Lover of Tamil, Anna speaks of the fine qualities of Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar such as his philanthropy, Tamil fervour, independent and original thinking, his respect for other's views and his belief in the dignity of human personality. He concludes his address with this genuine remark: "Therefore, I deem it a rare privilege to unveil his portrait not because he will be honoured by this ceremony but because I trust his portrait will inspire people to do public service and to win glory in the years to come."

In the sixth address, Venkataraman a man of admirable Qualities, Anna demands economic justice from the Centre. He says that Thiru R. Venkataraman has to play a leading role in this task with his admirable qualities of firmness and sincerity because he is a member of the Planning Commission.

In the seventh address, Ramasamy Iyer a great Social Worker, Anna praises the politeness and magnanimity of Thiru Ramasamy Iyer and applauds his invaluable and timely services to society. He further says: "In any society people in authority cannot do by themselves all the good things. Society can progress only by voluntary services" (like that rendered by Thiru Ramasamy Iyer).

In the eighth address. Appadurai a literary Genius. Anna makes special mention of the literary talents and the accumulated wisdom of Thiru K. Appadurai. The one underlying ideal of Thiru K. Appadurai is that Tamil should live and flourish. Of all the books written by Thiru K. Appadurai, Anna likes most his Battlefields of Tamil Nadu.

Anna stresses strongly that the biographies of great Tamil scholars like Maraimalai Adigal, Thiru V. Ka. and Thiagaraja Chettiar should be brought out in order to enrich our traditions because now-a-days tradion has almost become a forgotten thing. He also stresses the need for publishing the authentic history of Tamil Nadu. The history should be written using all available sources such as inscriptions, literary evidences and other tools.

In the ninth address, Bakthavatsalam a venerable Politician, Anna pays more attention to the political conditions that existed in his days than to his individual qualities. However, he makes piquant reference to his prime qualities like modesty, humility and obstinacy.

Anna is of the opinion that Rajaji, Kamaraj and Bakthavatsalam are the great men of the elder generation. If they pass away, many matters may not come to light at all. He ably concludes his address thus: "If the organisers of this function bring out an authentic history of the politics for the past forty or fifty years in which Thiru Bakthavatsalam had participated, we shall have a valuable book for reading."

In the tenth address, Periar the first Professor of Tamil Nadu. Anna refers to Periar as the first professor of Tamil Nadu for his innate and consummate knowledge of things. Because of his time-honoured social service, intellectual revolution has achieved success in Tamil Nadu. The backward community people now occupy high positions and posts in all walks of life due to the ceaseless and selfless services of Periar for half a century.

Anna's firm conviction is: "Schools should do the propaganda of learning whereas Periar should carry on the rationalist propaganda. Only with these two things we can reform society."

"In any country of the world, society is reformed more by individual social reformers than by the people running the Government. Because of the untiring efforts of Periar and because of his rationalist ideas our society is registering remarkable progress."

In the eleventh address, The Language Problem and Integration, Anna's unshakable view is: "We must find a solution immediately for the language problem. It is futile and fruitless to talk of integration until we find solution for fundamental problems."

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"Integration cannot be achieved by mere pledge alone. It must rather be achieved by mutual trust and confidence! If these two things are lacking, it is not integration; it is slavery only."

In the twelfth address, G. D. Naidu a self-made Man, Anna utters that Thiru G. D. Naidu has enriched his knowledge by his innate knowledge and by his enthusiastic enquiry into the nature of things. He is a philanthropist and industrial expert. More than that he is a scientific genius. We should make use of his services for the benefit of society.

In the thirteenth address, Karunanidhi a man of rare Talents. Anna wholeheartedly praises the varied talents of Kalaignar Karunanidhi such as his writing, speaking and organising abilities. He is also remarkable for his unremitting industry. Anna closes his address with a striking appeal: "A movement or a party should attract in large numbers those who develop their potential talents. There are a large number of people in Tamil Nadu with such talents who deserve to be welcomed. We should possess large heartedness and benignity in order to find out such people and to attract them to our fold. Many a talented man is uncared for in Tamil Nadu in these days. Such a sad state of affairs should not be allowed to continue any longer."

In the fourteenth address, Acharya Tulasi a Venerable Saint, Anna pays his kind respects to Acharya Tulasi and points out the significance of his services thus: "In such a conflicting and competitive world Acharya Tulasi has come forward to expound his

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religious ideals. Indeed he puts forth simple truths for the revival of society."

"In today's world the tendency to love material objects is growing more and more. We should make use of Acharya Tulasi's services to arrest such a tendency."

In the fifteenth address, Dr. Mu. Va. a Writer of Clarity. Anna clearly states that Dr. Mu. Va's ideas and thoughts are acceptable to all. Creating awe in the reader's mind by his exposition of ideas, producing clarity and lastly stimulating thinking are the three qualities of a good writer. Dr. Mu. Va. possesses these three qualities in an abundant measure.

In the sixteenth address, Chengalvarayan a man of affable Manners, Anna dwells at length on his close contact and cordial relationship with Thiru Chengalvarayan for a pretty long time though they belong to different parties. Anna emphasises the need for establishing and maintaining good political traditions in democracy. In this connection his humble and humane concluding remark is: "My friends, I say this with all sincerity. I respect and honour equally all political parties."

"I am a commoner. I am not enamoured of power. Power may come and power may go. But culture is constant. It is hard to gain culture. Therefore, I never agree to lose the culture which I have been cultivating for the past fifty years."

"I want to add another point at this juncture. When we praise the people in power as little as possible then democracy will achieve a higher status."

In the seventeenth address, The Great Twins, Anna says that Sir A. Ramasamy and Sir A. Lakshmanasamy are the great geniuses of India and men of worldly wisdom. Their services are direly needed for our country. He further adds that great men like Rajaji and Sir A. Ramasamy should come forword to codify democracy. Then only democracy can flourish.

In the eighteenth address, Rajaji the elder Statesman. Anna expresses his sincere tributes to Rajaji for his signal services to the country in different capacities-He reminds us about his keen memory, ever active mind, his concern for even little things, shrewd thinking, fair mindedness and his power of argument.

According to Anna, Rajaji is one of the dedicated workers of world peace. This is the greatest achievement of Rajaji. His greatest victory is that he has made all people think. In this regard he is a Marcus Aurelius.

In the nineteenth address, Chandrakantha, a refined Artiste. Anna appreciates the dance drama enacted by Selvi Chandrakantha for its high literary excellence, exposition and lustre. He registers his apt and prophetic conclusion thus:

"Today the entire fertility of Tamil Nadu (Government) depends upon the river Cauvery. In fact her creative power is greater than her destructive power."

"I feared if the river Cauvery would take away the life of Attanathi (the Chera king noted for his dance) from his counterpart. It is really interesting to note that the river Cauvery has saved all safely in the literary history. Let us believe that she will save the people of Tamil Nadu also." In the twentieth address, Sivaji Ganesan a talented Actor, Anna admires all the talented artistes of Tamil Nadu and proudly talks of his long association with artistes.

As Anna rightly observes, Sivaji Ganesan is the greatest actor. He has been acting all roles in a remarkable manner, exhibiting all his extraordinary talents. He appreciates his acting as Karnan, Kattabomman and Noorjahan. Anna is immensely happy to see Sivaji Ganesan in the position of Kundi Devi (mother of Karnan in Mahabaratham) wherever he is.

In the twenty first address, T. K. Shanmugham the celebrated Stage Actor, Anna remarks that (the late) T. K. Shanmugham's study of dramatic art is practical rather than theoretical. Moreover, he has imbibed that art even from his youth. Whatever role he plays he identifies himself with it. None can excel him in acting as Avvaiyar. He has dedicated his life to the cause of dramatic art.

In the twenty second address, M.G.R's excellence in Art and Politics (This is not an address but an article written by Anna. It is included in this series on account of its rarity and excellence), Anna's view is that M.G.R's entry into politics is an eye-opener to the future artistes. It is rather a revolutionary act. The laudable aim of M.G.R. is that art should help to enrich life. His fitting conclusion to the address is: "Against hatred, enmity and opposition M.G.R. entered politics. He has been constantly helping the people. He himself has set an example to other artistes to follow this aim so that they might derive joy by following his example of serving others. Thus, M.G.R. has

achieved excellence both in agam (acting) and puram (politics).

In the last address, N. S. Krishnan the King of Humour, Anna's critical remark is this: "Kalaivanar was not a mere artiste. Art was the medium he chose to reform society."

- "Today is Pongal festival. It is the day of the toilers. N. S. Krishnan's victory is the victory of hard labour."
- "Humour was his characteristic talent. He made people laugh by his humour. At the same time he made them also think.
- "When I think of him, thoughts in hundreds and thousands rush in my mind. He was the greatest son of Tamil Nadu. We can be proud of him for ever."

# 2. The Qualities

It is customary on our part to pay conventional compliments to people whom we felicitate. But the felicitation addresses of Anna are entirely different from the conventional felicitation addresses. They are not only exemplary in character but also a class by themselves. Anna pinpoints only the praise worthy qualities of each and every person whom he felicitates. His felicitation is neither an exaggeration nor a flattery but a sincere expression of his inner most heart.

It is heartening to note that Anna has felicitated almost all prominent men (of Tamil Nadu) in the world of art, drama, politics, literature, religion and other

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allied fields. His association with the people whom he felicitates is surprisingly long and everlasting except one or two.

In all his addresses, Anna never fails to portray the social, political and literary history of Tamil Nadu in places where they are apt and appropriate. Apart from that, he reveals clearly his high sense of culture, inborn craving for refined political and democratic traditions, comradeship and respectability.

Anna's 'humanity in perfection' and his potent versatality permeate all his astonishing felicitation addresses. We can say that they form a sort of miniature encylopedia to glean as many ideas as possible for all fields of human knowledge.

Of course, there are valuable and considerable autobiographical flashes in his addresses such as his failure in the S. S. L. C. Examination twice, his entry into politics from the Corporation election and his lasting association with important people like Thiru Chengalvarayan. In short, we find Anna as a humanist, a democrat, a traditionalist, a moralist and a culturalist in all his felicitation addresses.

Moreover, sublimity is the undercurrent of his superb oratory. His addresses begin with a note of congratulation or regret or contrast or with a statement, definition and quotation. The body of the addresses develops coherently and logically. In its logical development we find fine ideas, arresting quotations and interesting stories, all surpassing one another. The addresses end with a tribute or suggestion or an appeal or assurance.

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All the addresses clearly show the admirable qualities of Anna such as his politeness, magnanimity, political nobility and intellectual honesty.

The scholarly approach and masterly analysis are marvellous. Natural flow and quick delivery are note worthy. Refinement and enlightenment, calmness and composure, inherent humour and sharp wit, catholicity of outlook and cosmopolitan tinge are other remarkable qualities of Anna's addresses.

# 3. The Style

Anna is an unsurpassed master in the art of speech-making. He employs all the literary devices to give charm and colour, effect and energy, variety and vigour to his speeches.

He uses simile and metaphor for the sake of beauty, brevity and clarity.

He makes use of quotations for the sake of emphasis. The authorities quoted are Mathew Arnold, Marcus Aurelius and Nehru. He quotes from Tamil classics as he usually does.

He uses rhetoric for the sake of effect. He employs stories for comparison and contrast. He ingeniously uses alliteration to give force and depth to his addresses. Of all these devices simile, metaphor, rhetoric, quotations and stories are predominant in his felicitation addresses.

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The language of Anna is forceful and flowery. He has an exceptional command over language which he has acquired from his rich vocabulary and his mastery of the niceties of the language.

Anna speaks to an audience of various categories. Therefore, he employs a pleasing and arresting style to attract their attention.

Anna carves out a style of his own from his vast reading, ripe knowledge, keen insight and broad visison. He stamps his distinctive personality on it. It is marked by originality of thought and sublimity of expression. Thoroughness, coupled with mastery strikes the keynote of his style. Brevity, clarity euphony, depth and spontaneity are other remarkable characteristics of his style. In fine, his style has an individuality and originality of its own. It is the Style of Anna and we can call it Anna's Style.

### 4. Anna's Critics

Anna's critics in public life are all hollow and insincere. However, it is heartening to note that there are a few genuine critics who have assessed his public and his political life correctly.

With regard to his contribution to Tamil, eminent and impartial critics are yet to emerge. It is high time that we bestowed our thoughts upon these lines

### Dedicated to......



ANNA'S ADORED MOTHER, BANGARU AMMAIYAR

"The mother who hears her son called a perfect man will rejoice more than she did at his birth"

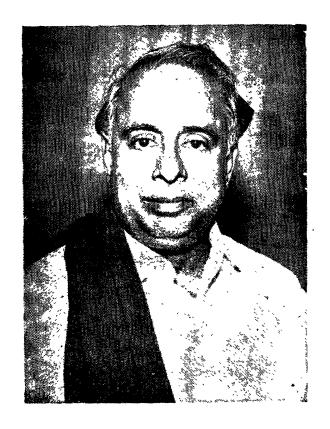
-The Kural (69)



PERIAR (E. V. RAMASAMY) THE POLITICAL GURU OF ANNA
AND THE FATHER OF SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT.

ACCORDING TO ANNA HE IS THE FIRST

PROFESSOR OF TAMIL NADU (see page 42)



ANNA, THE MATCHLESS ORATOR OF TAMIL NADU



ANNI (ANNA'S WIFE) GARLANDING ANNA
ON HIS BIRTHDAY

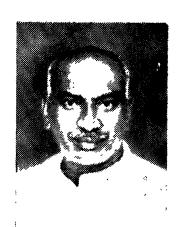


AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER RECEIVES
THE AWARD FROM THE THEN GOVERNOR
THIRU UJJAL SINGH (see page 1)



DR. AMBEDKAR
THE CHAMPION OF
THE DOWN-TRODDEN
(see page 4)

THIRU K. KAMARAJ
THE PEOPLE LEADER
(see page 9)

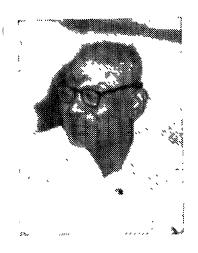


RAJA SIR
MUTHIAH CHETTIAR
THE PHILANTHROPIST
(see page 16)
Courtesy: Chettinadu
House, Madras.



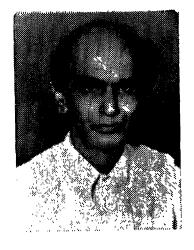


THIRU T. S. RAMASWAMYIYER
THE EXEMPLARY SOCIAL
WORKER
(see page 25)
Courtesy: The Hindu



THIRU K. APPADURA1
THE LINGUIST AND
LEARNED AUTHOR
(see page 29)

THIRU G. D. NAIDU
THE INDUSTRIAL WIZARD
(see page 50)
Courtesy: G. D. Gopal



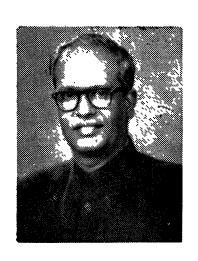


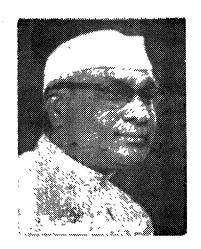
THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF A. K. MOORTHY RECEIVES THE AWARD FOR HIS OUTSTANDING WORK IN TAMIL, VANVELI ARAICHI (SPACE RESEARCH) FROM THIRU M. BAKTHAVATCHALAM THE THEN CHIEF MINISTER (see page 36)



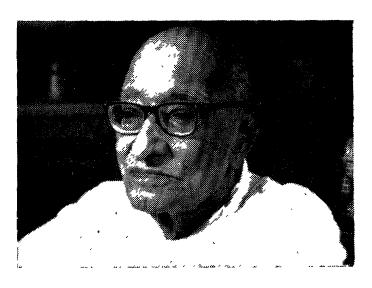
ANNA AND ACHARYA TULSI CONVERSING JOVIALLY (see page 67)

DR. M. VARADARAJAN
THE LATE LAMENTED
TAMIL SCHOLAR
(see page 70)



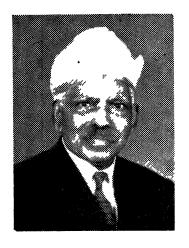


THIRU T. CHENGALVARAYAN THE LIFE LONG FRIEND OF ANNA (see page 73)



RAJAJI THE ELDER STATESMAN (see page 83)

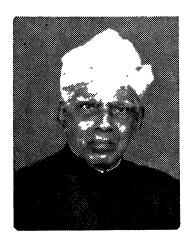
Courtesy: Kalki



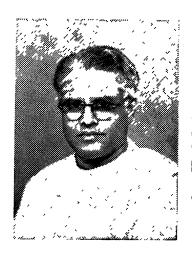
SIR A. RAMASAMY MUDALIAR

The Great Twins (see page 81)

SIR A. LAKSHMANASAMY MUDALIAR



Courtesy: Thiru A. R. Damodaran



THIRU T. K. SHANMUGHAM

The Celebrated Stage Actors (see page 97)

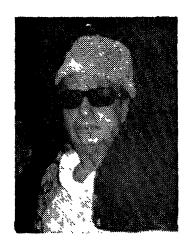


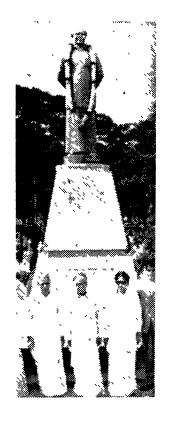
THIRU T. K. BHAGAVATHI



SIVAJI GANESAN THE TALENTED CINE AND STAGE ACTOR (see page 92)

THIRU M. G. RAMACHANDRAN THE APPLE OF ANNA'S EYE EXCELS BOTH IN ART AND POLITICS (see page 100)





THE STATUE OF KALAIVANAR N. S. KRISHNAN THE HILARIOUS AND THE REFORMATIVE COMMEDIAN WAS UNVEILED BY ANNA (CENTRE) ON 14-1—'69 AT MADRAS (see page 104) GEMINI VASAN (LEFT) FILM PRODUCER. KALAIGNAR M. KARUNANIDHI (RIGHT) NOW THE CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMIL NADU (see page 54)

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"Learning is the true imperishable wealth All others are not such".

-The Kural (400)

### Society is I indebted to Teachers

1

The presentation of awards to elementary school teachers here shows that society is indebted to them. Awards were presented to seventy teachers here. I congratulate the proud recipients of the awards. This function shows that Tamilnadu felicitates teachers who give us the wealth of learning and who produce the future citizens of the country. The Tamilnadu Government also felici-

tates teachers who offer the country the treasure of knowledge and who produce learned men in spite of their poverty.

The teachers lead a life of so many worries, anxieties and disappointments. Though they are not given enough salaries and though houses are not constructed for them, there is no doubt at all that they think that the Government values their culture. Indeed their task is a sacred one.

To say so, it does not mean that the Government considers that the state of poverty of the teachers must prolong. On the other hand it thinks that the teachers' status should be improved. The responsibility assumed by teachers will pave the way for the growth of the (Tamil) society with an admirable culture. I bow to the teachers, who create an ideal society. Only if the beginning is clean, the middle and the end will also be clean and good.

2

The elementary education is the basis of all education. As the letter A is the first of all alphabets, so elementary education is the foundation in the field of education. Teachers have a share in the responsibility of making the society cheerful. The teachers who have received the awards from the Governor along with his congratulations have an imperishable wealth.

The pedestrian looking at a man, strolling in the upper floor of his three-storeyed house will say: "I know, this man has accumulated riches". But can anybody find fault with the wealth that teachers possess? When we see and think of the awards received by teachers from the graceful hands of the Governor, it fills us with joy and exemplifies the greatness of their duty because their wealth is blameless and uncensurable.

For generations to come, your near kinsmen will feel proud of your achievements, and will consider themselves proud members of the award-winning family. I convey my congratulations and respects to teachers who are engaged in such a holy task.

Speech delivered at Rajaji Hall on 27 · 3 -67 in the Seventh Award Presentation function of Elementary School Teachers "Letters and numbers are the two eyes of men".

-The Kural (392)

#### 2 Dr. Ambedkar a champion of the Down-trodden

1

It is a matter for regret that we are celebrating the birthday of Dr. Ambedkar when he is not with us. While he was alive, Dr. Ambedkar gave us fine ideas and taught us how to act effectively. He was a genius who strove hard to remove the woes of the down-trodden in spite of the hardships inflicted by those who described themselves as caste Hindus. His end came abruptly and unexpectedly.

We do not celebrate this function happily. On the other hand, we celebrate it just to remember his noble services and efforts for the uplift of the down-trodden community and to take an oath that we, too, should follow his example and work hard for the uplift of society.

Though there are haves and have-nots in our society, we have many opportunities to establish our rights. The law of the land allows it. But, Dr. Ambedkar was born when there were no such opportunities. It is also a matter for pleasant surpise to know that, when Dr. Ambedkar started his campaign on behalf of the down-trodden, social opinion was not in favour of his campaign, since many people thought that some people should be kept in a state of suppression for ever.

He went to England for higher studies. When he returned to India, many learned men in England gave him a warm send-off. He wanted to practise as a lawyer and he sought a house for that purpose in a fashionable quarter. He was unable to get a house not only there, but even in a humble lane. Such was the hardship that Ambedkar, the barrister, had to endure.

In spite of the hardships that he suffered as a student and later as an advocate, he never worried about himself and lived only for others. Moreoever, he earned a name, fame, and appreciation in his field of activity with his characteristic legal acumen. He won appreciation even from the so-called caste Hindus and acquired international renown.

The world will always honour men of ability and talents. Many people are born and dead in this world. We are celebrating the 76th birthday of Dr. Ambedkar because he utilised his massive intelligence and undisputed legal acumen not for self-aggrandisement but for the good of the suppressed and oppressed. That is why we honour his memory by this celebration.

2

I know from my own personal experience all about the hardships of the backward people and the scheduled communities. I was also educated as a member of the backward community. I failed twice in the S. S. L. C. Examination. As I did not have finance to continue my studies in College, I had to

work for some time as a clerk in my native place itself. Had I been a member of a forward community, I could not have received collegiate education at all.

We incurred the anger and hatred of the people, when we carried on social reformation and propaganda in order to do away with the social evils regarding the haves and havenots. We are the people who awoke the suppressed from their deep slumber.

The oppressed should be wide awake and receive the sympathy of all parties. People of all parties should vie with one another in serving them. Unless we all strive together for their uplift they can never rise from their state of suppression.

Backward and scheduled caste people should make an honest effort to acquire talents and abilities. The benefits accruing to them on the basis of their birth should gradually be reduced. They should make progress in the field of education. How long can they continue to enjoy privileges on the basis of birth only without acquiring necessary talents?

Now-a-days getting higher marks in schools has become an art. We too should excel in that art.

Nobody can be efficient without learning. There may be a few exceptions. Nobody would argue that one's learning has killed one's efficiency. Just as bricks are essential to a building, so also learning, efficiency and progress are essential for success in life. However, I assure you on behalf of the Government and the D. M. K. that all the privileges would be extended to the suppressed communities in an abundant measure.

Speech delivered at Nehru Stadium, Madras on the occasion of the 76th birthday celebration of Dr. Ambedkar on 15-4-67. "Firmness in action is one's firmness of mind.
All others are not such.

-The Kural (661)

Kamaraj 3 the People Leader

1

I gave away prizes to students. I present the portrait of Kamaraj unveiled by me to Tamil Society as a prize. It is my duty to appreciate him because he has striven hard to raise the standard of Tamilnadu and tried his best to work for the advancement of Tamils.

2-1989

It is Tamil tradition to appreciate a man of culture who deserves appreciation. It is also the usual custom in democracy.

In a democracy the leader of a political party will be appreciated by the leader of another political party and his portrait will be unveiled by him. But in a totalitarian country the leader of a political party will only dig the grave of a leader of another political party.

Kamaraj and I belong to different political parties. It is not necessary that I should follow in his footsteps or I should adopt his policy because I have unveiled his portrait and paid him tributes.

2

There are differences of opinion in politics. But it should not foster the growth of ill-feeling nor should it result in personal violence.

Because differences of opinion are necessary we need not shout our differences from house tops. I believe this portrait-unveiling ceremony will drive home the lesson that he

who has rendered meritorious services in the public life of the country should be honoured by one and all, irrespective of political differences. I unveil his portrait in the hope and belief that this function will show that Thiru Kamaraj deserves my respect and reverence, although he belongs to a different political party.

Speech delivered at Pachaiyappa's College High School, Kancheepuram, while unveiling the portrait of Kamaraj on 22-4-'67.

"The great will perform rare deeds properly and perfectly."

-The Kural (975)

#### 4 The Greatness of Artistes

1

There is a fundamental difference between the development of art in our country and its excellence abroad. There they foster art along with material prosperity. But in our land art flourishes in spite of abject poverty.

Our people appreciate art, felicitate and patronize artistes and develop art in spite off their poverty. Had our people been welloff, how much would they appreciate art and artistes? When we contemplate thus, we are tempted to think that there is a bright future for our arts. This is the fundamental difference between the development of art in our country and its development abroad.

Our artistes have not only been rendering yeoman service in their respective fields of activity but also they have been functioning in such a manner as to win the appreciation of foreigners.

Most of the musicians, dancers and other artistes have spent the greater part of their lives in poverty. I am filled with a sense of pride to see that those who give us the treasures of art have won awards.

The artistes who have received the awards of the Tamilnadu Music and Drama Society are men of versatile scholarship and undoubted talents. They have not only attained eminence by their art but also they have produced equally talented artistes.

The cine-field is nothing but the total combination of all these ancient arts in a modern fashion. The cine-field which is well organised is a masterly vehicle for promoting joy and other finer emotions. Talented artistes in such a field also have won awards. I offer my felicitations and congratulations to them.

In the field of cine-story and dialoguewriting award has been presented to brother Karunanidhi in honour of his services. There may be difference of opinion as to whether he deserves inclusion in the Cabinet. But there can be no two opinions about his choice for the award. His devotion and dedication to this field are remarkable to such an extent.

It is admired in the world of art that he is not only maintaining excellence in art but also he is discharging his responsibilities with the same artistic excellence.

In these days people of mediocre abilities imagine themselves to be artistes. Just as

Kalaignar Karunanidhi has been doing well with his devotion in the field of art, so also he has been achieving distinction in the field of administration with the same artistic skill. When such persons are honoured with awards, you will permit me to regard it as an honour done to me personally.

Speech delivered at the award presentation ceremony of Tamilnadu Music and Drama Society held at Rajaji Hall Madras on 23-4-67. "Give and live a life of fame. No other profit is so great to the soul as that."

-The Kural (231)

### Muthiah Chettiar | a Lover of | Tamil

1

Thiruvalluvar said, "Give and live a life of fame." According to him giving means "One has to acquire fame in life by giving one's wealth, time and thought". He also added, "Fame thus acquired is a profit to the soul". Among those who can live such glorious lives Thiru Muthiah Chettiar is one who deserves our congratulations and felicitations.

When we remember that Thiru Muthiah Chettiar is the son of Annamalai Chettiar, we know that his family has been famous for generations and his fame is inherited. It is a matter for pride that even at the tender age of twenty three, Thiru Muthiah Chettiar became a member of the Pachaiyappa's Trust.

When people were spending their wealth on luxurious living only, Thiru Muthiah Chettiar gave generously for the good of the country. It is a useful lesson that he learned from his father.

He is a multi-millionaire. He knows what should be done for the good of posterity and he does it. His public life is an example of how a rich man should serve posterity.

2

I have been connected with him in all fields of activity except in the field of commerce, not being a merchant myself. His famous and well-known family engaged itself in safeguarding Tamil Music. When he strove hard for Tamil, I came into contact with him.

Once when elections were held for the city Corporation, we were members of the same party. He asked me to contest the election. Many great leaders were against it because I did not command the means to contest the election. It was Muthiah Chettiar who defended me saying, "In our politics the party claims hereditary rights. It judges man's capacity to contest the election by his wealth alone. He is a young man and a wellread scholar with a passion for public service. On that score, he deserves our choice as a candidate for the election". That he tried to sponsor and support my candidature even in those days clearly shows that he is a man of intellectual acumen and he is capable of taking decisions with prophetic vision.

When problems arise, some people take decisions first and then announce them. But Thiru Muthiah Chettiar reflects independently and comes to his own decisions. Instead of announcing his decisions when he is talking with others, he has the rare ability of getting them announce his decisions. That is because he is capable of understanding the innermost feelings and emotions of people.

It is not that Tamil lovers are confined to his family only. The entire Nagarathar community has been promoting the cause of both Tamil and Tamil Scholars.

When he parted from us and joined the Congress, the whole of Tamilnadu waited with anxiety to know what he was going to do. The new friends in the Congress were cautious and the old ones were filled with fear.

Whenever the Anti-Hindi problem cropped up, he rallied to our side on the floor of the Tamilnadu Legislature. He is a firm believer in and a staunch advocate of the theory that too much of power should not be concentrated in the Centre for it is detrimental to the country and an efficient federal Government should function. Whenever he talked of the Centre-State relations, he was of the view that the Government of Tamilnadu should take up cudgels against the Centre.

He is a person who respects others' views and opinions as much as he respects his own. Even when he talks to the people from the lower strata of society, he invariably addresses

them with politeness and courtesy. He believes in the dignity of human personality and he is capable of winning good friends.

4

When he first raised the banner of revolt against Hindi, it was the tall and famous Muthiah Chettiar who walked all the way from Mint Street to Island grounds, proudly carrying the Tamil flag on his shoulder. The movement on behalf of which he carried the Tamil flag is now in power in Tamilnadu. It must be said to his credit that he has not claimed any share in the Government on the strength of his past performance. In fact he served the very cause of Tamil.

Even after joining the Congress, whenever the language problem arose, he never hesitated to lend his weighty support to both Tamil and English. He never failed to condemn Hindi imperialism. Therefore, I deem it a rare privilege to unveil his portrait not because he will be honoured by this ceremony but because I trust his portrait will inspire people them with politeness and courtesy. He believes in the dignity of human personality and he is capable of winning good friends.

4

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- The Kural (789)

# 6 | Venkataraman a Man of admirable Qualities

L

Nobody should forget the land of his birth. I believe that Thiru R. Venkataraman will not forget it. Only then our relationship withour land can be permanent and everlasting.

He who knows the needs and necessities of Tamil Nadu should rectify the defects done so far and see that justice is rendered to Tamil Nadu.

We the Tamils have always been famous as benefactors. We have never been at the receiving end. We do not demand political justice. We demand only economic justice.

It is a fundamental principle of economics taught in Colleges that industries should be located where raw materials are available in plenty. We stress the need for Salem Steel Plant only on this principle

Only because one has become great and famous, can he afford to forget this fundamental lesson in economics? We stress the need for Tuticorin Deep Sea Harbour only on on this principle-

2

This is an exciting period in the history of our country. This is the period when the federal Central Government has to function with different political parties in power in different states. Thiru R. Venkata raman goes to the Centre at this critical juncture. His services will be required for creating oneness and friendship among the different parties.

We are firm in our ideals and politics. Political stability and a feeling of sincerity are in abundance here. This is one of the lessons that others should learn from us. I make mention of all these things because Thiru R. Venkataraman possesses all these qualities in a great measure. We are sending Thiru R. Venkataraman to a place where these qualities are sorely needed. All that we get from them (the Centre) is a part of the revenue got by them from the taxes paid by us.

Hereafter I shall be knocking at the door of Thiru R. Venkataraman's chamber at Delhi every month with a list in my hand. Thiru Venkataraman says, "There is no need for knocking. My doors will be ever open to you". It is an English custom to enter a house only after a knock even if the door is wide open. Let us hope that Thiru R. Venkataraman will place our schemes before the fellow-members of the Planning Commission and see that we get a fair deal.

Speech delivered at the felicitation function of Thiru R. Venkataraman at Abbotsbury, Madras on 27-7-67. "The world praises those who are useful to others by their actions resulting from goodness and virtue"

-The Kural (994).

## Ramaswami Iyer 7 a great social Worker

1

To-day we felicitate Thiru T. S. Ramaswami Iyer because he has won renown as a man of good qualities and selfless service in different parts of Tamil Nadu and all over India. This felicitation function has been arranged in order to enthuse him to render still further better services to us.

We are not fit enough to bless him since we are all youngsters. We express our gratitude and reverence to him every year, recall-

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ing the immense benefits that we derive from his invaluable services. To-day's function is a fitting example in point.

We all see here fisherman, temple authorities, educationists, workers, residents of Mylapore and people from far-off places offering their respects and felicitations to him. After the function is over, some people may even say that there is nothing extraordinary about it. But they should realise that such things are uncommon. In these days when competition, conflict and hatred are considered healthy signs of our progress, functions such as this are quite necessary to root out enmity from our hearts.

Difference of opinion is bound to exist among us since we have accepted democracy. It ought to exist. It is but proper that it should be so. But at the same time it is essential that we should possess the magnanimity to appreciate and respect other man's point of view and his remarkable services.

The Ancient Tamils proclaimed, "What is called politeness is to behave, understanding the disposition of others". The English literary genius, Mathew Arnold defines a gentle man thus: "A gentleman is not he who lives

in a palace nor is he a product of a university nor a multimillionaire. He is one who possesses a good heart". Thiru Ramaswamy Iyer is a man of such a magnanimous heart. He strives hard for the unity of the country.

2

He continues his services unfloggingly which he began during the days of British Imperialism. Wherever he hears the cry of agony, he rushes there to bring comfort and consolation to the afflicted by his word and deed, thought and service. In spite of his impaired health he has rendered service in Bihar. He deserves my felicitations as a rare gem of Tamil Nadu.

In any society people in authority cannot do by themselves all the good things. Society can progress only by voluntary services. Thiru Ramaswami Iyer has been rendering such-selfless service for the past forty or forty-five years. Rather it is one of his good qualities that he does not feel weary even after a long period of service.

When he began his service, casteism was rampant. That even in those days he went to

the slums to render service and made friends with the people there bears ample testimony to his broad-mindedness.

On this occasion when we are felicitating this octogenarian, all we can do is to assure him this: "Let us follow in your foot-steps and continue your service to the best of our might". Let us express our gratitude and felicitations to him for showing us the way.

Speech delivered at the felicitation function held in honour of Thiru T. S. Ramaswami Iyer a great social worker at Madras on 8-9-'67. "Appear as a man of name and fame in any field of activity
If not, refrain from doing so".

The Kural (236).

## 8 Appadurai a literary Genius

1

I am highly delighted to have the fine opportunity of participating in the 60th Birth day Celebration of the Linguist K. Appadurai since I claim to be his close family friend for long and I know the immense benefits that Tamil Nadu has derived from his services to the cause of Tamil.

Nothing can be more joyous and pleasing to us than that the person whom we admire is appreciated even by men holding different views. While we look at him from a certain angle and appreciate him, people holding contrary views also appreciate him from different angles, realising his individual talents and the value of his services. Indeed we are happy to know this. We have been appreciating his individual talents from the days when he started his life as a teacher till he participated in all our just agitations.

To him belongs the credit for having made an attempt to explore even the origin of Tamil. He has done excellent services by examining the history of the Tamils with the utmost care and by building bridges of friendship between the Tamils and other races. If we were to publish all his accumulated knowledge, the books so published will be enough to fill this hall completely. Our good friend Appadurai has spent all his life meritoriously in deep study, contemplation and writing.

In this country, it is dangerous even to be known as 'Aringnar' (scholar). There are even people who ask "Is he a great scholar?" and there by they try to exhibit their "scholarship". Rendering such service in the intellectual field is difficult indeed. But there is joy only in such a service.

It is difficult for us to engage in these activities as much as the westerners. Linguist Appadurai has faced many ups and downs in life and has helped Tamil Nadu to acquire crystal-clear knowledge of Tamil by his meritorious services As was rightly pointed out by Thiru K. A. P. Viswanathan, had he wished he could have easily become the Vice-chancellor of a University.

For some time he would serve as a school-master. Then he would give up that post and become an editor of a newspaper. Then he would engage himself in the task of safe-guarding Tamil. Not being satisfied with agitations, he would again take to writing books. He would act according to the urge of the moment, though he examines everything critically before he comes to a decision.

2

Although musicians employ different techniques and effects, they maintain a uniform pitch throughout their performance. In the same manner, although Appadurai has been engaged in different tasks he has concentrated himself on a particular pitch, that is the one underlying ideal, namely, "Tamil should live and flourish". This is a worthy and laudable ideal.

Even people holding opposite views unite together so far as the problem of Tamil is concerned. Though Kunrakkudi Adikalar and I differ from each other in our appearance, speech habits, manners and in our abodes, Tamil has united us. This is the ideal that we should follow. It includes all good things. We had to strive hard for thirty years to establish this ideal. If we find out the number of persons following this ideal, we can know how far Tamil has been benefited. Thiru Appadurai is one of those who have given us this ideal. To follow that ideal is real service.

3

In western countries a writer can lead his whole life comfortably from the income of a single book written by him. Here we see the pathetic sight of an Author changing his house in order to escape from the clutches of his creditors as and when he writes a book. Here it is too difficult to make money by writing books alone,

I was very happy to hear His Holiness Kundrakkudi Adikalar explain the relationship between wisdom and wealth. If conditions in the country had prevailed as he observed, we could have derived greater benefits.

Everyone should cultivate the habit of buying books. Books by Appadurai should find a place in every house. Of all his books which attracted me most is, "Battlefields of Tamil Nadu". I was struck with wonder when I realised how many books he should have consulted, and how many poems he should have scanned before writing even a single page of that valuable book.

In western countries book writers are respected as men of enlightenment and wisdom. It is a pity to note that in our land the writers have to incur the blame of wasting their money by writing books. Even in this depressing situation, our friend Appadurai has written many valuable books which bring credit to Tamil.

Full-pledged biographies of men whom we revere are lacking in Tamil. I suggest that Tamil scholars should engage themselves in collecting materials for biographies about people like Thiru. Vi. Ka. and help to bring them out in the form of books. There are no authentic biographies of people like Maraimalai Adigal and Thiagaraja Chettiar. We shall be losing sight of our tradition, if we forget the biographies of such great Tamil scholars. Now-a-days tradition has almost become a forgotten thing.

4

There are no authentic accounts about ancient Tamil Kings in any books. When we examine the text-books of children, it is said in some books that Rajendra Chola was the son of Raja Raja Chola and in some others it is said that he was his brother. There are also vague statements such as that Karikal Valavan's capital might have been Woriur. midst of my multifarious duties it is not possible for me to engage myself in this task of research. Only Tamil historians should undertake this research to bring out authentic Tamil history. I would appeal to the Tamils to undertake the task of bringing out the history of Tamil Nadu, using all available sources such as inscriptions, literary evidences and other tools.

The World Tamil Conference will take place at Madras in a few months. If this task is completed by that time, we can proudly show our foreign delegates and visitors, "This is the authentic history of our land."

The history of many cities and rivers of Tamil Nadu has not been published. Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai showed real interest and enthusiasm in collecting materials for these histories. To our great regret and misfortune death snatched him away from us. I wish to tell you here that, if a Committee were to be formed to undertake this task, the person best fitted to head the Committee is Thiru Appadurai.

I believe much good will result if Thiru Mahalingam and Kundrakkudi Adikalar engage themselves in serving Tamil by forming such a Committee.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the 60th Birthday of Thiru K. Appadurai at Madras on 20-9-'67.

"Secure the friendship of men of virtue and mature knowledge after weighing its value properly."

- The Kural (441)

## Bakthavatsalam 9 a venerable Politician

1

Thiru Bakthavatsalam has dedicated himself to Indian politics in general and to Tamil Nadu politics in particular. In the fifty-year history of our country he finds an honoured place. While we speak of him, instead of praising his individual qualities, if we appraise and appreciate the conditions that existed in his days, it means that we have understood him well.

It is a salient feature of democracy that even people who differ from him in politics appreciate him. He and I belong to different political parties. Both of us belong to different movements. Periar Ramasamy separated from the Congress and we in turn quit Periar. All other movements have sprung from the Congress. So we are all the same in origin.

It is a matter of pride that Thiru Bakthavatsalam is still with us to remind us as one of the great men of the elder generation. We may mention Rajaji and Kamaraj as such great men. If they pass away, many matters may not come to light at all.

It is a matter of admiration that all these people are interested in the progress of Tamil Nadu. It is rather my desire that these great men should live long to give us the benefit of their wise advice and help us to usher in a bright future for Tamil Nadu.

Thiru Bakthavatsalam belongs to an aristocratic family. According to convention, he belonged to the upper strata of society. In spite of his aristocratic birth, I have heard that his ancestors were nationalists. I have seen Thiru Bakthavatsalam when we visited my home town along with his father. He used to come then with due modesty and humility. We have been having intimate contact for the

last ten years. But some people judge us by mere newspaper reports and fail to understand the intimacy of our friendship. When we were members of legislature, we have often contradicted each other.

2

Whenever people go in for a thing, they remove the dirt and dust and choose the best of it.

We too hurl abusive epithets at one another in the evenings. It will be profitable if we try to reject the unnecessary things and concentrate on the relevant points.

I have never harboured any trace of illwill or hatred against anybody at any time. There need not be any room for hatred while people try to emphasize one another's viewpoints. During his legislature career, Thiru Bakthavatsalam was most happy in our company.

People say that the one great quality of Bakthavatsalam is his obstinacy. We used to argue our case on the floor of the legislature, for hours together, sometimes betraying our anger and making many a request. At the end of it Thiru Bakthavatsalam would get up and coolly say in a laconic manner, "I regret my inability to accept the suggestions of my honourable friends." Even there he did not show any feeling of bitterness or ill-will.

3

Mr. Churchill was a famous Prime Minis ter. But after his defeat at the polls he was succeeded by Mr. Attlee. According to tradition, when Mr. Attlee moved into 10, Downing Street, Lady Churchill, took him round the house and explained the arrangement of things therein. If we cannot have that mentality, we will be deemed unfit for democracy.

A fierce controversy arose when Churchill and Attlee went together to participate in a conference. Attemps to prevent them from going together were defeated. Both of them did attend the Conference. It is a shining example which shows what fine traditions of democracy have been established in that country. We should try to build up understanding and friendship not only at functions like this but at all times. I request the co-operation of the Congress leaders in building up fine democratic traditions wherein people will learn to



respect and appreciate one another in spite of their differences of opinion.

Gone are the days when Saivates and Vaishnavites quarrelled. Now they have learnt to live under the same roof. We should do our best to promote such a feeling of amity. By his talents and experiences Thiru Bakthavatsalam is fit enough to advise not only his party but also all other parties.

One does not become a Christian by merely reading the Bible. It does not mean that every Congress man should read the history of the Congress. So far as my knowledge goes, we know more of the history of the Congress than Congress men themselves. Then only we will be able to point out the defects.

4

When I assumed office, I began to maintain separate diaries. But now only one diary is left. I do not know what happened to the other five diaries. I am not in the habit of writing diaries. We do not have the complete history of Tamil Nadu only because people did not cultivate the habit of diary-writing. Still we do not know for certain the birth

place of Thiruvalluvar. The biographies of great men like Dr. Varadarajulu and Thiru Vi. Ka. are not fully and properly written. If the organisers of this function bring out an authentic history of the politics for the past forty or fifty years in which Thiru Bakthavatsalam had participated, we shall have a valuable book for reading.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the 71st birthday of Bakthavatsalam at Madras on 16-10-1967.

"Learn how to act agreeably to the world. If not, you are ignorant in spite of your learning many things".

-The Kural (140).

# Periar the first professor of Tamil Nadu

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Many years ago I wrote an article for 'Dravidanadu' Annual Number. When I wrote about the poets and professors of various countries in that article, I referred to Periar (E. V. Ramasami) as "the first professor of Tamil Nadu"

His services to society are indeed great. The people of the country have not attained intellectual fertility to such an extent as to accept his ideas and ideals.

The growth of a crop depends upon the fertility of the soil. Likewise people of good intellectual capacity only can grasp and foster his ideas and ideals.

We cannot say that his service does not do any good. After his forty years' social service, intellectual revolution has achieved success in Tamil Nadu. None can deny it. We know well how powerful and potent his rationalist propaganda is.

When he began his propaganda, certain classes of people were considered unfit for learning. Even those poor people believed it to be true.

When I wanted to take economics for my honours course, a certain lecturer in my college said to me, "Why do you aspire for economics? Can you become well versed in it? Why not you take some other subject?" In fact he wanted to damp my enthusiasm. But I took economics and got a creditable pass in it.

When I assumed charge of the Government after thirty six years, I realised how my study of economics was very useful to me. The backward community was suppressed by showing false reasons. Now people belonging

to that community occupy high positions and posts in all walks of life which should increase further. No doubt, this is due to the ceaseless and selfless services of Periar for half a century.

I am ready to propagate and implement the ideas and ideals of Periar. The question is: "Shall I do some useful things assuming the charge of the Government or shall I do it at the social level with you?" I leave it to Periar to decide. If he says, "Well, my disciple! depart and do it" I am ever prepared for it. Still his ideas and ideals have not been completely put into practice. Of course, it will take many years to carry them out. But it will be implemented.

The service that Periar has taken up is a laudable service. The country needs his most useful service. Periar only has that rare ability to do it.

We must give him rest or we must carry on his duty. But both our fields are different. But each of them is as important as the other.

2

The literacy of our country is said to be 40%. It is only a customary remark.

If a boy discontinues his studies at 4th standard, it is a loss to the Government. It was said that much was lost like this in private management schools. The Tamil Nadu Government is aware of it. We are exploring the ways and means to set it right. Soon we have to take a decision about it.

Teachers should have high mental calibre. They should give their students the best possible ideas. If they do so, we can derive three fourths of the benefit-though not the entire benefit-for the money we spend on education.

If the teachers teach their students with a rationalist approach, we can make our students compete with their counterparts in the other parts of the world in the intellectual field within ten years.

The education that we give to our students in schools and colleges is theoretically useful to them, when they leave the institution. It is not useful to them either rationally or practically later in life. Schools should do the propaganda of learning whereas Periar should carry on the rationalist propaganda. Only with these two things we can reform society.

Our present curriculum should be completely changed. The educational experts should

give serious thought to it and they should evolve a new curriculum accordingly.

Society cannot be completely changed by Government alone. The Government has not that mighty power.

Though a Government is given to me, it cannot act independently. There is a big Government above to control it.

In any country of the world, society is reformed more by individual social reformers than by the people running the Government. Because of the untiring efforts of Periar and because of his rationalist ideas our society is registering remarkable progress.

Gold is not obtained in bars, immediately after the earth is dug. After so many hardships, the glittering gold is got. Just like that the task of social reform has many obstacles to overcome.

Speech delivered at Nagarasampatti on 19-12-67 while declaring open the Periar Ramasamy Educational Building. "Avoid acts at all times which yield neither benefit nor fame".

-The Kural (652).

#### The Language Problem 11 and Integration

1

The language problem is not a mathematical problem. It is a problem that cannot be solved in terms of computation and intimidation.

When we taste the mango fruit, the juice only will stick to our hand. If we wash our hands, we can easily remove it. But, if we want to remove the perianths from a jack fruit, we must cut the thorny part of it. If we do so, the resin in it will be a hindrance to take the perianths.

We can compare integration to such a fruit, the Tamilian right to the perianth and the Hindi domination to the resin. If we try to take the perianth, the resin called Hindi domination sticks to our hand.

Our intelligent grand mothers will take the ghee from a cup and apply it to their hands to remove the perianths. This they will do to avoid resin. Now Rajaji serves as the cup to do away with the resin of Hindi domination and his views are the ghee.

They say, "Let us be united; let us be prosperous". It is not human decency to deny it. At the same time we may also consider the reason to reject it, if there is any.

We must admit that Tamil Nadu has some specific problems, (unlike other states) while we accept integration.

Though we accept the principle of integration, there are certain leaders-here who doubt us. If they do so, it shows their weakness only. If we do not believe each other and if we live with enmity then it is a life of mistrust. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayanan is keenly interested in solving problems peacefully. Nobody can be more pleased than I if the language problem is solved amicably. This is the opportune moment to do so. We must invite people from different walks of life to discuss this problem to find a lasting solution.

We must convene the National Convention on Language immediately. Already we must have convened it. We cannot delay it any more. Therefore, we must convene it at once to arrive at a decision.

We must find a solution immediately for the language problem. It is futile and fruitless to talk of integration until we find solutions for fundamental problems.

Integration cannot be achieved by mere pledge alone. It must rather be achieved by mutual trust and confidence. If these two things are lacking, it is not integration; it is slavery only.

Condensed from the speech delivered at the birthday celebration of Rajaji on 26-12-67 in Madras.

"Labour produces wealth; idleness brings poverty".

-The Kural (616).

#### G. D. Naidu a self-made Man

L

My friend Thiru G. D. Naidu has done remarkable things. Though the society cannot derive benefit from them now, no doubt they will be highly useful to the future generations.

My friend G. D. Naidu is neither a product of a University nor a research worker at a laboratory. But by his innate knowledge and by his enthusiastic enquiry into things he has enriched his knowledge.

Scholars and industrial experts have warmly congratulated him. Not only people

in India but also people outside it have wholeheartedly praised him. My friend Naidu is a philanthropist and an industrial expert. More than that he is a scientific genius.

The Kural says: "Whatever the thing and whatever its nature may be, to discern the truth in it is wisdom".

My friend Naidu followed this Kural strictly. Therefore the country expresses its sincere gratitude to him now for his exemplary act.

2

We have to progress rapidly in the industrial sector. India is a thickly populated country. Unless and until science is applied to industry, no Government worth the name, can give its people a prosperous life. If we want to give people a decent life, then we must utilize the natural resources at the expense of science and man power.

Our people will never hesitate to give their physical labour. Likewise they will never calculate whether they reap the entire benefit from the labour they give us. They work as hard as a beast of burden for the good of our country. Still they cannot enjoy all the comforts of life. If they want to get a contented life, their physical labour should be linked with science.

The University and the science laboratory alone cannot achieve the things we desire to achieve. Not that I do not want science laboratory. What I want is this: "Do not depend upon science laboratory alone. Make use of the discoveries made by genuises like G. D. Naidu for the benefit of society."

3

The majority of the people in our country want to live a life of ease and comfort somehow or other at the expense of others. They fail to realize the intrinsic value of things.

Still black-marketing and profiteering are going on in our country. We cannot eradicate them.

Once Nehru referred to such a sorry state of affairs and remarked: "People want to accumulate riches somehow or other. Therefore all these things happen".

My friend Naidu is a rare exception to this remark. He is a man who is eyer active and busy. There is no field in which he cannot gain victory.

Ten years ago we doubted his abilities. Now the position is entirely different. No Government hesitates to utilise his talents. He should be accepted first by the scientists and the people and then by the Government. Then only inner motives will not be attributed to such an act.

In foreign countries people feel that time is not enough for them to discharge their duties. In our country though there is ample time for the people at their disposal, they are not using it fruitfully.

Thiru G. D. Naidu is the man who has made wise use of time to the fullest extent. May he live for many more years to drive away poverty and ignorance from our country! This function is got up just to show that we are quite aware of his rare talents.

"Those who labour with undismayed and unfaltering mind will be able to defeat fate that causes obstacle to their mode of action".

-The Kural (620).

### Karunanidhi a man of rare Talents

1

Many friends spoke here about my 'brother' Karunanidhi's talents and the victories he has gained as a result of his talents, and how those victories have been utilised for the betterment of the country, and how those talents and victories would continue to be utilised for the good of the country in future in good stead. When I heard their speeches, I am, no doubt, highly filled with a sense of joy and pride. I have, no doubt, that everyone

of my brothers in the D. M. K. deserves such encomiums.

Birthday celebrations like this serve to remind us that the workers of the D. M. K. possess not only varied talents, but also utilise all their talents only for the good of the country through the party.

This felicitation function has a special significance and uniqueness because it is celebrated with deep love and affection.

Thiru M. P. Sivagnana Gramani and the linguist Thiru K. Appadurai have praised the literary excellence and style of Karunanidhi. I do not think that they have spoken in wonder because they are reputed men of letters. Rather they have spoken with affection and love.

They have spoken with love because of their personal joy and affectionate appreciation that a member of our movement, a comparatively young man, has attained eminence not only in our literature but also has enriched it and that he has also contributed to the growth and development of Tamil on the whole.

2

They have praised Karunanidhi's abilities as a writer, as an orator and as a playwright. In order to understand the inner significance of this function, we should know how Karunanidhi acquired these abilities.

He acquired his lofty ideas even in his very early age. Even from his childhood he gave his countrymen new ideas with zeal through his manuscript magazines. Later he spread his ideas through the medium of his orations, essays, poems, dramas and dialogues for films. Having become a Minister, he is trying to give concrete shape to his ideas as far as possible. Therefore, we are extremely happy to appreciate him.

Some doubted if an artiste would be able to discharge his responsibilities. I made it clear to them that a good artiste would do his duties with as much skill and excellence as he shows in his art.

Systematization is art. The artistes who have acquired such systematized culture will organise their work and invest it with artistic lustre whatever field of activity they may be engaged in and will make others to derive

benefit from it. Many others who entertain similar faith like me, have appreciated with love and joy, Karunanidhi's services as a Minister for the past one year and his remarkable services as a legislator for the past ten years. It is my earnest wish that everyone of my brothers should possess these traits in an abundant measure.

The reason for that is, as Thiru M. P. Sivagnana Gramani rightly pointed out, not only Karunanidhi but everyone in the D. M. K. comes from the poor strata of society. Our movement is run by the poor, for the poor. On that account, nobody should say that it must remain only in a poor state.

It should reach the acme of perfection. Such a state of perfection should reflect not only the perfection of the individual members, not even the perfection of the movement brought about by the collective efforts of the members but the perfection of the country as a whole. The fact that our movement of the poor, for the poor has uplifted the lives of the poor and the down-trodden to a state of perfection should be recorded as an achievement in history.

To attain such a state, it is not enough if we develop skills and talents like Karunanidhi. We should carefully examine how he acquired such abilities.

3

Only if we observe how many hours Karunanidhi spends in sleep everyday, we will be convinced that nothing but industry is the foundation of his rare abilities and talents.

One cannot attain talents without industry. Perhaps there may be exceptions. It is said that even 'Sadhus and Sanniyasis' retain such talents only for some years. We ordinary mortals, can attain such skills only by industry. If Karunanidhi has adapted Cilappathikaram to the needs of the modern times, he must have read it systematically at least a hundred times.

He is highly devoted to Sangam classics. His desire to have a good grounding in grammar is great. In spite of his name and fame he has not discarded grammar. On the other hand he utilises his limited leisure fruitfully to enrich his knowledge of grammar.

I spoke of his unremitting industry. But he does not at all possess the physique required for such industry. His speeches will breathe valour. Perspiration will flow as soon as he resumes his seat. Doses of medicine will be taken when he goes home. After an hour or two, everybody at home will feel deeply worried about his health. Doctors will rack their brains to find out the nature of his disease.

4

The reason for such tireless industry is the feeling of humility that what we have attained is not adequate for the service of the country. If one thinks that he has become omniscient, it is easy for him to publish the cheap edition of his biography and announce to the world that a second edition will not be brought out.

Only those who are convinced that they have still much to learn are capable of doing good to the world. There is a difference between the industry of Karunanidhi and that of others. After attaining a certain state of eminence, some people will not be prepared to do all kinds of work. They will delegate

certain minor matters to others. But such is not the case with Karunanidhi. Right from his student days at Tiruvarur, later as a volunteer of the movement, then as a leader and finally as a Honourable Minister, Karunanidhi has ever been willing to do any kind of work that is given to him with zeal. No work is too small or unimportant for him. Everybody should be moved by such a spirit of dedication. Then only can we attain greater strength and splendour than any other movement.

5

Some people thought that we were unworthy to be in politics and we were nothing but simpletons. Some people deluded themselves with the belief that we were good-for-nothing people who were unfit even to be in opposition. We have not only become the ruling party but have also won all India renown for giving the people a peaceful administration. It is difficult, indeed, for an average and unrefined human mind to tolerate such a state!

The bull that is not afraid of the red rag and the (former) ruling party that does not fear the former opposition party in power cannot be found any where in the world, let alone our country.

If it is said that acts done in fury resulted in an attack on Karunanidhi by the opponents, I shall experience greater joy than when he became a Minister. I shall hold my head erect and tell the whole world, "My brother Karunanidhi can tolerate anything".

We are not the people who lead a life of ease and comfort. We have experienced shocking ups and downs in our lives. The conspiracies that we escaped unscathed are many. The obstacles that we met with are great many.

To-day we have attained our present state only after such painful experiences. I ask those (in all humility) who want to subject us to the same atrocities, "To what heights of eminence do you propose to take us still?".

You admonished us; people admired us. You made us suffer; People supported us. You treated us with contempt; People crowned us with the power of ruling.

You still persist in doing the same thing. I do not think that anything can be greater than this. I am perplexed to ponder, "What greater benefits, you opponents, wish to confer on me by indulging in such acts!".

6

The reason why I mention all this is that we are worried about the rebellious events because, as M. P. Sivagnana Gramani rightly pointed out, they are a detriment to democracy. Moreover, Karunanidhi is not new to them. Even when he was in the D. K. he wrote many plays for various dramatic parties. While he was acting in a dramatic troupe, a great rebellion broke out in Pondicherry. He was beaten black and blue by his opponents and thrown on the road side because they thought that he was dead. Twenty years have passed since then. Nobody can launch such a brutal attack on him any more and anywhere. We are extremely happy and proud to know that Karunanidhi has achieved eminence only after his successful survival from attacks like this.

Each and everyone associated with me has cultivated the habit of sharing with me the work that I have to do. Since we have developed such a habit, there are men of allround abilities in plenty in the D. M. K.

Because of men of such rare abilities, to-day, the D. M. K. is functioning efficiently as an embodiment of collective efforts and co-operation.

7

When I toured America, some political leaders there questioned me thus: "Well, you have come here. Will any chaos and confusion arise in your party or in the administration during your absence?".

I said, "Such things won't happen".

"Why?" They asked.

I replied, "I and my party people think and act alike. Perhaps you put this question because you have in mind the fascist rule of Mussolini".

They asked me what story I was referring to. I told them the story of Mussolini that I know.

Mussolini had a son-in-law as his heir. The son-in-law was a man of great powers and talents. Mussolini who knew well his son-in-law's powers and talents made it a point to take him along with him, whenever he went

abroad. The son-in-law felt happy that his father-in-law never went anywhere without taking him. But once Mussolini said that he always took his son-in-law with him only because he feared that he (son-in-law) might do something in his absence.

I told them, "Such a state of affairs does not exist in our party, since my party people know me fully well".

Of those who know me fully well, Karunanidhi tops the list. If I were worried and angry, he would be the first to find it out.

Because he is an artiste, Karunanidhi would easily find out when I was in an angry mood. He would also find out why and with whom I was angry. He would speak accordingly to soothe my anger. He would try to make me believe that he was also angry with the same thing or person. I said that "He would try to make me believe" and not that I believed him.

Having been associated with the world of art for a longer period than Karunanidhi, I know something of these ways. That is the speciality of art. A talented artiste is he who not only potrays feelings of sorrow in himself, but also induces similar feelings in his audience. Likewise, among those who have been interested in driving away my anger and anxieties with the best of intentions, Karunanidhi is matchless.

The people and I expect much more from Karunanidhi. The talented Karunanidhi has to do many more fine things to his country than he has done so far. Let this birthday celebration enthuse all my brothers in the D. M. K. to try to win similar laurels from me.

8

No doubt, I have great respect and affection for Karunanidhi because he implicitly obeys my command, be they pleasant or unpleasant. Even if I ask him to sacrifice his life by falling before a running train or serve as the Public Works Minister, he obeys both the commands with the same spirit of implicit obedience. Likewise, my brothers in the Cabinet have been utilising their great individual talents for the growth and development of our party at every stage in an abundant measure.

A movement or a party should attract in large numbers those who develop their poten-

tial talents. There are a large number of people in Tamilnadu with such talents who deserve to be welcomed. We should possess large heartedness and deep benignity in order to find out such people and to attract them to our fold. Many a talented man is uncared for in Tamilnadu in these days. Such a sad state of affairs should not be allowed to continue any longer.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the 45th birthday of Karunanidhi at the Children's Theatre, Madras, on 3-6-'68. "The wealth of kindness is the wealth of wealth"

-The Kural (241)

#### Acharya Tulasi a venerable Saint

1

I am really happy to participate in the reception accorded to Acharya Tulasi. He is propagating good ideals among people. In fact courage and faith are needed to propagate in a new society the ideal that one should follow good old ideals and traditions in one's life. He is striving hard to revive the present day society.

Jainism is closely linked with Tamilnadu. Likewise the Jain culture is closely linked with Tamil culture. In many villages of Chingleput and North Arcot districts we can see people

bearing the Jain name, Nainar. We can also see Jain temples in various places.

A Jain saint Pavananthi composed the Tamil grammar Nannool. Even in ancient Tamil Nadu Jainism began to spread. Therefore, it is proper on his part to visit such a country where this religion is followed. We have splendid opportunities to hear him because he is going to stay in Tamil Nadu for four months.

We must hear what he says. At the same time we must think in advance how politely we can express our beliefs and ideas to him.

No doubt the tenets preached by all religions are high and lofty. Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Jainism and Buddhism—all these religious preach noble doctrines.

The ten commandments of Christianity are highly instructive. The teachings of Jainism are commendable. But we should see if they are followed sincerely.

, 2

There is a feeling that one should not advance unless the other is suppressed. Likewise a country cannot live unless the other country is suppressed. In such a conflicting

and competitive world Acharya Tulasi has come forward to expound his religious ideals. Indeed he puts forth simple truths for the revival of society.

His simplicity is so great that others cannot follow it. I came here just to pay my respects to him.

How simple and sweet is the Christian saying: "Love thy neighbour". But who cares to follow it? If Christian countries had followed Christian doctrines sincerly, could the world wars have taken place?

In to-day's world the tendency to love material objects is growing more and more. We should make use of Acharya Tulasi's services to arrest such a tendency. We must pacify and refine such people so that they can lead a purposeful and principled life.

We have lofty ideals and noble principles in abundance. The need of to-day is that we should make people follow them.

Speech made at the reception accorded to Acharya Tulasi at Madras on 7-7-'68.

Sweet and harmless speech gives pleasure both in this world and in the next.

-The Kural (98.)

# Dr. Mu. Va. 15 a writer of Clarity

Dr. Mu. Va. was born in a hamlet of North Arcot District. He studied Tamil systematically and became professor in Pachaiyappa's College. He has become popular by his novels and essays. You, the students; of Pachaiyappa's College, can be proud to have such a learned Professor in your midst.

Many may follow him and some may not. However his ideas and thoughts in his writings are acceptable to all.

<sup>‡</sup> Anna was the brilliant student of Pachaiyappa's College.

Some may speak and write without thinking. Dr. Mu. Va. not only thinks but also makes others think by his writings.

A writer can never become popular by merely stirring the feelings of the readers. When Germany and Italy were at war, it was thought that none could become great by condemning Keiser. To achieve lasting glory it is not enough if a writer merely stirs the feelings of readers. He should do something more than that. First his ideas of exposition should create an awe in the reader's mind. Then he should produce clarity. Next he should stimulate thinking. Finally his ideas should be spontaneously accepted by readers and followed by them with zeal and enthusiasm.

Dr. Mu. Va's writings possess all these fine qualities. Every reader of Mu. Va. will have a feeling that his ideas are just and right and they can be passed on to others.

Dr. Mu. Va. has written many books about Sangam Literature and the present-day society. He has made Tamil Literature and epics easy and readable by his explanatory works.

In order to show our gratitude to his literary services we are unveiling his portrait to-day. Let us follow in his foot-steps in serving Tamil.

Speech made on 12-8-68 at Madras, while unveiling the portrait of Dr. Mu. Va. in Pachaiyappa's College. "Like learning, the friendship of the noble, the more it is cultivated, the more delighful does it become."

-The Kural (783)

### Chengalvarayan a man of affable Manners

1

In democracy there must be different political parties. Then only we can call it democracy.

Because there are different political parties, we should not induce feelings of hatred and jealousy against each other so as to break our frieudship

My friend Chengalvarayan and I belong to different political parties. There has been 10-1989 a clash of ideas between us for a very long time. Yet we are bosom friends.

For the first time I contested the Corporation election from Pethunaickenpet and it paved the way for my entry into politics. My friend Chengalvarayan defeated me in the election. Of course, he did not oppose me directly. He put up his friend as his party candidate to defeat me.

Politics was then sweet and pleasant. Chengalvarayan lived in the upstairs of a house. A friend of mine with whom I shared my abode lived downstairs The posters of the Congress will have been hung in the upstairs. In the downstairs our posters will have been displayed. On any account it never occurred to us that we should remove the posters of the other. Nobody need think that by merely seeing the posters, his party affiliation will be affected.

Before I started convassing votes I would even take my tiffin at his residence. After tiffin both of us would look after our election duties.

We shifted our houses simultaneously from Madras North to Madras South. Now

he lives near my locality. Though our residences are near, our parties are very far. On that account our comradeship is not broken.

2

In the debates that took place twenty years ago, we would argue from diametrically opposite fronts. He would argue that the aid of Agamas was essential for the entry of temples. In my turn I would bluntly refute it. In spite of our different political affiliations, we are intimate friends.

In fact one should be firm in avoiding enmity against each other. It is indeed my firm rosolve. The resolve which is not steady, is not at all real resolve.

There are people who will be our constant companions as long as we are helpful to them. If we are not beneficial to them, they will suddenly break their friendship. My friend Chengalvarayan is a rare exception to this.

Sometimes I used to remark with regret. Chengalvarayan's dedication and devotion to the Congress has not brought him any benefit as we expect. Though he did not derive any benefit, he is a loyal party man. He is not a politician of unsteady nature.

Though he was in Congress, his brother-in-law worked for me. I think his wife also might have voted for me. (Chengalvarayan says, "No".)

My friend says that his counterpart's vote was not cast to me. By saying so my friend firmly establishes his family relations with his counterpart!

Though people belonging to both of us worked in opposite fronts, our cordial relations were not affected in any way. Such a cordial relationship should prevail in politics. I would like to emphasise this point once more.

Though there is no contradiction between the political atmosphere that prevailed in the freedom struggle period and the present day atmosphere, yet there is a difference.

Political parties should respect each other. We should cultivate that culture. It is hard to achieve. Anyhow we should achieve it.

It is the usual remark of anyone attending a marriage that the bride is beautiful and that the bridegroom is not handsome. Likewise a party may underestimate other parties. It is a good old habit. Anyhow we should change it. Since 1967 all parties have proportionately become the ruling parties. If the D. M. K. is the ruling party here, the Congress is the ruling party at Delhi. The Swathanthra, the Muslim League, the Socialist, the Communist, the Jan Sangh and all the newly christened parties are ruling parties somewhere or other.

If any foreigner comes to our country and asks if there is any non-ruling party, we have to say that all parties are the ruling parties except those extinct! Such a condition has come about after twenty years.

When I started the D. M. K. it was said that it was the party started by Bakthavatsalam. Then it was said that it was the party started by Kamaraj Now it is said that it is the party started by Rajaji. Such an arrogant attitude should go in politics.

Yesterday a friend of mine said: "Some people say that you lack experience to rule!"

I immediately replied: "It is a fact but it is not a defect. We are now new to administration. Even after so many year's rule if experience is not gained, it is then a defect".

Experienced people like Bakthavatsalam should guide us. It is their duty as well as right.

When Sir A. Ramasamy Mudaliar and Sathiamoorthy contested the election on behalf of their respective parties, they carried on a high level propaganda. Whenever they had the chance to meet, they would converse like this.

Sathiamoorthy: "Sir. how is your chance for victory?".

Ramasamy: "Oh, It is bright".

Sathiamoorthy: "For whom, Sir!"

Ramasamy: "It is to you, Sir".

Chengalvarayan and I have imbibed such high political traditions. Now we cannot expect such a state of affairs because the condition has completely changed. "The more the hatred (against the opposite political party) the greater the party affiliation", has become the order of the day.

4

My friends, I say this with all honesty and sincerity. I respect and honour equally all political parties.

I am a commoner. I am not enamoured of power. Power may come and power may go. But culture is constant. It is hard to gain culture. Therefore, I never agree to lose the culture which I have been cultivating for the past fifty years.

I want to add another point at this juncture. When we praise the people in power as little as possible, then democracy will achieve a higher status.

All those who met me in foreign countries asked me this question. "How many schools, colleges, hospitals and mills are there in your country?".

None asked me, "How many ministers are there?"

"A country's progress is not in the mere number of ministers. On the contrary it is in the standard of education, it is in the learned instruction of professors; it is in the poets' imagination; it is in the farmer's victory; it is in the skill of the workers." say the foreigners.

We in our country give undue respect to ministers and for purposes of valuation we use the yardstick in terms of ministers. I request you with all humility: "Discard the yardstick of power once for all. Cultivate the habit of using the yardstick based on merit, ability and potentiality for purposes of valuation.

In Washington a fitting memorial is set up for Abraham Lincoln who fought for the unity of America. Likewise the residence of General Lee who fought for the division of America is preserved as a national monument.

Napolean said that England should be destroyed. It was his avarice. The world called it ambition. But the wise English people have made it a point to learn more about Napoleon than the French people.

I cite these small examples, for lack of big examples, just to show that due respect should be given even to the people in opposite fronts.

Not only the party leaders but also the party workers should strive hard to possess these fine qualities of respectability and comradeship.

"The learning which a man has aquired in one birth, will yield him pleasure during seven births."

-The Kural (398).

#### The Great Twins

The twins called Arcot Brothers are powerful and mighty men that 'Tamil Nadu has ever produced. They are the great geniuses of India and men of worldly wisdom. They are considered as the rare world geniuses of this century.

The culture and courtesy that these twins have been practising in the affairs of their lives are exceptionally great.

They are men of rich experience and their guidance is direly needed by us. I request

them to give us their ripe experience for the benefit of the future generation.

The life of these twins is grand and great. It will never create heat but it will emit light.

Their services are still required for our country. Not that they should come to market place to guide people but that they should guide them from their balcony.

When we rise to talk of problems, we ourselves become problems. We have degenerated to that extent.

This subcontinent is in the 20th year of its democratic life. Great men like Rajaji and Sir A. Ramasamy should come forward to codify democracy. Then only democracy can flourish. If it is not done, then it will have its recourse to the path of degeneration.

It should neither be said nor thought that people of ordinary talents alone can guide politics in democracy. We require strong men and people of able guidance for it.

Address delivered in the felicitation function of Sir A. Ramasamy and Sir A. Lakshmanasamy on the occasion of their 81st birthday in the Madras University Hall on 20-10-67. "Secure always the friendship of men of virtue and of mature knowledge."

-The Kural (441).

## Rajaji the elder Statesman

1

We all have assembled here to felicitate Rajaji on his 91st birthday. Let us remember that it is our duty to felicitate him for his remarkable services to the country at different levels.

In our country it is a matter for pride if one completes sixty years in one's life. We have to bear in mind that it is a period in which memory slowly weakens.

Rajaji has completed 90 years and enters now on his 91st year. His memory is keen and sharp. Fresh thoughts and new problems occur in his mind even at this age.

When I was in New York for my operation, Thiru Sadasivam tape-recorded the speech made by Rajaji at Gokale Hall and sent it to me. When the tape was played, it seemed to me as if Miller was speaking and not Rajaji, the politician. What we understand from this is that Rajaji devotes all his attention even to a small thing. All cannot do that!

We find Rajaji's individuality even in a short story or exposition of Thirukkural or in framing laws. He is such an intellectual giant!

- "Oh, I know this. What is it?" Such an easy utterance is a curse on mankind.
- "Oh, You do not know this." Such a remark also in politics is not easy to make.

Rajaji only can say assuredly: "You do not know this. I shall tell you what it is. If I fail to do so, I am doing an injustice to you."

Ma. Po. See mentioned here about the work on Marcus Aurelius written by Rajaji. Not only did he write it but also he thinks like Aurelius.

Even if the spark is small, a tremendous fire can be produced from it. Rajaji knows well this fact. So he does not make out differences between small and great things. He makes it a point to pay attention to things which deserve attention.

2

He ruled Madras when it was a composite state consisting of Andhra, Kerala and Mysore. He was called the Premier.

He was the first Governor-General of India. He was a minister in the Central Government. He was deputed as Governor to Bengal to put down communists. He occupied all high posts in India.

He shows clearly by his action that he is not a party to atrocity. He is always opposing injustice. He would never be worried whatever might be the mounting opposition.

I invited him to a place where there was considerable opposition to him. I even informed him about it. He remarked: "We oppose them. So they oppose us." He did not ask me this: "I am so learned and experienced. Who is there to oppose me?" That

is his real position and it shows his mental purity. Politics will not be pure if leaders like Rajaji do not appear once in a generation.

What I have observed in him with great respect is that he has made all people think. That is the greatest of all the victories gained by him in his life.

He went on a world tour for world peace. He met Kennedy in America where atom bombs are heaped. It is a matter for pride to us that he undertook the tour from India. No other thing can be so glorious in his life as his undertaking of the tour.

He met Kennedy in America in the same dress in which we now see him. I saw the same photo at Washington.

A high American official pointed at the photo and said to me: "With his shirt and walking stick Rajaji entered the Chamber of Kennedy. Generally on such occasions it will take some time for the President to come. But Kennedy came earlier to welcome Rajaji. Saying, "I am Kennedy" he came near Rajaji.

"You are Kennedy!" remarked Rajaji surprisingly.

In his simple form he had his historical talk with Kennedy about the problem of atom

bombs which threatened the world. It is a remarkable event in world history.

One day or other wars will be stopped in the world. The world will become absolutely peaceful. Rajaji will find an honoured place among the dedicated workers of world peace.

This is the greatest achievement of Rajaji. All other achievements come next.

3

We are fortunate enough to live in Rajaji's period. We should derive all benefits during his period.

When feelings were tense, he started the Swatantra party and he has been guiding it on proper lines.

When I was speaking to a V. I. P. at Delhi about the language problem, I requested him to go over to Madras to have a talk with Rajaji on the problem. He immediately remarked: "I won't. If I do so, he will change my mind."

Rajaji not only analyses the problems but also advances sane arguments acceptable even to his opponents. When he was an advocate at Salem he was famous for his arguments. Let us translate our love and affection towards him into action. I convey my heartfelt greetings to him on behalf of the people for a long and healthy life so that the country can get a lot of benefit from him.

Speech made at Children's Theatre, Madras, on the occasion of 91st birthday of Rajaji on 14—12—68.

"The efficacy of support will yield wealth only; but the efficacy of action will yield all that is desired."

-The Kural (651)

# Chandrakantha a refined Artiste

1

This second dance-drama, Ponniyin Solvi (Daughter of Ponni) enacted by Selvi Chandra-kantha provided us a sumptuous literary feast. I congratulate Thiru Iralal for giving excellent training to the artistes. I congratulate also all the other artistes who have evinced keen interest in the development of this art.

This dance-drama has been produced as a judicious mixture of ancient literary ideas and the producer's own imaginary thoughts. It 12-1989

has earned the appreciation of all because of its high literary excellence. It has been prepared with liveliness and vigour. A feeling as if we were in a literary period prevailed throughout the performance.

This dance-drama is a treasure house of excellent ideas. It has attained such a degree of excellence as to win the appreciation of foreigners.

I have known Chandrakantha even from her childhood. I am happy indeed to see her superb artistic excellence.

2

People of different countries have appreciated the arts of Tamil Nadu from time immemorial. This drama is the best example in point. Therefore, I assure you that the Tamil Nadu Government will make all arrangements to enact this drama in the World Tamil Conference to be held shortly in Madras, since Chandrakantha has exhibited her literary zeal ably in this drama. The three aspects of Tamil, namely, Iyal, Isal and Natakam will find a place in the conference.

No doubt the performance is a success.

It has been produced with a high degree of excellence in quality, exposition and lustre.

To-day the entire fertility of Tamil Nadu (Government) depends upon the river Cauvery. In fact her creative power is greater than her destructive power.

I feared if the river Cauvery would take away the life of Attanathi \* from his counterpart. It is really heartening to note that the river Cauvery has saved all safely in the literary history. Let us believe that she will save the people of Tamil Nadu also!

Felicitation address delivered at the arangetram of Ponniyin Selvi by Chandrakantha in Madras on 15-5-'67.

<sup>\*</sup> A Chera King noted for his dance.

Energy makes out the man of property.

-The Kural (591).

#### 20 Sivaji Ganesan a talented Actor

1

In ancient days artistes lived away from society. There was a time when people hesitated to have marriage alliance with the family of artistes. They were not at all called artistes. I have been associating myself with the world of artistes for a long time.

From the dramatic period down to the present period Tamil Nadu has given us so many fine actors and producers. In Tamil Nadu there is no dearth of artistes at any time.

Tamil Nadu has grown considerably from time to time in the artistic field. Thiagaraja Bhagavathar was a famous actor of his period. The same was the case with P. U. Chinnappa. Kalaivanar N. S. K's (N. S. Krishnan) humour was appreciated and applauded by all. M. G. Ramachandran, K. R. Ramasamy and S. S. Rajendran and a host of others are all popular actors. Thus the generation of artistes is growing on.

N. S. Krishnan wholeheartedly said that Sivaji Ganesan is the greatest actor. The superlative greatest includes all his best qualities as an actor.

You have seen his valarous acting in the role of Kattabomman. I have seen him acting beautifully in the feminine role of Noorjahan. He acts any role in a superb manner.

He has presented to me a Ponnadai (Shawl) in drama. To-day I have presented him with a Ponnadai. I have dominated him on the stage as guru. Now, as an elder brother, I am proud to present a Ponnadai to him. The former is acting. The latter is the outflow of my heart.

We can have best directors by drama alone. Drama is highly useful to us to judge peoples' tastes and sentiments so that we can act accordingly.

2

There are talented actors in Tamil Nadu. They are not in any way inferior either to the actors in the rest of India or to those in the outside world.

From the period of Parasakthi, when science was not at our beck and call, Sivaji Ganesan has been acting remarkably, exhibiting all his extraordinary talents. Actors like Ganesan must be continuously available to us.

To-day many talented people, for reasons unknown, want to be aloof from the stage. We must utilize their services for the enlightenment of the stage.

Thiru S. S. Vasan in his speech made a reference to the development of drama. I have already explained to you the stand of the Government in the matter.

You spend twenty lakhs of rupees to produce a picture. If you allot at least ten thousand rupees for the development of drama the Government will contribute an equal amount. This amount may be utilised for the welfare of

the stage actors who are in a pitiable condition. By this we can foster the growth of not only drama but also the growth of cinema.

My friends Perumal, A. V. Meiyappan and Krishnan-Panchu produced Parasakthi. Karunanidhi wrote the dialogue. Sivaji Ganesan gave life to his dialogues by his excellent delivery.

It may be asked if we could have got Ganesan without Parasakthi. Anyhow we could have got him.

Columbus discovered America. It is not that America could not have been discovered if there were no Columbus. However, when America is mentioned we remember Columbus. Likewise we remember Parasakthi, when one speaks of Sivaji Ganesan.

T.K. Shanmugham acted as Avaiyar; who can act like that? I see Sarangapani here. They are all talented actors in their respective roles. They all form together a family, the family of artistes.

Sivaji Ganesan has acted as Karnan. Karnan was born somewhere and brought up somewhere else. Likewise Ganesan was born somewhere and he is now somewhere else. I am happy to see him in the position of Kundi Devi, wherever he is. It gives me great pleasure to see here people belonging to different walks of life.

I have already made it clear that this bud (Sivaji Ganesan) would blossom and spread its fragrance. I am indeed happy to see here so many people who have come to smell the fragrance of that blossomed flower.

Speech made at the felicitation function of Sivaji Ganesan at Madras on 15-12-68.

"Their joy is joy of all the world, they see; thus more The learners learn to love their cherished lore."

-The Kural (399)

## T. K. Shanmugham the celebrated stage actor

I feel very proud to relase this publication, Natakakalai written by my friend Thiru T. K. Shanmugham, which deals with the art of drama. His study of that art is practical rather than theoretical. He has imbibed that art even from his youth. Whatever role he plays, he identifies himself with it.

Once some people who saw him acting in the role of Avvaiyar \* said to me: "Oh, it is just nothing. Anybody can act as Avvaiyar if he

<sup>\*</sup> An ancient Tamil woman poet.

**<sup>13-1989</sup>** 

simply puts on the make-up of an old woman and walks with shivering steps, having a sizable stick in his hand."

I replied to them: "The definition for best acting is that it should create a desire in the minds of the audience that they might imitate it as soon as they see it. But once they attempt to imitate it they will regret their inability to do so properly. What is seen between these two is the definition of acting. Do it if you can."

Why I make this remark is that you have seen my friend Thiru T. K. Shanmugham as a vivacious youth in some plays, as a responsible elder man in some other plays and as a learned old Tamil woman in a particular play.

His troupe have played the royal roles remarkably to bring to our mental eye the eminent ancient kings. Thus, not only has he learnt the definition of dramatic art but also he has received good training in that art. Not only that. Having trained himself in that art, he has given training to a large number of artistes. We are happy to note that he has dedicated his life to the cause of dramatic art. Therefore, it is but natural that the work

he has ventured on dramatic art is really interesting and lively.

My great expectation is that each and every actor-be he a cine actor or a stage actor-should take the noble ideas enshrined in the book into his heart. Therefore, I am happy to release this publication with special regard and respect that I have for the dramatic art.

Excerpts from the speech delivered in Madras on 10-9-67 while releasing the book Natakakalai written by
Thiru T. K. Shanmugham at the centenary
celebration of Rev. Sankaradas Swamigal.

#### 22 M. G. R's Excellence in Art and Politics

1

All the artistes had lived in the world of art regarding it as a house with four iron-screened walls. They had known neither the political world nor the outside world. This has been the age-old custom of Tamil Nadu.

Only in the later half of the 20th century some artistes defied this custom. They began to peep a little through the windows of their houses. Some viewed the outside world from within and some others from without. Some of those who saw it from without, withdrew

their heads because they understood it wrongly. Some others had a fear of doubt. But Puratchi Nadigar (the revolutionary actor M. G. R.) has been a guide to all these artistes in this regard.

Not only did M. G. R. peep through the windows of his art-house but also jumped into the political world. This thing will be an eye opener to the future artistes. It is rather a revolutionary act

Some artistes say that they too are engaged in politics and have secured a place in the hearts of the people. There is a fundamental defect in their peep.

Some entered politics because they were after the politics of M. G. R.

Some took to politics thinking why they could not do it when M. G. R. was capable of doing it.

Some participated in politics thinking that both Puratchi Nadigar and his party were good.

Some accepted the policy of his party because they were in need of his obligation.

Some took to their heels from politics because of their hatred against M. G. R. and his party.

2

Different interpretations are put forth for agam (subjective feeling) and puram (objective feeling). Which is the better of these two is a matter for argument.

To give a concise reply, thought is agam and action is puram. Of these two, which is better? Agam or Puram. The Tamils have considered both the same.

Songs were not sung by the poets either 500 for agam or 300 for puram and vice versa. The Tamils sang only Agananooru and Purananooru both of which contain four hundred songs each. To the Tamils both Agam and Puram have the same weight.

The country which adopts only one of these two ideals cannot live a glorious life for a long time. For example, Greece excelled in agavalkai (subjective life) and Egypt was a parallel to it in puravalkai (objective life). None can be ignorant of the long-lived glory of these two countries. But where is that glory to-day?

Our country excels both in agavalkal and puravalkal. It is a salient feature of Tamil life. That is why this country (Tamil Nadu) has

many remarkable traits. Therefore, it is said that Tamils lived a life of fame by giving.

Our actors should follow this ideal. They should excel both in agam and puram.

An actor should not be a mere actor. Likewise art should not be for the sake of art.

The actor is part and parcel of human society. Similarly art should help to enrich life. This is the laudable aim of Puratchi Nadigar.

Against hatred, enmity and opposition M. G. R entered politics. He has been constantly helping the people. He himself has set an example to other artistes to follow this aim so that they might derive joy by following his example of serving others. Thus, M. G. R. has achieved excellence both in agam (acting) and puram (politics).

Taken from the Complimentary Number of M. G. R. 1966.

"It is better to be born with qualities conducive to fame. If not it is better not to be born."

-The Kural (236)

# N. S. Krishnan 23 the king of Humour

It is an open secret that Kalaivanar N.S. Krishnan was the king of humour. It is but proper that we are unveiling his portrait on the Pongal Day.

Thiru S. S. Vasan said: "An auspicious time is essential for anything". I think he did not say it with an orthodox outlook. Rather he said it in the good sense that we, the friends of N. S. Krishnan, should have that opportune time to rule the country.

Apart from Kazhagamites, people of all parties, were closely associated with N. S. Krishnan.

Kalaivanar was not a mere artiste. Art was the medium he chose to reform society.

To-day is Pongal festival. It is the day of the toilers. N. S. Krishnan's victory is the victory of hard labour.

Humour was his characteristic talent. He made people laugh by his humour. At the same time he made them also think.

When I think of him, thoughts in hundreds and thousands rush in my mind. He was the greatest son of Tamil Nadu. We can be proud of him for ever.

Last speech made by Anna at Madras on 14—1—69 while unveiling the statue of N. S. K.

# Anna's Epigrams

Aggrandisement never pays.

Anger is often the result of frustration.

Announcement is not achievement.

Anything is possible and everything depends upon the circumstances.

Bear and forbear.

Coexistence is the code to-day.

Compassion, Clarity and Courage.

Co-operation is between equals, not as between barons and beggars.

Democracy believes in human dignity.

Democracy is a domestic lamp.

Determination ever. Deviation never.

Dictatorship is a wild fire.

Divinity is nothing but humanity in perfection.

Duty, Dignity and Discipline.

Even the jasmine of the neighbour's garden has fragrance.

Forget and Forgive.

Have the heart to bear anything.

If this army is defeated, which army will conquer?

In fact Socialism aims at keeping the commoner more than the captains of production.

Intention can never fulfil expectations.

It (socialism) demands not the head alone but more especially the heart.

Let virtue be your guide.

Let wisdom be your weapon.

Morals are eternal.

Moral principles are the life-force for humanity as a whole.

Of course there are here no loaves and fishes to fight for.

Passion is such a mighty force.

Politics is not the other man's job, it is every-body's problem.

Prejudice is a disease.

Shielding vested interests is not a virtue-

Tap the rich and pat the poor.

The actions of the rich are just like a closed box whereas those of the poor resemble an open box.

The ballot is the symbol of trust.

The brain is not enough; the heart is all important.

This is the age of inquiry, not inquisition.

The good will thrive.

The law is just like a dark room. The lawyer's argument in it is a shining lamp.

To lead, one should know how to respect, especially, comrades in the camp.

The tora (drunkard) can do any crime and escape punishment.

What was murmur has now become a thunder? Wisdom is manifested in action.

## Anna our Manna

#### DADA

You never cared for worldly wealth, Nor for your natural health; For the poor you gave your life, All along you lived in strife!

Many a tear we have shed.

When you were in death bed;

Millions your funeral followed,

Hundreds cruel death swallowed!

When actor Rudolf Valentino died, Many a lady committed suicide; One of accident after Kennedy junior, None after kind Kennedy senior!

None did die after great Gandhiji, Nor at the news of Netaji; None after noble Nehruji, But hundred went after Annaji!

Thinking of you we could not sleep,
All we could for you to weep;
To write as such I'm not mad,
We shall follow you why be sad!

Oh! Where are you dear Anna?
Oh! Where are you dear Manna?
May you rest for ever in peace!
None to worry you at your ease!

God's curse to mingle with dust, For we are born of evil lust; A new horizon we could see, From your grave by blue sea!

None but He only knows,

The secrets of joy and woes;

Now mud and flowers adorn,

Your grave for us to mourn!

We never had such a Mantri,
To whom we were always free;
Pomp and glory you never sought,
Lands and luxury you never bought!

Now only six foot land you have saved,
"Love for poor" the path you paved!
You are one among wonders of ages,
Left to be among saints and sages!

How soon 'death' layed his icy hands
To be rested by the sea sand!
May you in everlasting peace rest,
Now may my muse go to her nest!

# Anna our Uncrowned King

M. S. NEELAKANDAN

Arignar Anna, our uncrowned king, The 'Southern Mahatma', our own 'Lincoln', That dear 'Brother' enshrined in our hearts, In our minds, taught us our arts Which once faded, but bloomed in his hands Of unfading fragrance, all through the lands! Conquered he the hearts of his brethern, His words were nectar and ambrosia [then];

Around him were great epics of world,
Substance of which in his tongue we heard!
Great he was in the field of politics,
High his accomplishment in literaure and economics

Nescient were we, by the morals he did teach
Awakened we are and within their reach.
Courage and wisdom, duty and faith,
Engrave his name in the golden leaves of
glorious myth!

Courtesy: Home Rule

## Anna's Select Works

#### TAMIL

#### ESSAYS:

- 1. ஆசிய மாயை (The Fantasy of Arianism)
- 2. உலகப் பெரியார் காந்தி (Gandhi, the World Renown).
- 3. கம்பரசம் (The Juice of Kambaramayanam).
- 4. பணத்தோட்டம் (A Treatise on Money).
- 5. ரோமாபுரி ராணிகள் (The Queens of Rome).
- 6 ஜமீன் இஞம் ஒழிப்பு (Abolition of Zamin Inam).

All these books have been published by Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

- 7. கடவுள் தண்டிப்பார் (God will Punish)
  —Parimalam Pathippagam, Madras-34
- 8. புராண மதங்கள் (Puranic Religions)
  —Valluvar Pannai, Madras-2.
- 9. தேவ லீடுகள் (The Lust Deeds of Gods)
   Kalai Manram, Madras-1

#### LETTERS:

அண்ளுவின் கடிதங்கள் (Anna's Letters)
—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.

#### NOVELS:

- 1. கலிங்கராணி (The Queen of Kalinga)
  —Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.
- 2. குமாஸ் தாவின் பெண் (The Clerk's Daughter) K. R. Narayanan, Madras-5.
- 3. பார்வதி, பி. ஏ. (Parvathi, B. A.)
  —Rani Muthu. Madras-7.
- 4. ரங்கோன் ராதா (Rangoon Radha)
  —Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.

#### PLAYS:

- 1. 9ffra (One Night-Social Play)
- 2. காதல்ஜோதி (Kathal Jothi—Social Play)
  —Paari Nilayam, Madras-2.
- 3. சந்திரோதயம் (Chandrodayam—Social Play)
- 4. சந்திரமோகன் (Chandramohan-Historical Play)
- 5. நீதிதேவன் மயக்கம் (The Dilemma of the God of Justic-Literary Play)
- 6. வேலேக்காரி (The Servant-maid-Social Play)

#### SHORT STORIES:

- 1. அண்ணுவின் ஆறு கதைகள் (Anna's Six Short Stories)
- 2. கபோதிபுரக் காதல் (The Love in the World of the Blind)
- 3. கற்ப**ண**ச் சித்திரம் (Imaginative Stories)

All these stories have been published by Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

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- 4. அண்ணுவின் சிறுகதைகள் (Anna's Short Stories).
- 5. வண்டிக்காரன் மகன் (The Cart-driver's Son)

These two books have been published by Parimalam Pathippagam, Madras-34.

#### SPEECHES:

- 1. ( அறிஞர் அண்ணுவின் கருத்துரைகன்
  - (Thoughts of Arignar Anna)
  - -Appar Book Stall, Thanjavur.
- 2. அண்ணுவின் சொற்செல்வம்
  - (Thoughful Speeches of Anna)
    - -Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
- 3 ஏ தாழ்ந்த தமிழகமே!
  - (O The Down-trodden Tamil Nadu)
    - -Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
- 4. தமிழரின் மறுமலர்ச்சி (The Renaissance of Tamils)
  —Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
- 5. தீ பரவட்டும் (Let the Flame Spread)
  - -Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.
- 6. Δυτικ (We) Dravida Pannai. Tiruchi-2.
- 7. நிஃயும் நிணப்பும் (Status and Thought)
  - -Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

#### **ENGLISH**

#### SPEECHES:

- 1. The Assembly Speeches
- 2. Flame and Fury
- 3. The people's Poet
- 4. The Press and Democracy
- 5. The Rajya Sabha Speeches
- 6. World, the Old and the New

and other speeches.

## Works on Anna

#### TAMIL

#### **BIOGRAPHY:**

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