



# INAUGURAL and PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES of ANNA

"I believe only in the purity of my heart in order to make others accept my views. I shall not rely on my strength to fulfil it."

—ANNA

Editors

A. K. MOORTHY  
G. SANKARAN





## ANNA THE GENIUS ..

“He was a versatile man, playwright, novelist, editor, essayist, editor of journals, leader of a party who magnetised the masses.”

—Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM

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# Inaugural and Presidential Addresses of ANNA

editor-in-chief

A. K. MOORTHY

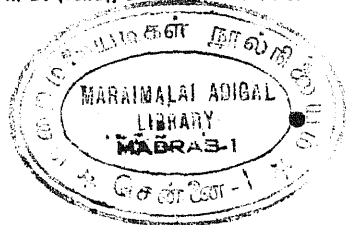
associate editor

G. SANKARAN

with a foreword by

Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM

M. A. Ph. D. (Lond), D. I. C., F. R. M. S.



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THANJAVUR-1  
TAMIL NADU.

An Anna Publication  
First Edition: 1975

Anna's Literature  
Oratorical Series.

INAUGURAL AND PRESIDENTIAL  
ADDRESSES OF ANNA

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## FOREWORD

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 masterpiece 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 aggressive, overbearing and dominating, Annadurai 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.

Annadurai 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 Annadurai, beloved for his learning, wisdom and knowledge that he had been lovingly called *Arignar Anna*—Anna, the wise and learned.

His brilliant and sane 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.

Madras-7.

S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM.

## PREFACE

**A Rich Collection :** *The Oratorical Series of Anna* (C. N. Annadurai, the matchless orator of Tamil Nadu) is a rich collection of 128 speeches ever made in the oratorical history of Tamil Nadu. Of the speeches collected 6 are English speeches, 7 are retranslations (Tamil translation of English speeches rendered again into English) and 115 are translations.

Further, full text is given for 118 speeches, five speeches are excerpts and five more are abridgements.

The speeches<sup>†</sup> compiled in the series were delivered by Anna when he was at the zenith of his fame and intellectual attainment. They cover a period of three years from 1967 to 1969 during which period he was the acclaimed Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

**The Pressing Need :** The omniscient orations of Anna in this long-felt compilation are not only marvellous but also matchless. They are a class and category by themselves. In character they are exemplary and representative. Their substance is sublime and their ideas are everlasting. In one word they are outstanding oratorical classics of which the oratorical world can for ever be proud.

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<sup>†</sup> The first speech *The Ideal to be Achieved* only in *Occasional Speeches* was made by him in 1961

For the first time, the editor-in-chief has made a sincere and systematic attempt on academic and literary lines to translate Anna's select speeches and writings into English in his characteristic style, to edit them critically and to publish them purposefully with a neat get-up for the benefit of posterity, non-Tamils, critics and research students so that they can have a correct estimate of Anna with regard to his contribution to the growth of Tamil and development of Tamil Nadu when they study them at any time. Besides, they will achieve worldwide popularity since they are in English. Above all they reflect the totality of Anna's personality.

**Signal contribution of Anna :** Anna was not merely an individual. He was the symbol of several eras put together. In the long history of Tamil Nadu never in the past nor in the near future can we find such an extraordinary intellectual who had left no field untouched without stamping his genius on it. It was Anna who accelerated the renaissance in all fields of Tamil by his animated speeches and writings within a short period of thirty years to the great surprise and admiration of all. We are highly indebted to Anna for his tremendous achievements which he had made all by himself as an individual.

**The magnitude of the task :** Translating Anna's speeches and writings and publishing them in several series is indeed a stupendous task. It is rather a task worthy to be aimed at by a mighty organisation or a reputed publishing company or by higher centres of learning like a University. Yet the editor-in-chief has embarked upon it as a labour of love and in a spirit of dedication just to pay his humble homage to Anna. In fact this is real service that one can do to Anna.

**The ambitious plan:** The ambitious plan to publish Anna's speeches and writings in English is thought out carefully and planned accordingly. The editor-in-chief has established even a publishing house in the name of Anna to bring out his select speeches and writings of academic distinction and absorbing interest both in English and Tamil.

The plan for the translated speeches is as follows :

1. Assembly Speeches of Anna.
2. Convocation Addresses of Anna.
3. Felicitation Addresses of Anna.
4. Inaugural and Presidential Addresses of Anna.
5. Occasional Speeches of Anna.
6. Radio Talks of Anna.

Now this plan has been successfully carried out to the entire satisfaction of the editor-in-chief.

The plan for the translated writings of Anna is as follows :

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

Moreover, Anna's English speeches and writings also will be published in order of priority. Of course all the planned series will be brought out one by one in due course as soon as the laborious task of collecting, translating and editing them is completed.



Anna's speeches and writings are being published in a series in order to make every series as thorough as possible. Each series has an apt title. All the speeches in the series have been compiled in chronological order and their occasion-wise and subject-wise classification is merely arbitrary.

Anna was a staunch follower of Thiruvalluvar, the great Tamil poet of yore. He preached and practised Valluvar's ideas and ideals both in his private and public life. It was his favourite ambition. With a view to cherishing it, an apt Kural adapted from the standard English translations of Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope, Rev. W. H. Drew, Rev. John Lazarus and Mr. F. W. Ellis is inserted at the beginning of every speech. The standard (first) edition followed for this purpose is *Tirukkural* published by The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras-1.

For the sake of clarity and purposeful 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 classified appendix and index are added at the end of each volume. Memoirs of Anna, Anna's Speech-An Appreciation in five volumes, General Index and A Critical Introduction to Six Volumes in *Occasional Speeches* are the special features of the series.

**Prime considerations in the selection of speeches:** The prime considerations in the selection of speeches are the importance of the subject, the sublimity of ideas, the historical implications, the social impact, the biographical and autobiographical references, the oratorical excellence and lastly the literary flavour.

Infinite pains have been taken not only to collect the scattered speeches in a condensed volume but also to make the translation as natural as possible, keeping in mind the spirit, flow and spontaneity of Anna's astonishing eloquence.

Anna is an amazing bibliophile. The oratorical series have been compiled according to his cherished wishes and aspirations.

**A humble appeal:** After eight years' painful, patient and persistent labour the six volumes in the series have been brought out with a missionary zeal. Therefore, the editor-in-chief solicits the solid support and the convincing co-operation of all the press, leading booksellers, readers, followers and admirers of Anna, heads of educational institutions, authorities of local libraries and the close associates of Anna and lastly the people in authority to make his bold attempt and ambitious plan fruitful and successful within a short span.

Every care has been taken to make the critical edition of each volume the best possible one. If, however, there are any shortcomings by oversight, they may kindly be overlooked. At the same time, constructive suggestions for the improvement of the series are requested with immense pleasure.

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

**Text of the speeches:** The text of the Tamil speeches for translation is taken from *Nam Nadu* (now closed) the official Tamil Daily of the D. M. K. and that of English Speeches from *Home Rule* and *The Hindu* and they have been duly compared with other sources.

**A Word of Thanks:** The editor-in-chief thanks (the late) Mr. S. R. Pandyan, M. S. (Indiana), Correspondent, St. Peter's High School, Thanjavur, for his kind permission to edit and publish the speeches and writings of Anna.

The editor-in-chief thanks his colleagues Mr. G. Sankaran, B. A., L. T., associate editor and Mr. S. Raman, B. A. (Hons), English Lecturer, Sri Pushpam College, Poondi, Thanjavur, for their valuable help in preparing the oratorical series.

The editor-in-chief wishes to convey his thanks to Mr. T. K. Ramamurthy, Typist for his voluntary help in typing neatly all the speeches in the series for quick printing.

The editor-in-chief expresses his sincere thanks to the following gentlemen:

Dr. M. Manivannan, M. D., D. D., son of Dr. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam for his timely help in getting 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.

The editor-in-chief likes to offer his respectful thanks to the editors of *The Hindu* and *Kalki*, Director of Information and Public Relations, Tamil Nadu Government, Thiru R. Kalyanasundaram, General Manager, The South

Indian Saiva Siddhantha Works Publishing Company, Madras-1, the Authorities of the USIS, Madras-2, Messrs. T. K. Bagavathi, A. R. Damodaran, G. D. Gopal and K. Appadurai for supplying him the necessary photographs required for the oratorical series in time for publication.

Finally the editor-in-chief conveys his heart-felt thanks to Dr. C. N. A. Parimalam and Thiru C. N. A. Ilangovan for their wholehearted co-operation in bringing out the speeches and writings of Anna in several series. At this juncture it is worth mentioning that they have promised to place all the back numbers of *Home Land*, *Home Rule*, *Dravidanadu* and other relevant materials at the disposal of the editor-in-chief.

“To discern the truth in everything is wisdom”

— *The Kural*.

ANNA PUBLISHING HOUSE,  
North Main Street,  
THANJAVUR - 613001  
TAMIL NADU

*A. K. Moorthy.*

# Anna's Speech-An Appreciation

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## 1. The Substance

The thirtyone addresses included in the book are concrete specimens of consummate oratory. It is needless to say that they provide rich intellectual food for the readers.

For purposes of critical study, the subjects dealt with in all the addresses, are alphabetically classified as follows:

- Agriculture
- Centre-State Relations
- Democracy
- Education
- Industry
- Religion
- Social Betterment and
- Tamil Advancement

A subject-wise list of the speeches with gist and striking quotations from Anna has also been provided.

**Agriculture :** In two addresses - (12. Agricultural economy the basis of our Progress 25. The Revolution in Agriculture) agriculture is spoken of with special emphasis because it is the basis of all industries.

According to Anna, "Only the industries built on the foundation of a strong agricultural economy will have true vitality and strength. Let us not forget that agriculture itself is an industry.

But we should realise that those western countries had built a strong agricultural economy before they started their industrialisation

Only if we strengthen our agriculture, we can make our land one of the best industrialised countries by utilizing our technical know-how that we already have".

Anna's convincing conclusion then is that amazing victories in agriculture can be achieved if all people - the farmers, the officials, the State and the Centre co-operate fully and wholeheartedly and work hard in achieving self-sufficiency in food production which was the cherished dream of our beloved Nehru.

**Centre-State Relations :** In four addresses (1. Why this All-India Basis! 5. A plea for More Powers. 7. The Basis of Integration. 23. The Originator of Language Problem) Anna dwells deeply on Centre-State Relations which is really a vital subject - rather controversial in nature and he puts forth his balanced views on the subject which are supported by concrete evidences and convincing arguments.

In this connection Anna's firm conviction is that All-India basis need not be introduced in each and everything. Things of vital importance should be carried out with a high degree of integrity and pragmatism and they must be acceptable to the whole of India.

Next Anna refers to the formation of a representative committee consisting of members of both the legislatures

of the state in order to examine the Constitution and tender advice to the State Government on federal rights. If such a committee is formed as suggested by Thiru K. Santhanam, it will be highly useful to solve the problems arising between one state and another or between the State and the Centre.

Anna also opines that solutions for problems of all kinds should be found only by friendly and mutual discussions and not by coercion or intimidation.

Of integration and unity Anna remarks aptly and refinedly: "Integration to be real and lasting should be based on the financial position of the country, availability of raw materials and industrial know-how".

"We cannot create real unity either by law or order or presidential declaration. Unity is something associated with heart. We should rather act with unified thoughts".

With regard to the language problem Anna's pungent remark is: "They even say that I am the cause of this problem. I would like to say to you with all respect, that the people at the Centre are responsible for the language problem. What dire necessity has compelled them to import this language problem?"

A committee of university Vice-chancellors, educationists and scholars only should solve the problem of official language".

**Democracy:** In five addresses (15. Local bodies the foundation of Democracy 16. Art and Politics 27. Government Offices as the training Centres of Democracy 28. The Government Officials and the Peoples' Representatives 30. Towards the goal of Democracy) Anna explains the ABC of democracy expressively and explicitly. He

gives us a working "definition of democracy. He points out the defect in the existing party system. He stresses the vital role of politicians and leaders in guiding the people properly to practice democracy. He makes a passing reference to elections and election system. Shocking incidents in democracy such as the murder of President Kennedy worry him considerably. He suggests to us how the officials and the people's representatives should serve the people in order to make them enjoy the real fruits of democracy.

It will be appropriate here to reproduce some excerpts from Anna :

"Democracy is that which suits the knowledge of every average citizen and which safeguards his life securely".

"Local bodies are the foundation of democracy and unless the foundation is strengthened democracy will not flourish".

"Democratic ideals have taken such deep roots in our people's minds that they change Governments without violating peace and law".

"Democracy cannot succeed unless good guidance is given for the conduct of good things. In India we are making democracy function efficiently to the best of our abilities. Democracy only is safe, secure and humanistic".

**Education :** In four addresses - (9. A Call to Engineering Students. 10. Students' Responsibilities. 18. Intellectual Freedom 26. The Need for Women's Education) the value of education is lucidly stressed with special reference to students.



Anna calls upon students compassionately to join and serve in the Prosperity Brigade which is real social service. He further says that the urge of emotion is necessary among students. It should be properly canalised and sublimated. In his own words : "The notable characteristic of education is to canalise and sublimate such emotion."

Anna advises the students to serve the country in different capacities by becoming lawyers, doctors, scientists and engineers. He urges them to possess real intellectual freedom to discuss critically all kinds of opinions. He appeals to them to have certain fundamental ideas and ideals in life to be translated into action.

Anna stresses equally the need for women's education because they bring excellence to the country by their learning. He requests them to engage themselves in the field of pedagogics and medicine so that they can foster their triple qualities of clarity, compassion and sympathy which will be immensely useful to society.

Finally Anna's sagacious remarks on learning are worth-mentioning here :

"The special honour and the constant pride of a country depends upon the literary geniuses and learned men".

"Learning is the pillar of support, the constant pride and the permanent wealth of a country."

**Industry:** In two addresses (6. We stand for Justice 22. The World Exhibition) the subject 'industry' assumes added importance. It is correlated to economics, agriculture and labour welfare.

Anna clearly expresses his ideas with his unusual intellectual grasp thus :

"If investment were to multiply the capitalist also should get a margin of profit. That is the basis of economics. It is not necessary that this capital should come from the profit of the capitalist. It may also come from the savings of workers. This modern economic theory is followed in many countries. We should resolve to create such a state of affairs in our country also".

"We are interested in the welfare of the workers. Our support is always on the side of justice".

"Either wealth or fertility should be consumed by people. Due share should be given to the toiling labourer. The world will neither tolerate nor accept any system or organisation which refuses this right. Not only that. To-day we cannot bear such a system. If such a system prevails the industrial world will be ignored by the people since it lacks the utilitarian value. "Please grant the working class their due share".

"Accelerated attention should be paid to strengthen the field of agriculture. If we make it strong by our ceaseless efforts we need not be at the beck and call of anybody for the capital needed for our industries".

"In the field of agriculture we should achieve maximum growth. Only if the standard of living of the agriculturist is raised the purchasing power will improve. Then only can industries be established on a large scale. Industries should adopt modern methods of production so as to bring down the cost of goods. Then only everybody will be in a position to buy them".

**Religion :** In three addresses (4. The Greatness of Jainism 17. Temples and Humanitarian Service 21. The Laudable Sikh Religion, major part is devoted to religion. Anna's concept of religion is clearly revealed in these three

addresses. It will be interesting to reproduce some excerpts from Anna: "The teachings of Mahavir constitute a noble code of conduct. 'Have control over the five senses. Avoid excessive desire of things' said the great Mahavir. If people had really realized the full significance of these teachings, there would have been no wars or conflicts in the world; there would have been no necessity for the United Nations."

The religious principle of the ancient Tamils was: "There is but one God and one creed."

"The Sikh religion does not allow exploitation. Nor does it allow anyone to live on the profit of the labour of others."

"If religion says that man is supreme to all other material things and he is no slave to anyone except God then I am a believer in religion."

"The religious code is holy, truthful and humanistic."

**Social Betterment :** In five addresses (1. A Lesson for the Public 11. The Need for Prosperity Brigade 14. To be or Not to be 24. The Social Reform a great Task 31. The Able Police Force of Tamil Nadu) social betterment is the central theme because it was the greatest task that Anna had ever undertaken in his life.

In these addresses the people's responsibility to maintain public property properly is duly stressed. Anna is of the view that there should be balanced and proportional development in urban and rural parts and that the Prosperity Brigade is specially meant for social betterment. (The Prosperity Brigade is a creation of Anna.)

As a strong advocate of prohibition on Gandhian lines, Anna urges that it should be implemented at any cost,

taking it as a national problem. He pleads for national approaches for social problems like untouchability and casteism.

Anna states straightforwardly that social reform is a great task and he applauds the remarkable services of Periar (E. V. Ramasamy) and Ramasamy Choudri of Andhra in this regard. He refers to the timely institution of self-respect marriage and says how it gained social and legal sanction after great difficulties.

In any civilised society maintenance of law and order is a must and it is the bounden duty of the police.

Anna pays glowing tributes to the Madras Police for their excellent services even in difficult times in maintaining law and order. The crowning climax of their achievements lies in their unravelling the mysterious robbery of the mask-wearing men in Madras.

Anna's concluding remark is: "The people should think that the police force functions as part of society and they should show high respect for them. If this condition prevails then the police can function efficiently and get the co-operation of the people."

**Tamil Advancement:** Lastly in six addresses (2. The Future of Tamil Nadu 8. Tamil as the Medium of Instruction 13. The Need for authentic history of Tamil Nadu 19. The Universality of Tamil 20. The Duty of Tamil Scholars 29. Tamil Culture) Anna extols the uniqueness of Tamil and the excellence of Tamil culture and suggests ways and means for its advancement.

Anna's peep into Tamil is both historical and comparative. Let us conclude this substance part, with a few quotations from Anna:

"The habit of buying books should grow. Buying is different from borrowing. Borrowing is widespread."

“The terse style of research works should be rendered simple and sweet. Then only we can know the real nature of Tamil civilization and culture and we can devise ways and means accordingly to spread them in society”.

“Students should supplement the instruction that they get in their class with the general knowledge gained from outside experience”. Anna is a shining example of this precept.

“Only when we understand the past fully, our knowledge of the present and the future will be clear. Our history should be rewritten in order to reveal our hoary past.”

“The Tamil culture will accept all men of the world as brothers and friends”.

“We must investigate if the Tamil culture found in Sangam literature is reflected in society”.

“But the true feeling of unity has been given to us by the Tamils even two thousand years ago in the Puram song :

“யாதும் ஊரே; யாவரும் கேளிர்”.

— புறம் (192)

“Every country is my country  
Every man is my kinsman”.

— *Puram* (192)

“The Tamil Scholars should guide the Tamil people in this great social task (to make Tamil literature socially profitable) with the usual Tamil principle”.

“The Tamil scholars should announce appropriate ideas according to the times. Courage is needed for such a thing. That courage should be born out of clarity. Even that clarity should be expounded with compassion.”

“Even before two thousand years we had this Kural with us :

“ பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வா  
செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்”

— குறள் (972)

“ All men that live are one in circumstance of birth  
Diversities of works give each his special worth.”

—*The Kural* (972)

## 2. The Qualities

We can see the stamp of originality of Anna in whatever he accomplishes. It is his uniqueness. The *Inaugural and Presidential Addresses* is a fitting example to drive this point home.

All the subjects are treated in a masterly manner and in correlation with one another. In the analytical treatment all possible niceties of expression which are characteristic of superb oratory are employed to enrich the varied subjects.

Though the subjects treated in the addresses are of academic character, Anna gives them a popular and scholarly exposition. We can say that the addresses are remarkable for the profundity of Anna's knowledge which is not only encyclopedic but also philosophic in nature.

In controversial subjects like state autonomy, language problem and art versus politics, Anna is a little furious. But he advances his sane and salubrious arguments to reach convincing conclusions.

In non-controversial subjects like agriculture, economics and industry we find his master mind at work, offering us an excellent exposition of all aspects of the subject that he deals with.

Anna condemns strongly the undue regard given for politicians in India and he gives high respect for the intellectuals since they are the real wealth of the country. He makes frequent references to this point in his addresses because it is really painful to him.

To quote Anna : "Politicians alone cannot raise the greatness of a country. Other countries are great not because of their politicians but because of their lawyers, scientists, engineers and dramatists."

Anna is altruistic and humanistic in explaining the relations between the capitalist and the labourer.

Anna is absolutely self-revealing and humble in some of his addresses. To put it in his own words :

"I believe only in the purity of my heart in order to make others accept my views. I shall not rely on my strength to fulfil it."

"I believe in the logic of my argument and not in the theory of division."

"I am quite aware of my multiple defects. Therein lies my strength."

Moreover, the addresses are noted for more authentic autobiographical details of Anna such as his study of the original (as a student), his academic distinction, his secretaryship of the English Association in the College and his veneration for his Tamil Professors, Mosur Kandasamy and Mani Thirunavukkarsu.

The hallmark of Anna's oratory is sublimity. His addresses begin with a note of gratitude or praise or with a statement or an assurance. The body of the addresses develops coherently and logically. In its logical development we find fine ideas, arresting quotations and illuminating illustrations, all surpassing one another. The addresses end with a suggestion or an appeal or appreciation.

All the addresses clearly show the admirable qualities of Anna such as his politeness, high sense of culture, in-born craving for refined democratic traditions, magnanimity, political nobility, intellectual honesty and utter humility.

The scholarly approach (to the addresses) and (their) masterly analysis are marvellous. Natural flow and quick delivery are noteworthy. 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.

In fine, we get a clear picture of Anna as a democrat, a debater, an altruist, a humanist and above all as a philosopher - statesman in all his thought - provoking Inaugural and Presidential 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 addresses.

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 Bharathi, Churchill, Gandhi, Lincoln, Nehru, Shakespeare, Thiruvalluvar and Wendell Willkie. He quotes abundantly from Tamil classics as he usually does.

He uses rhetoric and amplification for the sake of effect. He employs examples and illustrations, historical references and literary evidences to strengthen his points of exposition. He ingeniously uses alliteration to give



force and depth to his addresses. Of all these devices simile, metaphor, rhetoric, quotations and illustrations are predominant in his Inaugural and Presidential Addresses.

The language of Anna is flowing, 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 receptive and respectable audience. Therefore, he employs a literary and illustrative style according to the subject he speaks.

Anna carves out a style of his own from his vast reading, ripe knowledge, keen insight and broad vision. 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 short 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

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

With regard to his contribution to Tamil, eminent and impartial critics are yet to emerge. In this connection we are glad to know that Anna's works have been taken up for research for Ph. D. by Tamil research students in Madras University. For instance, one Thiru Janarthanam has obtained his Ph. D. for his thesis on Anna's plays.

— A. K. MOORTHY.

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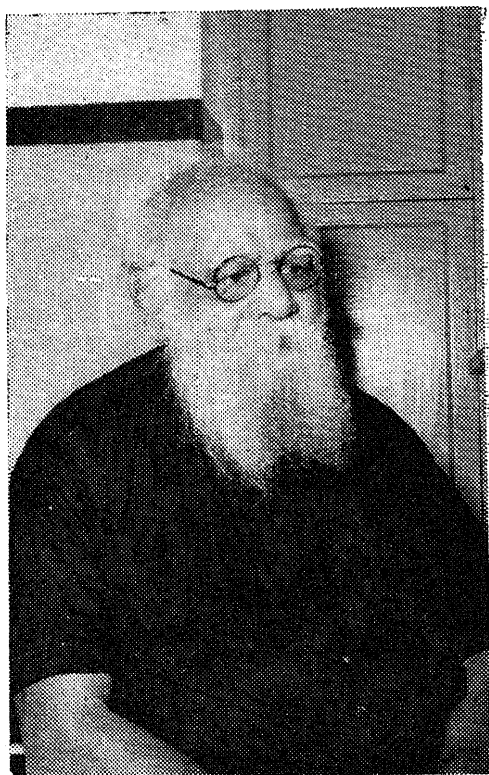
**Dedicated to.....**



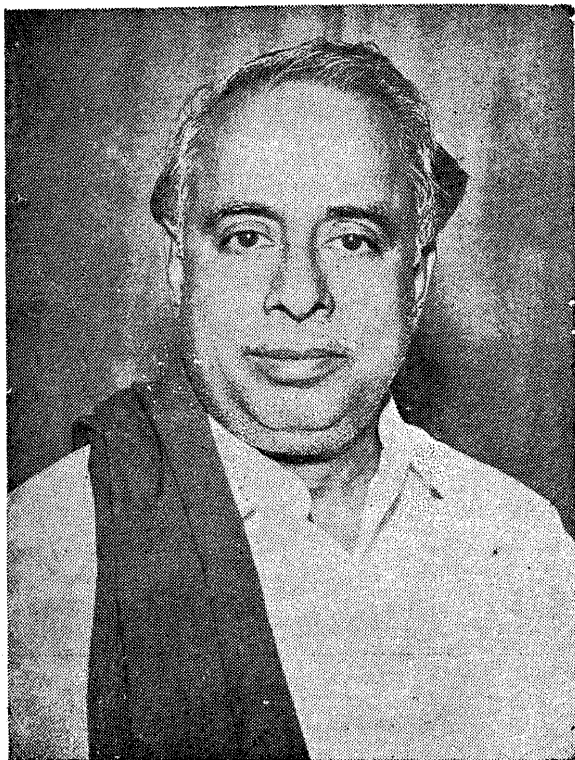
**ANNA'S ADORED MOTHER, BANGARU AMMAIYAR**

" 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



ANNA, THE MATCHLESS ORATOR OF  
TAMIL NADU



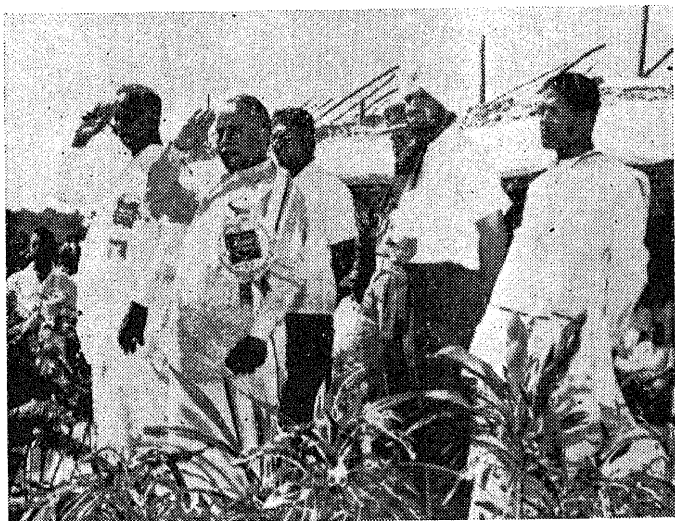
THE THREE GREAT LEADERS IN SMILES



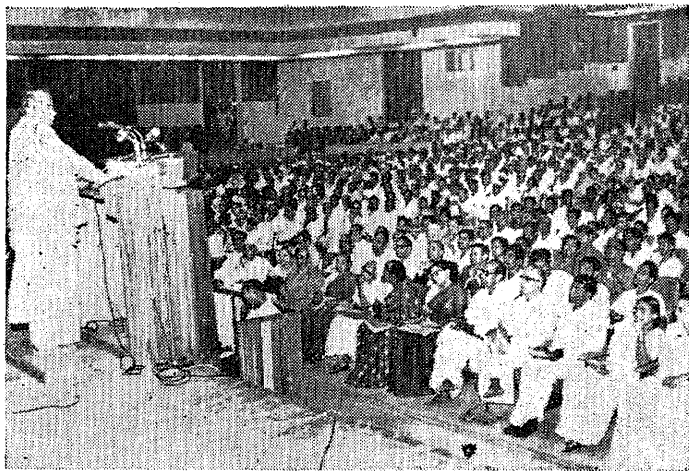
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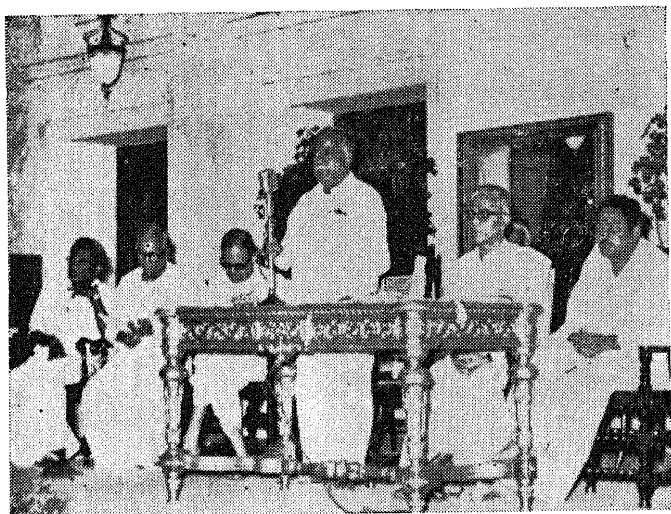




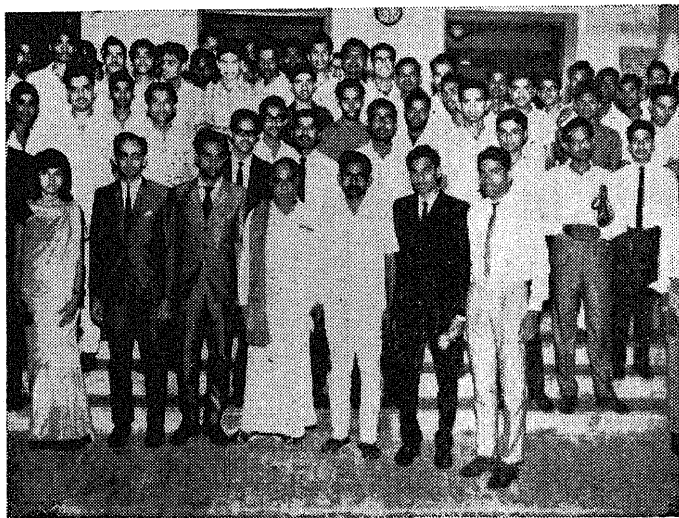
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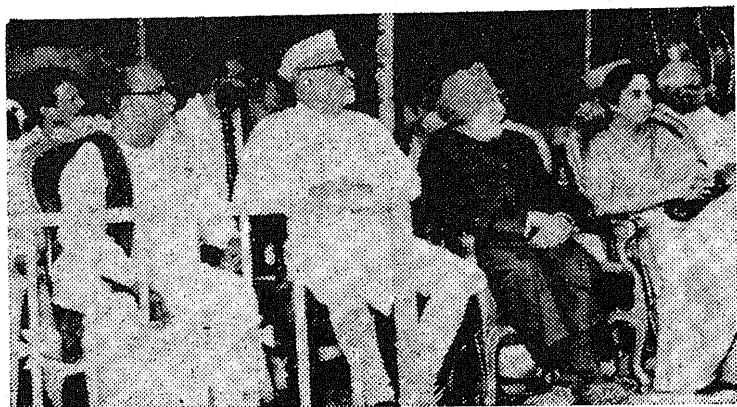
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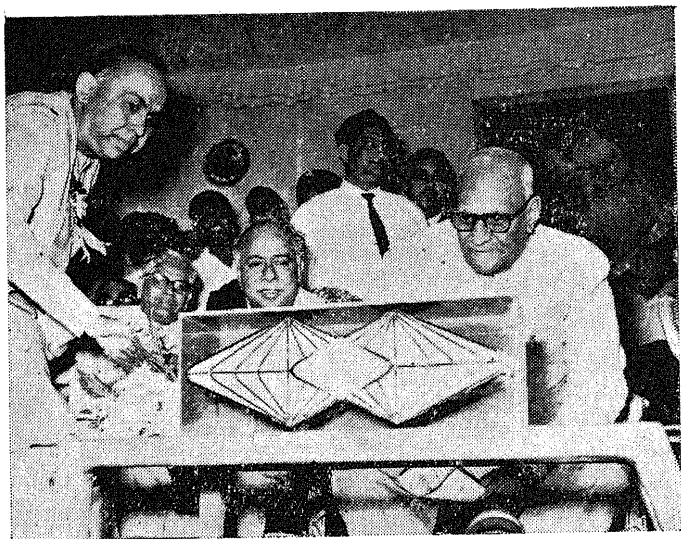
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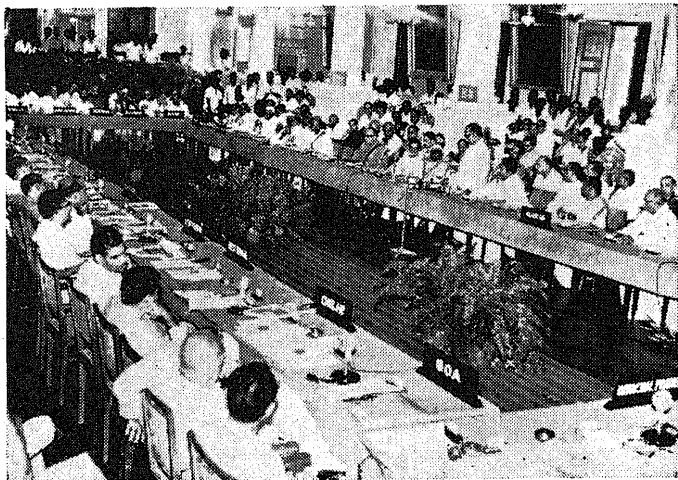
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ANNA, PRESIDENT DR. ZAHIR HUSAIN, GOVERNOR  
MR. UJJAL SINGH AND MRS. UJJAL SINGH WITNESSING THE  
PROCESSION OF THE WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE  
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ANNA AND PRESIDENT GIRI AT THE WORLD INDUSTRIAL  
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ANNA ADDRESSING THE CHIEF MINISTERS' CONFERENCE  
IN MADRAS ON 11-6-68

“ To perform an act, consider the exertion required, the obstacles to be encountered and the great profit to be gained ”

—*The Kural* (676).

## Why this All-India Basis !

1

I express my gratitude and respects to the members of the Committee who have coined legal terms in Tamil to be used in Courts of Law. We are giving Tamil the place that it deserves. The future of Tamilnadu will be bright.

Mention was made about the Central Government's emphasis that legal terms must be coined on an All-India basis and about the necessary measures that the Centre is taking



in this regard. The Education Minister, Thiru V. R. Nedunsezhian also made mention of it in his speech.

If All-India unity is to be established by destroying the individuality of each state, then it will be an unmitigated evil. Generally, people are afraid to talk about it in public. But I am not afraid to call a spade a spade because a great bogey has been created about me outside our state.

2
---

Just as we are coining legal terms in Tamil, so also they have set up a Committee to coin words in Hindi on an All-India basis. The people of our state also are on the Committee. Last year, they spent three days in finding an equivalent for the term *federation*. The problem arose since the term they were searching for, had to be on an All-India basis.

The Tamilnadu representative said that they had a term *Sangam* in Tamil and it could be used. On hearing this term, the Bengal representative remarked that there was a different meaning for *Sangam* in Bengali and hence he wanted another term. At once the Tamilnadu people replied that there was a

term called *Kazhagam* in Tamil and it could be made use of. All in one voice questioned: "What? *Kazhagam*". Our representatives expressed that the term *Kazhagam* was not coined twenty years ago; it was the term used in Tamil Puranas. The other Committee members, however, did not accept their argument. At last they accepted the term *Sangam*.

Now in the All-India Hindi Dictionary the term *Sangh* only is given as the equivalent for *federation*. Even in translation a kind of bias is shown!

Even though we have been speaking of 'All-India' frequently we imply that there are many kinds of Indias comprising states with their own individualities. Nobody talks of 'All-Britain' and 'All-German' under any circumstances. Hence, it is not good to talk of the All-India basis in all things.

The All-India problems relate not only to languages but also to relations. They should be acceptable to the whole of India. The whole of India cannot be strong if things spoken in the name of All-India tend to curb the individuality of the states. Things will go on well, if everything is done in close co-ordination and understanding between the State

and the Centre. If clashes occur as a result of All-India basis unpleasantness will result. Hence, introducing All-India basis even in the coinage of terms is quite unnecessary.

Presidential address delivered at Rajaji Hall,  
Madras at the Publication Ceremony of the  
Volume of Legal Terms on 14-4-'67.

“ If one be a man of firmness and action  
one can attain anything one desires ”

—*The Kural* (666).

## 2 | The Future of Tamilnadu

1

There is no need for me to make a speech to-day. You are seeing what you longed to see and you are all happy over that. Because we have felt the need for it, we unveil the name board of *Tamilaga Arasu Thalamai Cheyalagam* (The Chief Secretariat of Tamilnadu Government) and light the lights on it.

Those who are incapable of understanding the significance and those who were incapable of doing such a simple thing as this, accuse us of making an empty show. Light shines

only in the midst of darkness. It is needed to dispel darkness. Let these external lights which adorn the name board serve to dispel the clouds of darkness in the hearts and minds of the Tamilnadu people. Let the fluorescent lights proclaim that Tamil has come into its own in Tamilnadu.

Clear-thinking people will admit that it is necessary. If you had thought that it was an unnecessary act, would you have gathered here in such large numbers? The huge crowds of people gathered here confirm the necessity for this very act.

We have put up this name board not for party propaganda but to show that the Government of Tamilnadu proclaims itself to the world!

2
---

In my younger days, whenever I came here, people referred to it not even as secretariat but only as fort. Now the condition has entirely changed. We are honouring Tamil by giving Tamil names. When we want to honour and respect Tamil, we have no intention to show the slightest disrespect to other languages. Just as we honour and

revere Tamil in Tamilnadu, so also we welcome other states to honour and revere their own languages. This Government will feel happy if the Maharashtra Government names the Government Office in its mother tongue.

My beloved brother Karunanidhi said, "Some people say that the name *Tamilnadu* is not found in Tamil literature". Some people will be saying something or other like this. Let us assume for the sake of argument that the name *Tamilnadu* is not found in Tamil literature. On that account can it be said that it is wrong to name the State Tamil nadu?

We read in daily newspapers that a number of recently liberated, small countries of Africa have discarded the names given by their English rulers and have assumed new names of their choice. Do they pause to think if those names are found in their literature? In fact, the name Tamilnadu is found in Tamil literature.

People in ships, who happen to see these bright lights when they are far out at sea, will jump with joy. When they go back to their respective countries, they will be delighted to

say that Tamil has been given due recognition and respect in Tamilnadu.

At this moment I would make an appeal to merchants. In your commercial firms the name boards may be in English. I do not say that you must remove them. On the other hand I would request you to write the names in Tamil also along with English. It augurs well for the bright future of Tamilnadu that Tamil has come into its own in all fields of activities.

Speech delivered at Fort St George, Madras,  
while unveiling the Tamil Neon Light  
Name Board on 14-4-'67.

“ One can win the world if one acts  
at the right time and place ”

—*The Kural* (484)

## A Lesson for the Public

3

1

The Government has drawn up schemes to expand transport facilities in Madras, taking into consideration the increase in population. The opening ceremony of this underground way is a part of that endeavour.

Day by day the population in Madras city is increasing beyond control. As a result of the congestion in traffic, a great many accidents happen. I declare open this underground way in front of the Central Station just as the



Government has opened many underground ways in order to increase transport facilities and to minimise accidents.

The Public Works Minister, Thiru M. Karunanidhi † said that underground ways would be constructed wherever finances permitted. The Government has a share in developing such facilities like this. In that case I assure you that the Government will accept a part of the expenditure incurred on the schemes.

At this moment I wish to bring one thing to your notice. We must execute the schemes, taking into consideration both urban and rural parts of the country. Still there are villages without roads and the people will not tolerate such a state of affairs. Therefore, we must pay equal attention to all parts of the country so that there may be balanced development and progress.

2
---

The Public should not only encourage us to spend large sums of money on such projects but should learn to make good and proper use of them. Generally, we see people defacing public walls or attacking and destroying public

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† Now Chief Minister

properties, whenever anger and hatred swell in their hearts against anybody or anything. It looks as if they cannot give vent to their anger and hatred by any other means.

It is wrong to consider that public properties and buildings belong to somebody else. They are all properties of all the people in common. Destroying them means destroying one's own properties. We have not yet learnt to use public properties with this feeling.

Pan-chewers are in the habit of staining these walls with *chunnam* (calcium paste). Some others take a delight in spitting after chewing *pan* just to see how reddish it all looks. We should realise the sanctity of public property and learn to maintain them well and keep them clean.

3
---

In Tamilnadu there are plenty of officers and experts who can implement big projects in a short period. Though they get thousands of rupees by way of salary, they are able to save nothing. What they treasure in their mind permanently is the things achieved by them and the big buildings put up during their term of office. When officers retire, they will not be able to chat with their sons. They will

have opportunity only to have a chat with their grand-sons. While doing so, they will find pleasure in saying, "I myself constructed this school. The hospital was built during my time" With this object in view, the officers of the Government must toil with greater zeal than before.

I think that all our endeavours will succeed, as a result of our careful efforts. You can bring a good or a bad name according to your desire. Therefore, I request the officers and others to support the schemes of the Government in the interest of society.

The Government has been executing various schemes in an excellent manner. However, as a result of delay in execution, the estimated cost of rupees 5 lakhs runs to rupees 10 lakhs at the end. We see this in the Government audit reports. It is in Tamilnadu that projects have been executed within a reasonable period. It will be a matter for gratification if officers of Tamilnadu and engineering experts work industriously and in close co-operation.

Speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the  
underground way in front of the Central Station  
at Madras on 15-4-'67.

“ The great will do difficult things  
The mean will refrain from doing them. ”

—*The Kural* (26)

## 4 | The Greatness of Jainism

1

I am happy to note that the Jains utilise their hard-earned wealth for good causes like setting up hospitals and colleges. There are a large number of Jains in and around Kancheepuram where I was born and I have also contact with them. Some Tamil Research scholars are of the opinion that Jainism belongs to Tamils only. Therefore, I wish to proclaim my contact with and devotion to this religion.

In the whole world it is our country that has produced great saints and seers. Sometimes I am tempted to think that it would be better if these great men were not born in our midst because in spite of their lofty teachings and preachings we are so bad and we are not progressing in life.

Even in countries which have not produced such great men, people have made remarkable progress. Though the great men have guided us on right path, we have made little or no progress. All along we have been mere preachers who have failed to practise what we preach. Hereafter, we should practise what we preach.

We often quote with pride and admiration great men like the Buddha, the Siddha, Mahavir, Mohamed Nabi, Gandhi and Saint Ramalingam. But, do we put their teachings into practice? Therefore, we will be reaping the benefits of their teachings only when we put them into practice.

2
---

It is my duty to appreciate you because you have preserved the age-old Jainism. You have not only been following the religion but also

taking an interest in seeing that others also prosper by following your ideals.

The teachings of Mahavir constitute a noble code of conduct. "Have control over the five senses. Avoid excessive desire of things", said the great Mahavir. If people had really realised the full significance of these teachings, there would have been no wars or conflicts in the world; there would have been no necessity for the United Nations.

The great religions of the world are like a four-storeyed building. There are good staircases for the first two or three storeys. When we wish to reach the fourth storey from the third, we find that we have to climb a loosely hanging rope ladder.

I have close contact and association with the learned Jain scholars. We have often discussed Jainism. Then I felt sad not because the religions are bad but because we are not yet fit and mature enough to live up to their ideals. I do not say that religions should be forgotten because of our failure to live up to their ideals.

Presidential address delivered at the Anniversary  
of Mahavir held in Madras under the auspices  
of the Jain Society on 22-4-'67.

“A man mighty in word, unforgetful of mind and fearless of speech cannot be conquered by intrigue.”

—*The Kural* (647).

## A Plea for More Powers

5

1

The relationship between the State and the Central Governments is to be discussed here. The very term relationship means that it cannot be avoided and it has to be endured. Unless there are two persons or parties, there is no relationship. Therefore, the reflections on the relationship between the State and the Centre should be broad-based and it should be marked by clear outlook and vision.

I am precluded from commenting on the opinions expressed by Thiru K. Santhanam on account of my being the Chief Minister. My opinions will be construed as the opinions of the Government. Therefore, I refrain from offering my comments. Societies and associations like this should thoroughly discuss this topic and express their views.

Of all the views expressed by Thiru K. Santhanam, the one that appealed to me most was the Representative Committee of the State Governments. Thiru K. Santhanam spoke about the formation of a representative Committee consisting of members of both the legislatures of the State in order to examine the Constitution and tender advice to the State Government on federal rights. If such a Committee is formed, it will be highly useful to solve the problems arising between one state and another or between the State and the Centre.

2
---

It is a bitter truth that the State Governments have none to blame but themselves for their loss of self-respect. But I admit it unhesitatingly.



The tendency of the Central Government to grab the taxes collected by the State Governments might have been all right, when the same political party was in power in all states. Now, when different parties are in power in different states, such an idea is unacceptable.

Some put forth their peculiar arguments that it is immaterial whoever collects the taxes, since all the money is spent within India. Such an argument might have won the applause of the audience previously. For some more time to come, applause can be had only by tutoring the audience. After some more years the audience cannot even be tutored to applaud. Still later those who applaud will be suspected!

The stolen property from Tirunelveli may be lying in Tiruchendur or the property stolen from Tiruchendur may be kept in Triplicane. But, on that score, no one will dare to argue that we need not worry about the theft since the stolen property is within this country.

Whether we snatch the property of some one or deprive him of his right, it is nothing but theft. Therefore, respecting each other's rights, the State and the Centre should work

together in co-operation. They should also work in amity without losing their individuality. We should find solutions for problems only by friendly and mutual discussions. On any account we should not yield to slavish mentality. We should not reach a state when one man will be in a position to dictate to many others. Hereafter, the political set-up of India, should be based on this principle only.

If I plead for more powers for state Governments as one who advocated secession in the past, I may be accused of reviving my old demand in a new form. If people like Santhanam advance such views, no one will suspect their motives.

The time has come to think deeply over centre-state relationship. The fear has also arisen that danger is ahead if such a reflection is absent.

Presidential address delivered at the Symposium held  
under the auspices of the Culture Society in  
Triplicane, Madras on 24-4-'67.

“ Those who have no capital can have no gains  
Likewise those who have no support of friends  
lack stability ”.

—*The Kural* (449).

## 6 | We Stand for Justice

1

You may rest assured that in our administration which enjoys your unstinted confidence nothing but good will result. If our administration does not deliver the goods, who else can?

You are all the workers in the respective departments in which you are working. But we are the servants of all Tamils. One thing more. We are servants who work overtime without claiming any wages for it. To be more precise, we are honorary servants.

Every problem has several aspects. Opinions may differ. That is but natural in a democracy. We should critically examine and analyse the different opinions and choose the best one for efficient implementation. This is the best way of solving problems.

Nothing can be achieved by mere slogans. At the same time the value of slogans cannot be belittled because some people will submit to slogans only. Therefore, we should act according to circumstances.

2

If investment were to multiply, the capitalist also should get a margin of profit. They should not be considered anti-social elements. That is the basis of economics. It is not necessary that this capital should come from the profit of the capitalist. It may also come from the savings of workers. This modern economic theory is followed in many countries. We should resolve to create such a state of affairs in our country also. It must be possible to find investment for new enterprises from the savings of workers.

The D. M. K. is always interested in the welfare of workers. It has its own definite

policy for the welfare of workers. It is neither necessary nor urgent for the party to evolve a new policy although it has newly come to power.

We have our own policy regarding the problem of workers' welfare. We shall utilise our newly-won power for implementing that policy we believe in.

Having formed the Cabinet, we had no occasion to consider which party we should side with. The whole country knows whom we sided with and supported when Port workers were subjected to suffering or when the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill workers went on strike or when similar labour disputes arose. Both in our individual capacity and at the party level our support is always on the side of justice.

Speech delivered at Madras on the occasion  
of opening the building of the Hindu  
workers on 26-4-'67.

“The land is that which possesses unfailing  
fertility, able men and imperishable wealth.”

—*The Kural* (731)

## The Basis of Integration

7

1

This plastic factory has been built in a period of two years. As Chief Minister, I am happy to participate in the inauguration ceremony of this new factory and as the Finance Minister my happiness is greater still.

Although the financial position is not high (just like me), the industrial development of the state is high (just like my friend Thiru Nedunzeshian.) In spite of its development,

industry in Tamilnadu should register greater growth and progress.

A larger part of our country's income is spent on food. If industries were to develop, goods should be produced cheaply so as to be within the reach of the poor. People interested in promoting industry should come forward. Cheap plastic goods which are useful to the poor should be produced. Thatched huts catch fire often. Plastic roofs may be used instead.

During my visit to New Delhi I saw a house made entirely of plastic. Every part of the house was made of plastic. When I tried to know the cost of the house, I was told that it was Rs. 47,000/-. That is too high. Plastic houses should be within the reach of the poor.

Conditions to-day are totally different from what they were thirty years ago. People are keenly interested in the industrial development of the country. Thirty years ago alcohol was put to some other use. But to-day a mixture of alcohol and chlorine is used to manufacture plastic. The unremitting toil of the new generation during the last ten years has resulted in industrial development of the country.

Long before there was any talk of national integration, the late Dr. C. P. Ramasami adumbrated a scheme for linking North Indian rivers like the Ganges and the Yamuna with South Indian rivers and thereby he emphasised the integration of all Indian rivers. But his suggestion was not carried out. Had it been carried out, the floods in North Indian rivers could have been avoided.

Regional imbalances will retard national integration. Even in Puranic Age people talked of integration from Kasi (Banares) to Kancheepuram. Integration to be real and lasting should be based on the financial position of the country, availability of raw materials and industrial know-how. Otherwise integration will only be a text-book maxim.

The plastic factory established here in collaboration with American assistance should be developed further. It is my desire that it should give rise to several small ancillary industries.

In the field of agriculture we should achieve maximum growth. Only if the stan-



dard of living of the agriculturist is raised, the purchasing power will improve. Then only can industries be established on a large scale. Industries should adopt modern methods of production so as to bring down the cost of goods. Then only everybody will be in a position to buy them.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the Inauguration  
Ceremony of the New Plastic Factory  
(Chemplast) at Mettur on 4—5—'67.

“ Do rare things as and when rare opportunities occur ”

—*The Kural* (489).

## 8 | Tamil as the Medium of Instruction

1

The inauguration ceremony in the Teachers' College begins showing a state of progressive development in our efforts to introduce Tamil as the medium of instruction. It is a matter for congratulation that my friend and the Principal of the College, Thiru Perumal has been conferred the title of “*Muthuperum Pulavar*” (Great scholar).

My two friends expressed good opinions in order to enthuse us in the cause of Tamil. First of all we should have the enthusiasm to

translate what we think into action. Faith is born of enthusiasm. Then we should explore the ways and means of doing it. We should also have the talents to implement it. It is not enough if we alone possess the talents. We should also help others to acquire such talents. Only after all this is done, we can implement what we think into action.

Only in this country it has become necessary to emphasise the fact that Tamil should be the medium of instruction. It is needless to mention that English is the medium of instruction in England. Only in this country do we see such a strange thing not seen anywhere else. Only here do people discuss, "Can we teach in Tamil? Is it possible? Shall we try? What will happen to the people trained in the Tamil medium? What has happened to the people already trained in the Tamil medium?"

The reason for this is that our country was under foreign rule for long. Then we could not see Tamil enthusiasts. Even those who had enthusiasm were satisfied with getting the title of '*Pulavar*'. Now things have changed. Love of Tamil is growing day by day. I did my studies when people doubted if this (introduction of Tamil) was necessary.

Even if one searched for Tamil, one could find it either in the market place or at home. Even if one spoke in Tamil at home, his parents would retort, "Did I spend so much money on you just for this?" Even in my home my aunt wanted me to speak in English. It did not matter whether she understood English or not. All the same she wanted me to speak in English only. Whenever I spoke, she would call the neighbours and show me to them with pride.

You have all heard brother Karunanidhi explain how it has become possible to teach in Tamil. We are engaged in an effort for that and we are progressing. We shall show the world that it is possible in Tamil. We are full of hope in this respect.

2

Some friends from the American Embassy presented me with forty seven English books this evening. Of these ten books were on economics. Nowadays thousands of books have been written in English on General Economics, Specialised Branches of Economics and Price distribution.

If you go to a library, you can see a number of books on different subjects like History and Geography in English. All these should be published in Tamil. We should gather facts and ideas from writings in different languages. They have widened human knowledge and systematized it. All this depends on our progress in the economic field. In the task of translation we should gather ideas from different sources. If we translate literarily, people will develop a distaste for Tamil.

Infinite patience is necessary for producing books. It is not enough that the Union Education Minister has assured us of the Centre's help in this regard and the Government of Tamil Nadu also stands by it. The public should lend their support for the publication of thought-filled books. The habit of buying books should grow. Buying is different from borrowing. Borrowing is widespread. New books would be published only as we develop the habit of buying books.

Even by mistake if one ventures to write, he should be changing his house every six months because his creditors will be searching for him. A printer should stand by him for a

year at least. The Almanac and the Railway Guide are the best sellers in these parts. Others are not sold so well. People despair because it is not profitable.

3
---

Our teachers are gifted with fertile imagination. Books should stimulate their thinking. When I was studying in the College, a certain professor used to give notes at the very beginning of the lesson. Students used to get them by heart and write the examinations. I was sitting without taking down anything. The professor asked me why I was not taking down his notes. I told him, "If I could get forty per cent by reproducing your notes, I can certainly get more by writing my own answer". Accordingly I was awarded the Prize for getting the first rank in the Examination in the whole State in that year.

After getting the prize I spoke to the professor about the results of my self-effort and he congratulated me. I do not say that my example should be emulated by one and all. Teachers should serve with enthusiasm. They should not despair. We will be able to see lawyers arguing in Tamil in about ten or

fifteen years. Did not Kannaki \* argue in Tamil? Her arguments could not have been presented with such effect either in English or any other language. Did not kings issue their commands in Tamil? We need not innovate anything. It is enough if we resuscitate what we have lost. The newly independent countries of Africa are evolving new languages of their own. Fortunately we are different from them. Tamil should be introduced as the medium of instruction in all Colleges.

Speech delivered at the Teachers' Training College,  
while inaugurating the Tamil Medium  
classes on 27-7-'67.

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\* The famous heroine of Cilapathikaram, the Tamil epic.

"Let a task be entrusted to a man  
who is best fitted for doing it"

—*The Kural* (517)

## A Call to Engineering Students

9

I call upon you to join and serve in the Prosperity Brigade. The mere mention of the term Prosperity Brigade reminded some people of the Red Army of China. They asked us not to create the Red Army here. Such people have not only failed to know the truth about China but they have also failed to understand me.

I call upon you and the students of other Colleges to join and serve in the Prosperity



Brigade. There is no politics whatsoever in the Prosperity Brigade. Students can render greater benefits to the Public by serving in the Prosperity Brigade than even the Government.

Senior students of this Engineering College can visit the slums and chalk out plans and ways of constructing uniform houses. That will be a great help. When we examine various house-building schemes, we know that the cost of construction goes on increasing from one scheme to another.

Students of this Engineering College can pay attention to this aspect and suggest ways and means of reducing the cost and thus help the poor people.

Condensed from the speech delivered at the Engineering College, Guindy, while inaugurating the Students' Tamil Association on 27-7-'67.

“ The deeper a well is dug, the greater is the flow of water in it. Likewise the more a man learns the greater is his accumulation of wisdom. ”

—*The Kural* (396)

## 10 | Students’ Responsibilities

The urge of emotion is necessary among students. It is but natural that they are susceptible to it. But still emotion as such should be properly canalized and sublimated.

The notable characteristic of education is to canalize and sublimate such emotion. Although our students are swift to emotion, they are on the whole good.

I want you to become able doctors, famous lawyers and fine administrative experts. Students of this College have made great strides in these fields all over India. You should keep up that tradition by becoming leading lawyers, able doctors, talented Engineers, admirable administrative experts and great scientists.

You may ask why I have not included Ministers in the list of lawyers and others. It is because we do not have the wealth of expertise in different fields that we have to import experts from America, Scientists from England and Engineers from Russia whenever we start new industries.

The field of education provides opportunities for the development of such faculties. The great responsibility of utilising those opportunities and creating favourable conditions in this regard rests in your hands. You have the necessary skills and talents for it in an abundant measure.

If you realise that you are born of such lofty traditions, you can develop into first class citizens with your innate skills and the training given to you by your teachers.

In these days when you are students, Tamil has won greater laurels than when my friends and I were students. To that extent Tamil has attained excellence and eminence.

Speech delivered at Government Arts College,  
Kumbakonam, while inaugurating the  
Tamil Association on 28—7—'67.

“ Do an act which yields bliss with firmness even if it is difficult to do at the outset. ”

—*The Kural* (669) .

## The Need for Prosperity Brigade

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1

A special address may be necessary while inaugurating other brigades. But no address is necessary since this brigade is an action-brigade. However, I should like to express a few important ideas. You have come forward to join, fully realizing the importance of the Prosperity Brigade. I have to explain the need for this brigade because many do not know its significance.

When the formation of the Prosperity Brigade was announced in the Assembly, a

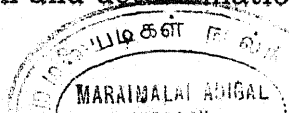
mistaken argument was put forward that the Brigade was formed in order to strengthen the party. The D. M. K. has several thousands of volunteers in its fold. It does not require such a separate brigade.

People have crowned the D. M. K. with resounding victory in the elections held in February, 1967. Such a powerful party does not need a new brigade. Already it has a big army of workers.

It is the bounden duty of the public to stand by the brigade and support it by all means. I would request the public to use the leisure hours available to them, after attending to domestic duties, for the betterment of the country instead of wasting it in useless amusements. I would appeal even to the ordinary and average citizens to utilise their talents for rendering a pure and selfless service to increase the prosperity of the land.

We had calculated that it would be enough if a thousand volunteers from each district joined the brigade. From the district-war information available it is clear that all sorts of people belonging to different walks of life have enthusiastically volunteered to join the Brigade with dedication and determination.

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Here the ten principles of the brigade were explained by Thiru M. Karunanidhi, Public Works Minister. The principles are unexceptionable. They are all sound principles. We come across difficulties and troubles only in implementing them. We should have the determination to face and overcome troubles and you should conduct it in an excellent manner. Government alone cannot succeed in making the land prosperous, in raising the standard of living and in assuring a decent happy life to all people.

2

The country is steeped in poverty to such an extent. Therefore a selfless brigade has become a necessity for our country.

I spent many sleepless nights trying to find a suitable name before naming it 'Seerani' (the Prosperity Brigade). I went through many books for days together.

The D. M. K. has conducted many *Peranis* (mammoth processions) and mighty *Poranis* (war-fronts). But such things are not needed now. Not that we have given them up. They will appear as and when necessity arises.

A well-knit organization is necessary to remove inequalities and to solve problems.

Hence, I took a decision to name it *Seerani* (Prosperity Brigade).

The green colour in the badges worn by the volunteers here stand for prosperity. The golden colour reflects the purity of your heart. There are great many things to be fulfilled yet.

I earnestly desire that the volunteers of the Prosperity Brigade would pay special attention to cleanliness and adult literacy campaigns. I am sure people will co-operate when they see the sight of our volunteers going about cleaning the streets with a broom-stick and a basket. On seeing this no dutiful mother would throw rubbish in the street the next day. When I say rubbish, it includes also the excretion of children on the roadside. If you are ashamed to do even this, how can you withstand the enemy's bombs?

Thiru M. Karunanidhi planned to purify the Coovum that flows through the city and make it fit for pleasure boating. A party of five hundred to six hundred volunteers may engage themselves in cleaning the Coovum during their holidays. On seeing this, people will admire them as a band of noble and self-



less workers. No other gift can be expected from me except the people's praise. The Prosperity Brigade will be highly useful to clean the tanks and lakes in the villages surrounding Madras.

I have full faith and confidence that the Prosperity Brigade will meet with glorious success and the volunteers would fulfil my expectations. It is in that hope and wish that I gladly inaugurate the Prosperity Brigade today.

Speech delivered at the inauguration of the  
Prosperity Brigade in Madras on 16-2-'67.

"Farmers are the linch-pin of the world for they support all other workers who cannot till the soil."

—*The Kural* (1032)

## 12 | Agricultural economy the basis of our Progress

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We will know the truth only when we examine a thing at close quarters. When we read about the Sahara Desert in our childhood, we understood that it was a good-for-nothing desert. But recently we hear that oil has been struck in abundance there. Is it not the result of close investigation that we now know of the presence of oil beneath the desert and beyond?

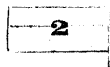
If any discontent is to be removed, political and economic powers must be equally dist-

ributed. Regional imbalances should be done away with. We should not ignore these practical and just truths.

I believe that we are marching in the right direction, having realised these truths. The co-operation of the people of other parts of India is necessary now for the advancement of Tamil Nadu.

I believe only in the purity of my heart in order to make others accept my views. I shall not rely on my strength to fulfil it.

I believe only in the logic of my arguments and not in the theory of division.



Every bank may constitute a committee of economic experts for its own. This committee may give useful suggestions for those who approach the bank for loans to start new industrial projects and see to it that those projects are properly executed.

Only the industries built on the foundation of strong agricultural economy will have true vitality and strength. Let us not forget that agriculture itself is an industry.

People who have returned from foreign countries are very eager to start industries here similar to those obtaining there. There is nothing wrong in it. But we should realise that those western countries had built a strong agricultural economy before they started their industrialization.

Only if we strengthen our agriculture, we can make our land one of the best industrialised countries by utilizing our technical know-how that we already have.

Speech delivered while inaugurating the new branch  
of the Punjab National Bank, on the  
Beach Road, Madras, on 27-8-'67.

‘ All men are equal by birth. They differ in their characteristics because they differ in their vocations.’

—*The Kural* (972).

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## The Need for authentic History of Tamil Nadu

13

1

As teachers are restricted to do a certain number of lessons in the course of the year, it is impossible for them to impart general knowledge.

Teachers have the necessary talents and experience. But they have no time to proclaim them. Controlling their enthusiasm they try their best to cover the syllabus within the prescribed period.

I want you to leave the portals of your College as fullfledged students, supplementing

the instruction that you get in the class with the general knowledge gained from outside experience.

When I was the Secretary of the English Association, I had the opportunity of inviting and hearing at least one speaker once a month. They are still green in my memory. But, to tell you the truth, not even a single function in Tamil was held.

It was thought that it was impossible to deliver public speeches in Tamil. I see the change that has come over Tamil Nadu during the last twentyfive years.

However potent a foreign language may be, to-day, we should speak in our own language. There lies the significance and prestige. Such a feeling of prestige is neither taught nor enforced. If anyone thinks that this feeling is nurtured he must be deemed a simpleton, ignorant of the truth. We cannot help such an innate feeling.

In England where Latin held sway once, English has come into its own. English has been accepted by the United Nations as a widely spoken language.

There was a time when speaking French was considered a mark of prestige in Russia. In course of time, the truth dawned on them that no foreign language can be equal to one's mother tongue.

To-day we see, in Tamil Nadu, the people's confidence that Tamil can be used for all purposes. We also witness that they will revolt one and all against the imposition of anything on them.

It is my bounden duty to congratulate you on your inborn love of Tamil. Such a thing was totally absent in our days. In those days even learned people never bothered to use pure and chaste Tamil even in their public speeches. But now things have changed entirely.

Our love of mother tongue is quite natural. When I see you, I see the future generation before me.

When each one of you leaves the College, you may have your own individual aspirations. There is nothing wrong in it. But on the whole as students you should have an aim in life. We should take stock and find out how far we have contributed to the progress of Tamil

during our period. Then only future generations will know our achievements in the cause of Tamil.

2
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Londoners are filled with admiration when we tell them that a great Tamil Poet, Thiruvalluvar said even two thousand years ago, "All men are equal by birth". When we mention the same thing here, we are accused of language fanaticism. In fact it is not fanaticism.

When the Tamil Poet Bharathi sang, "Tamil is the sweetest of all the languages I know", people of other languages never took offence at it. Hating other languages is foreign to Tamils. Telugu, Kannadam and Malayalam are derived from Tamil, each having absorbed enough of Tamil words. Tamils are not bothered about it. Tamils have sympathy and goodwill for other languages.

Other languages have not grown and are not developed to such an extent as Tamil. Even then we have to learn certain things from other languages. In the history of India, the history of Tamil Nadu is not written fully and comp-



letely. The authentic history of Tamil Nadu should be written. Now we do not have the proper climate for such a thing.

There is a history behind the origin of the name of every city and town in Tamil. Even for *Manalmedu* (Sand Dune) there is a history behind it. Neither India nor the Far East countries (or for that matter no other country) can boast of such a glorious history as Tamil Nadu.

The very name of Napoleon strikes terror even in the hearts of English children. More books on Napoleon are available in England than in France. We should imbibe such an enthusiasm and spirit.

It is not a matter of pride to us when a Tamil Engineer going to London pleads ignorance of the mighty Pandian King. Only when we understand the past fully, our knowledge of the present and the future will be clear. Our history should be re-written in order to reveal our hoary past.

Speech delivered at the inauguration of the  
Tamil Union of the Government Arts  
College, Madras on 3-9-'67.

“ Think and then dare the deed ! Who cry,  
‘Deed dared, we’ll think’ disgraced shall be.”

—*The Kural* (467)

# 14 | To be or Not to be

1

The habit of drinking spoils not only ways of life but also the principles of life. From time immemorial we have considered the habit of drinking as an evil and not as a problem.

It is customary on our part to ask anybody if he acts abnormally and behaves unusually “What? Are you drunk?”

The heroes will not drink. The villains only will be shown as addicts to drink. You might have noticed this even in films and dra-

mas. In this regard our story writers have to be congratulated. Even in stories drinking is portrayed as an undesirable act. Good people do not drink. Drunkards are not good people. Even good people are spoiled when they take to drinking.

All realise this truth. But many people fail to put it into practice. It is a human vice.

The truth is realised. But it is difficult to put it into practice.

The greatest of men was Gandhi. He did not say that he had gained victory over truth. He said only that he had conducted experiments with truth.

If such is the case with that great genius, we need not say what it will be in the case of ordinary men.

Though the truth about the habit of drinking is known to all, there is need for the law to enforce it.

One of the letters I received this morning was written by a friend of mine to draw my attention to this problem. He never drank, never drinks and will never take to drinking in future. Yet he wrote to me saying, "Why are you knocking at the doors of Delhi each

and every time to seek financial assistance? You had better open the toddy shops. It will fetch crores of rupees." Though he is a man pleading for prohibition, he has made this suggestion to me on grounds of economic consideration only.

Not only my friend but also people like him have forgotten the younger generation now coming up. They are quite ignorant of "What is drink? What is an arrack shop?" Should they know these two things? Should we hear the weeping cry in our houses again? Should our mothers be made to suffer mental agony again? I want your reply.

There may be some defects, nay, some impossibilities in implementing prohibition.

Those who get into the church are not acting according to ten commandments. There may be some slips without their knowledge. Yet, they never fail to take the oath each and every time, "I shall act according to ten commandments."

As my friend Chengalvarayan pointed out, if there are some defects and errors here and there, it is not the failure of prohibition. Rather it is the failure of man to implement prohibition.

When I was a boy, this thing happened. Still I remember it well. Two of my relatives were habitual drunkards.

After getting fully drunk, one of them would strike terror in the street, give blows and receive blows.

The other man was also a habitual drunkard. But he was of a different type. After drinking he would come to his house. He would terrify his wife, beat her and make her weep. He would repeat inside the house what the other man had been doing outside.

The climax was that he would call the other man and offer him his words of advice. "You fellow! Why do you drink and go out to quarrel? What is your house for? Come in," he would command him.

What I would like to tell all people through you (sitting here before me) is this: "As long as this incident does not disappear from mind's eye and so long as the cry that I heard is ringing in my ears, no arrack shop will be opened here."

The Congressmen find pleasure in attacking me by their remark that I am a justicite. "Yes. I had been a member of the Justice party. It is that Justic party, even before the Congress, decided for the first time that a policy on prohibition was a dire necessity."

I should like to tell my friend Chengalvarayan here that the American friend Steed has come all the way from America by travelling miles in thousands in order to intensify the prohibition policy.

Shakespeare says that Hamlet failed because of his indecision and failure to solve problems. I would like to tell the Congress party, the pioneering and the first great political organisation that they need not be in a dilemma in the problem of prohibition as "To be or not to be" just like Shakespeare's Hamlet and that they need not face the similar end that Hamlet had met with.

Come to an overall and final conclusion with regard to prohibition. Then only our friend Steed sitting here, can say proudly when he next comes from America, "Well. We are all supporters of prohibition."

Still when foreigners approach me for permit to take liquor, they look at me up and down. They smile and ask surprisingly and sarcastically "Oh, prohibition. Is it in force in Madras? It is not so in Andhra or in Gujarat. Why is it enforced here?"

To tell the truth I am unable to answer them in that particular context. Therefore I say: "Let my friend Chengalvarayan who spoke here beautifully and convincingly about prohibition, take this problem to Parliament not in his individual capacity, not in his capacity as a member of Parliament but in his capacity as a Congressman.

Making use of the next opportunity, let him bring a resolution on prohibition in the Executive Committee meeting of the Congress. Let him discuss it on these lines: "Even when a non-Congress Chief Minister is firm in his stand on prohibition, why can't we, the Congressmen as Gandhians, implement total prohibition?"

If he achieves success in it the whole country will appreciate him. Even if he fails in that attempt, the regard I have for him will multiply a thousand times greater. I have the least courage to approach any Congressmen

about this problem because they are either too big or too small. Therefore, I approach Chennalvarayan who is as simple as I am. Such is the nature of our long friendship.

Congress friends ! You speak of nationalism in so many problems. First take prohibition as a national problem. Please don't misunderstand that I am attacking you. This utterance comes from my heart. Don't think of it as an empty and effectless talk. It is rather my aspiration.

Presidential Address delivered in the  
meeting of International Will Power  
Organisation, Madras on 22-9-'67.



"It is the land which is free from excessive hunger,  
endless disease and destructive enmity."

—*The Kural* (734).

## Local bodies the Foundation of Democracy

15

1

I have often been emphasizing that local bodies are the foundation of democracy and unless the foundation is strengthened, democracy will not flourish. Our dreams will become realities only if we strive hard from panchayat level.

One of the important reasons for the decline of agriculture in India is that villagers in the age group 20-40 migrate from villages to the industrial towns in search of employment.

It shall be the prime duty of the Panchayats to attract young men to villages. This can be accomplished only by providing amenities like hospitals, schools and recreation centres in villages. The Panchayat Union Presidents should evince keen interest in the twin task of food production and family planning. Unless family planning scheme is implemented with sincerity, Madras and Kerala which are already overpopulated, will be hard hit.

We cannot go on indefinitely importing food grains from abroad. It was Nehru's dream that we should be in a position to export food grains to foreign countries. We should all strive hard for the realization of his dream.

2
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The last general elections have clearly shown that the voters are wiser than what the politicians thought to be. In some states voters have returned some parties to power, which had absolutely no hope of being returned. The parties which could not have even thought of defeat have been completely routed.

In foreign countries doctors, scientists, teachers and farmers are highly respected and

honoured. But here in India only the politicians are held in high esteem in all walks of life. This is a great hindrance to the permanent progress of India.

During elections if the party system so functions as to ruin friendship and goodwill and promote hatred and illwill, we should seriously consider whether such a party system is suited to India.

It is a matter for rejoicing that India, a land of 50 crores of people, has conducted peacefully four general elections without any great mishap. By this India has clearly shown that she is a country capable of practising democratic ideals.

Inaugural address delivered at the Conference  
of Panchayat Union Presidents held in  
Madras on 20-10-'67.

“Ruin will embrace a man if he does not do things properly both fit and unfit.”

—*The Kural* (466)

16

## Art and Politics

1

Thiru Gemini Vasan, who spoke here, gave expression to two views which deserve consideration. The first is that our democracy should be carefully safeguarded and all, especially, our elders should strive hard for that goal. The second is that ideas better than what exist now should be spread through the medium of silver screen. All of us should take sincere effort in this direction to put this idea into practice.

Still better ideas can be spread through the screen. But we are not in a position to spread them as we think. All of us should try to change this situation. Time too is propitious for such a change.

Thiru Vasan spoke of the future of democracy. I believe that so far as democracy is concerned, there is a very bright future for us. Having in mind a few events, some people talk as if democracy is facing a grave danger. But in fact there is no such danger.

In a vast country like ours we have conducted four general elections peacefully and successfully. For all that, the people of our country are not products of universities. Our four general elections have not been marked by any bloodshed such as we witness in other countries.

Democratic ideals have taken such deep roots in our people's mind that they change governments without violating peace and law.

There is no danger to democracy by our people. As was pointed out by Vasan, it is the duty of the leaders to preserve and safeguard democracy. Therefore, the defect lies with the leaders and not with the people. If there are

any defects with the people, they can be easily rectified. But unless the leaders mend themselves, they cannot be rectified. Only to correct the leaders, people make an effort once in five years through the ballot. But it is not known if the leaders will rectify themselves in spite of their defeat at the polls once or twice. We need not mention the leaders who refuse to mend themselves in spite of the lesson taught to them by the people. Such is their sincere faith in democracy! Democracy will shine still better if these leaders learn to respect peoples' verdict.

2

Some friends made mention of the argument if artistes could enter the field of politics. According to scholars, politics is an art. They have examined the question whether politics is an art or a conglomeration of ideas. They have come to the conclusion that politics is the art of educating and correcting people through these ideas.

Art enthral people. Politics not only enthral people but also mends them.

Art is imaginary. Politics is real. Art satisfies the immediate needs. Politics fulfils

the long-term needs. Therefore, art and politics are intertwined. Having conceded thus, it is futile to argue whether art can interfere with politics.

Even during the Second World War, Winston Churchill found delight in seeing pictures whenever he had some leisure.

Even Abraham Lincoln, one of the greatest politicians of the world was shot dead, when he was witnessing a drama in a theatre.

Pandit Nehru used to witness famous English plays whenever he went to England.

Thiru Sathiamoorthy who aroused political feelings in Tamil Nadu was keenly interested in music and dance. Not only that. Sometimes he even took part and acted in some dramas. Therefore, it is wrong to say that art and politics should not intermingle. Only those who are unable to devote their attention both to art and politics are of this opinion. It is our misfortune that, instead of discussing fundamental democratic ideas and ideals, we are rather discussing persons and personalities.

Art can arouse emotions. It is no good if our emotions are aroused continuously. Nor is it right if they are dormant.

Emotions should be stirred by art. But the stirred emotions should be properly canalised and directed by politics for our own good.

There is nothing wrong if politics is in the hands of artistes who can arouse emotions. It is not only correct but also appropriate and proper. The time is opportune for the world to realise and act on these ideas.

Presidential address delivered at the  
felicitation function of the Cine field  
People at Madras on 20—11—67



“The lustre of munificence lies in the  
dignity of endeavour.”

— *The Kural* (613).

## Temples and Humanitarian Service

17

1

You have built shops like these and leased them out in order to find money for the proper maintenance of the temple rituals. I am happy to participate in this inaugural function.

The function is important in three ways : My participation, the construction of shops by temple authorities and commendable cleanliness of the temple. It is a surprise that I have participated in this function. It is also

a surprise that the temple authorities have usefully spent the money in building these shops.

God's *Sannadhi* (sanctum sanctorum) means a place of cleanliness. It is a surprise that this temple has been awarded the rolling cup this year for cleanliness.

Whether it is the Hindu Religious Endowment or the temple management whoever takes charge of a thing, will do well if they try to make it perfect.

In a democratic set-up it is wrong to expect the Government to do everything. If a King's rule prevailed to-day, he could be expected to do everything. But it is the People's Government that functions to-day. Democracy will flourish only when every citizen does his best in whatever field of activity he or she may be engaged-be in agriculture, temple service, co-operative movement or local administration.

The temple grows in importance and the pilgrim enjoys comforts and amenities, only when it is kept clean by the temple authorities.

Not only the rich but also even the poor and the middle class people flock to the temple and contribute liberally and they are willing

to contribute still more. So the management should spend the money in keeping the temple clean so as to instil confidence and trust in such people.

The temple authorities should not be passive, expecting the higher authorities to do everything. Just for the sake of argument, it may be said that people who perceived God have told nothing about it to others and people who uttered so, have never perceived God. It is all a matter of faith. If we manage the existing affairs properly, it should be regarded as service to God.

2
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The Tamils will always like to live a life of fame. Thiruvalluvar has said: "Give and live a life of fame. No other profit is so great to the soul as that." Therefore, the food required for life is fame. We take material food through mouth in order to satisfy our belly. The food of fame goes through the ear. Therefore, the employees of this temple should do their duties properly, hoping to get the blessings of God. Only this faith will yield results. On the contrary, if they act otherwise, the results also will be something else.

If ordinary shop keepers keep false accounts, they are answerable only to courts of law. But if temple employees do wrong, they are answerable not only to the Commissioner for HRE but also to God above.

Temples should be pure both internally and externally. We should first make it pure. If such temple shops had been opened some twenty years ago, people would have rather felt annoyed. But today everyone welcomes it. It is said that Jesus Christ himself opposed the existence of shops near Jerusalem Church and got them removed. But situations are different today. We should go a step still further.

Many years ago when I expressed my opinion that the authorities of Palani Andavar Temple might utilise the surplus funds for running a college, many people opposed my idea then. But today the same authorities are running a college from the temple funds. Not only that. They have consulted me about the possibility of running a second college.

Literature tells us that ancient temples served as schools and hospitals. There is nothing wrong in doing such things.

Inscriptions tell us that in the days of Kulothunga, his great mother Kundi Devi

Pratiar stayed in Kancheepuram and ran a hospital in the temple from her private funds. Let us bear this point in mind.

3
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The temple is meant not for worship only. It should usefully serve people in different walks of life. Let no one think that such a thing will be unholy. God will consider it unholy only if we are not pure at heart and if we are hypocritical in our acts.

Christians are not like us. They go to church only on Sundays. But we visit the temples daily several times a day!

Christians even go abroad and run many charitable institutions. Christians from Germany maintain hospitals and cure lepers in our country. But still we are allowing lepers to sit in front of the temples! The services of Christians to humanity are highly commendable.

There are no philosophers like us in the world. What greater philosophy do we want than this: "We want to see everyone in the world happy." What charitable institutions are we running like Christians? What have we

done in foreign lands? So far as I know none has established charitable institutions after Ramakrishna Paramahansa. So, people in the service of the temple should organize volunteer brigade. The brigade can serve people in various ways. It can serve as fire brigade, whenever a house catches fire. In case of famine in a village, it can engage in famine relief operations. Doctors belonging to the brigade can help to put down the spread of pestilence. If temples were engaged in such acts why should I blame them?

How far the law of the land will allow us to undertake such pursuits is a matter to be carefully examined by the Commissioner of the Hindu Religious Endowment Board. The temple authorities should also see how far these things can be put into practice.

Speech delivered at Tiruvannamalai  
on 12-11-67 while declaring open  
the shops constructed by the  
temple authorities.

“Listen to good things. It will bring you perfect dignity.”

—*The Kural* (416)

## 18 | Intellectual Freedom

1

The student leader who preceded me said that I would not only address you but also advise you. Fortunately he did not mention what kind of advice that I should give you. I am not going to give you any imaginary advice. I have come here to be one with you and think with you frankly.

Students in general, especially, the students of today should ponder over one thing:

"Is the student community marching along right lines?" This should be the beginning of your thinking. "What is our goal? Are we marching straight towards our goal?" These are the points that should engage your attention.

Students at colleges will, in the next four or five years, blossom into doctors, engineers, lawyers and merchants and step into the arena of life.

When they engage themselves thus in their life journey, they should have a clear understanding of certain fundamental ideas and ideals in life. Only then these ideals can be translated into practice in life. Therefore, they should gather enough ideas and ideals, that are practicable during their student days.

Before a soldier marches into the battle-field, he should receive the necessary training and equip himself with weapons. Then only he can ask his commander: "Which battle-field is for me? Which fort should I capture? What method of warfare should I adopt?" Similarly, students during their student days, should acquire enough training, maturity and clarity in certain fundamental ideals before they enter the battle-field of life.



There are a number of scholars, institutions and parties to give us these ideas and ideals. So we should patiently examine these ideas and ideals offered by them.

We should not act in such a way as to yield ourselves to an idea hastily and then having come across a new idea the next day, we should not regret our hasty attitude that we had the previous day.

We should hear ideas of all kinds with patience and responsibility. We should not discard any idea as unworthy of consideration.

2
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Voltaire, the great intellectual revolutionary, was worthy of veneration in any temple of learning or in any assembly of scholars. Still he remarked once: "I may not be able to accept the idea that my friend expresses but I shall not allow anybody to deny him the right to express his idea." This is real intellectual freedom.

We need two qualities for conducting a real and thorough discussion. First if you want your opinions to be honoured and respected, you should be prepared to honour and respect

the opinions of others. Secondly you should show greater patience in listening to the opinions of others. It is indeed a difficult thing. In tropical country like ours emotions are quickly aroused. In temperate lands it takes a longer time for emotions to be aroused or to be subdued. But in our country emotions are whipped up in no time and for no reason. Sometimes we fight more with the chimera by rumours than with the real.

The whole of England rose with indignation as one man against Spain, believing that Spain had chopped off the ears of Jenkins, the famous British Naval General. Only later on it was known that Jenkin's ears were not chopped off and that it was all a rumour. So it is customary in English to refer to the war caused by rumours as "war of Jenkin's ear." If we are to prevent Jenkin's wars from happening here, we should carefully cultivate the habit of coming to a conclusion after hearing patiently all kinds of opinions and thoughts.

Inaugural address delivered on 22-11-67 in Madras  
at the Inter-collegiate Students' Union.

“How is it that anyone can remain without learning until his death when every country is his own country and every town his own town.”

—*The Kural* (397).

## The Universality of Tamil

19

1

Tomorrow the university professors of different countries of the world are going to conduct Tamil research in the World Tamil Conference.

President Dr. Zakir Husain, the man remarkable for his high culture and equanimity has come here to inaugurate the conference. He is not only an excellent scholar but also an enquiring educationist.

It is our good fortune that our successive presidents are men of letters and culture.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, the great genius was the president. Now Dr. Husain, the great educationist like Dr. Radhakrishnan, is the president. Indeed we are very proud that he inaugurates the conference.

This conference is a continuation of the First Tamil Conference held in Malaya. Representatives from twenty countries participated in that conference. Now thirty representatives from different countries take part in this conference. Tamil is well known in all these countries. But it is not so in India!

We have not realised the greatness of Tamil so well as the Russian, the Czech people and the English-men have realised it.

The Tamils should always realise their culture, history and potentialities and they should get united to achieve greatness.

Let me assure you that the findings of Tamil research arrived at the conference will be utilised for the development of Tamil.

The Tamil culture will accept all men of the world as brothers and friends. It will wel-

come all who approach it. It will give due respect to any language.

In whatever nook and corner of the world the treasures of knowledge may be, it will never fail to fetch it. But the Tamils will never accept to lose anything of their own.

The scholars from England and other countries hail the greatness of Tamil. When we think that we are the proud heirs of Tamil, won't our love for Tamil multiply greatly?

The Tamils will never tolerate any disrespect being shown to such a great language with any motive at any time and from which-ever people it may come.

If we want to cross the boisterous sea, we must use a good ship. Likewise if one makes use of the rich support of Tamils, one can become great.

2
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Though unity is the ideal behind the service of the U. N. O. and though all national flags are flown there, the talk about the invasion of one country on another is also heard there.

But the true feeling of unity has been given to us by the Tamils even two thousand years ago in the Puram song :

“ யாதும் ஊரே; யாவரும் கேளிர் ”

—புறம் (192)

“ Every country is my country  
Every man is my kinsman ”

—Puram (192)

We are indeed proud of such greatness and magnanimity of the Tamils.

The poet who sang this poem reminds us in the next line :

“ தீதும் நன்றும் பிறந்தர வாரா ”

—புறம் (192)

“ Good and evil come to us not  
through others but by our own  
acts.”

—Puram (192)

The greatness of Tamil is understood not only by us but also by others. A time will come when they can address the Tamils thus :

“ Tamil belongs not only to you but also to us. It is the link language as well as the common language. It is also the official language.”

Such a time will not come by hasty action. Just as the angler is patient until the fish

comes near the hook, so also we must follow his exemplary patience.

It is said in great Tamil works\* that everything should be done taking into consideration time, place, money and means.

Let us follow that high path and let us create that auspicious day to enthrone Tamil to serve our purpose.

Presidential address delivered at the Second World Tamil Conference held in Madras on 3-1-'68.

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\* The reference is made to the following Kural :

பொருள்கருவி காலம் வினையிடனெடு ஐந்தும்  
இருள் தீர எண்ணிச் செயல்

—குறள் (675)

Do an act after careful consideration of the following five factors: money, means time, execution and place.

—The Kural (675)

“ Water flows from the sand well  
in proportion to its depth. Likewise  
knowledge flows from a man in  
proportion to his learning.”

— *The Kural* (396).

## 20 | The Duty of Tamil Scholars

1
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While I welcome the Tamil scholars I expect their great help also.

I am only a friend of Tamil scholars. I am never a Tamil scholar myself.

Though I had the desire to become a Tamil scholar, I lacked the patience and constant effort required for it. It was due to my multifarious duties.



I never missed the opportunity of hearing the delightful commentaries of the Tamil scholars after my discussion with them.

Some of the scholars who have received our warm welcome here are my friends.

I stand before you echoing the good feelings of the great Tamil scholars whose services have benefited the country largely.

It is a good old tradition in Tamil Nadu to welcome and honour the Tamil scholars.

In ancient times welcoming the Tamil scholars from outside was considered the best function ever held in the court of Kings.

The Tamil scholars from outside would be taken out in a procession. They would have a delightful discussion with the court poets there.

While the discussion was going on, they would not say: "Your idea is acceptable to me."

A scholar (poet) would ask: "This is my idea about this subject. Could you tell me your idea?"

Another scholar would reply : " Please elucidate your idea a little before I express my idea ".

After cross questioning and refuting, he will get an explanation and then he will remark : " It is Tamil tradition to say that this idea is my idea. "

I am indeed glad to welcome you as the proud descendants of those great poets.

2
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*Muthamil Kavalar* (guard of three aspects of Tamil) K. A. P. Viswanatham referred to me as King. He also said that I have come here to welcome you.

I welcome you in my capacity as the man assuming the charge of the state and not in the capacity as a King.

I may be a King in the sense that all are Kings of this country. I do not have that mighty strength and power of a Tamil King.

I am quite aware of my multiple defects. Therein lies my strength.

I have great pleasure in welcoming you as one who has assumed the charge of the Government.

In my college life I did not learn Tamil systematically. When I left the college I had taken efforts to learn Tamil. My Tamil learning came to an end with the intermediate. After that I received instruction to think in terms of English. When I studied in college, Tamil class was considered a leisure time class. It was then considered that visiting the library, instead of going to Tamil class or turning the pages of history or going through maths books, was a symbol of a bright student. Even in those days Tamil class gave me immense taste and joy.

Two great Tamil scholars fostered my feelings of Tamil. One of them was Mosur Kandasamy Mudaliar. He was well versed both in English and Tamil. He would spend forty minutes for English and twenty minutes for Tamil in his class. He would compare and contrast both Tamil and English poems and bring out the excellence of both.

Another great Tamil scholar was Mani Thirunavukkarasu. English would take leave from his class. He would dwell deep into the

very basis of Tamil in order to reveal its real greatness. It was indeed a pleasure to hear his Tamil class. I owe my zeal for Tamil to these two great Tamil scholars. After that I had established a close contact with Tamil when Hindi was introduced compulsorily.

3
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It was *Muthamil Kavalar* K. A. P. Viswanatham who gathered Tamils in a front in those days to oppose compulsory Hindi. *Navalar* (scholar) Somasundara Bharathiar, Maraimalai Adigal and Thiru V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar extolled the sweetness and individuality of Tamil and revolted against the imposition of Hindi. In those days the dormant Tamil feelings were exposed to the surface.

Without understanding this fact, the people in the North show some reason or other and attribute motive for the enthusiasm of Tamils for Tamil.

The Tamils do not consider Tamil as an instrument to express their thoughts. They have rather linked their dear life with it. They think that Tamil is their friend, teacher

and guide not only to show them the way but also to express their feelings. That is why whenever they doubt that danger is imminent to Tamil, they raise as one man to oppose it.

4

After Anti - Hindi Agitation Tamil Zeal multiplied greatly. As a result new poets brought out new books on new subjects. Eminent prose writers, translators and orators came in large numbers. Their number increased further.

If danger or peril is likely to happen to anything, naturally feelings of security emerge.

Thiru K. A. P. Viswanatham is called *Muthamil Kavalar*. Indeed guards are essential for Tamil today.

When Tamil Zeal grows, it is the duty of Tamil scholars to canalise it, adding taste and delight to it. I dare say that they have the talent to accomplish it. It is well and good on our part if we know where they should be taken.

Tamil poems or works can be learned in three ways :

First : To find delight in the literary excellence and to have a taste for grammar.

Second : To compare Tamil literature with the literature of other countries to bring to light their excellence.

Third : To make literature socially profitable.

Mere appreciation of Tamil works stops with the academy of Tamil scholars. It ends in a symposium if foreigners want to know our works.

The Island Ground Conference is meant for investigating the social profit of Tamil works.

The Tamil scholars should guide the Tamil people in this great social task with usual Tamil principle.

Even before two thousand years we had this Kural with us :

“ பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வா  
செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான். ”

—குறள் (972)

“ All men that live are one in circumstance of birth  
Diversities of works give each his special worth.”

—*The Kural* (972)

How is it that the four *varnas* entered Tamil Nadu against this lofty ideal?

We are loyal heirs to the high Tamil ideal:

“ ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும் ”

—திருமந்திரம் (2066)

“ There is but one God and one Creed ”

—*Thirumanthiram* (2066)

We composed poems even for the ten births of God. We believed in the theory of multiple castes. As rightful heirs to doctrine of equal birth of men, we cannot engage ourselves in multiple trade for so long. We should sell one article only at one time and even that honestly. The article which we sell should be above board. It should be reliable

and profitable. Not only that. It should be an article acceptable to the world.

It is not that we should leave some Tamil works untouched. We can sing only a few *swaras* in one *raga*. Certain *swaras* will not suit that *raga*. It is not that the Bhagavathar will leave it unsung.

A particular *swara* is meant for a particular *raga*. Other *swaras* are unsuitable for it. Likewise when we express a particular idea, we should not mingle other ideas with it.

If we receive the notice for a meeting even after one year we see it with delight and enquire if it refers to a particular meeting.

Even if our enthusiasm for a notice of ephemeral value is so great I need not say how valuable our works are that have been preserved in palm leaves after hard labour for centuries which contain the accumulated wisdom of Tamils.

But ideas should be understood in proper context and right perspective and they should be correlated with times.



Once a *Nathaswara Vidwan* was playing a *keerthana* on his pipe at a marriage function. It was not proper for the occasion. It was a *keerthana* of Thiyagaraja praying for the bliss of God whereas the occasion demanded the blessings of the elders, I drove this point home to the Vidwan. He immediately realised his mistake and played another *keerthana*

Why I mentioned this is that ideas should be elucidated in proper context, keeping in mind when they were expressed.

A poem occurs in the Tamil epic *Manimekalai* on the instability of the body. The poem stresses that our body is mean and instable.

For that reason we cannot quote this poem at the inaugural function of a hospital and say: "Oh, our body is instable! Why all this hospital, reading room and dispensary?"

The prince Udayakumaran falls in love with *Manimekalai*. *Sudamadi*, the friend of *Manimekalai* stresses this point to *Udayakumaran* in order to prevent him from going astray. "Don't love the body for the sake of beauty It is instable".

Similarly *Thirumular* says in *Thirumantram*:  
 “Look after your body carefully. Then only  
 you can pray to the creator of the body”.

When we speak of the instability of the body with reference to *Manimekalai* and care of the body with reference to *Thirumantram*, we should never fail to point out the lapse of time and the critical changes in the period between these two works. Then only there will be taste and delight.

In the literature of the later period, the sun is personified. According to this personification the sun rises in the east and sets in the west. We should not take it as scientific idea. However a poem in *Sangam Literature* tells us the truth that planets revolve round the sun. It says further that just as the planet revolve round the sun, so also the Tamil poets come round the king.

The Tamil scholar should announce us appropriate ideas according to times. Courage is needed for such a thing. That courage should be born out of clarity. Even that clarity should be expounded with compassion.

The qualities required for Tamil scholars are courage, clarity and compassion. Dr. Ilakkuvanar possesses these qualities. He has introduced *Tholkappiam* to the world, by his thesis in English. Let us congratulate him on his success in the endeavour.

Welcome address given to the  
academy of Tamil scholars  
in Madras on 5-1-'68.

“ To have a spotless mind is virtue;  
all else is vain show ”.

—*The Kural (34)*

## The Laudable | 21 Sikh Religion |

1

The 301st birthday of Guru Govind Singh is indeed a holy day.

The Sikhs fostered not only friendship and determination in society but also taught that one should serve others.

I have visited the Sikh Temple at Amirtasaras three or four times. The temple is kept so clean and beautiful that anybody visiting it cannot but return with a feeling of high respect for the Sikh religion.

When I visited the temple I saw a sight there. A well-dressed man was cleaning the verandas of the lower building. He was also dusting the chappals and shoes that were left there. I asked him why he was doing such a thing. He replied: "Of all the qualities, self-restraint is the best. I am doing this work just to show this quality."

When people hated life and when they longed for peace, the Sikh religion originated to render service to mankind by devotion and dedication and to give its people a social solidarity. The Sikhs are hard-working people. I have never found an idle Sikh either here or in the Far East Asian countries.

The Sikhs are rendering useful services in their individual, social and national capacities. We, Tamils, possess these high ideals. Social service is the core of Tamil culture. That is why Tamil Nadu lends its helping hand to the Sikhs.

One of the Sikhs said here: "All our children are born here only. I would like to say one thing in this connection. Let your children, grand sons and grand-grand sons be born here. Let the first air that those children

breathe be Tamil air mingled with Tamil fragrance. Let them play in Tamil soil. Let your stay here be permanent”

2
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The Sikh religion does not allow exploitation. Nor does it allow anyone to live on the profit of the labour of others. Therefore, the Sikh relations will be respectable relations to Tamils. Let us try one day or other for the integration of both Tamil culture and Sikh culture.

The valour of the Sikhs is highly admirable. In the frontiers they opposed the enemy in the most valourous manner. The history of the Sikhs is really grand and glorious. Their future also will be glorious. If Tamil Nadu Government can be of some help to you, I shall never hesitate to do it. My high regard for the Sikh religion is the reason for doing this help.

I have seen the paintings inside the Sikh Temple. They depict the obstacles and difficulties encountered by the Sikh Community. They have achieved an excellent status in life because of their untiring labour. It is my earnest desire that the Tamil people also should acquire the good qualities of the Sikhs.

The religious principle of the ancient Tamils was: "There is but one God and one Creed." There were no religious rituals and ceremonies then. Just like the Sikh tenet, the Tamil canon does not give room for idols. If you had come to Tamil Nadu two thousand years ago, you could have found the religion here to be the same as that of yours.

Somebody may question you, "How is it that you have invited to your function a person who criticises God Himself?"

If religion says that man is supreme to all other material things and he is no slave to any one except God, then I am a believer in religion to a hundred percent. Without this principle if religion teaches among men caste differences like the high caste and the low caste it is not worth the name.

If anybody says that the divine principle is to create differences among men, then I would like to express myself that I am an atheist.

The religious code is holy, truthful and humanistic

If feelings of self-restraint are to be tested, none can say that I am far from religion. I want to say this much to those who call me an atheist.

We all desire that India should be united and it should have rare strength to triumph. How can we create this unity?

We cannot create unity either by law or order or by presidential declaration. Unity is something associated with heart. We should rather act with our unified thoughts. By mere oral relations, unity cannot be created.

Unity should be likened to a tender green plant. It will grow only if it is properly watered and looked after carefully. Just imagine what will happen if it is tendered with hot water?

Your Vice-president said that the Sikhs living in Madras support the language policy of Tamil Nadu Government. I am glad to hear it. Here in Tamil Nadu a wrong notion prevails generally. It is not correct to say that all people coming from the North will offer their support to Hindi to become the sole official language.



I know well to what extent the Sikhs love their Kurmughi language. I am quite aware how the Assamese love their language. In the same way we express our love for Tamil.

Commemoration address delivered on the  
301st birthday of Guru Govind Singh  
in Madras on 7-1-68.

“Nothing exists, save wealth, that can  
Change man of nought to worthy man.”

— *The Kural* (751).

## 22 | The World Exhibition

1

I am indeed happy to preside over the grand inaugural function of this great Industrial Exhibition. Industrial magnates from different countries of the world and from various parts of India have gathered here in thousands. We have never witnessed such an exhibition before. It is highly doubtful if we can see such an exhibition in the near future.

This month remarkable conferences have been held in Madras. We conducted the Sec-

ond World Tamil Conference and the National Olympic Events followed it. As a continuation of the Olympic events, arrangements have been made for the conduct of this great and grand exhibition.

Continuous efforts have been made to make this exhibition as worthy as possible. Mankind still strives hard to attain the goal of sufficiency in its entirety. If we take the whole world, sufficiency is not yet achieved in its entirety.

I know personally how the organizers of this exhibition have to exert themselves in this tremendous task against lack of facilities.

This exhibition is an assemblage of our achievements. The extent of our desire excels the extent of our achievements.

The fertility and affluence that we see here should be the wealth of crores of people. It is futile if it is profitable to augment the self-interests of a select few only.

This affluence should help the people to lead a free, new and complete life.

Our industrial experts are talented people. If our industrial experts are bricks, then the

world industrial experts should be cement so as to be used to construct a building out of the bricks called Indian industrial experts. I merely mentioned cement. I did not call it in such terms as assistance and loan.

It is the duty of the developed countries to help the people of the world to attain affluence and productivity. If several countries are underdeveloped and if developed countries accumulate produced goods, who will purchase all of them? Under such circumstances they should lend their helping hand to countries like India to achieve affluence. 'Vendal Whisky' the great American puts forward one world idea. Let us bear this idea in mind. Let us plan and act accordingly to place all the natural wealth of the world at the disposal of mankind.

2

Either wealth or fertility should be consumed by people. Due share should be given to the toiling labourers. The world will neither tolerate nor accept any system or organization which refuses this right. Not only that. Today we cannot bear such a system. If such a system prevails, then the industrial world

will be ignored by the people since it lacks utilitarian value.

Please grant the working class their due share. Please grant freedom to people like me to act on those lines whatever may be the difficulties.

We have committed great blunders in augmenting the industrial wealth of our country. Let us rectify them and act according to needs and circumstances.

Nehru once remarked: "We must advance from the stage of bullock cart to the stage of jeep." Whether people have attained that stage or not, the officials have firmly taken hold of the jeep!

Accelerated attention should be paid to strengthen the field of agriculture. If we make it strong by our ceaseless efforts, we need not be at the beck and call of anybody for the capital needed for our industries. What are the methods adopted by the people of other countries? How did they advance in agriculture and gain victories? Let us make our people think on these lines to achieve similar progress and advancement in our country.

Thiru R. Venkataraman, the former Industries Minister is with us here. He may talk about Salem Steel Plant with regret. I am not going to ask you why the Centre refuses to grant us the Salem Steel Plant though we have submitted a detailed report. It is politics. You are not concerned with it. Please investigate our report on Salem Steel Plant without bias and prejudice and let us know the technical know-how of it. As industrial experts you can do it. This is my request to you.

Presidential address delivered at the opening ceremony of the World Industrial and Commercial Exhibition held in Madras on 21-1-68.

“ Firmness in action is one’s firmness of mind;  
all others are not of this nature.”

—*The Kural* (661).

## The Originator of     23 Language Problem

1

The language problem is not peculiar to this country alone. It is seen in other countries like Canada.

I understand that the Home Ministry and not the Education Ministry deals with the problem of official language.

The Home Minister Thiru Chavan has to look after law and peace. He need not engage himself in language problem.

We cannot find even the Education Minister in this problem. On the contrary we see, today, the Home Minister bringing the amendments, offering explanation and pouring out unfulfilled assurances with regard to language problem.

To go a step further, the people at Delhi fail to think that the language problem should be considered by the Education Minister.

2
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Each and everyone of us should foster our mother tongue. Everyone should respect one's mother tongue just as one respects one's mother.

Tamil and Telugu are older than Hindi. How old is Hindi? What literary works do they have to bring credit to them? There are two books of which they can be proud. One is Tulasidas *Ramayanam* and the other is the All-India Railway Guide.

Our culture, literature and grammar are time-honoured and ancient.

An illusion prevails in our country that the D. M. K. has created the language problem.



How can we create this problem without any ground? They even say that I am the cause of this problem. I would like to say to you with all respect that the people at the Centre are responsible for the language problem. What dire necessity has compelled them to import this language problem now?

A Committee of University Vice-chancellors, educationists and scholars only should solve the problem of official language.

Inaugural address delivered while inaugurating  
the symposium on the Language Problem  
at Tenali, Andhra on 30-1-68.

"It is easy for anyone to say anything.  
But it is hard to do it."

— *The Kural* (664).

## 24 | The Social Reform a great Task

1

Politicians alone cannot raise the greatness of a country. Other countries are great not because of their politicians but because of their lawyers, scientists, engineers and dramatists. All these people are equally respected.

Though I do not hate myself for being at the height of fame as a politician, politicians only cannot bring glory to a country.

Our people in society are greatly disappointed by superstitious beliefs. We have

meaningless ceremonies with us. There are no national approaches for social problems. To criticise the sacred works is being considered as an anti-divine act.

The first man who raised his voice of protest against social injustice and social suppression of certain classes of people in the name of sacred works was Tenali Thiru Ramasamy Choudri.

In our Tamil Nadu Periar E. V. Ramasamy strove hard for the uplift of these suppressed classes of people who were subject to social injustice and evils.

It is rather a surprise that these two great reformers bear the same name.

These two great men by name Ramasamy have waged a lasting war against the ideas and bodies associated with Ramasamy (Lord Raman) the incarnation of God.

The holy task initiated by Thirupuraneni Ramasamy Choudri was entrusted to my respected friend Avula Gopala Krishnamoorthy to carry it on continuously.

I know well how difficult it is for my friend Gopala Krishnamoorthy to reform the highly superstitious people.

It is easy to reform the uneducated people. But it is hard to reform the so-called educated people. They can say that they are all-knowing and none can discuss social matters with them.

We discussed (rather debated) to bring these obstinate people in Tamil Nadu to our fold. We succeeded at last.

2

Though God came down to earth, taking ten births, to declare a war against the evils of the world, the evils could not be completely destroyed. Therefore, struggling against evils in order to root them out is just like mountain-climbing for ordinary human beings.

A few of us instituted a form of marriage and christened it self-respect marriage. We had to seek police protection a few years ago to perform such simple marriages. These marriages are conducted without priest, fire and mantras.

Once Periar Ramasamy and I went to a village to perform the reformist marriage. We were called to the police station. When we reached there the police officer on duty informed us humbly that he had called us

not for an arrest or for a lock-up but to protect us from the wrath of the orthodox people. But today such marriages are held in hundreds and thousands. There is no need for police protection today.

After I had assumed charge as the Chief Minister, I brought in a bill to give legal sanction to such a simple form of marriage because it was set aside some time back by a high court Judgement.

The bill was passed unanimously in our Assembly. The interesting part of it was that even a Congress member rose and demanded the deletion of the term 'tying *tali*'

When I was about to leave for America, Avula Gopala Krishnamoorthy met me at Madras. He was so hale and healthy then. One could not even imagine that he could leave us so soon.

But one who does good in life lives even after death. Though his physical body is dead, his immortal body of fame will live long. The man who refrains from doing good, though he is alive, is a dead man. Avula Gopala Krishnamoorthy belongs to the former category.

The remarkable services started by Thirupuraneni Ramasamy Choudri and continued by Avula Gopala Krishnamoorthy should be carried on ceaselessly by the renaissance workers who have made arrangements for this function.

Inaugural address delivered while declaring open the Pava Vikasa Kendra of Avula Gopala Krishnamoorthy at Tenali, Andhra on 30-1-68.

"Agriculture is the most excellent  
form of labour."

—*The Kural* (1031)

## The Revolution | 25 in Agriculture

### 1

The agriculturists of Tamil Nadu are remarkable for their enterprising nature. They excel us even in certain things. They never hesitate to adopt any advanced method of agriculture. They are demanding us to provide them with facilities according to changing conditions.

There is a feeling in Tamil Nadu that we have overcome all obstacles in food production and our state is a surplus state. Though we are responsible in a way for creating such

a feeling it is not right on our part to think so. Somehow such a feeling should be removed!

We march towards the path of progress. We have not yet advanced. Let us wait and see if we can have the previous year's yield this year also. We can achieve amazing victories in agriculture if all people, including the Centre, co-operate whole-heartedly with us, giving us sufficient time to achieve our goal.

If paddy is cultivated completely in Thanjavur, Trichy, North Arcot, Chengleput and Nellai districts (major part of Nellai) then we can allot the other districts of Tamil Nadu for the cultivation of cotton, sugarcane and cereals. But unfortunately the conditions are not conducive to the realisation of our goal.

The officials informed me that they had to spend Rs. 8000 to bring an acre of land under cultivation. If such an amount is spent and if tax is levied accordingly will the agriculturists bear it? Therefore, while the Government is doing its best, the farmers also should be encouraged to exploit the underground water to the maximum. The disbelief that the under-



ground waters are poor in minerals should be cast away from the minds of the farmers.

A wrong notion has been created about chemical fertilizers. Now the condition is entirely different. The farmers have a sound knowledge of mixed fertilizers. They even know how to mix the ingredients in it in the right proportion.

2
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It is not enough if intensive cultivation is confined to Thanjavur district only. It is also absolutely impossible for the whole state to rely on Thanjavur only. Therefore, the intensive cultivation should be extended to other districts too. That is the only way to make our state a surplus one.

I have submitted the entire plan for small irrigation at a cost of 20 crores of rupees in a book form to the Centre to augment food production. I have not yet received any reply from the Centre.

The officials are here to implement any scheme successfully. The farmers are also here, as hard toilers, to increase the production of food if they are provided with the necessary facilities.

Let the Centre experiment any advanced scheme in Tamil Nadu. If the cost of production is Rs. 100 in other states it will be 80 here. The former Chief Minister Kumarasamy Raja has already stressed this point. He has also emphasized that if a part of the huge amount spent in the North is allotted to Tamil Nadu, food production can be stepped up here.

3
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The new Government formed here even in its first year has fetched a revenue of Rs. 6 crores within ten months by two new taxes. There are two more months yet. Further we can expect two crores of rupees. Can't the Centre sanction a matching grant equal to the amount received by way of taxes ?

It is said here that an integrated National Water Scheme is needed for our country. Dr. C. P. Ramasamy had expressed this opinion long ago. We are constantly speaking of integration. But nobody has come forward so far to think of the integration of rivers.

Several dry parts of Tamil Nadu will be benefited if the rivers Krishna and Godavari are linked. The benefits will be equally good

if the waste waters of the rivers in the west flowing towards the seas are diverted to reach Tamil Nadu. The Centre which speaks of integration should bear this point in mind.

4
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If the farmers are not provided with the necessary facilities, it is like subjecting them to starvation after inducing their feeling of appetite.

The commercial banks should come forward to provide the farmers with loan facilities for agricultural purposes. The authorities of a commercial bank have expressed their willingness to grant loans for purposes of agriculture. In this connection they said: "Let us first select Chengleput District. Let us grant a loan on  $8\frac{1}{2}\%$  interest, repayable in five years." Will our farmers accept this scheme?

Even the instalment collections for the 15 year and 20 year long term loans are not made satisfactorily. Will the farmers abide by the conditions of the commercial bank? However, matters like this should be considered.

We are preparing a few schemes to grant the farmers the necessary loans without any

technical hitch. We have to bring in certain rules and regulations in the case of other financing corporations with regard to their granting of loans to farmers. You will come to know these particulars from the forthcoming budget.

If the Centre provides Tamil Nadu with the necessary assistance for agriculture, the Tamil Nadu Government will augment not only rice production but also export fine varieties of rice to foreign countries within two years.

Inaugural address delivered at the State  
Symposium of Intensive Cultivation  
Officials in Madras on 7-2-'68.

“ Learning is the true imperishable  
wealth; all others are not so.”

— *The Kural* (400)

## 26 | The Need for Women's Education

1

I am indeed happy to unveil the portrait of the late Ethiraj, a person of great renown. He has donated his immense wealth to the women's college started in his name. It is an admirable act that deserves the appreciation of all.

All know well about his clarity, compassion and legal acumen.

While the Government is evincing keen interest in the development of education, the

huge funds donated by people like Ethiraj, help us to set up temples of learning like this.

If more women receive education than men they accept the task of making an excellent family.

The good name that a college earns depends upon the talents of the (women) students studying there.

If there is no progress in education, then there can be no advancement in the country.

Women bring excellence to the country by their learning. The principal pointed out here that the students studying here were remarkable for their individual talents.

The two natural qualities of women are clarity and compassion. They should engage themselves in the field of education to foster those qualities a little more. Then only the clarity and compassion that they are endowed with, will be highly useful to society. Therefore, each and every parent feels extreme joy when a girl is born to him.

Recently I came to know that my two sons are going to be blessed with children. I immediately announced that the first born girl would receive a cash prize of one thousand rupees.

I have not yet awarded the prize. I am thinking of awarding it when they are grown up.

The grown up female child is useful to the elders of the family. The parents have to show more care to the male child than to the female child in their upbringing.

There was a time when it was felt that women needed no education. If this was written even in a short story, none would believe it.

2
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“Even without education, women are so clever. If they are educated what will happen?” Because of such an orthodox outlook in the past the parents did not give education to their female children.

Now when women are educated we see the result. Women are advanced in the field of education.

In whatever field they engage they are seen talented. They achieve more victories than men. We can derive greater benefits if women engage themselves fully in medicine and pedagogics.

Sympathy is more useful to a disease than mere medicine. We see that women possess sympathy naturally.

There may be doubt if they will achieve success when they take to other fields. No doubt they will achieve success. But it is a signal honour to them if they take medicine and pedagogics as their vocation.

We appreciate Thiruvalluvar as much as we appreciate Avvaiyar. Even before two thousand years they were no women poets in any country of the world. During that period there were women poets in Tamil Nadu.

The special honour and the constant pride of a country depends upon the literary geniuses and learned men. Politicians alone cannot achieve that excellence.

When we go abroad, nobody asks us: "How many politicians are there in your country?" One does not think that more the ministers the more the talent is. If it is construed so, then the first prize should be given to Bihar State alone.

Learning is the pillar of support, the constant pride, and the permanent wealth of a country. In any country people will ask: "How many doctors, how many engineers and how many professors are there in your country?"



The victories they gain will indeed raise the greatness of the country.

3
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Though our country is a poverty-stricken country, it is remarkable for its philanthropy. There are people here who help others by reducing their wants. They sacrifice their all for others.

As far as my experience goes, when I studied in college, there was no such magnificent building. When my history professor taught us about the great heroes of the world, we could hear from the roadside the sound of vendors selling their articles as "four annas.... eight annas." I received my instruction between these two contrasts.

People say: "Let this world have the joy that I had." But to-day the parents send their children to colleges in the hope that they would have what they did not have in their days. That generation has sacrificed to such an extent. One generation should sacrifice. Then only the next generation will derive benefit from it.

Mothers take medicine themselves if their children fall ill. We cannot find such a spirit

of sacrifice in anybody except in the clan of mothers.

Year by year the number of women receiving education is increasing. This Government is concerned keenly with the field of education. I appeal to women that they should raise the greatness of their country by their shrewd learning.

Inaugural address delivered in Ethiraj Women's College while unveiling the Portrait of Ethiraj, Madras on 26-2-68.

“ An act that has been firmly resolved on, must be firmly carried out without delay.”

— *The Kural* (668).

## Government Offices as training Centres of Democracy

27

1

I would like to inform the lawyers that the court headquarters will be Chengleput though Kancheepuram has become the headquarters of the district.

All powers should not be concentrated in the capital city alone. Such a condition should not prevail any more since it does not bring any good. Though, once the capital city of Chola Kingdom was Thondaimandalam, Mammallapuram and Chathurangapattinam were

the chief ports. Likewise though Kancheepuram is the capital city, Chengleput should continue to be the court headquarters. The Congress Committee has passed a resolution that Kancheepuram should become the headquarters. I seek this protection just to avoid the impression that I have done this thing according to my own wish.

I have already told you that Kancheepuram is responsible for all my talents. It is equally responsible for my defects if there are any for which you should feel sorry.

2
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When Kancheepuram becomes the headquarters, the responsibility of the people also becomes greater. More opportunities should be created for the development of industries, education and commerce.

People may think that previously official routines took place slowly because the collector was at Madras. Since he has come to Kancheepuram, he can expedite development for the fulfilment of the people's needs. There are a lot of opportunities for him to visit all hamlets.

Today poverty reigns supreme in the historic city of Kancheepuram. Just as the patients think of their feast that they had eaten previously, so also the poverty-stricken people are tempted to think of their sweet past. The District Collector and other officials should discharge their duties with a view to driving away such abject poverty so that the weavers and the farmers should be able to lead a decent and prosperous life.

If the Government officials discharge their duties in the hope of redressing the grievances of the people by establishing a close contact with them, then the Government running the state will achieve greatness.

The Government officials should receive the villagers with kindness and give assurances to them for things that are feasible and offer soft explanation for those that are impossible. If the officials act without delay in their routine affairs, the people can enjoy the real benefits of democracy.

Each and every Government office should serve as a training centre of democracy. Then only democracy will survive.

We cannot foster the growth of democracy in schools and colleges by merely quoting the examples from Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi and Kennedy. Each and every official of the respective Government department should discharge his duty so as to foster the growth of democracy. In fine the Government officials should carry on their duties efficiently for nourishing the growth of democracy.

Inaugural address delivered at the inauguration  
of Kancheepuram Headquarters  
in Kancheepuram on 6-7-68.

“ The work undone by suitable methods will fail though many stand to uphold it.”

—*The Kural* (468).

## 28 | The Government Officials and the People's Representatives

1
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The people's representatives may approach the officials to emphasize a problem of general importance. If the matter is brought to the officials after due and just consideration, its implementation can be expedited.

I receive a large number of petitions. It is mentioned in the petitions: “In this village there are 500 acres of waste lands. If they are exploited, food production can be augmented.” Naturally we are inclined to increase food production. But when we enquire the officials

they inform us otherwise: "The figure 500 acres is wrong. It is 60 only. Of these lands some are *poramboke* (waste) lands and some are intended for cattle grazing. Above all it is too dry for cultivation."

The officials say that it is 60 acres only. But people write it as 500 acres.

If 10,000 people participated in a procession, the press reporters would report it as 1,00,000. We shall take it as 3,00,000. The figures of waste lands seem like this to the people. Therefore, the officials should come forward to offer correct explanation in the proper context. Then only people will understand that their demand is unjust.

2
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We have been receiving a lot of complaints as usual. When we take efforts to gather particulars about the complaints, the officials need not mistake it. We call for them just to remove the dirt from you. We do not ask for it with a motive behind it.

The officials should be above suspicion and they should act accordingly.



The friendly relations between the officials and the ministers, between the officials and the people's representatives should get strengthened.

The officials may think like this : "You are going to rule for some years because people have voted for you whereas we are the only permanent officials."

There is also the attitude that the officials know better than we. There is nothing wrong in it. At the same time they should not think that the Ministers and the M. L. A's know nothing. Such a negligent attitude should go. You must use us as windows and glasses to see the public. You must use us as the mouth and eyes of the people.

You must not approach problems thinking that all eyes are defective. You must be the trust-worthy friends of the ministers. It is the duty of a sincere official to point out the defects in the utterances of the ministers. "What all the ministers say is right." Such an attitude will never be helpful either to the ministers or to the Government.

When people like us are in power, you are at liberty to point out our defects. I rely more

upon such officials. It is my aspiration that such officials are vitally necessary for the smooth running of a moderate Government.

3
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We receive complaints that, while Government loans are raised, the officials behave strictly and squeeze the people.

In fact, those who do not suffer hardships bring this complaint. The suffering people will never make the complaint.

If collections must be made without any coercion, the people's representatives should co-operate with the officials.

When we come forward to set up schools or colleges people write to us as if they are ready to collect Rs. 10,000 or 20,000. If orders are issued they say that Government insists on collecting one lakh rupees. Even the Collector orders collections with the satisfaction that the college is being set up during his tenure of office. The leaders in the village, the M.L.A's and the M. P's should accompany the Collector when collections are made so that there may not be complaints. I think the people's representatives do not co-operate fully. Perhaps

they may fear that it will affect their election fund. I say this plainly in order to point out that it is human nature. My request to them is that the people's representatives should co-operate with the officials in collecting donations for the common good.

4
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“We the people's representatives serve the people without salary and the officials should obey us.” This feeling should go from the minds of the people's representatives.

The officials also should receive the people approaching them for help with respect and they should listen to their problems patiently. All that the people want from the officials are kind words and respectful treatment.

Assurances are given in the Assembly. After two years it is customary to announce how many of them are carried out and how many are under consideration. Likewise we should know how many grievances of the people cannot be solved and how many can be taken into consideration for disposal.

It is possible for wealthy people to go to the headquarters to represent their grievances,

whereas the poor cannot afford to do so. Therefore, I request that the Collectors and the officials should go directly to the villages to know their grievances so that solution can be found for their problems.

5
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The officials should meet the able workers, farmers, teachers, doctors and students in their respective districts to enthuse and elevate them by including them in the various councils of the District.

Welcome is accorded to ministers by Panchayats and Panchayat Unions. Likewise ways and means should be devised to accord welcome to talented teachers and workers and to all who are keenly interested in doing good to the public. Then only more people will come forward with greater zeal to render public service.

Democracy can flourish if more people appear to promote the cause of public service.

To aspire to fame is acceptable to Tamil tradition: "Living a life of fame by giving" is Tamil tradition.

While doing so the fame should not go to one place or to one person. It should go in a widespread manner to all persons working for the public weal. The Collectors should find ways and means to achieve such a thing.

Inaugural address delivered at the Symposium  
on General Administration in  
Madras on 9-8-68.

“ Freedom from conceit is greatness;  
obstinacy therein is meanness ”

—*The Kural* (979).

## Tamil Culture

29

1

Here we speak proudly of our ancient civilisation and literary treasures so that it may enthuse others. As far as I am concerned you know well that I have great zeal for Tamil language and literature. I have engaged myself in other duties. Therefore, I cannot devote my full time to Tamil literature though I have the desire for it.

I had rare opportunities to study literature and to communicate it to others. However I

am highly pleased to felicitate the Tamil scholar for their study and communication of Tamil literature. I pray for their success in their efforts.

It is but natural that the Tamil scholars speak about the excellent qualities of Tamil from different angles.

Tamil language is above ravage. It will stand the test of time for ever. It is its uniqueness. It is only an expression of enthusiasm if we say that Tamil culture is not doomed to die though the Greek and Roman civilizations are ravaged by time.

We like to see the excellent qualities of Tamil culture in poems and epics and in literary scenes.

We can see the countless stars in the skies when there are no dark clouds. When there are clouds they are hidden from our eyes. We can find our path with the help of stars, only when there are no clouds. Likewise the culture of our land and race has been eclipsed by dark cloud called time. Since other cultures have intertwined with our culture, there is more infusion in it.

A friend of mine remarked here that Tamil culture dated back to four thousand years. If it is investigated with the help of works like *Tholkappiam* that our Tamil culture may go even beyond that.

If European and American scholars are asked to speak about the condition of our culture before two thousand years, our true greatness will be revealed.

We must investigate if the Tamil culture found in Sangam literature is reflected in society.

Our ancient culture should not be mere ornament placed in a glass casket nor should it be in a pledged state to others.

2
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Reference was made here to Tamil terms such as the deer, the peacock, the parrot and *naganavoipul* (an ancient bird) to elucidate Tamil culture.

I am really happy to hear such a relevant remark. I felt it like the great light followed by the dazzling lightning.



When my friend gave the example of deer, you were more delighted. The male deer he had referred to in his speech, pretended to drink the little water in the pool for the sake of satisfying the thrust of his counter-part which accompanied him though he was in extreme need of water. We find this scene in a song of Sangam Literature. The pretending deer was male deer. (Now this is quite contrary to conditions obtaining in society)

“I was extremely hungry. So I took my meal at 8 O’ clock. Now you can have your meal.” There are even some wives who utter such words when their husbands return home a little late. At the same time there are good mothers who even forgo their meal for the sake of their hungry husbands. I talk of only good things taking place in a good family.

Tamil womenfolk act according to Sangam literature. The menfolk do not cultivate that good habit. The culture of Sangam literature should spread in society. Then only the greatness of that culture will rise high.

A culture of 2000 years old should be made pure by removing the impurity from it.

We feel really happy about our ancient culture. But the same joy should be reflected

in society. We should not bear to reform society on this basis.

We should cultivate the good habit of buying and reading Tamil research works. They should be made easy for public reading. The terse style of research works should be rendered simple and sweet. Then only we can know the real nature of Tamil civilization and culture and we can devise ways and means accordingly to spread them in society.

Inaugural address delivered at the Sangam  
Tamil Festival held under the auspices of  
Reader's Circle in Madras on 9-8-68.

"Let the good who know the uses of words speak  
with a clear knowledge after ascertaining the time."

—*The Kural* (712).

## 30 | Towards the goal of Democracy

1
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I believe that this exhibition is both explanatory and informative. I am glad to know that the American Consul Thomas has made the arrangements for this exhibition after assuming office here.

As was pointed out by Thiru Manickavelar, the Upper House leader, the democracies should mutually help one another. It is their duty because they have accepted democracy.

We see that in the modern period some people raise doubt with regard to the functioning of democracy. Therefore, we should prove that democracy has the might to find quick solutions for the problems of the people. We should also prove that its might is complete and the good results arising out of it will bear fruit quickly.

2
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It is not enough if democracy is a form of Government only. Every man must have a feeling of democracy in his mind. Like America, India has faith in democracy. Democracy provides opportunity for trial and error so that we may mend ourselves. This experimentation help us to achieve the ideal by integrating our ability, intellect and power. In democracy only there are no paralytic arguments.

When I was in America a few months ago, the Americans had engaged themselves in primary elections. Each party prepares its list of candidates. The selection of candidates starts from the very beginning. Finally a candidate for each party is selected to contest the election for the post of president. After this announcement is made, the people, who con-

tested so far would get united to work hard for the success of their own candidates. Is such a system suitable to our hot country? There is no chance for such a system in our country.

Even in America some shocking incidents have taken place. We get highly irritated to witness such incidents. We know that President Kennedy was shot dead while he was carrying on his victorious election propaganda. No doubt the Americans will put an end to these barbarous acts. We also know well that a negligible number of people are responsible for such brutal acts. But the democratic-minded people are more in number.

There will be heat in the speeches of the political parties in India. But when it comes to action, softness will prevail. Four general elections have taken place. In spite of the religious and caste differences, the victims of election strifes are lower in number than the deaths occurring in holiday mood in America.

The democratic India is a big modern democracy. But at the same time it is unfortunately poor. We believe that all democratic countries will extend their support to us.

Democracy is that which suits the knowledge of every average citizen and which safeguards his life securely.

3
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The system of American election is not suitable to India because of its tremendous expenses. There is a demand in our country that the amount earmarked for election expenditure should be increased. It is a fact that election expenses are mounting up. Another thing is that there should be an end to falsehood and dishonesty. People consider why false accounts are being submitted though huge amounts have been spent on election.

Whatever it may be, we cannot compare India to America. America is a big country in all resources. Let us believe that it is not only big in natural wealth and money but also in the qualities of mind.

Comparatively speaking, the political sense and awareness are greater in Tamil Nadu than in other parts of India. Once I travelled to the North by car. The travel lasted leisurely for ten days. I asked in each and every place if any political meeting was conducted. People

said that in only one place-Indore-a conference of the Communist Party was conducted. If we travelled across Tamil Nadu for one day, we could find six or seven meetings being held. The people who were dethroned conduct more meetings to capture power again. I welcome this attitude.

We should guide the people. Democracy cannot succeed unless good guidance is given for the conduct of good things. In India we are making democracy function efficiently to the best of our abilities. Democracy only is safe, secure and humanistic. The democratic world should come forward to help India which has accepted democracy.

Inaugural address delivered in Madras on 2-9-68  
while declaring open the American Exhibition  
on Democratic Election System.

“Is there anything difficult for a man to do who acts  
with the right instruments at the right time?”

—*The Kural* (483).

## The Able Police Force | 31 of Tamil Nadu

1

When the I. G. invited me to this function I feared if my health would permit me to stay here for a few hours. Indeed I feel happy for having witnessed the excellent events of sports and games. I get a feeling of being healthy by participating in functions like this. I congratulate all the winners and the participants who have taken part in the events of sports and games. I am highly satisfied with their deep devotion to sports and games.



On this occasion I would like to make a suggestion to you. There are already certain rules and regulations for the Polic Force. One more regulation may be added to it. According to this regulation a drama competition may be held and men talented in the art of acting may be selected. I know well that there are people of artistic excellence in the Police Force.

The men selected for the Police Force reflect the strata of society from which they are recruited. They are not far off from that society. The excellent functioning of the Police Force shows the nature of society. Likewise if the Police Force fail in the discharge of their duties, it indicates the defects prevailing in society.

- a The policemen have to find solutions for the problems which are not created by them. They have to be present in places where there are conflicts or breach of peace. They have to conduct themselves with extreme tolerance in all possible ways. They have to conduct themselves with a sense of peace, avoiding tension. They have to act with a high sense of duty according to the splendid training they have received.

I have heard that people outside our state speak highly of Madras Police. They have highly appreciated their abilities to trace out the culprits.

Recently the mysterious robbery committed by mask-wearing men was going on continuously in Madras. The people outside our state had their own doubts and asked me. "How are your policemen going to deal with them?" At this critical juncture our Police Force found out the mystery behind this robbery and traced it out completely even outside our state to the surprise of all. This is a crowning climax of their achievements.

When fire accidents took place continuously in Madras, our policemen had discharged their duties vigilantly and untiringly. They are part of society. Therefore, they know the sufferings and woes of the poor. The fire service people also had laboured hard to put out the fire.

Apart from the people who write to the newspapers, pointing out the problems of law and order, none can find fault with the Police

Force. Of course, they find fault with the various police officials. I appeal to the police officials to achieve distinction in their field.

“ Democracy creates many problems. Law and order is one of them. They have to train themselves according to new situations. They should make people believe that the advice they give and the path they show are good to follow. It is an art in which they have to train themselves. It is a difficult art. Yet it is a necessary art. The recent events give us the hope that they have learnt that art well. They have avoided great clashes. I appeal to them to cultivate this art so that they can follow it in the discharge of their duties.

The people should think that the Police Force functions as part of society and they should show high regard for them. If this condition prevails, then the police can function efficiently and get the co-operation of the people.

Presidential address delivered on the occasion  
of the Sports and Games of the State  
Police Force in Madras on 7-12-68.

## Anna's Epigrams

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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 (After Churchill)

Have the heart to bear anything.

If this army is defeated, which army will conquer? (After Prof. Sundaram Pillai)

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 everybody's problem.

Prejudice is a disease.

Sharpen not your knife but your intellect.

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.

# Compliments to Anna

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"Mr. Annadurai is a charming personality and a person with an open mind. I am particularly charmed of his capacity to adapt himself to various situations and his flexibility in dealing with problems."

Mr. S. N. Sinha  
Former Union Minister

"During the short period he has been Chief Minister, Annadurai has proved himself to be a practical administrator and a dynamic leader."

Mr. J. L. Hathi  
Former Union Minister

"Anna's warm, kindly personality makes all those who come into contact with him, his devoted friends. His scholarship is massive; but unlike most scholars, he can communicate his knowledge and wisdom in terms which are intelligible to the average man."

Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy  
Former Union Minister

"He has always risen above party and state considerations to meet the needs of the country."

Mr. Jagjivan Ram  
Union Food Minister

"He is a great leader of the people, a profound scholar, a man of character and a finished speaker."

Mr. K. Subba Rao  
Former Supreme Court Chief Justice

"We are fortunate that we have in Mr. Annadurai, one of the great leaders of our time. It is the need of the hour men such as him, are to be found but for between."

Mr. P. Medapa  
Retd. Chief Justice of Mysore High Court

"Anna in fact thinks and acts in a spirit of human liberty, equality and fraternity."

Rev. Fr. A. Savarimuthu, S. J.

"If Socrates brought philosophy from heaven to earth, we may say that Mr. Annadurai has brought poetry from the Himalayas and the Cauvery down to the humble huts and cottages. That is the poetry of politics."

Prof. K. Chellappan  
M. A., T. E. O. (Manch)

"Anna is a dhobi removing the dirt from Tamil Nadu."

Thiru V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar

"He has given a new vigour to modern Tamil by the creation of a new style..... He is a great creative writer and an orator of the first rank."

Prof. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaram  
Former Vice-chancellor, Madurai University.

"Anna said that he was not a scholar. But the literary interpretation he gave for a song from *Manimekalai* proves undoubtedly that he is a great scholar."

Late Dr. M. Varadarajan



"Anna is not a verbose writer. If he sometimes multiplies words and phrases it is not for want of ideas. It is a literary technique called *Amplification*. The expressions are not filled to the things, but the things to the expressions."

Mr. R. Shanmugam

M. A., M. Litt. M. A. Linguistics (U. S. A.)

"In any company in which he found himself Mr. Annadurai was always facile princeps (the acknowledged chief)."

Prof. R. Krishnamurthi

Anna's English Professor.

## Anna's Select Works

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### TAMIL

#### ESSAYS:

1. ஆரிய 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 இனும் 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 லீலைகள் (The Lust Deeds of Gods)  
—Kalai Manram, Madras-1

## LETTERS :

அண்ணாவின் கடிதங்கள் (Anna's Letters)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1

## NOVELS :

1. கலிங்கராணி (The Queen of Kalinga)

—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2

2. குமாஸ்தாவின் 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. ஒரிநைட் (One Night—Social Play)

2. காதல் ஜோதி (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. வேலைக்காரி (The Servant-maid—Social Play)

## SHORT STORIES :

1. அண்ணாவின் ஆறு கதைகள் (Anna's Six Short Stories)

2. கபோதிபுரக் காதல் (The Love in the World of the Blind)

3. கற்பனைச் சித்திரம் (Imaginative Stories)

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

4. அண்ணாவின் 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 அண்ணாவின் கருத்துரைகள்  
(Thoughts of Aringar Anna)  
—Appar Book Stall, Thanjavur
2. அண்ணாவின் சொற்செல்வம்  
(Thoughtful Speeches of Anna)  
—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1
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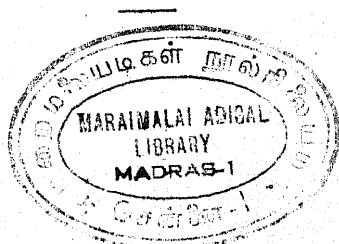
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