



CONVOCATION ADDRESSES of ANNA

"May your life be a bright one, and may its lustre brighten the entire land! Accept my congratulations, and march onwards, towards the land of smiles."

— ANNA.

168

Editors

A. K. MOORTHY
G. SANKARAN





WELCOME AND SUPPORT.....

“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.”

—Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM.

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Convocation Addresses of ANNA

editor-in-chief

A. K. MOORTHY

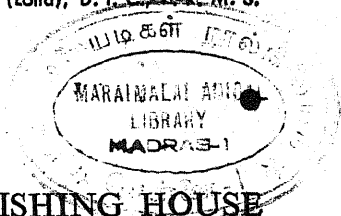
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G. SANKARAN

with a foreword by

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ANNA PUBLISHING HOUSE

THANJAVUR-11

TAMIL NADU.

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Revised Edition : 1975

Anna's Literature
Oratorical Series.

CONVOCATION
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 ~~Drignar 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[†] 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.

† 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. San-karan, 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*.

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TAMIL NADU

A. K. Moorthy.

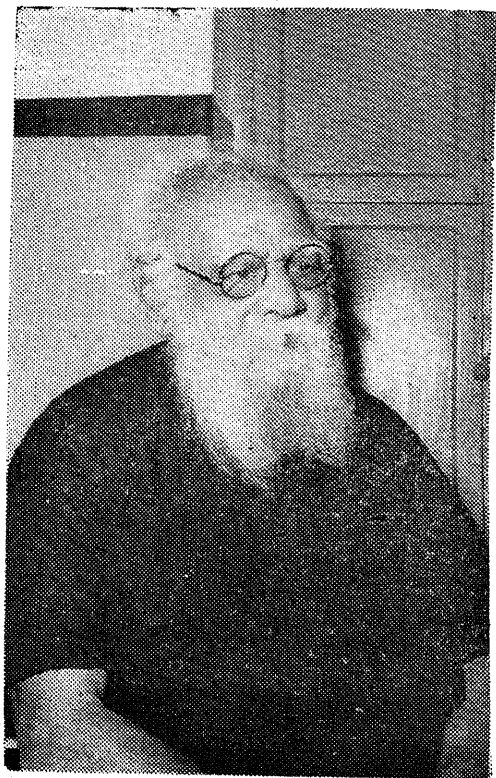
Dedicated to.....



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)



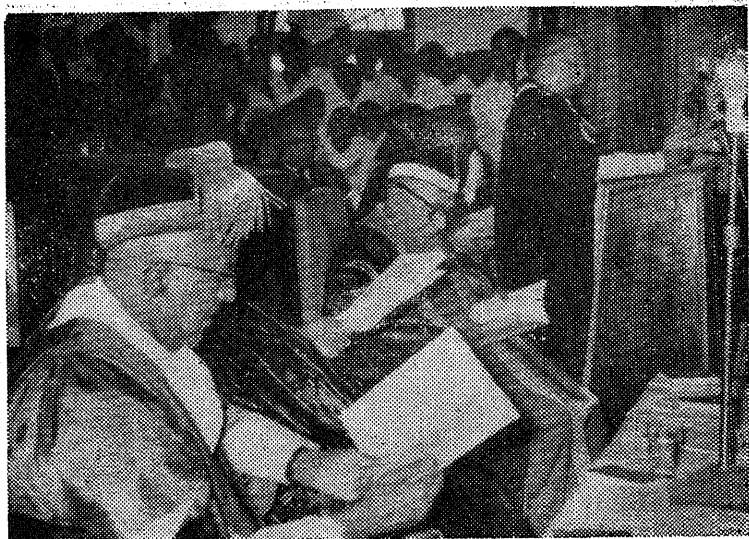
AR (E. V. RAMASAMY) THE POLITICAL GURU OF ANNA
AND THE FATHER OF THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT.



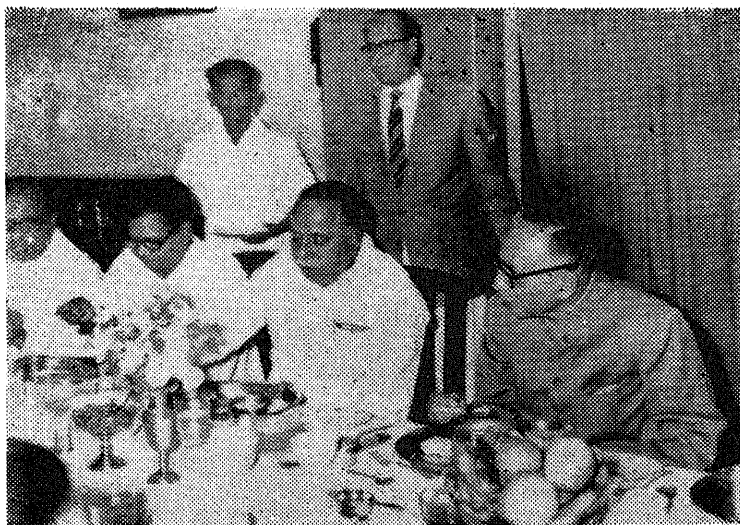
ANNA, THE MATCHLESS ORATOR OF
TAMIL NADU



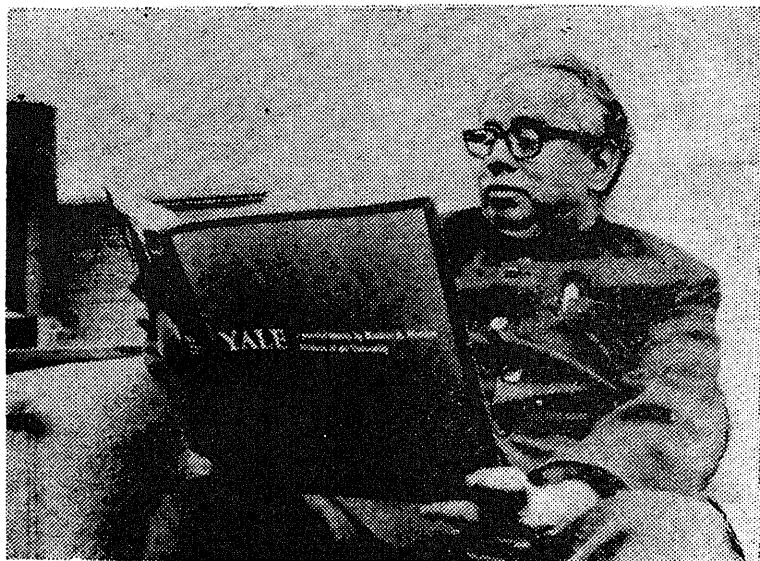
A GRADUATE SHAKES HANDS WITH ANNA



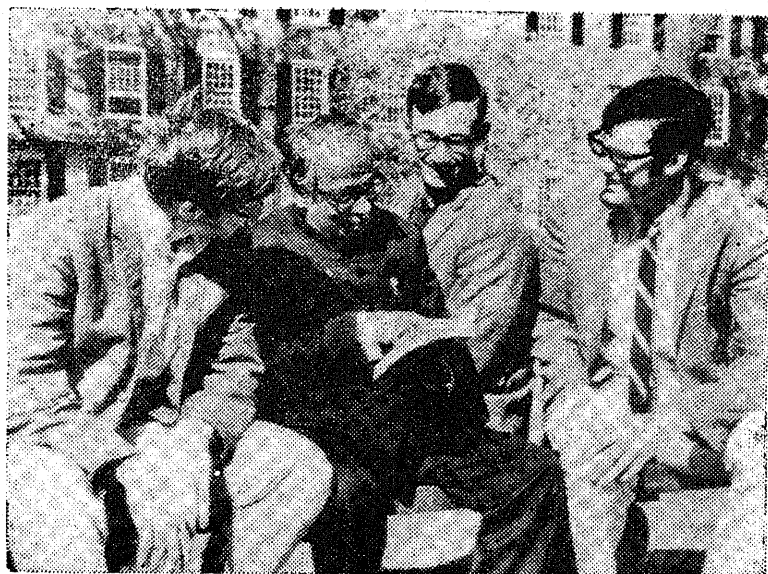
ANNA DELIVERS HIS CONVOCATION ADDRESS
AT ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY (See Page 20)



ANNA AT DINNER IN ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY



ANNA GOING THROUGH THE BOOK ON THE HISTORY
OF YALE UNIVERSITY AT AMERICA



ANNA CONDUCTS THIRUKKURAL CLASS FOR
AMERICAN STUDENTS AT YALE UNIVERSITY

Anna's Speech-An Appreciation

1. The Substance

The two addresses included in the book are prepared speeches of Anna. (Most of his speeches are extempore speeches). They are perfect specimens of fine oratory. In these classical speeches, Anna dwells deeply upon many subjects in a style entirely characteristic of his own.

The Glorious past of the Tamils

As a keen student of history, Anna presents to us a vivid picture of the hoary past of the Tamils. In his beautiful portrait we find Madurai in all its grandeur and glory. The rule of the mighty Pandians is glorious and great. The presence of eminent professors and enthusiastic graduates in the Convocation Hall reminds Anna of the Court of the great Pandians, where learned discourses were held and critical works were explained by the wise Tamil Scholars to win the admiration of the enlightened audience present there. In the galaxy of Tamil scholars present there, Nakkeerar and Thiruvalluvar figure prominently.

Anna, then, speaks of our tremendous achievements in the field of literature and proudly praises Tamil Classics, especially the Eight Anthologies. He highly commends Dravidan Civilization for its excellence and greatness. He stresses that Dravidian civilization needs research and investigation in order to bring to light its real worth and significance. "If we desire to relive the grandeur and glory of our past, we must work with unremitting labour," says Anna. Not only does Anna give us a fine portrait of our hoary past but also he makes it a point to draw a lesson from it. And the lesson is that we should stand by truth, fight for truth and die for truth.

The Message of Tamil Classics

Anna is a great lover of Tamil. He spares no pains to convey the message of the Tamil Classics to his audience. The beautiful message contains high ideals such as monotheism, brotherhood of mankind, munificence, purity in action and altruism. He emphasizes that our devotion to Tamil Classics, which we had completely neglected a decade ago, should be genuine. He fittingly illustrates it by quoting Sir R. K. Shanmugham Chettiar's own words.

The Role of Universities

Anna traces briefly the development of Universities both in our country and abroad. In foreign countries during the monarchical days, education was meant for the mansion and not for the market place. The nineteenth century Universities of our country developed in a spirit of condescension and with a slavish mentality. People lacked patriotism and forgot

their own potentialities and achievements. They were all admiration for what they saw in the West. They even went to the extent of saying that everything worth-learning should come from the West. Anna condemns strongly such a diffident attitude and says that it should perish. He further says that we do have enough treasures of knowledge which foreign countries will be glad to receive from us with profit. It is a pleasure to note that the University of Madurai has been started in a free and independent India as an answer to the clarion call of Poet Bharathi.

Anna adds that educational institutions go on multiplying fast. The revenues of the Government are inadequate to provide them with ideal conditions and suitable atmosphere. However, the Government are trying their best to perfect the conditions gradually.

Anna bestows the most careful and considered thought upon the role of Universities in general and the role of the Madurai and the Annamalai Universities in particular. In the first place, he states clearly that freedom of thought should be the right of Universities. He, then, defines Universities as "the repositories of knowledge and nursing ground for the emissaries of thought, wisdom and service". According to him, University education is an epitome of all the best thoughts and ideas of various countries which are universal and cosmopolitan in nature.

Anna lucidly sets forth three aims of university education. They are the knowledge-aim, the service-aim and the livelihood-aim respectively. He lays greater emphasis on the former two than on the latter one.

Anna also adds that the aims of Universities should be defined clearly. Accordingly, the syllabi, methods of teaching and training and social relations should all be organised properly to achieve the aims thus defined.

Anna states in unequivocal terms that the fundamentals of Universities are lasting and permanent. According to him, a balanced mind, the ability to analyse things critically in all aspects, the capacity to look at a problem from all its angles without fear or favour and to tolerate other man's points of view are the fundamentals of Universities which are unalterable in nature. It is only in the Universities that we can develop these fundamental qualities.

Anna categorically states the functions of Universities. According to him, the foremost function of the University is to give the students a vision of knowledge in its true proportions and perspectives and to maintain the sovereignty of ideas and ideals in the world. To-day, the supreme function of the University is to take into account the most neglected Common man and to fashion out of him an individual fitted and equipped for the task of making democracy fruitful and effective.

The special function of the Madurai and the Annamalai Universities is to proclaim to the world the priceless treasures of Tamil such as her literary achievements and thrilling history and they should try their best to make Tamil culture and civilization get adequate recognition in the world. In this connection Anna applauds the services of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar to the cause of Tamil and Tamil Isai Movement by founding the Annamalai University.

The Common Man and Democracy

This is the age of the common man. We are wedded to democracy. The common man is not only a challenge of the present but also a determining factor in democracy. He is the base and backbone of the country. He contributes largely to the welfare and prosperity of the country by his hard work. All fields of knowledge, in short all kinds of education, are meant for him.

Of course, experts and scholars should give their weighty interpretation in the matter and administrators should translate it into action. The Universities should take into account the common man and should guide and lead him to perform his duty properly as the citizen of a democracy. The neglect of the common man is the cause of all agitations all the world over. In this connection, Anna gives us a fine definition of democracy thus, "Democracy is not a form of Government alone—it is an invitation to a new life—an experiment in the art of sharing responsibilities and benefits—an attempt to generate and co-ordinate the inherent energy in each individual for the common task". According to Anna, in a democracy talents should be recognised and utilized to the utmost benefit and equal opportunities should be provided for all to get their due share in all fields. In short, it is the point of view of the common man that matters most and Anna represents him in all his ruggedness. In this connection, Anna gives us a picturesque portrait of the Common man—the Average Man for whose lot he strove hard throughout his life.

The duties and responsibilities of students

Anna emphasizes that the duties and responsibilities of students (graduates) are onerous. It is the earnest desire of Anna that students should imbibe good qualities such as fearlessness, truthfulness, broad-mindedness, respectability, tolerance and reciprocity. They should keep Tamil traditions and culture shining bright for ever. They should do their best not only to make Tamil the medium of instruction at all levels but also try to make it the official language in all fields of activity. They should engage themselves in the field of intellectual revolution, in the task of social reconstruction and in making their country rich and prosperous. They should never forget to elevate the common man wherever they may be and whatever the perils and difficulties they may encounter. They should carry the message of Tamil Classics to the entire world and declare that what was the most ancient here is what is being introduced to-day as the most modern. They should try their best to make democracy safe and sound, salubrious and fruitful.

The degrees that they have obtained should be used for such noble tasks and they are not for getting white-collared jobs or leading comfortable lives only. They have drawn largely from the social chest and society has a right to expect an adequate return from them in terms of service. Unless they replenish it richly, coming generations will find only an empty coffer:

Anna calls upon the graduates to carry the crusade against caste which cannot co-exist with democracy, against superstition which cannot co-exist with science and against tyranny of various dimensions

which cannot co-exist with liberty, equality and fraternity. Anna wants them to become torch-bearers of Rationalism. According to him, "Rationalism does not mean repudiation of basic and fundamental truths and maxims, but the annihilation of dubious modes of thought, and action." In this connection, he highly commends Periar, his political Guru, for his notable social reforms.

Anna's cosmopolitan message to graduates is classical indeed: "Let wisdom be your weapon. Let virtue be your guide and companion. March with determination. Act with enthusiasm. Gain laudable victories not only for the honour and glory of our motherland but also for the good of all mankind".

The problems of the country

In his address Anna touches almost all the burning problems of the country and offers his own solutions.

(i) **Students' indiscipline :-** Much is talked about students' indiscipline and many have lost hope in students. But Anna has never lost his hope in the students of the country because there is nothing fundamentally wrong in their nature. If proper aims in life are placed before them and if elders act justly according to what they preach, there can be no room for indiscipline among the students.

(ii) **Medium of Instruction :-** As regards medium of instruction, Anna categorically states that no language can equal one's mother tongue in dignity and status. Therefore, one's mother tongue—Tamil in Tamil Nadu—should be the medium of instruction at all levels.

(iii) **Link Language :-** No other issue in India is so Controversial as the issue of link language. Though the Constitution lays down that Hindi shall be the link language, rather the official language, the whole of Tamil Nadu stands as one man to oppose it. Anna holds the same view and advocates that English, because of its international stature and treasures of knowledge, can serve as the link language both inside India and abroad. He unequivocally states that, on no account, the Tamils and Tamil Nadu Government can tolerate the Hindi imperialism and there cannot be two link languages. Anna sarcastically shatters the shallow argument of the advocates of unity that English is a foreign language by his logic of facts. It is worth to quote his own words here :

“We are not content with rural Economy; we want Trombays and Ennores. And we are not conscious of their being foreign; only in the matter of language we pose as ultra nationalists and dub the English language as foreign.

Shelly and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon—they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all world citizens—world Teachers.”

(iv) **National Integration :-** We are a nation in the making. In our anxiety to forge integration, we should not confuse unity with uniformity. National integration is a goal worthy to be achieved. But it should be achieved in the long run by the fusion of hearts and ideals. For the sake of national unity, one's language and culture should not be destroyed. No sane and self-respecting man can accept it. It is a

travesty to call that either an ideal or a scheme. National integration cannot be brought about by language only nor by imperialism. Such are the strong views of Anna on National Integration.

(v) Regional Imbalance :- Anna feels strongly that there is regional imbalance in the economic sphere and proper economic growth is not possible in Tamil Nadu as a result of this imbalance. The solution he offers is rather implied here. As he has stated elsewhere, autonomy for states and decentralization of powers at the Centre are his solutions.

(vi) Social Reform :- As a refined rationalist, Anna advocates radical social reforms for the betterment of society and for the progress of the nation. He says that our society is in a process of decay. Our thoughts, systems, culture, civilization and religion are worthy and commendable indeed, but they bear the ravages of time. Therefore, Anna advocates complete re-discovery of our thoughts and systems, rejuvenation of our culture, civilization and religion and reconstruction of society. This we can do by drawing liberally upon the achievements of other countries and by our own contribution in order to keep abreast of the times.

Anna's conviction is that the University is the best forum to discuss all these problems and to find proper solutions and in this regard the students have to play a vital role.

2. The Qualities

Anna's addresses possess all the sublime qualities of a superb speech. They begin with a short and

sweet introduction. The body of the speeches develops coherently and logically. In its logical development we find vivid descriptions, worthy quotations, cosmopolitan message, amiable solutions to the burning problems of the country and subtle thoughts, all surpassing one another. The speeches end with a fitting conclusion, the conclusion being a message with a vision.

The speeches bubble with patriotism, heroism, pacificism and humanism. The scholarly approach and masterly analysis are marvellous. Natural flow and quick delivery are remarkable. High human values and noble traditions are respected with reverence. Refinement and enlightenment, calmness and composure, subtle humour and sharp wit, catholicity of outlook and cosmopolitan ideals are other laudable qualities.

3. The Style

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

He uses simile (To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in a wall for the kitten, while there is a bigger one for the cat), metaphor (lamp of wisdom, drum of victory etc.) and personal metaphor (proud peacock, pregnant clouds etc.) for the sake of beauty, brevity and clarity.

He makes use of quotations for the sake of emphasis. The authorities quoted are Albert Schweitzer,

Bertrand Russell, Jefferson, Lafayette, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Rajaji, Sri R. K. Shanmugham Chettiar, Thiruvalluvar and Woodrow Wilson. He quotes abundantly from Tamil Classics also. He makes use of innuendo (What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well) for the same purpose.

He uses vision effectively (I see before my mind's eye the sight of great scholars coming to the Court of the Pandians) to add vividness to the description of past events. He uses rhetoric and irony to shatter the untenable arguments of the advocates of unity. His use of satire and sarcasm serves the same purpose. He cleverly uses pathos (in the portrait of the common man) to arouse sympathy and pity in the minds of his audience.

He uses antithesis and allusions (allusions to Nakkeerar and Eos) for comparison and contrast. His ingenious use of alliteration (safe and sound), metonymy (mansion, market place etc.) oxymoron (unless service is the outcome, sermons become sweet nothings), meiosis (...it is not without hesitation...) and identical assertion (That is the question of questions) gives force and depth to his speeches. Of all these devices metaphor, rhetoric and quotations are predominant in the speeches.

The language of Anna is forceful and flowery. He has an exceptional command over language which he has acquired from his rich vocabulary and his mastery of the niceties of the language. A fertile imagination flows throughout his speeches. Since Anna speaks to an enlightened audience, he employs an elevated style. It is tinged with rich scholarship and refined emotions.

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 fine, his style has an individuality and originality of its own. It is the style of Anna and we can call it **Anna's style**.

A. K. Moorthy.

Memoirs of Anna

(1909—1969)

Anna's Childhood and Education

Anna the great (C. N. Annadurai) was born in the historic city of Kancheepuram in a middle class family on September 15, 1909. His father was Natarajan and his mother was Bangaru Ammaiyar. He was a weaver by birth.

Anna had his early education in his home town itself. As a child he was pious and he used to wear a pigtail, flowers, and earrings. He was quiet, attentive and intelligent in his class. He was never mischievous during his school days. He stood first in all subjects. He put thought-provoking questions to the teachers only after the class was over.

He cultivated the good habit of reading even in his school days. As a boy he had an absorbing interest in handloom textiles and Tamil literature. Such a promising student failed once in the S. S. L. C. Examination for want of marks in Mathematics.

He graduated at the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. He passed his intermediate examination in the first class. Poverty threatened him at home and he almost decided to discontinue his studies. Had he done so, Tamil Nadu would have lost a great man. Fortunately, Chinnathambi Pillai, the then Principal of the College, came to his rescue and he encouraged him to continue his studies. He met all the expenses towards the cost of books prescribed for his Honours Course. As he knew his potent abilities, he did not want to lose him.

Anna won the admiration of all his professors by dint of hard work, humility and intelligence. He always studied the original. He took prominent part in college activities. He was the secretary of the Economics Association and the College Union. He was the unparalleled debater during his college life. He contributed original articles to the College Magazine. He participated in all competitions and his essay *Moscow Mob Parade* was adjudged the best in Sir A. Seshayya Shastri's Essay Competition held at the Pachaiyyappa's College in 1932. He took his M. A., in History, Economics and Politics in 1934. Owing to ill health he could not secure a first class.

Once Anna slept in the class room during his school days. The teacher who was handling the class became angry and gave Anna a punishment by way of imposition. He ordered him to write once the lesson taught in the class. He warned the boys not to tell him the lesson. The next day Anna wrote the lesson correctly and submitted it to the teacher to his great surprise. How was this possible? Anna did not really sleep. He was under a nap only, when he would

absorb anything spoken. This nap, rather hypnotic sleep, continued throughout his life. None of his friends or party people would speak any secret when he was sleeping unless he snored.

Another time, a certain Professor gave notes even at the very beginning of the lesson. Anna was sitting without taking down the notes. The Professor asked him why he was not taking down the notes. Anna said, "I could get only forty per cent by reproducing your notes. I could get certainly more by writing my own answer." Accordingly, he was awarded the first prize for getting the first rank in the University Examination in the whole State that year. After getting the prize, he told the Professor about the results of his self-effort and the Professor magnanimously complimented Anna.

Of Anna's rare abilities, Thiru R. Krishnamurthy, one of his distinguished professors (the Professor of the Editor-in-chief also) observes: "Many of the characteristics that his professors found in the embryonic stage in the student have developed and come out into their fullness in the mature statesman. It was during this period of his life that Mr. Annadurai acquired that quality of leadership which we see in him to-day. In debate, he is the unrivalled master of parry and thrust. His knowledge of human nature is intimate and thorough and his is a human approach to every problem he has to face." The famous Professors of Anna were Messrs. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, P. Subramania Iyer, V. Thiruvenkataswamy, M. Kandaswami Mudaliar, C. S. Srinivasachari, E. S. Anantanarayana Iyer and T. R. Sessa Iyengar.

Anna's Matrimony

While he was doing his intermediate, Anna married in the traditional manner, Rani Ammai (1930), his counterpart in life. He was not blessed with children. However, he adopted Parimalam (now a doctor), Elangovan (Editor, Kanchi), Gowthaman (Managing Editor, Home Rule) and Rajendran, (a public worker) the four children of his sister as his own.

Anna's Appointment

Anna first worked as a clerk in the Kancheepuram Municipal Office before he joined the college. He worked for sometime as a school assistant in Govindappa Naicker Secondary School, Madras and in Kancheepuram High School, after he had finished his post-graduate course. These were the only appointments that Anna had ever held in his life.

Anna's Public Life

Anna was a zealous public worker. He was interested in labour movement. Along with C. Basudev and Albert Jesudason he organised labour unions. He took part in Wimco Labour Union and the Harbour Workers' Union. He thrilled once a Nagpur labour rally by his masterly eloquence.

He was first a justicite, then a Dravida Kazhagamite and lastly the famous founder and the great leader of the D. M. K. His political Guru was E. V. Ramaswamy, popularly known as Periar. His association with Periar began in 1935 at Sengunthar Youth Conference in Tiruppur.

As a refined rationalist, he advocated radical social reforms. He did not believe in God. He did

not like religion being degenerated into rituals. He was for the abolition of caste and superstitious beliefs. He encouraged inter-caste marriages and worked hard for the introduction and popularisation of self-respect marriages in society. He legalised such marriages when he assumed office as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. He spearheaded his rationalist propaganda towards achieving these things. As a rationalist he is an Ingersoll.

During his public life he embraced defeat twice. In 1935 he was defeated in Madras Corporation Election when he contested as a Justice Party candidate against the Congress. In 1962 he was defeated for a second time in his home town itself by the Congress candidate in the General Elections.

In public life nobody could have been attacked so ruthlessly as Anna was attacked by his opponents. His magnanimity was such that he never paid them back in their own coin. He gave his party men the famous triple code of conduct, *Duty, Dignity and Discipline*. He strongly condemned only policies and not personalities. Calling names of his opponents was alien to his nature.

In shaping his public life, his aunt Rajamani Ammal affectionately called *Thotha* stands in the forefront. She was responsible for all his education. Next comes Periar who made Anna a full-fledged public worker. Other persons like T. A. V. Nathan, P. Balasubramanian and Basudev had considerable influence on Anna in this regard. The only person

whom he called Anna (elder brother) was P. Balasubramanian.

The poet Bharathi Dasan was the one most loved by Anna. He popularised his poems in Tamil Nadu by quoting him abundantly in his speeches. The last function that he participated was the unveiling of the Portrait of Kalaivanar (Actor N. S. Krishnan) at T. Nagar, Madras. Similarly the last function for Kalaivanar was the unveiling of the portrait of Anna at Salem. Thus there was a fitting coincidence even in their participation in public functions during their last days. Anna devoted a greater part of his life to public service. It is needless to say that Tamil Nadu derived immense benefits from his public services.

Anna as an Agitator

Anna was a peaceful agitator too. He spearheaded all his agitations peacefully and courted imprisonment several times. In 1937 he opposed the compulsory introduction of Hindi in High Schools during Rajaji's regime and was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. In 1953 he launched his Three-Cornered Agitation when he was jailed for three months. In 1962 for his Anti-Price Rise Agitation he suffered ten weeks' imprisonment. His observance of the Demands Day with the cooperation of the opposition parties excluding the Congress, to impress upon the Centre the pressing need for the Salem Steel Plant, when he became the Chief Minister, was the most peaceful of all his agitations.

Anna as a Debater

As a debater Anna excelled all, both in his college and in his public life. His Kamba Ramayana Debates

were the most famous in which the learned Tamil Professors, M. R. Sethu Pillai and Somasundra Bharathiar were defeated in Madras and Salem respectively. Such was Anna's great debating skill.

Anna as a Conversationalist

Anna was an accomplished conversationalist. He would speak on any subject with ease and spontaneity for any number of hours with his friends. He excelled even Johnson, the famous English conversationalist in this art.

Anna as an Orator

Anna was the born orator of Tamil Nadu. Comparison is out of question in his case. He had been the acknowledged leader in the art of public speaking for over three decades. He spoke in such a skilful manner that his speeches were suited to the tastes of all audiences both the enlightened and the mob and he always lived up to their expectations. People thronged in millions to hear his thought-provoking speeches.

Anna as an Editor

Anna was a famous editor. He felt proud to call himself a journalist. He had been the editor of so many Tamil journals for over three decades such as *Navayugam*, *Balabarathi*, *Kanchi*, *Kudiarasu*, *Dravida Nadu* (Tamil Weeklies), *Malaimani*, and *Nam Nadu* (Tamil Dailies). He was the sub-editor of *Justice*, an English daily for some time. He edited his own English weeklies, *Homeland* and *Home Rule*. The *Calcutta Fever*, *On the Beach of 'Oman'*, *The Lords of Ripon Buildings* and others are his famous editorials in Tamil. He wrote

under different pseudonyms in Dravida Nadu such as Soumian and Bharathan.

Anna as a Writer

Anna was a forceful and prolific writer. He has more than 200 books to his credit. He was an essayist, a dramatist, a novelist and a short-story writer. He excelled in all these forms of literature. The most famous works of Anna are the following:—

Short Stories: Vellai Vetu (The White Saint), Rotti Thundu (A Piece of Bread), Sevvazhai (The Red Plantain) and other stories.

Novels: Parvathi, B. A., Rangoon Radha, (Social novels) and Kalinga Rani (historical novel).

Plays: Chandramohan (historical play), Needi Thevan Mayakkam (The Dilemma of the God of Justice—a literary play remarkable for his high imaginative skill), Velaikkari (The Servant-maid), and Oriravu (One Night)—Social plays.

As a short story writer he is a Somerset Maugham; as a playwright he is a Bernard Shaw; as a novelist he is a Charles Dickens. Dravida Nadu, his famous Tamil weekly served as the forum for him to publish all his writings. The last article that he wrote was the Letter to his Brother in his Home Rule.

Anna's Publishers

Among Anna's publishers the prominent one is The Dravida Pannai. Others are Paari Nilayam, Muthamizh Nilayam and Parimalam Pathippagam.

Anna as an Actor

Anna was a talented actor. He took prominent roles in his plays, and acted marvellously. He had acted as Durairaj, a social reformer in *Chandrodayam*, as Kagabhattar, the Raja Guru in *Chandramohan*, and as Ravana the famous King of Ceylon in *Needi Devan Mayakkam*. It was a pleasure to see and enjoy his superb acting in all these plays. If he had become an actor, he would have eclipsed all the professional actors according to Thiru T. K. Shanmugham, the veteran Tamil actor. By his very acting, he raised the dignity of artistes in the world of art and in the cine-field. He produced talented actors and actresses. The names of Sivaji Ganesan and Chandra Gandha are worth-mentioning in this connection.

The Garrick of Anna is Thiru K. R. Ramasamy. He had the good fortune to stage his famous social plays namely, *Velaikkari* and *Oriravu* and act in them. Of all the actors, Anna loved Kalaivanar most for his refined and reflective humour. They were the best of friends to the last. Other actors whom Anna equally loved are Thiru S. S. Rajendran Thiru T. V. Narayanasamy and Thiru M. G. Ramachandran.

Anna as a Reader

Anna was a voracious reader. The book was his constant companion. The more he read the greater he gathered ideas. This fund of ideas served as the fountainhead for all his animated speeches and writings. The library was always at his disposal. He used Pandit Anandan's Library, Madras, Madras University Library, the Corporation Library at St. Xavier's Street, Madras and the Connemara Library

to enrich his knowledge. He used also the libraries of the British and American Embassies. It is said that he had exhausted almost all the books in the Connemara Library. The last book he read was Mary Corelie's *Master Christian*.

Anna's Friends

Anna had a large number of friends. It was a pleasure to make friends with him because he was the most cultured and civilised of men. He had lasting friendship with many. One of them is Thiru Chengalvarayan his life-long friend. Thiru Thangavelu Mudaliar and others are his best friends. He had the magnanimity to turn an acquaintance into a lasting friendship. Even after he assumed office as the Chief Minister, he moved with people in all walks of life in an affectionate and friendly manner.

Anna as a Politician

Anna was a refined politician. He preached and practised political decency. He was the champion of the poor. He used politics for the uplift of the poor and the down-trodden. He considered Periar his political Guru to the last. He regarded Sir P. T. Thiagarayar and Thiru A. R. Mudaliar as his mentors in politics. He was a magnanimous politician.

Anna as a Leader

Anna was a great leader. Under his able leadership the D.M.K. blossomed into a mature political party. Within a short period of 18 years the D.M.K. captured power. It was a mark of his great leadership. In his leadership we find a statesman, a democrat and a diplomat. He won the hearts of millions by

his love and affection. He was proud to say that his only leader was Periar Ramaswamy for whom he had the highest regard to the last. He equally respected other leaders like Rajaji, Mohammed Ismail, Kamaraj, C. Subramaniam, Indira Gandhi and others. No doubt he was one of the greatest leaders of India.

Anna and the D.M.K.

It is hard to separate Anna from the D.M.K. It is the party founded and tendered by him with all his care, love and affection. He infused all his potentialities into it. It is nothing but the replica of Anna.

Anna considered his party a family and his party men his brothers. He affectionately called them 'Thambis' (younger brothers) who all worked hard with heart and soul and suffered untold sacrifices for the growth of the party. The most famous of his Thambis are Kalaingar (Artiste M. Karunanidhi Chief Minister), Navalur (Scholar V.R. Nedunchezian Education Minister), and Perasiriyar (Professor K. Anbalagan, Chairman, D.M.K. Parliamentary Board) Puratchi Nadigar, (the revolutionary and people's actor M.G. Ramachandran) and a host of others. The party founded by Anna has grown to such a great dimension that it is now a vital force in Indian politics.

Anna as a Parliamentarian

Anna was a parliamentarian of repute. Both in the State Legislature and in Parliament he kept the dignity and decorum of the House. He maintained the high ideals and the noble traditions of Parliamentary democracy which won the admiration of all the

leaders. He made classical speeches both in the Legislature and in the Rajya Sabha.

Anna as an Administrator

Anna was an able administrator. He gave us a clean and stable government. He was above party politics. He looked after the interests of all sections of people with equal care and utmost sympathy. He tried his best to improve the lot of the poor. Perfect communal harmony prevailed during his regime. He was equally interested in the welfare of the workers. He settled all disputes by peaceful means. He sincerely believed in democracy and the freedom of the Press. He maintained cordial relations with the centre. In short, he strove hard for the all-round development of Tamil Nadu. Therefore, he won the love and admiration of all people.

Anna as a Statesman

Anna was a wise statesman. He gave up the demand for Dravidanadu when he felt that it was detrimental to the interests of the country. When China committed aggression against India, he opposed it with all his might. He never itched for a conflict with the centre and he maintained cordial relations with it. When he was in America, he raised the status of India by highly commending her foreign policy. He respected the intellectuals and sought their advice to gear up the administration. All these go to prove that he was a mature statesman.

Anna's Tours

Anna travelled widely both within India and abroad. In 1941 he toured North India with Periar and translated his speeches into English. In 1965 he

toured the South East Asian countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indo-China and Japan for about a month. In 1967 he went to America and stayed there for about a fortnight. He stayed in Yale University for five days where he had useful discussions with the students and conducted informal Kural classes. In all his tours he gained a rich experience which he never failed to translate into action.

Shower of Honours

For his matchless oratory, he was affectionately referred to as Arignar Anna (Scholar Anna). The Annamalai university honoured him by conferring an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature upon him. The Yale University conferred upon him the Chubb Fellowship. Anna was the first Indian to receive the honour outside India. A shield was presented to Anna posthumously for his remarkable services to Tamil by the Tamil Writers' Association at its 16th conference held in Madras on May 29, 1969.

Anna's Habits

Habits never die. Anna fell an easy prey to certain habits because of circumstances. He was accustomed to snuffing and chewing even in his school days. He availed the later part of the night for studies and writing for purposes of convenience. He wrote all his masterpieces during these hours. He went to bed late at night. As a result of these habits, his daily routine changed and he could not keep up punctuality. He never attended the public meetings punctually and he could not correct this habit of his to the last. We could not blame Anna; rather we should blame the environment.

Anna's Hobbies

Reading was Anna's lasting hobby. He was a man of high aesthetic sense. He loved painting, cartooning, and nature. He also loved playing carom and cards. He was a great lover of Carnatic music. He loved best the Nathaswaram music. He had a high respect for Thiruvaduthurai Rajarathinam, the King of Nathaswaram.

Anna's Achievements

Anna accomplished the age-old dream of the Tamils by naming Madras, Tamil Nadu. He legalised the Self-respect Marriage. He abolished Hindi and introduced the two language formula in the Secondary Schools in Tamil Nadu. He formed the great united front which paved the way for the utter defeat of the Congress Party in Tamil Nadu. Under his able leadership, the party founded by him captured power within a short period of 18 years. He conducted the second International Tamil Conference, with all pomp and grandeur in Madras. All these remarkable achievements of Anna are unaparalleled in the history of Tamil Nadu.

Anna's Qualities

Anna was the most lovable of men. He was the embodiment of many classical virtues extolled by Thiruvalluvar such as benevolence, benignity, courtesy, fortitude, nobility, perfectness, temperance and veracity. He was always simple and humble. He practised in life what he preached. His magnanimity was such that he treated even his enemies as friends. He highly respected the points expressed by others and gave them due weight. In short, he was a great lover of mankind.

Anna's Critics

His critics in public life are all hollow and insincere. However, it is heartening to note that there are few genuine critics who assessed his public and his political life correctly. With regard to his contribution to Tamil, eminent and impartial critics are yet to emerge. It is high time that we bestowed our thoughts upon these lines.

Anna's Last Days

Anna's last days were the most painful. The hardest struggle that he had ever fought in his life was the one he fought against his cancer, the most pitiless and cruellest of all the diseases. Even in this struggle he made history. In spite of the best medical help he could not survive. After a grim struggle of 108 hours with all his characteristic patience and forbearance, he passed away peacefully at 12-22 a.m. on 2-2-1969, leaving millions in tears and endless grief. "Why are the windows shut? What is the noise outside? I want to go there." These are the last words uttered by Anna in the Adayar Cancer Institute which bear ample testimony to his abiding love of the masses.

The whole nation sincerely felt his loss irreparable because in his death she lost a leader of rare abilities and high qualities. Indeed it is rare to find such a great leader in the history of a country. Is Anna dead? No. He is living in the hearts of millions of his countrymen.

"Affection, fear, benevolence, favour and truthfulness—these are the five pillars on which perfect goodness rests."

The Kural (983)

A. K. Moorthy

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“To discern the truth in everything
by whomsoever spoken is wisdom.”,

— *The Kural* (424)

The Function of a University | I

1

I am highly delighted to have the opportunity of delivering the Convocation address of the Madurai University. This University has been started just a year ago. This is your first Convocation address. I am grateful to the authorities of the University for having given me this pleasant opportunity.

I stand before you in the historic city of Madurai. My joy knows no bounds to learn that it has the unique honour of being a world famous city and has been an intellectual centre of Tamil Nadu.

Anybody visiting Madurai cannot but recall the great and glorious rule of the Pandyan Kings who were assisted by men of wisdom in their rule, who patronised and encouraged the growth of Tamil, who safeguarded Tamil culture and who enjoyed world-wide renown. Recalling such memories of the past will no doubt move our hearts.

I rejoice to see before me the eminent professors, and the enthusiastic graduates who are about to receive their degrees. My mind is filled with immense joy when I recall that it was in this very place, the mighty Pandyan Kings held learned discourses and derived extreme pleasure from them.

I see in my mind's eye the sight of great scholars coming to the Court of the Pandyas. I see learned men coming from far-off places. I see the poet Thiruvalluvar singing, "See the path of virtue of Tamils, the path which has been universally acclaimed and which I have composed in my couplet"

I see the learned Tamil scholars delivering wise discourses and explaining their learned works in order to win the praise of the enlightened audience present there. Who can miss such a magnificent sight! How mighty

were the wise and how critical were their works in those days!

I see the majestic and fearless Narkeerar who dared to say that even the poem composed by Lord Siva had a flaw in it, although Siva threatened him, showing the eye of anger in his forehead.

What do the past events remind us? They remind us, "Cast away fear. Never lead a life of servility even for earning bounteous wealth. Have the strength to stand by truth. Be brave enough to go through fire and hell for the sake of truth. Prove yourself worthy of such Tamil traditions."

We, who are born in this sacred land, should feel it our pleasant and pressing duty to safeguard the lofty traditions handed down to us by the wise. Let us march with majestic pride. The eminent poets say, "Let your talents be used for raising the dignity of Tamil Nadu." Although we do not see them, we have the pleasure of hearing their weighty utterances.

It was the great Madurai which lent distinction to the Pandyan Kingdom, which founded Tamil Sangam to preserve Tamil traditions, which spread the sweetest note of

Tamil far and wide, and which was famous not only for its valour but also for its intellectual pursuits.

When we understand the historic significance of Madurai, we are urged by a feeling to cherish the memory of those happy bygone days.

But why should we have that feeling of despair? I am quite confident that we can relive the grandeur of those days even to-day. You have dedicated yourselves to that task. Utilising your talents and skills, you can keep Tamil traditions and culture shining bright for ever. You have given me that hope and confidence.

Eminent and great scholars! What can I say to you? You know what is what and you have acquired wisdom from your distinguished professors. My duty is only to remind you of what you know.

Honoured Graduates! You have got your degrees. You have mastered different arts. You are the fine gems of the University. But

is it the beginning or the end? That is the question. No doubt, you deserve congratulations on your graduation. What is the purpose of your obtaining the degree? Is it for ornament and show? Is it a passport for securing a job? Is it for preserving the honour of our country? That is the question of questions at this hour of rejoicing.

We know that the pregnant clouds move about in the sky just to multiply several times the water absorbed by them and give it in the form of rain for the joy of the world.

When the proud peacock struts unfolding its beautiful feathers, is it for its enjoyment or for the enjoyment of others? Does mother earth wear ornaments made of the gold-treasure that she has been guarding? No. She gives it only for the enjoyment of others. What is the purpose of the shining lamp but to help the troubled people in the dark?

Honoured Graduates! You are the lamp of wisdom, the treasure trove, the beautifully-spotted peacock, the rain-bearing clouds, and the would-be experts of the country. Let your great skills be used for the good of the public so as to win their admiration. Degrees are nothing but passport for such things. It is

the unique honour of a University to train such men and present them to the world. You are the priceless treasures of the whole country.

A galaxy of intellectuals should arise in quick succession if a country were to be free from troubles, infamy and obscurity. An army of talented intellectuals, should arise frequently to distinguish between good and bad, between what is inherited and what is acquired, between tradition and superstition, and they must so conduct themselves that people are enabled to lead a decent and dignified life. The University is the only proper training ground for that purpose. The National Education Commission has stressed this idea (in 1964—66). They have beautifully defined that the aim of the University is to create men, who can discern the truth after thinking and acting independently and fearlessly, who can express their ideas with clarity and precision, and who will not allow themselves to be enslaved.

Bertrand Russell the well-known philosopher says, "Cultivate the spirit of enquiry. Have fearlessness for that. Otherwise we should suffer from intellectual slavery and be a party to a reign of terror."

Even two thousand years ago our mighty Tamil poets gave expression to such lofty ideals. We lost sight of them in the middle and so suffered. To-day the rest of the world proclaims this. We feel that we have had such a priceless treasure for several centuries. Let us resolve to strive hard to proclaim this to the whole world.

3

The University of Madurai has been started to meet the special needs of Tamils. When Universities were started over a century ago, we were subject to foreign rule and the people were in a state of utter despair. There was degeneration in different fields. Ignorance was widespread. There was the gloomy belief that our country men were not fit to learn anything. People entered the portals of the University with such a predominant belief that the westerners have given us intellectual arts which could not have been thought of here by anyone before.

In those days even the educators began to teach us in a spirit of condescension. They were all admiration for what they saw in the west. They neglected the very achievements of our country. It was in this atmosphere

that the old universities developed. The universities were considered training ground for producing clerks and workers for the rulers who were pleased to give some amount of knowledge and education out of love to the poor and the down-trodden. The products of these universities became carbon copies of westerners in thought, dress and manners though they had lived in their own motherland. They even revelled in it. This condition lasted long but to-day it has become part of history.

The University of Madurai has been started in a free and independent India, when the awakened people have broken the bonds of slavery and are delighted to show their capacity for moulding their own destiny.

On hearing the clarion call of the Poet Bharathiar to create a new order of things, people thronged in great numbers, and as a result this University has come into existence.

Not only did we get political freedom but also we got freedom from intellectual slavery. We founded this University in such an atmosphere. We feel that this temple of learning proclaims the ideal, "Freedom of thought is our right".

The diffident attitude that everything worth-learning should come from the west and our country has nothing to give us on her part should perish. We have enough treasures of knowledge which foreign countries will be only glad to receive from us with profit. It is just like a dirt-laden gem and a faded picture. This is the period in which the spirited awakening to remove the dust of the gem and show its lustre to the world is predominant. Such a predominant feeling should be the foster-mother of this child-Madurai University. Therefore, it should have an individuality and distinctiveness of its own.

This University should be the guiding centre of disseminating the priceless treasures of Tamil Nadu to the entire world. It should proudly proclaim to the world the thrilling history of the mighty Tamil Kings and the superb literary excellence of Tamil Nadu. Accordingly, we should create a new history which will be worthy of our great heritage so as to win the admiration of the intelligentsia of the world. It should be the distinguishing

feature of this University to train an army of people capable of doing such a mighty task. It would be better if methods of teaching, training and examination are devised, bearing this sole aim in mind. It is rather my wish that the authorities should carefully examine this aspect and give it a concrete shape.

Let it be proclaimed by you that it is your duty to cast away fear, to examine and learn things critically, to raise the status of your country and to offer the world your distinct treasure. I call upon you with love and affection to show by your word and deed that the degrees obtained by you are ample evidences to announce that you have attained such an excellent status.

It is pleasant to read them in books. They are worthy of explanation and wonder. But it is difficult to put them into practice. It is equally difficult to continue them in practice. Firm determination, unflagging enthusiasm, indefatigable industry, lofty aim and selflessness are quite necessary for that. I think that this University has given and will continue to give you these qualities. I appeal to you to prove it by the excellence of your service. You must wage a righteous war

to remove the unwanted, harmful, meaningless and unsuitable things that are wriggling before you either in the name of ancient tradition or as things claiming affectionate kinship with you.

I call upon you to engage yourselves in the field of intellectual revolution to discern the truth objectively in everything. If you are convinced of the truth, be prepared to defend it even at the cost of your life.

Will the sting of a native scorpion be pleasing to us? Or will the taste of the honey from foreign lands be bitter to us? No. Therefore, you must have the broad-mindedness to make use of any good and useful thing from whichever part of the world it may come. Accordingly, you must act in a spirit of 'give and take' to derive maximum benefits.

5

Universities have developed and are developing. Educational institutions are multiplying. Yet, when we compare the number of graduates with the total population, we realise how little our progress has been. Therefore, to raise the status of our country,

the people expect much from you, as you have rare opportunities not enjoyed by many. You are the vanguard of the army marching on to rout the enemies of our country such as scarcity, insufficiency, illiteracy and unscrupulousness. Let not people accuse you of using your degrees to get white-collared jobs and leading comfortable lives.

If even graduates are aimless in life, woe unto the country! The future will not be bright. I believe that this aimlessness is the cause of all confusion, irritations, shocks, agitation, unrest, rebellion, defiance of law and other acts of indiscipline in the country.

Many have expressed concern over the excessive growth of evil tendencies among the youth of our country, especially the students. I have not yet lost my hope in the students of our country. There is nothing fundamentally wrong in their nature. Proper aims in life have not been placed before them. Many of those who come forward to give them a piece of advice are themselves selfish and act unjustly. When students see this, they are tempted to go astray, and commit all unrighteous acts. Therefore, I should like to say that the pressing need of the hour is for

the elders to see that their thoughts and deeds are conducive to the common good. Then only the youth and students will behave with good qualities.

Does one dive and take precious pearls from the noisy sea simply to adorn his parrot? No. He takes them only for adorning his beloved wife. Is sandalwood paste for the enjoyment of smearing it on the body or for burning? Similarly, are not degrees obtained and training undergone only for giving the people a fair and decent life? Or is it for pursuing one's own selfishness?

I am one of those who have unbounded confidence in you. When the ambitious poet* sang of creating a new world, he must have had in mind people like you. From whom can we expect the noble spirit of service, if not from you?

I said that, if the aim was defined clearly, we could expect dignified acts from the students. Accordingly, the syllabus, methods of training and social relations should all be so organised in educational institutions as to achieve this aim.

*Bharathi

When the educational institutions go on multiplying fast, the revenues of the Government are not adequate to provide them with ideal conditions and suitable atmosphere. The Government are trying their best to perfect the conditions gradually. It will take years even to provide the basic needs.

Now we have to consider under what circumstances we get these revenues. We build Government offices, roads and educational institutions from the taxes paid by the starving poor, the oppressed workers and the dejected people. The pomp of the Government and the salaries of the Government Officers are all met from these taxes.

Sweat is transformed into money, that is paid in the form of taxes. All institutions from the University down to the elementary schools are built out of these taxes. How shall we show our gratitude to the poor who fill our coffers!

The students will develop a high sense of responsibility, if they realise what great sacrifices are made by our countrymen and how even in the midst of abject poverty the poor are giving them great opportunities which were denied to themselves. It is my fervent

hope and trust that the talented students will engage themselves in worthy deeds which will dispel darkness from the country.

6

History shows us that in all countries students were in the forefront in rendering service in all epoch-making events. The period when you are students is a period when the new history of our land is being written. The ideals before us which lead us to victory can be achieved only by unremitting labour. But at the same time bewitching and attractive talks are placed before us as ideals. We should discriminate between them and discover the truth.

It is an ideal that there should be unity in the country. It is a universal ideal. It is the duty of the students to strive hard for the success of that ideal.

When people say that for the sake of national unity one's language and culture should be destroyed and one should accept the dominance of another language, no sane and self-respecting man can accept it. It is a travesty to call this either an ideal or a scheme.

It is a universal ideal that the national wealth of the country should grow day by day and everyone should strive hard for that. But it is a mockery to say, "Let the nation's wealth grow. It does not matter even if it is concentrated in the hands of a select few".

It is a sweet and simple ideal that unity is strength and joy. It is neither unity nor co-operation when one of the parties is too selfish and wants to grab all the benefits for itself. I wish to emphasize that the advocates of unity should not behave like the wolf which swallowed a lamb and then said "The lamb has become one with me. The lamb and I are now inseparable friends".

7

Young Graduates! It is my desire that you should explain these things lucidly to the people. I have spoken of these things at length because I am convinced that the University is the best recruiting ground for raising a talented army that will drive away ignorance and poverty from the country.

We often come across such oft-repeated phrases as 'medium of instruction, official language and link language.' No language

can equal one's mother tongue in dignity and status. It is your duty to enrich and foster our Tamil not only because it is our mother tongue but also because it is a rich and fertile language admired by one and all.

I solicit your whole-hearted enthusiasm and co-operation in creating an atmosphere conducive to the introduction of Tamil as official language in all fields of activity.

8

A knowledge of English is essential to have close relations with the world and to enjoy the fruits of its treasures of knowledge.

When it is advocated that English might continue as the link language between different parts of India and between India and the outside world, there are some people who even interpret it as a sign of lack of patriotism. Although they say so outwardly, they do not feel so in their heart of hearts.

When people say that the continuance of English as a link language is derogatory to national honour simply because it was the language of foreign rulers who dominated us,

they have no hesitation in industrialising our country with massive economic aid and gifts got from England. They do not even think that such a step is derogatory to national honour. Nor is any objection raised when we seek technical know-how from England. They have objection only so far as language is concerned. That is why I said that they have no objection against English in their heart of hearts, although they are vocal in their objection.

Their real motive and desire are obvious when they emphatically talk of discontinuing English and introducing Hindi as a link language in the same breath. I know the strong determination of our students to oppose such a move. I congratulate the students who are the embodiment of 'love of one's language'. At the same time I appeal to the students to leave to the Government of Tamil Nadu (which has firm faith in the 'love of one's language',) the task of removing the complications of the language problem thrust upon us.

9

It is but proper to feel on your part that the period of study at the University is a

period of chivalrous spirit in the long journey of your life.

Honoured Graduates! I appeal to you that you should shape your methods and actions in such a way as to fulfil the great expectations of the people.

History tells us that armies marched from this great city of Madurai and won victories of world-wide renown in the days of the great Pandyas. But to-day's army is an army of intellectuals, the first of its kind to receive training and march out of this University. I am highly pleased to have the opportunity of welcoming and congratulating this army with all my good wishes and blessings. I wish the army all success.

Let Tamil be your drum of victory. Let Tamil culture be your armour. Let wisdom be your weapon. Let Virtue be your guide and companion. March with determination. Act with enthusiasm. Gain laudable victories not only for the honour and glory of our mother land but also for the good of all mankind. I wish you all success.

Convocation address of the
Madurai University
delivered on 7-9-'67

“To discern the truth in everything
whatever the nature of the thing may be, is wisdom.”
— *The Kural* (355)

2 The Supreme Task of a University To-day

1

Thankful as I am for the unique honour conferred on me by this institution, it is not without hesitation and a good deal of trepidation that I stand before this august assembly to-day to deliver the Convocation address, for though it is a pleasure to be present on the happy occasion of greeting the graduates of the year and wishing them all a bright and prosperous future, it is not an easy task to place before them appropriate guidelines—conscious as I am of my own limitations and aware of the

eminence of those who stood at this rostrum in the past and gave weighty and worthy advice to the graduates. Stalwarts in various walks of life, scholars of erudition and experience, administrators of rare abilities, have all been here to deliver instructive discourses, and I do not for a moment imagine that I have the capacity to add anything substantial to what has been already said by those who preceded me. I am convinced, therefore, that to be called upon to deliver this address is not so much an invitation as a command to me to bestow the most careful and considered thought on the role of Universities in general and of the Annamalai University in particular.

The fact that I am conscious of my own limitations gives me a sense of relief, for attempt I shall not to offer original ideas or theories with a special stamp, but only reiterate some of the cardinal principles enunciated by those who offered their advice in past years, perhaps with annotations here and there, bringing to bear the lay-man's point of view to the findings of experts in various fields connected with education. This is the age of the common man—whatever the regrets some might have—and it is his point of view that matters most and I do claim to represent him

in all his ruggedness. Systems and schools of thought, whether it is in philosophy or politics, ethics or economics, are certainly meant for him. Of course, the interpretation should come from scholars and experts and the art of translating them into everyday activity is to be undertaken by the administrators. Universities, as the repositories of knowledge and the nursing ground for the emissaries of thought, wisdom and service, have got a prominent role to play—and the prominence is growing everyday, as more and more individuals get themselves equipped for the task of bettering society in all its sectors and spheres. This is all the more so in this age when we have eschewed monarchy and autocracy and have inaugurated the era of democracy. During the monarchical or feudal days, Universities had to train scholars and poets to adorn the chambers of Royalty or the gilded mansions of Lords and Nobles and their wisdom was meant for the mansion, not for the market-place. Those were days when numbers did not count, nor were eminent scholars asked to face the problems confronting the masses. They were content to work in secluded spheres, far from the din and noise of the common man, and weave the costly fabric of philosophy or poetry which in turn

was to be converted into dazzling garments for the select and the privileged.

2

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

I said that the duties and responsibilities of Universities have grown in dimension and scope, but pointed out that the fundamentals remain unaltered and these fundamentals are of permanent value and of perennial interest. The supreme task before the University is to give those who seek, a vision of knowledge in its true proportions and perspectives to maintain the sovereignty of ideas and ideals in the world. A balanced mind, the ability to discriminate between what is merely trivial and what is important, the capacity to look at a problem from all its angles without fear or favour, to be tolerant of the other man's point of view - these are fundamentals which are unalterable and it is only the Universities that can provide society with a continuous stream of men and women endowed with these qualities. While addressing the University of Brussels, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, our former President, made the following statement :

“ For its proper functioning, democracy requires more qualities than other forms of Government. It is in the Universities that we can develop the true spirit of democracy, appreciation of other points of view and adjustment of differences through discussions. It can be kept

healthy and strong by the exercise of individual responsibility and judgment. In Universities we have to re-call the struggles of the past and realize the perils and possibilities, the challenges and opportunities of the present."

Democracy is not a form of Government alone—it is an invitation to a new life—an experiment in the art of sharing responsibilities and benefits—an attempt to generate and co-ordinate the inherent energy in each individual for the common task. Hence, we cannot afford to waste a single talent, impoverish a single man or woman or allow a single individual to be stunted in growth or held under tyranny and the Universities should, through the graduates it sends forth year after year, annihilate the forces that attempt at aggrandizement and tyranny, fight against cant and hypocrisy and enthrone human dignity.

3

Graduates of the year, I wish you all a prosperous future—for, after all, the immediate concern of every individual, graduate, or no graduate, is to acquire the means for a decent living. That is the first

motivation for all human activity and no one can ignore it, but that ought not to be the sole objective. Something higher and nobler than mere individual material advancement is expected of you—for remember that this University education is a privilege that you enjoy, for which you are deeply indebted to the community of which you are a member. Most of the money needed for maintaining institutions of higher education come from the revenues collected from the community through the State, and a good proportion of that revenue comes from the tillers and the toilers, men who did not enjoy this privilege, men who willingly submit themselves to discomfort, so that they can enable the next generation to lead a better life. Graduates of the Annamalai University, may I ask you, how are you going to repay—what is to be your contribution to the social chest on which you have drawn so largely? Unless you replenish it richly, coming generations will find only an empty coffer. Your superior education increases your responsibility to society and therefore, apart from or along with your own individual advancement, society has got a right to expect an adequate return from you—not so much in terms of money as in terms of service—in toning up society, in

bringing light into the dark alleys, sunshine into dingy places, solace unto the afflicted, hope unto the despondent and a new life unto everyone.

That this is a welcome and worthy ideal none would dispute, but not everyone will come forward to transtate that ideal into action—and yet our ancient as well as modern thinkers have all stated in unmistakable terms that wisdom is manifested in action.

Unless service is the outcome, the sermons become sweet nothings. As Jefferson stated,

“We must dream of an aristocracy of achievements arising out of a democracy of opportunities.”

And when I seek your help and co-operation in the supreme task of serving society, please do not wink and smile and say, it is all so easy to say. I am not unaware of the difficulties in the way, nor am I going to brush aside the influence of the environment on you. May be, the world in which you are to begin the journey is one which will dim your hope, disturb your determination. You may come face to face with the unpleasant sight of practices widely differing from the principles inculcated in you. You may find self-seekers enthroned and

the patient worker decried. Tyranny of all sorts may stare at you and every step you take will be a struggle. I admit that the environment is such that even people with robust optimism will be discouraged and forced to take to the path of ease and comfort.

But, we should also realise that a continuous stream of men and women endowed with the spirit of service have been carrying on the crusade successfully and have conferred rich benefit on humanity.

We, the Tamilians have been holding aloft this ideal for more than two thousand years and hence we find in *Pura Nanuru* this passage,

“ உண்டால் அம்ம இவ்வுலகம்

.

தமக்கென முயலா நோன்றாள்

பிறர்க்கென முயலுநர் உண்மை யானே !”

—புறம் - 182

“ The world exists

.

Because there are selfless people

Who strive for the good of others. ”

—Puram - 182

As inheritors of that rich legacy, you are best fitted to overcome even the environment and serve society to the best of your abilities.

Anyone, who proposes to do good must not expect people to roll stones out of his way, but must accept his lot calmly if they even roll a few more upon it. "A strength which becomes clearer and stronger through its experience of such obstacles is the only strength that can conquer them," says Albert Schweitzer.

Though the problems in various countries are of a similar nature, the peculiarity attached to the problems of our country is of a pronounced nature.

Ours is not a case of starting from scratch—had that been the case the only thing needed would have been the intensity of effort to be put forth. Ours is a case of erosion of the mind—we are not in search of fields, but have to engage in the task of fertilising and irrigating it. We are not in search of ideals, but are engaged in the more intricate task of classifying, codifying and verifying layers of ideals. We are not wanting in culture—but have to cleanse it from the cob-web of time and de-adulterate it. In short, we have to re-discover ourselves, and re-construct our entire thought. Once we were the custodians of everything noble, but we have allowed the

germs of decay to multiply and thrive. Our task to-day is to allow fresh air and sunshine and regain the original shape and stature—that which made us well-known in distant lands and climes.

Our literature, art and architecture are fine specimens of human intelligence—but they bear the ravages of time and also the effect of currents and cross-currents so that to-day we have to listen to the Foreign historian or scholar in order to realise the “Glory and Grandeur” of our own country.

Age commands veneration—but unless it is recuperated, decay sets in. Our culture and civilisation are hoary, but we have allowed scars and wrinkles to disfigure them. It is our duty, therefore to re-discover and re-construct what is ours and enrich it by drawing liberally upon the achievements of other countries.

Our problem is not want of a system—in any branch of knowledge. We have fine specimens in all spheres. We claim also—and that rightly—immortality for our systems, but we have not succeeded in keeping them fresh and young, effective and energetic, for we have allowed them to decay.

“ If a system has to endure,” says Dr. Radhakrishnan, “ it must be perpetually young and ready to change.” In other words, it must be capable of accepting new ideas, have the resilience of mind which the young have, have the openness, flexibility and spirit of adventure by which they accept what is given to them and transform it out of recognition.

Eos, a Goddess falling in love with a mortal, prayed to God to grant immortality to the lover—‘Yes’, said God, and the mortal gained immortality. But he grew old, infirm, senile, decayed—and what was a feast once to the eyes of Eos became a sight to shun and grieve over—and he who gained immortality longed for death—for what is life if it becomes a prey to decay ? Then Eos sighed and said, “ I prayed for immortality for my lover, forgetting to pray for perpetual youth. ”

We, in this country are facing some such situation—and we are in charge of the task of re-juvenating our culture and civilisation—our entire thought. Instead of attempting that, we have been, for too long a period, doting upon the decayed forms attempting to defend them from critics and currents of new thought. And while other parts of the world,

after persistent and patient search after truth, have arrived at new conclusions and are scaling new heights, we are content to sit near the shattered rampart and narrate past glory. Our religion has degenerated into rituals, our society which was once classless and casteless has degenerated into water-tight compartments of caste and creed, and, all the while, we have kept either silent or have been supplying defence to superstition and orthodoxy by offering liberal interpretations in a scholarly way. Unwittingly, we have been allowing this state of affairs to exist, despite condemnation and protest. And, more than that, whenever a doughty warrior comes forth to fight against the evils prevalent, we decry and denounce him as an annihilator of noble values and hoary systems. Periyar Ramasami represents and symbolises the fury and frustration in a sizable section of society at this state of affairs. To allow systems to degenerate and at the same time denounce those who champion the cause of Rationalism is but to perpetuate superstition and orthodoxy and allow this society of ours to get decomposed.

Universities offer the proper forum for a free and full discussion of these intricate

problems and graduates trained here are to go forth as emissaries of that social reconstruction which is long overdue. The country looks to centres of learning like this University to enable the people to pursue the path of progress, braving difficulties and, if need be, courting danger.

5

Graduates of the Annamalai University, let me call upon you to carry on the crusade against caste which cannot co-exist with democracy, against superstition which cannot co-exist with science and against tyranny of various dimensions which cannot co-exist with liberty, equality and fraternity.

Pursuing vocations for your and your families' well-being, you have to perform your duty towards society. You are to become torch-bearers of Rationalism—and Rationalism does not mean repudiation of basic and fundamental truths and maxims, but the annihilation of dubious modes of thought and action. You have to work hard and with daring and dash, for we have to clear cob-webs which are centuries old and let reason reign supreme.

Another peculiar feature of our times is the fact that we are a nation in the making, and, if in their anxiety to forge integration, some confuse unity with uniformity, it is the duty of men trained here to enunciate clearly the principle and see to it that, in the name of unity, no part of the country is made to become the vassal of another part—knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot be a party to foul play, however worthy the goal. Just on the eve of Independence, Rajaji stated with an acumen all his own,

“ Our political experiment is really like melting iron and metals and pouring them into a crucible and making an alloy, an alloy which can stand wear and tear. It is not like the chinaware that other people have turned out in their countries. Their democracies were easy to make like plastics. But we are dealing with metals”

National integration is a goal, worthy and much-sought after, but neither in the field of language nor in the economic sphere, could we tolerate injustice and domination. That is exactly why this Government was brought into existence—it represents the determination of

the people not to be coerced into accepting Hindi as the Official Language.

When we plead for the continuance of English as the link language, some people do misrepresent us and misinterpret our motive. They trot out untenable arguments and disputable statistics, bring in the bogey of disintegration and want to silence people by threats and troops. Problems were never solved by autocratic methods and this problem of language is intimately connected with our way of life, not for the present alone but for the future as well.

The Government of Tamilnadu has stated in unmistakable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes, the former as the Official Language of this State and the latter as the link language. If it is accepted and the most emphatic of Hindi protoganists do accept that—if it is accepted that English can serve admirably as a link between our State and the outside world, why plead for Hindi to be the link language here? What serves to link us with the outside world is certainly capable of rendering the same service inside India as well. To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in a wall for the kitten

while there is a bigger one for the cat. What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well.

English is foreign, some argue, as if we were out to destroy or give up everything foreign. We bring foreign wheat in foreign ships. We seek foreign aid not only in the shape of money but also in the form of technical know-how and not a week passes without one or other leader undertaking a journey to the West or East to secure whatever aid is possible to secure. And on top of all these things, we have given up so many systems peculiarly our own.

We are not content with Rural economy, we want Trombays and Ennores. And we are not conscious of their being foreign; only in the matter of language we pose as ultra-nationalists and dub the English language as foreign.

Shelley and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon—they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all World Citizens—World Teachers. And the language enshrining their thoughts is not to be discarded just because it comes from another country. That we are not going to accord a

higher status to English is borne out by the fact that we have accepted and are implementing with due caution the principle of making Tamil the medium of instruction in colleges—progressively.

6

University education is an epitome of all that is best in thought cultivated in various countries, and from you should radiate universal thought and cosmopolitan ideas.

And if we are to get all these and more from out of the Graduates of the University we have to re-examine the methods in vogue in Universities, in teaching and in administration, and so perfect them that every student feels that he is a Co-sharer of the pleasure and privilege of knowledge along with his Professors. I shall not dabble in methods of teaching or administration—experts in that field are the natural custodians—my plea is only as regards the necessity for a re-examination.

While the functions assigned to Universities are mostly of the same type, the Annamalai University, by its structure and spirit, has got a special function of its own. The

great founder's nobility and generosity had made this institution gain the esteem of eminent men here and elsewhere; but if we analyse the thought and motive force of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, we will find that he wanted this place to be not only a seat of learning but also a centre of learning and research of Tamil Culture and Tamil polity. He had the foresight to realise that Tamilians were going to cultivate their special talents and that was exactly why he started and made a success of the Tamil Isai Movement. Rajah Sir was never a man of tall talk—he believed in solid work and he knew the time was bound to come for us to delve deep into our annals and literature, culture and civilisation, and succeed in getting due and adequate recognition in the world forum.

Truly great has been our achievement in the field of literature. To be able to announce to the world that we the Tamilians do possess

“ நற்றிணை நல்ல குறுந்தொகை ஐங்குறுநூ
 றொத்த பதிற்றுப்பத் தோங்கு பரிபாடல்
 கற்றறிந்தார் ஏத்தும் கலியோ டகம்புறமென்
 றித்திறத்த எட்டுத் தொகை ”

—எட்டுத்தொகை விளக்கப்பாடல்.

“ *The eight Tamil anthologies of variegated kinds are the following :- NATTRINAI, the*

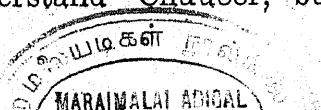
laudable KURUNTHOGAI, AINKURUNURU, *equally important* PATITRUPATHU, *the admirable* PARIPADAL, *the learned* KALITHOGAI, AKANANURU and PURANANURU

— An explanatory Poem
on Eight Anthologies.

and to present to the world the great Tirukural which is a Code of Conduct for the entire humanity are something about which we can have pardonable pride and pleasure.

And yet, are we devoting enough attention to these Tamil Classics? Not till the last decade. Addressing the Convocation here in 1943, the late lamented Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty had the following to say:--

“I graduated with a complete ignorance of Tamil Culture and history; in fact with a great deal of contempt for these. I attained a fair degree of proficiency in English Literature and the history of European culture. I acquired some knowledge of even Anglo-Saxon and Gothic. I read the translation of the Bible in the Gothic language by Bishop Ulfilas, but I had not read the Kural of Valluvar. I could understand Chaucer, but the



name of Ilango was nothing but a name. Even after leaving College, I kept alive my interest in these studies and built up a Library in which there was not a single Tamil book.

In my early youth when I lived in a World of my own with no sense of responsibility, all this made no difference to me and I was proud of my learning. Soon when manhood came with its cares and problems, I found myself a stranger in my own home Gradually I began to realise the incongruity of my scheme of life and for some time now I have been endeavouring to rectify the balance. It was only a few years ago that I seriously attempted to study some of the Tamil Classics. I find that they are fit to rank among the immortal works of the World. I now bitterly regret my neglect of the treasures of my own land."

It was not an apologia, but the expression of a new determination and Sir R. K. Shanmukham lived to establish the truth that he had mastered not only the Tamil language

but Tamil literature as well. Had he lived for some more years, he would have travelled many a land carrying the message of Tamil Classics, which spoke at such a hoary past about

“ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும்”

—திருமந்திரம் (2066)

“There is but one God and one creed”

—Thirumantram (2066)

“யாதும் ஊரே ; யாவரும் கேளிர் ;”

—புறம் (192)

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

—Puram (192)

“வினையே ஆடவர்க்கு உயிரே ;”

—குறுந்தொகை (135)

“Nothing but deed is the soul of man”

—Kurunthogai (135)

“நல்லது செய்தல் ஆற்றீர் ஆயினும்,
அல்லது செய்தல் ஒம்புமின் ;”

—புறம் (195)

“Even if you cannot do good to others,
do refrain from doing harm.”

—Puram (195)

“எவ்வழி நல்லவர் ஆடவர்
அவ்வழி நல்லை ; வாழிய நிலனே !”

—புறம் (187)

“As the people, so is the country”

—Puram (187)

“செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல் ;”

—புறம் (189)

“The use of wealth lies in benefaction”

—Puram (189)

“தீதும் நன்றும் பிறந்தர வாரா”

—புறம் (192)

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

—Puram (192)

“பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஒம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை”.

—குறள் (322)

“Sharing food with others and guarding
all lives in this world is the essence of the
advice given by the wise”.

—The Kural (322)

thoughts now placed before the world as
blossoms of the modern age.

7

You, graduates of the Annamalai University, have got to undertake the special task of carrying the message that our classics contain, to the entire world and declare that what was the most ancient here is what is being introduced to-day as the most modern.

South India is the home of the most ancient culture. Though for a fairly long period there was the mist of ignorance, thick and widespread, it has now been acknowledged by all that Dravidian Civilisation of a highly developed character can be traced back to the second and third millenia before Christ. Many a foreign scholar has borne testimony

to the perfection with which Tamil language has been developed into an instrument of precise and subtle thought and to the beauty and richness of the literature—which is contained in it. Dravidian literature, philosophy, art and architecture offer, therefore, a rich and fruitful field for exploration and critical investigation.

Not for mere glorification but for a just appreciation of all that is of real value and beauty in our past heritage, we need this research and investigation.

I do not propose to talk about your responsibility in the political arena. Suffice it to say that you should make democracy safe and sound, salubrious and fruitful.

Carry the message that this University has given to you wherever you go, whatever the station you find yourselves in and elevate the common man—the average man—who is the back-bone of this and other countries. Permit me to present before you a portrait of the Average Man—

“He seems incredible but represents two-thirds of mankind. He lives in a hut. He cannot read or write. His energy is sapped by disease. He

labours up to 15 hours a day. He works on land he does not own. He and his family are usually hungry. He will die young. But he still has hopes for his children; that they will be strong and healthy; will be able to read and write; will know individual freedom in a peaceful world. This is the world's Average Man."

And the world over, this Average Man has become conscious of the injustice done to him and as a consequence we find agitations and marches, struggles and clashes. In many a country, measures to raise his level have been undertaken. Take a pledge, here and now, that we will not lag behind and leave our Average Man in the lurch. For if the base is weak, the dome is doomed. Inheritors as you are of a noble heritage, you are eminently fitted for this noble task, and on its success depends the future of this nation as of others. Let us remember what Woodrow Wilson said,

'Nations are renewed from the bottom not from the top real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life comes like the natural growth of

a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the level of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file."

May I submit my plea to you, youths blossoming forth from this institution, be firm but not obstinate, let there be a blending of ideas, but never cheap imitation and injurious adulteration, beware of mistaking obsessions for principles and fads for facts, strike at a synthesis and avoid subservience, fail not to protest against injustice but project not your own view as the final one, forget not the ancient Tamil saying

“கற்றதுகைம் மண்ணளவு கல்லா துலகளவு”

—தனிப்பாடல், அவ்வை.

“What we have learnt is as small as a handful of earth. What we have not learnt is as large as the world.”

—A Solitary Verse, Avvai.

and falter not when you practice what you profess.

University education gives you the basic needs for this stupendous task, but that is not enough. Say along with Lafayettee,

I read, I study
I examine. I listen,
I reflect, and out of
all this, I try to form
an idea in which I can put as
much of commonsense
as I can.

And remember the longest journey is the journey inward, and since graduation is but the starting point of that journey, I wish you success — reach the goal yourselves — teach others to march towards the goal, and let that goal be,

a world without the
beggar's out-stretched
palm, the miser's
heartless, stony stare,
the piteous wail of
want, the pallid face
of crime, the
livid lips of lies
the cruel eyes

of scorn,
 a race without
 disease of flesh or
 brain, shapely and
 fair, the married
 harmony of form and
 use—where
 life lengthens, fear
 dies, joy deepens,
 love intensifies, and
 Man regains his
 dignity.

And to get these things realised, let us one
 and all strive towards the ideal enunciated
 by Tiruvalluvar,

“உறுபசியும் ஓவாப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
 சேரா தியல்வது நாடு. ”

—குறள் (734)

“A country is that which is free from excessive hunger, endless disease and destructive enmity.”

—The Kural (734)

I am confident that you are being sent into the wide world by the Annamalai University with this objective—you are bound to win, for you are adequately equipped with the

spirit supplied by this great institution. May your life be a bright one, and may its lustre brighten the entire land! Accept my congratulations, and march onwards, towards the land of smiles.

Convocation address of the
Annamalai University
delivered on 18-11-'67.

The Nation Pays Tributes To Anna

1. THE PRESIDENT AND UNION MINISTERS

“The cruel hand of death has snatched away a great leader, at the height of his fame and popularity.

His demise is an irreparable loss not only to Tamil Nadu but to the whole of India.”

(Late) DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN,
President of India.

“A person of cheerful disposition, Anna a popular figure was adored in the entire Tamil Nadu for his great qualities of head and heart. He had the pulse

of the people and was always concerned with the improvement and well-being of common man."

MR. V. V. GIRI,
(Former) Vice-President.

"Mr. Annadurai shone as an illustrious orator and towering personality when he graced the benches of India's Parliament as a member of the Rajya Sabha. His speeches were listened to with rapt attention with the same degree of respect that the masses of South India paid to his oratory. His character and courtesies were both inspiring and touching. He was shaping into an outstanding National Leader and now death has claimed him, too prematurely indeed. He will be honoured as one of India's great Chief Ministers."

MRS. VIOLET ALVA,
Deputy Chairman,
Rajya Sabha.

"Mr. Annadurai was a great leader, humble, charming and kind."

MR. N. SANJIVA REDDY,
(Former) Speaker, the Lok Sabha.

“Mr. Annadurai symbolised a new leadership that has emerged after freedom.”

MR. R. K. KHADILKAR,
Deputy Speaker of the
Lok Sabha.

“The Nation mourns a man of wisdom whose high sense of duty earned him widespread respect.”

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister.

“Mr. Annadurai was a man of letters who played a leading role in Tamil Renaissance Movement. As a political leader, he displayed self-confidence and a sense of realism.

Whatever may be my differences with him, I always respected his patient sincerity.”

MR. MORARJI DESAI,
(Former)
Deputy Prime Minister.

“We have lost an able administrator and a valued friend.”

MR. Y. B. CHAVAN,
Union Home Minister.

"Mr. Annadurai was an able administrator and within a short period made a mark and endeared himself even to those who did not belong to his party."

MR. S. K. PATIL,
(Former)
Union Minister.

"Anna was a great democrat and social reformer."

THIRU K. S. RAMASWAMY,
Union Deputy Minister of
Home Affairs.

"Tamil Nadu has lost a progressive leader."

THIRU R. VENKATARAMAN,
Planning Commission Member.

2. THE GOVERNORS

"The Nation has lost a great leader in him."

MR. G. S. PATHAK,
Governor, Mysore.

"Mr. Annadurai was a self-made man. He was a Tamil scholar and an orator and by his own dint of popularity he formed a single party Government in Tamil Nadu."

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI,
Governor, U. P.

“ Mr. Annadurai was a great writer, a popular leader of Tamilians and an outstanding statesman. He valued democratic ideals in his approach to any problem, whether it be within the state or at national level.”

MR. B. D. JATTI,
Lt. Governor, Pondicherry.

“ In him Tamil Nadu has lost a wise statesman and popular leader and the country has lost a noble son. He was a true servant of the people.

MR. M. KHANDUBHAI DESAI,
Governor, Andhra Pradesh.

“ After winning the elections in 1967, Annadurai had demonstrated that any other party besides Congress, could administer a state and yet maintain healthy and whole-some relations with the Centre.

Outside India, when he had the opportunity, he behaved like a true Indian and never criticised the National policies.”

MR. M. HUKAM SINGH,
Governor, Rajasthan.

3. THE CHIEF MINISTERS

“No other Leader has left such a great impress on such a large mass of people within such a short period, as Mr. Annadurai, in bringing about a social and cultural renaissance and a new political spirit. It is a measure of his extraordinary greatness that success crowned his efforts so soon when others of his calibre have been struggling in vain to achieve this transformation.”

MR. D. DAMODARAN POTTI,

(Former) Speaker, Kerala Assembly.

“Sri Annadurai is a fine gentleman. My relationship with him though of only two years' duration is very intimate and I feel it as a personal loss.”

MR. K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY,

Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh.

“The knowledge that has been sinking for nearly a week did not lessen the shock when the end came. His loss will be mourned by millions of people throughout India. As for those of us who had the

privilege of associating ourselves with him in work we feel the loss irreparable."

MR. E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD,
(Former)
Chief Minister, Kerala.

"Anna was a most popular and dedicated leader with an amiable disposition."

MR. MOHANLAL SUKHADIA,
Chief Minister, Rajasthan.

"India has lost a great statesman."

MR. B. P. CHALIHA,
Chief Minister, Assam,

"A man of great ability and integrity."

MR. G. M. SADIQ,
Chief Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir.

"Mr. Annadurai was a dynamic and lovable person. His sincerity and devotion to public service will long be remembered as a model for selfless social service."

MR. HITENDRA DESAI,
Chief Minister, Gujarat.

"He was a straightforward man with a loving personality."

MR. V. P. NAIK,
Chief Minister, Maharashtra.

“ By his death the country had lost a great man, an able administrator and a patriot.”

MR. SINGH DEO,
Chief Minister, Orissa.

4. THE LEADERS

“ He was the most eminent of the new leaders of India. A man of the people, he rose to the heights, he did by sheer character and competence.”

MR. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN.

“ At the height of his achievement and power he acted with sobriety and statesmanship. He had given Tamil Nadu, a stable government and a distinctive personality.”

MR. K. HANUMANTHAIYA,
Chairman, Administrative
Reforms commission.

“ The toiling masses and the people who are striving to lift themselves out of the stranglehold of social and caste backwardness have lost one of their greatest champions in the death of Mr. Annadurai.”

MR. N. G. RANGA,
Chairman, Swatantra Party.

“Amongst the post-independent leaders of the country Mr. Annadurai was unrivalled in sustained mass popularity. He was a colourful figure in the politics of the country and was also honest and efficient.”

MR. K. CHANDRASEKHARAN,
M. P., and Chairman of the Kerala S. S. P.

“Mr. Annadurai proved that state parties had also a place in the democratic set-up of the country and they can also function successfully.”

MR. K. M. GEORGE,
Chairman, Kerala Congress.

“Mr. Annadurai's untimely demise had caused shock, grief and irreparable loss to the people of the country.

Though he was a Chief Minister for a very short period, Mr. Annadurai undoubtedly proved himself to be a distinguished administrator and statesman.”

MR. MOHAMMED ISMAIL,
President, The Indian Union Muslim League.

“My brief acquaintance with him was enough to convince me that his was a mature leadership which very soon would

have taken the D. M. K. to an all India level."

MR. N. G. GORAY,
Chairman, The Praja Socialist Party.

"Mr. Annadurai was a leader of unimpeachable honesty and integrity."

MR. H. V. KAMATH,
Chairman, The Praja Socialist Party.

"Mr. Annadurai's death is a national disaster. He was a man of culture and humility"

MR. K. M. MUNSHI.

"The passing away of Annadurai removed an important figure from the political life of India. He was a great leader of his party and was honest and good."

MR. NIJALINGAPPA,
Congress President (O)

"Mr. Annadurai was a very unique figure among politicians and he raised politics out of the rut of triviality."

MR. H. N. MUKHERJEE, C. P. I.

"He was a patriot of the first order. He loved Tamil Nadu but his love for India was still greater."

PROF. BALRAJ MADHOK,
Jana Sangh Leader,

“One of the finest flowers of Indian nationhood has withered away. Its fragrance will, however, continue to fill the air. He has made a permanent niche for himself in the hearts of his countrymen.”

MR. BANSI LAL,
Haryana.

“His broad outlook and amiable nature made him popular amongst all sections of people in the world.”

MR. S. N. DWIVEDY, M.P.,
Leader of the P. S. P. Group in the Lok Sabha.

5. THE PRESS

“An orator, persuasive writer, and astute politician fast maturing into statesman, he was above all a non-conformist...”

The greatest of Mr. Annadurai's assets, perhaps, was that classical Greek virtue of moderation which came into play often, invested his administrative decisions with an understanding of the other side of the case.....”

The Hindu.

“The whole country has honoured him as he deserves to be honoured. It is a measure of his great stature that the

Centre as well as the States vied with one another in paying him rich tributes."

—The Mail.

"Mr. Annadurai was one of the few statesmen who was actively associated with films before soaring high up in the political field. He was well-known for his creative contribution to the Tamil Cinema through his stories and screen-plays containing progressive ideas."

—Screen.

"In him India has lost an able journalist, a talented writer, a forceful and persuasive orator, sincere and devoted reformer, a valiant fighter against social injustice, an organising genius who in 18 short years, founded and guided a party to political power; a born administrator, a clear-sighted statesman and a most lovable personality."

—Blitz.

"Perhaps, the key to Annadurai's greatness lay in his own integrity. Anna never tried to pretend to be what he was not. Nor did he ever have to hide what he was. His personal straightness left him free to be a statesman."

—Himmat.

“Annadurai combined in himself the emotional radicalism and the almost Fabian constitutional fussiness of Nehru. This won him the Kudos of all the ‘pragmatists’ and ‘constructive’ politicians.”

—Shanker's Weekly.

“Anna was a humble man unto the last but to the people who revered him, his very humility was like a halo of glory, as symbolic as the crown of thorns upon the head of Christ.”

—Current.

“His ordinariness was his greatness. The adulation he received was such as to have turned any other man over-proud and aggressive. Anna remained uncorrupted by praise as well as power. Rarely, can this be said of many politicians.”

—The Illustrated Weekly

6. TAMILNADU

“His unostentatious and utter simplicity in his personal life had attracted the love of all.”

SARDAR UJJAL SINGH,
Governor.

“Anna was a great parliamentarian who enriched and maintained the highest traditions of the Legislature.”

PULAVAR K. GOVINDAN,
(Former) Deputy Speaker.

“The best form of showing our respect and of paying our homage to the departed soul is not only to cherish the principles and ideals for which he lived but also to adopt them in public and private life.”

THIRU A. MANICKAVELU,
(Former) Chairman, Legislative Council.

“The best homage that we can pay him is to carry on the good work that made him dear to the people.”

THIRU M. KARUNANITHI,
Chief Minister.

“Anna had the good qualities of a Lincoln, a Churchill, a Gandhi and a Nehru, all rolled into one and that made him unique as a leader.”

THIRU V. R. NEDUNCHEZHIAN,
Education Minister.

“Mr. Annadurai was a thorough-going democrat whose sole concern was the good of the people of this country.”

THIRU P. G. KARUTHIRUMAN,
Opposition Leader.

“A bright star in the political firmament is gone.”

THIRU M. P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANI,
Leader, Tamilarasu Kazhagam.

“He was a great patriot and statesman of high culture.”

DR. M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIAR.

“What should not have happened had happened. The future looks bleak.”

PERIAR E. V. RAMASAMY.

“I grieve as much as you. Your grief melts into tears but mine is a frozen pain.”

THIRU C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

“A Great loss to Tamil Nadu. The loss is irreparable.”

THIRU K. KAMARAJ.

“I have heard nobody has kept aloft the image of India so well, consistently and with such beatific splendour as Annadurai has done.

He made ‘forget and forgive’ his watchwords throughout his life.”

DR. A. L. MUDALIAR.

"The death of Mr. C. N. Annadurai is a disaster not only for Tamil Nadu but for the entire country. He was shaping as a wise national leader."

THIRU K. SANTHANAM.

"Mr. Annadurai had shown that he had not only political wisdom but also genuine love for those whom he tried his best to serve."

Rt. Rev. R. ARULAPPA,
Archbishop.

"During the eight months I was with Mr. C. N. Annadurai as administrative consultant, I found him to be a person of high intellectual calibre with quick powers of analysis and synthesis."

THIRU N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR.

"We are deeply conscious of his passionate interest in the welfare of the common man."

Mr. ANANDANARAYANAN
(Rtd.) Chief Justice.

"His remarkable qualities as a leader of outstanding eminence, able administrator and statesman and one who could raise above ideological barriers are highly worthy of emulation."

Resolution passed at the Joint Meeting of the
Andhra-Hindustan and Southern India Chambers of Commerce,

“His attitude and approach to labour problems showed that he had understood the secret that labour was essentially a human problem. Labour had great expectations from him.

Tamil Nadu has lost a great friend of labour”

THIRU G. RAMANUJAM,
General Secretary, I. N. T. U. C.

“A man of the hour.”

THIRU A. R. MUDALIAR.

“It is but natural that good-hearted people become politicians. When the mind of a good man turns into the mind of an artiste, godliness results. We saw this in Anna. Anna was the only guide who changed others into his brothers by his love and affection.”

THIRU M. G. RAMACHANDRAN.

“He established true democracy by bridging the gulf between the man in the street and politics.”

THIRU SUNDERLAL NAHATA,
Sheriff, Madras.

7. THE FOREIGNERS

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

MR. THOMAS M. RECKNAGEL,
American Consul-General in Madras.

"An extra-ordinarily popular leader. He conveyed to us deep personal integrity, dynamism, a lively sense of humour and an abiding sense of concern for the people of Tamil Nadu."

MR. CHESTER BOWLES,
The U. S. Ambassador.

"Mr. Annadurai was an inspired leader who will long be mourned by all who knew him."

MR. MICHAEL STEWART,
British Foreign Secretary.

"He was a much loved and respected Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu."

MR. SIR MORRICE JAMES,
British High Commissioner in India.

"An outstanding political leader of India."

MR. BEGOV,
U. S. S. R. Ambassador in India.

The Condolence Resolution

“This House records with deep regret its profound grief on the sad and sudden demise of our revered and beloved late Chief Minister Mr. C. N. Annadurai on Feb. 3rd 1969, the unique and great leader of Tamil Nadu, the elder brother of the Tamils, the sentinel of the Tamil Language, the matchless orator, and forceful writer in Tamil with a unique style of his own evolved by him, the classical example of the pattern of ideal life profounded by Thiruvalluvar, the embodiment of Tamil culture, the true democrat who embodied in his life, his own triple code of conduct, namely, ‘Duty, Dignity, and Discipline’, worked for the integrity and solidarity of the Nation, the staunch worker for the uplift of the Tamil

Language and the Tamils, more particularly, the poor and the downtrodden and a selfless and dedicated public worker till the last breath of his life.

This House conveys its full and heartfelt condolences to his noble spouse Mrs. Rani Annadurai and the members of his family in their bereavement."

Resolution passed in the Legislature on 21—2—'69.

Anna's Epigrams

Compassion, Clarity and Courage.

Duty, Dignity and Discipline.

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

Forget and Forgive.

Have the heart to bear anything.

If this army is defeated, which
army will conquer?

Let virtue be you guide.

Let wisdom be you weapon.

The good will thrive.

Wisdom is manifested in action.

Anna's Select works

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 இனம் 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.
 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-2.

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-2.

PLAYS :

1. ஒரிரவு (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 Justice - 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.

SPEECHES :

1. அறிஞர் அண்ணாவின் கருத்துரைகள்

(Thoughts of Arignar Anna)

—Appar Book Stall, Thanjavur.

2. அண்ணாவின் சொற்செல்வம்

(Thoughtful Speeches of Anna)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-2.

3. ஏ, தாழ்ந்த தமிழகமே !

(O the Down-trodden Tamil Nadu)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-2.

4. தமிழரின் மறுமலர்ச்சி (The Renaissance of Tamils)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-2.

5. தீ பரவட்டும் (Let the Flame Spread)

—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

6. நாம் (We)

—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

7. நிலையும் நினைப்பும் (Status and Thought)

—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

ENGLISH

SPEECHES :

1. The Assembly Speeches

2. Flame and Fury

3. The People's Poet

4. The Press and Democracy

5. The Rajya Sabha Speeches

6. World, the Old and the New

and other speeches.

Works on Anna

TAMIL

BIOGRAPHY :

1. அறிவுலக மேதை அண்ணா (Anna the Genius
of the Intellectual World)
—Cheran, Karthikeyan Publications,
Madras-1.
2. அறிஞர் அண்ணா (Scholar Anna)
—Mara. Thamizhchelvan, Asokan
Pathippagam, Madras.
3. அறிஞர் அண்ணா வாழ்க்கை வரலாறு
(The Biography of Scholar Anna)
—P. V. R. Pandian, Kalaipponni,
Madurai-1.
4. அண்ணாவின் கதை (The Story of Anna)
—Naveenan, Indian Express, Madras-2

5. அண்ணாவின் கடைசி நாட்கள்
(The Last Days of Anna)
—Nagai Tharuman, Poonkodi Pathippagam,
Madras-4.
6. பேரறிஞரின் பெருவாழ்வு
(The Great Life of a Great Scholar)
—A. Maraimalayan, Vanathi Pathippagam,
Madras.
7. பேரறிஞர் அண்ணாவும், பெருந்தலைவர் பெரியாரும்
(The great intellectual Anna and
the great leader Periyar)
—A. Maraimalayan, Lakshmi Puthaka
Nilayam, Thanjavur-1.

POETRY :

1. அண்ணா அறுபது (Anna Sixty)
—Poet Tamilmaran, Vanathi Pathippagam,
Madras.
2. அண்ணாத்துரைக் கோவை
(A Garland of Poems on Anna)
—Kambarappar, Shanthi Noolagam,
Madras-1.

WIT and WISDOM OF ANNA :

1. அறிஞர் அண்ணாவின் வாழ்க்கையில் சுவையான
சம்பவங்கள் (Interesting Incidents in Anna's Life)
—Vetriveeran, Balaji Publications,
Madras-14.
2. அறிஞர் அண்ணா சொன்ன குட்டிக் கதைகள்
(The Little Stories told by Anna)
—Pugalenthi, Balaji Publications,
Madras-14.

3. அண்ணாவின் உவமை நயம்
(An Appreciation of Anna's Similes)
—K. S. Lakshmanan, Muthu Pathippagam,
Valavanoor, S. A. (Dt.)
4. அண்ணாவின் பொன்மொழிகள் (Anna's Sayings)
—Malarkkodi, Malarkkodi Pathippagam,
Madurai,
5. அண்ணாவின் பொன்மொழிகள் (Anna's Sayings)
—A. Maraimalayan, Vanathi Pathippagam,
Madras.
6. மாதுளை (The Pomegranate)
—Sethunammavan, Vannakkalanchiam,
Madras-24.

ENGLISH

BIOGRAPHY :

1. All about Anna
—V. R. Madana Gopal, Bangalore.
2. Anna — The Tempest and the Sea,
—Sagar Ahlawalia, Young Asia Publications.
3. Anna Sixty —A. P. Janarthanam, Madras.
4. Anna — A Sketch
—A. P. Janarthanam, Manonmani
Puthaga Nilayam, Madras-1.
5. The Great Leader
—M. Adhiyaman, Peace Foundation,
Bangalore-1.

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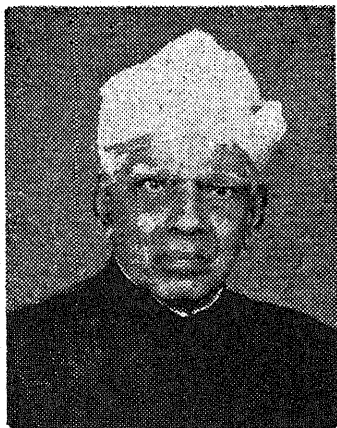


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