



# ASSEMBLY SPEECHES of ANNA

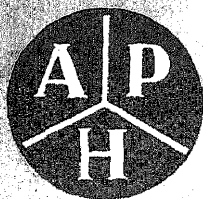
"The society should discharge its duty first. Then only law and peace can be maintained."

—ANNA

169

Editors

A. K. MOORTHY  
G. SANKARAN





## ANNA THE GENERAL.....

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.

— Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM

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# Assembly Speeches of ANNA

editor-in-chief

A. K. MOORTHY

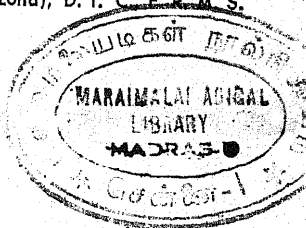
associate editor

G. SANKARAN

with a foreword by

Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM

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



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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 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 audiences and abroad breathe a clarity of thought and facility of expression of any renowned orator or writer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Madras-7, }  
1-12-70. }

S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM.

## **PREFACE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

It has also been planned to translate his select writings from Tamil into English 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.

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

Translating Anna's Speeches and Writings into English is a stupendous task indeed. It is rather a task worthy to be aimed at by an individual organisation or a University. Yet the editors have embarked

upon it as a labour of love and in a spirit of dedication. In this connection, they solicit the whole-hearted co-operation of all concerned—the Press, the readers, leading book distributors and Anna's family—to make their bold attempt and ambitious plan fruitful and successful.

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

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

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

Of the oratorical series planned, the first one *Assembly Speeches of Anna* has been published now after prolonged delay due to unavoidable reasons. In this series select sixteen speeches of oratorical excellence have been included. The text of the original Tamil speeches is taken from *Nam Nadu* (now closed) the official Tamil Daily of the D. M. K. After the final collection is completed, all the assembly speeches of Anna will be included in the next edition, depending upon the encouraging welcome of the readers.

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

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



voluntary help, without any obligation whatsoever, to type neatly all the speeches in the series for easy printing.

Lastly, the editors express their sincere thanks to the following gentle men:

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

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

If, however, there are any shortcomings in this edition, they may be kindly overlooked. At the same time, constructive suggestions for the improvement of the book, are solicited with pleasure.

"To discern the truth in everything is wisdom"

—*The Kural.*

THIRUVALLUVAR ACHAGAM  
NORTH MAIN STREET  
THANJAVUR.

—*A. K. Moorthy.*

# Anna's Speech-An Appreciation

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## 1. The Substance

The select sixteen assembly speeches included in the book are extempore speeches of Anna. They are perfect specimens of argumentative oratory. Of these, thirteen speeches (1-10, 14-16) are replies to debates on various Demands. Two speeches (11, 12) are classical budget speeches. The remaining one speech is a felicitation address. All these speeches were made by Anna both in the Assembly and the Council and they cover a wide variety of subjects in all aspects.

In these famous speeches the subjects such as abolition of land tax, administration of justice, granting of amnesty, centre-state relations, procurement, public conduct, the excellence of Cholas' regime, the role of Panchayats, the need for self-respect marriage bill, the resolution to rename Madras State as Tamil Nadu, people-centred budget, the plight of Indian economy, the standard of the ruling party and the opposition, the language problem, law and peace and industrial development assume greater importance.

In the first speech, *We are not Simpletons*, Anna says that the policy difference is very thin indeed in the growth of political parties. He quotes the Republican Party and the Democratic party in America as typical examples. His humble request to the Congress members is that they need not say anything for mere argument's sake because he is not the one to deny the opportunity for argument to anybody at any time. He adds further that his party will do only feasible and practical things. Not only that. They are for a referendum for complicated issues. He concludes his speech by saying that, though the Congress men consider them simpletons, they credit Congress men with high level of intelligence and therefore they seek their hand of friendship.

In the second speech, *The Abolition of Land Tax*, he hints at the Crop Insurance Scheme as the lasting solution. This scheme has now been brought into force in South India for cotton, jointly by Messrs. EID Parry Ltd., the General Insurance Corporation of India and the State Bank of India in Sathyamangalam area of Coimbatore District as a Pilot Project. If it proves successful it will be extended to other areas and to other crops.

In the third speech, *Justice is Permanent*, which deals with the Municipalities Amendment Bill, Anna stresses that the responsibility of pronouncing the highest verdict rests with the people. His conviction is that justice only is permanent and judgment is not always just.

In the fourth speech, *In Defence of Amnesty*, Anna confirms that amnesty was granted to innocent people

who were the victims of circumstances and environment.

In the fifth speech, *The State and the Centre*, Anna states that the Centre should give up the mentality of keeping a vigilant watch over the actions of the state Government like a monitor. When different parties have assumed power in different states, to-day's powers are not adequate, according to Anna. Moreover, too much of power should not be concentrated in the Centre. Regional imbalance and Hindi imperialism should be done away with. Anna says that one need not misunderstand these remarks as if he revives the demand for Dravidanad.

In the sixth speech, *Procurement and Peoples' Responsibility*, Anna emphasises that procurement is a dire necessity to provide food for society. He requests the whole-hearted co-operation of all the members of the House. He concludes his speech with this remark "The feeling that we should do our duty to society does not exist among our people. Therefore, the system of rationing could not succeed here. Since the social awareness existed in Britain, the ration system was a complete success there."

In the seventh speech, *Conventions and Decency in Public Life*, Anna argues that similarities between political parties cannot be avoided. He painfully remarks that Congress men adopted the foulest methods of propaganda during general elections such as calling names and abusing individuals. Even responsible Congress leaders did not come forward to condemn it. He confirms that it was not so in the past when Thiru Ramasamy Mudaliar and Thiru Sathiamoorthy contested the elections magnanimously. His

view on convention is this; "The convention that does not suit our convenience, cannot become a law... Therefore, it is good to do a thing to suit one's convenience. It is not just to cite precedents governing the choice of the Finance Minister."

In the eighth speech, *To-day's Regime in the Foot-steps of the Chola Kings*, Anna stresses the acceptable opinion that village administration should be carried on well to benefit the people. Besides, District administration should be very efficient in order to satisfy the people. By doing so the Government can earn a good name among them. The system of administration devised by the Cholas is in a way put into practice to-day. Sincere efforts should be made to enthuse the villagers to evince keen interest and team spirit in village administration. The spirit of self-help that was in evidence 20 or 30 years ago should be rekindled in their mind. In fine, Anna says that the Panchayats are the means to bring *Swaraj* to the villages.

In the ninth speech, *The Self-respect Marriage Bill*, Anna puts forth his argument convincingly and conclusively. He emphasizes the need for the self-respect marriage bill and quotes abundantly customs, authorities and precedents in support of the bill.

In the tenth speech, *A Historical Resolution*, Anna feels extremely happy about the unanimous decision of the members to rename Madras as Tamil Nadu. No doubt it is a red-letter day in the lives of all members and the victory thus gained is the victory of the Tamil language, the Tamil history and Tamil Nadu.

In the eleventh speech, *Budget for Peoples' Welfare*, Anna sorrowfully states that the economic condition

was not conducive to the welfare of the people since the targets of the third Five Year Plan were not achieved. The devaluation of the rupee added fuel to the situation. As a result the people suffered a great deal due to spiralling prices and the rise in the cost of living.

In the twelfth speech, *Our Five Year Plans*, Anna reviews impartially the third five year plan not only as a Chief Minister but also as an economist (Anna was an economics M. A.). His firm conclusion is that the people are not benefited by the plan because of its failure in achieving the set targets. This is due to defective execution and ambitious planning. He aptly quotes economic experts and political leaders in this regard.

“Lack of framework of policy is a notable feature of the planned Indian economy. The Indian Planning experts have openly and publicly given up that framework. Thus it is fair and just to remark that there had been a decline from plan to plan”.

—THIRU GADGIL, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PLANNING COMMISSION.

“The Government must know thoroughly about its stringent control over economy. It should realize it even before it undertakes economic development measures. If it does not do so, it is rather difficult to achieve economic growth”.

—THIRU H. M. PATIL.

“In the third plan no target was achieved properly. As a result we have been subject to economic stagnation”.

—DR. LOGANATHAN.

"The plans will be worth nothing if they are planned to the tune of 22,000 or 25,000 crores of rupees as if to scale the heavens. Draw the fourth Five Year Plan to the extent of 15 crores of rupees. It is practicable".

—THIRU K. KAMARAJ IN HIS ADDRESS AT  
JAIPUR CONGRESS.

"The Nation will not bear this plan. Give it some rest or relaxation

—RAJAJI.

Since the defective central planning has its impact on the state planning, the state has not done anything as expected by the opposition. But it has done something according to its capacity.

Anna closes his speech with this remark: "Our economic principle is that the articles purchased by the ordinary people should be within their buying capacity. Then only there will be economic balance in other things".

In the thirteenth speech, *The Ruling Party and the Opposition*, Anna applauds the remarkable services rendered by the retiring M. L. C's. In their different capacities and remarks thus:

"The standard of a Government depends not on the Ruling Party. It rather depends on the standard of the Opposition".

"The standard of the Ruling Party and the Opposition must not be so low as to deteriorate the standard of the country in general".

"The people in the Opposition to-day have had the experience of ruling the country for twenty years.

Hence, they should come forward and try to raise the standard of the country ”.

In the fourteenth speech, *The Burning Language Problem*, Anna is of the view that a lasting solution should be found for the complicated language problem of India and genuine efforts should be made in this regard.

In the fifteenth speech, *Law and Peace in Tamil Nadu*, Anna's considered opinion is this: "Police alone cannot maintain law and peace. Society should discharge its duty first. Then only law and peace can be maintained". His modest request to the Congress members is: "Please stop abusing the police officers in the foulest language. Please show this as a gesture of your 20 years' rule".

In the last speech, *The Knotty Industrial Problem*, Anna remarks that all facilities will be given to the repatriated people from Ceylon for their rehabilitation. There is no harm in giving prize to the best film. The production of a newsreel is necessary since the Government feels the pressing need for it. Police shall discharge their duties impartially without fear and favour.

All honest steps have been taken not only to restore industrial peace but also to settle all disputes amicably—that of peasants, beedi workers, leather-tanning workers and hand cart workers—by the quality of patience. With this faith in abundance a sincere approach has been made to solve the problem of Coimbatore Mills. If the Centre co-operates fully with the state, the State can solve it in no time. The Congress and the Communist parties should pave the



way for it. If the problem is not solved, then it is a national problem rather than a party problem.

With regard to art and politics Anna states: "I consider politics an art too. It need not be construed that art is far beyond politics. Art is nothing but systematised and refined talents".

## 2. Qualities.

As an unrivalled master of everything, Anna treats all subjects in his speeches with ease and equal importance and gives his balanced views on every subject. He takes all members of the House into his confidence and respects them equally. The following quotation of Anna is a fitting example in point: "Whenever a doubt arises in my mind about any problem, the opinions of the Hon. Members have helped me a great deal to resolve the doubt".

Anna maintains the hoary and high traditions of democracy in the Assembly just to show that he is not only a reputed parliamentarian but also an exemplary democrat.

Since Anna is a great man, humility and patience permeate all his assembly speeches. He has great sympathy for the rights and interests of the individual.

As a great debater of all times, Anna argues his case with exceptional talents. The logic of his argument is so powerful and penetrating that it silences the voice of the opposition. An arresting quotation of Anna is as follows: "If it is argued that a Municipality may be dissolved because confusion prevails at its meeting, then Parliament must be dissolved six times a month for pandemonium prevails there also".

As a shrewd democrat, Anna gives ample room for free discussion which is a notable feature of democracy. Thus he tries to find solutions for the aching problems and accepts whole-heartedly the laudable opinions of the Hon. Members.

In his admirable assembly speeches we find an Antony, an Abraham Lincoln, a Burke, and a Disraeli, all in one voice. Besides, Anna's speeches possess all the sublime qualities of superb oratory. They begin with a passing reference to the lofty opinions of the Hon. Members or to an interesting event or to a recollection. The body of the speeches develops coherently and logically. In its logical development we find fine palatable points, arresting quotations, amiable solutions to the burning problems of the country and weighty thoughts, all surpassing one another. The speeches end with an appeal or a decision or a suggestion.

The speeches are remarkable for their pacificism, pragmatism and humanism. The scholarly approach and masterly analysis are marvellous. Natural flow and quick delivery are noteworthy. Refinement and enlightenment, calmness and composure, inherent humour and sharp wit, catholicity of outlook and cosmopolitan tinge are other praiseworthy qualities of Anna's speeches.

### 3. The Style.

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

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

He makes use of quotations for the sake of emphasis. The authorities quoted are Swami Vivekananda, Rajaji, H. M. Patil, Gadgil, Dr. Loganathan, V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and Maraimalai Adigal.

He uses vision and rhetoric for the sake of vividness and effect. His ingenious use of alliteration, a predominant feature of his speeches, gives force and depth to his speeches.

He employs allusions and stories for comparison and contrast.

Of all these devices simile, metaphor, rhetoric, quotations and stories are predominant in his assembly 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.

Anna speaks to an assembly audience of all categories. Therefore, he employs a flowing and moving style to attract their attention. It is full of rich ideas 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.*

**Dedicated to . . . . .**



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

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

**— *The Kural* (69)**



PERIAR (E. V. RAMASAMY) THE POLITICAL GURU OF ANNA  
AND  
THE FATHER OF DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENT.



**ANNA, THE MATCHLESS ORATOR OF  
TAMIL NADU**

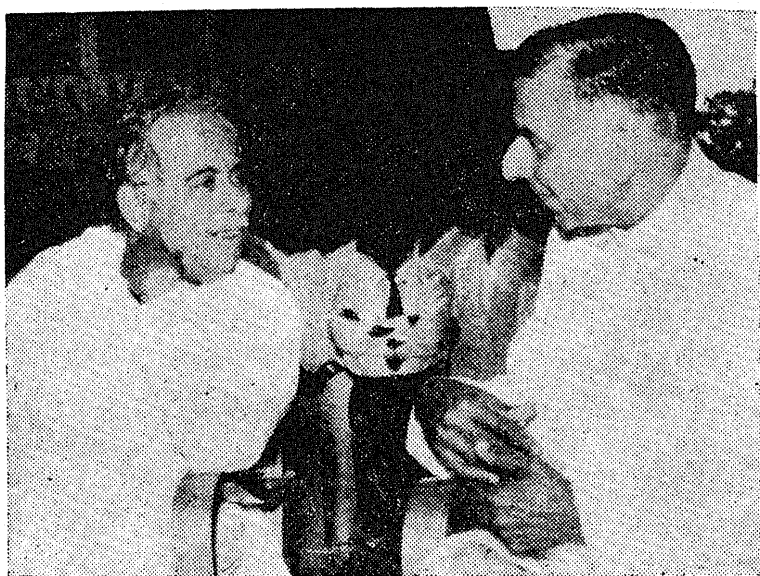


**ANNA GOING THROUGH THE FILE IN HIS  
CHAMBER AT THE SECRETARIAT**

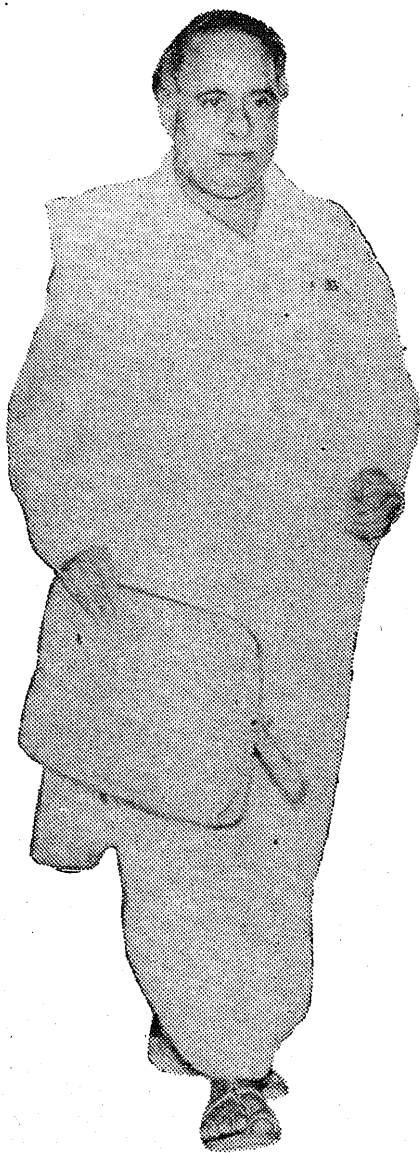


ANNA SELLING RAFFLE TICKETS TO  
THIRU UJJAL SINGH,  
THE-THEN GOVERNOR OF TAMIL NADU





**ANNA CHATTING CHEERFULLY WITH THE CHIEF SECRETARY  
THIRU C. A. RAMAKRISHNAN, I. C. S.**



**ANNA PROCEEDING TO THE ASSEMBLY  
TO PRESENT THE BUDGET**



ANNA WITH THIRU M. G. RAMACHANDRAN THE  
APPLE OF ANNA'S EYE AND  
THIRU C. P. ADITHANAR FORMER SPEAKER

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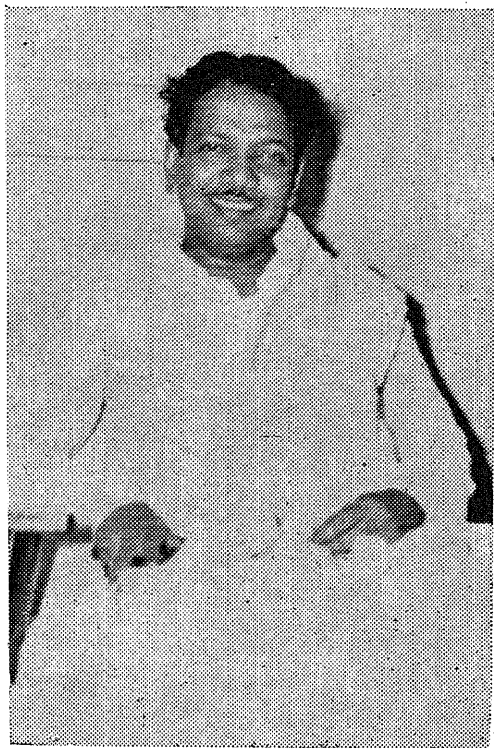
## APPENDIX



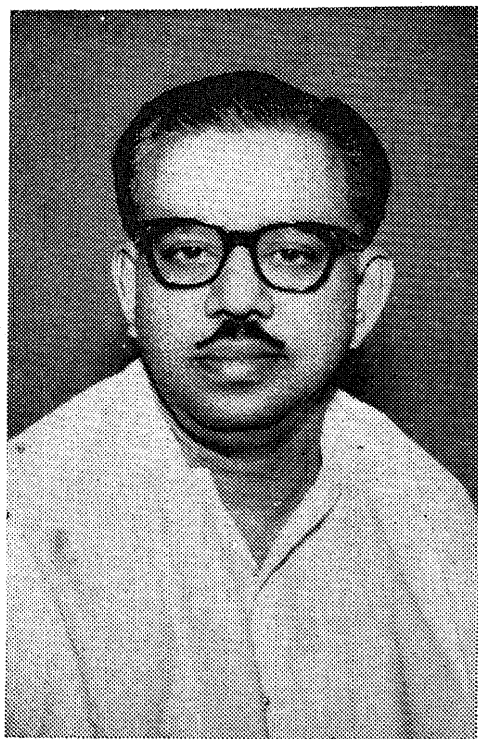
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### An Important Correction

In pages 86, 125, 139 read Ramamurthy  
for Ramadoss.



HON. THIRU. KALAIGNAR M. KARUNANIDHI  
PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER



HON. THIRU. R. NEDUNSEZHIAN  
EDUCATION MINISTER

"Freedom from crooked speech is rectitude,  
if it be free from crookedness within"

*The Kural (119)*

We are | I  
not  
Simpletons

1

Many members of this House have expressed laudable opinions. A Congress member, too, said that the budget looked like one prepared by Thiru R. Venkataraman. Thiru R. Venkataraman is an experienced man. So it means by implication that the budget looks like one prepared by experienced men. Even at the commencement they have praised us to that extent.



Some had expressed regret that there was no difference at all between the previous and the present Governments. It is difficult to find policy differences in the growth of political parties. The line of demarcation between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in America is very thin indeed.

I have presented this Interim Budget as a continuation of the plans carried out by the previous Government. The Congress members say that nothing is mentioned about the medium of instruction and the three-language formula in the budget and they say so only for mere argument's sake. I am not the one to deny the opportunity for argument to anybody. In fact, I myself have been engaged in argument all these years.

There is a deficit of Rs. 7 crores in the budget prepared and presented by me. Even in the interim budget prepared by the experienced Central Finance Minister, Thiru Morarji Desai, there is a deficit of Rs. 350 crores. There is also a deficit in the budgets of states like Kerala, West Bengal and Gujarat. Extravagance is not the cause for the deficit. Nor is it due to a defective administration. On the contrary, it is due to the rise in the

salaries of the Government Officers for unavoidable reasons.

2
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The Congress members think that all they have to do is to talk merely about the one-rupee-a-measure scheme and the proposed three measure-a-rupee scheme of rice. Their attempt will end in failure if they do so.

If we are unable to carry out our plans, we shall never hesitate to bring it to the notice of the people. Let me cite an example. When we gave up the demand for Dravidanad, they said that we should either attain Dravidanad or dig our own graves. They also said that people would not repose trust in us after we gave up the demand for Dravidanad. What picture do you see now?

As people in power, we shall do only those things that are feasible and practicable. We have been considering the possibility of resorting to referendum to ascertain public opinion regarding certain issues.

The Congressmen should co-operate with us in finding solutions to problems. When some people urge us to find quick solutions for problems, they may do so with the best of

intentions. Others may also think that they can make us fall down by asking us to go fast. I shall not give room for such a condition to arise. We shall do things only after careful examination. I do not act in haste. But after doing a thing I am not in the habit of regretting it.

Many of the Congress friends talked about Land Tax. They ingeniously mentioned that the previous Chief Minister Thiru M. Bakthavatsalam had promised to remove land tax. But they deliberately failed to mention the second part of the statement. What he actually said is this: "The Government must undertake the trade in grain in order to compensate the loss incurred by the abolition of land tax. This is just like the introduction of the sales tax to compensate the loss caused by prohibition." He had also stated that the Government would arrive at a decision only after the month of June. He did not categorically say that the Government would abolish land tax but he had said that the Government would consider the possibility.

How are we to abolish land tax? Can we offer tax relief to big land-lords or should we offer relief to petty land-holders owning three

or five acres ? This problem has to be decided first.

Even the Planning Commission has, in its despatches, advised the State Governments not to abolish land tax. If we say that the problem will receive our gradual attention, we are misunderstood. They interpret the term 'gradually' to mean nothing. It is an error of judgment. If we say that we gradually go up, it does mean we are going up firmly.

They mentioned also the erection of the Thermal Electric Power Plant. The problem is whether we should set it up either at Tuticorin or at Ennore. Thiru R. Venkataraman may have entrusted the task to us after solving the problem. Even now we are prepared to solve the problem, making use of his ingenuity and paying heed to his methodology.

Even the Congress members accepted that the assistance from the Centre is quite necessary. The Congressmen who were in power previously, could not press their demands at the Centre. As people in power, we can seek assistance from the Centre with determination and firmness. If they refuse

to accede to our demands, we shall go to the people and explain the situation to them.

The Congress members spoke as if the D. M. K. had succeeded because of its election promise of three measures of rice per rupee. But, the opinion expressed by Thiru R. Venkataraman, the Ex-Minister for Industries about the D. M. K's success has appeared in the newspapers: "Now the people have developed the faculty of thinking. They have given us the reins of power in the belief that the rule of the D. M. K. will help them to grow further." The Congressmen who do not subscribe to this view say that people cannot get three measures of rice as promised by the D. M. K. and so the people are disappointed. (In fact, it is not the election promise of the D. M. K.)

I can quote from the speeches of the Congressmen during their rule of twenty years, wherein they had promised to usher in a land of milk and honey. The Congress friends say that the people are disappointed under the rule of the D. M. K. because they failed to get the things expected. If they were disappointed with Congress rule no less than with the rule of the D. M. K. whom are they to trust and repose their confidence in ?

With a few rare exceptions, all of them from the Ministers down to the ordinary Congressmen have been referring to us as simpletons. But, we credit all Congress men with a high level of intelligence. That is why we seek their hand of friendship.

Reply to the debate on the Interim Budget  
in the Madras Legislative Council

on 3-3-1967

“Only those who plough live truly.  
All others trail behind them for food.”

*The Kural (1033)*

## 2 | The Abolition of Land Tax

1

All those who spoke on land tax had expressed fairly just opinions. As I have already expressed, I believe this house will allow me to appoint an Advisory Committee in order to elicit the opinions of all parties regarding the land tax abolition. After examining all your opinions in the committee, we shall arrive at a decision, -

We must give an impetus to agriculture. Many members expressed that, if we did not encourage the farmers, they would produce commercial crops instead of paddy.

Thiru Ponnappa Nadar, too, stressed the opinion that the general land tax must be abolished in order to encourage the farmers and pointed out that the question has been discussed from the time of Gandhi. From the time of Gandhi, although the abolition of land tax was spoken of, it had been raised gradually at every stage. It is a measure of the confidence that the Congressmen have in me that they ask me to abolish land tax all at once. The decision of the Government about the land tax relief will be certainly announced in the budget to be presented during the month of June and July (1967).

Land tax includes water cess also. If we abolish water cess, we have to consider the expenditure on irrigation. An officer has submitted a report on the abolition of land tax to the Government. Even in that report he has opined that land tax cannot be abolished completely.



The total income from land tax is Rs. 13.21 crores. If we do away with land tax immediately, there will be a deficit of more than Rs. 13 crores. Then the opposition party people will question why we do prepare a deficit budget to the tune of Rs. 13 crores.

Here the opinion that big landlords need not be granted tax relief was also expressed. Another difficulty is that, if we approach big landlords, they also happen to be small landlords. It is an open secret that they had made such a trickish arrangement even before the advent of land ceiling act. When the act was brought in, we said that it must be introduced firmly, taking into consideration the opinions of all the opposition parties. The people of the ruling party then turned a deaf ear to our request. Therefore, loop-holes as such have crept into the act. The big landlords have sought protection for themselves by sharing all the lands among their kith and kin. Eighty out of hundred people have sought protection in this manner.

All are not farmers who call themselves so. Those who go to the fields during the

harvest season only, call themselves farmers. Even the agricultural coolies are farmers. A few petty landholders who toil and cultivate their small bits of lands are also farmers. The land owners who have also engaged in agriculture call themselves farmers. Therefore, it must be carefully examined which kind of farmers should be benefited by the proposed abolition of land tax. Moreover, the loss incurred by land tax relief must be compensated somehow. Though the gain accruing from sales tax is not as plentiful as the yield of a sacred cow, otherwise called *Kamadenu* in vernacular, it must be at least as good as that of a Hosur cow.

Dr. Hande expressed his opinion about the compensation of the loss sustained through the abolition of land tax and the trade in grain through the State Trading Corporation. Any trade carried on by the Corporation has not, to this day, proved beneficial. On that account, it cannot be said that the Corporation is incapable of doing good business at any time in future.

The suggestion that is frequently expressed in Parliament is the Crop Insurance. If it comes into force, and if the farmers accept it,

then it will be easy to abolish land tax. Let us arrive at a good decision, after duly considering the opinions expressed by all the members.

Reply to the debate on Land Tax  
in the Legislative Assembly  
on 23—3—67

“The ornament of the wise is not to incline to either side but to rest impartial as the even-fixed scale”.

— *The Kural* (118)

Justice		3
is		
Permanent		

1
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It was said on our behalf, that when the Congress Government dissolved the municipalities in the past, democracy was jeopardized and the rights of local bodies were flouted. It was also said that many municipalities could be dissolved for the same causes for which some municipalities were dissolved and that the dissolution of the Tirunelveli Municipality was serious. But, the ruling party then turned a deaf ear to all that.

The Congress members said that the High Court had delivered judgment on the dissolution of the Tirunelveli Municipality. Because of the judgment of the High Court, this bill is being brought in. The judgment of the High Court is not the final one. Above all, the responsibility of pronouncing the highest verdict rests with the people. After the verdict of the people, is any other verdict necessary?

Many people think that judgment is always just. If it is just and final, why do we go then to the Higher Courts in appeal?

Justice only is permanent. Judgement of the Court is based on a consideration of the circumstances and on the knowledge that it is proper at a particular period of time.

The Congress members remarked that the plan of the new Government is to change all the decisions of the previous Government. Two days back while speaking on the interim budget, they added that the new Government was following in the footsteps of the old Government. Now they say that we are changing all the decisions of the previous Government. From this it is clear that the Congress members say something or other just to find fault with us somehow or other. I would ask the Congress members to forget

their party loyalty for a moment and ask their conscience, if the dissolution of the municipalities was just or not.

What grounds were given to establish the inefficiency of the Tirunelveli Municipality? The supply of water was not condemned; or were there any other reasons adduced? It is said that confusion prevailed at the meetings of the Tirunelveli Municipality. If it is argued that a Municipality may be dissolved because confusion prevails at its meeting, then Parliament must be dissolved six times a month for pandemonium prevails there also.

When our grandsons study about the dissolution of the Nellai and Aruppukottai Municipalities in Law Colleges, would they not think that, during the days of their grandfathers, a great injustice had been done to democracy?

2
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Dr. Hande said that the High Court condemned the dissolution of the Municipalities. Thiru Martin, a Congress member, argued against Dr. Hande and remarked that the decision of the High Court was only a judgment and not a condemnation. He is an advocate. I believe he will meet with success

in that field! Advocates are not all-knowing. Even non-advocates are capable of understanding something.

In any Court judgment I read, there is no line of demarcation between a judgment and a condemnation. There is no such distinction at all. If we want to know which is condemnation in a judgment, we must use our discretion. The mistake committed by Dr. Hande is that he used his discretion. Therefore, he said that the High Court had expressed condemnation.

When the Congress Government appealed against the judgment of Justice Kailasam, they did not state the reasons for the dissolution. On the contrary, they went in appeal to determine whether the Government had the powers to dissolve the Municipalities or not. The opinions expressed by the High Court judge on the dissolution sound like words of condemnation: "We are not examining whether the dissolution of the municipality is wise or unwise." This sentence in the judgment is a clear condemnation. Therefore, only after accepting the opinion expressed by the High Court, this Government brings in the bill.

Reply to the debate on the Municipalities  
Amendment Bill in the Legislative  
Assembly on 28-3-67

“The world is steeped in grace. Those without grace  
are a burden to the earth”.

— *The Kural* (572)

## 4 | In Defence of Amnesty

1

Though the Congress members did not find fault with us for releasing the persons involved in the Anti-Hindi Agitation, they, however, expressed regret. They must think of the state of tension that prevailed in the country then.

I have no desire to point out that amnesty was granted by the Congress Party to the



freedom-fighters, when the country attained independence. Nor am I going to point out the pardon granted when unrest broke out in Andhra. I do not want also to bring to your notice the pardon now granted by the Bengal Government.

During the Anti-Hindi Agitation, the peoples' mind was so agitated that they did not know what was good and what was bad or what they were doing.

I condemned the atrocities that took place then; I condemn them to-day also. I am firm in my opinion that law and order should be maintained at all costs. I not only condemn the idea that justice can be established by murder and robbery, but I totally abhor it.

Two sub-inspectors were burnt alive. You might have heard of the names of children of one of them. The boy's name was Elangovan and the girl's name was Manimekalai. Do you understand the significance of the name of Manimekalai? The family had imbibed the mentality of our movement.

The heart breaks to think of what has happened. But at the time when confusion reigned supreme, crowds of people indulged in attack. After the incident was over, it is not

just on our part to catch a few people and condemn them as criminals. In that troubled period, some were caught and some were imprisoned. Could we say that all of them were criminals?

At the same time, I issued a statement expressing my regret and sympathy for the families of the aggrieved officers. You would have known it well, if you had read my statement. Since we have abundant sympathy for the families of those officers, we have decided to provide greater financial help to the bereaved families than what has been already given.

Of these cases the most serious is the Thirupur rioting case in which two police officers were killed. But, did you pay attention to the punishments awarded in that case? It ranged from three to five years. In case the accusation was proved, life sentence or death sentence must have been awarded.

When large crowds are on the rampage, and inhuman atrocities are committed, it is very difficult to pick ten or fifteen persons and establish their guilt beyond doubt.

Another very important matter is this: All these cases were tried in sub-courts. Many

advocates with whom I discussed it, said that, if the accused had enough financial status to go in appeal to the High Court, they were likely to be released. Therefore, I would like to stress one thing. We have not released people guilty of murder, robbery and rioting. We were sure that they never had any idea of indulging in such heinous crimes. Hence, we sympathised with them and released them.

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Amnesty signifies not only the release of the accused but that the accused are acquitted of their crimes. It also means the opening of a new chapter in their lives after the crimes are pardoned. While committing a crime, the criminal must have had the mania. Judged by that standard, can we reasonably think that a betelnut shop-keeper or cigar worker suffered from a mania of killing the police officers? We should forgive them because they were the victims of circumstances and environment.

Thiru R. Venkataraman said, "People like Karunanidhi also might be released; people who are guilty of moral turpitude might also be released. But, is it just to release

people guilty of violence?" But, there is difference of opinion among the judges of the High Court regarding the interpretation of the term 'moral turpitude'!

The common law says that people guilty of violence must not be set free. If a handful of people are emotionally excited and act blindly, not knowing what they do, the society that induced them, may squarely bear the blame. The spirit of the times should be blamed, and not the individual. This order of release has been passed not to tamper with justice or to encourage violence.

Thiru R. Venkataraman said that a Committee might be appointed to inquire into the matter. We said the same thing to the Ex-Chief Minister: "The country is in the grip of confusion and chaos. Many have lost their lives. A judicial inquiry may be held". I am not going to turn a deaf ear to Thiru R. Venkataraman's suggestion like the former Chief Minister. It would have been so good if Thiru R. Venkataraman had given such suggestions to the Ex-Chief Minister at the proper time, instead of offering belated suggestions.

Speech delivered  
at the Madras Legislative Council  
on 28-3-67

“ That is the land which bears any burden, and  
which pays the full tribute to its sovereign.”

— *The Kural* (733)

## The State | 5 and The Centre |

1

Various doubts have risen in the minds of people of different walks of life, regarding the relations that should exist between the state and the Centre. I categorically state again that there is no ground or justification or need for such doubts.

The Central Government should give up the mentality of keeping vigilant watch over the actions of the State Government like a

monitor. If the Central Government exists for administrative convenience, then it should be situated in a central place of the country. In that case, only Hyderabad can be the central place. But the Central Government is at New Delhi. If it exists for administrative clarity then it ought to be in Madras. It is universally admitted that the administration in Madras is the best. If the Central Government acts as if it has a duty to supervise the affairs of the State Government, then there is bound to be friction and disgust between the two Governments.

The Central Government has no finances of its own. But only the taxes paid by the people on consumer goods go to fill the coffers of the Central Ex-chequer. We need not consider that they all belong to the Central Government. Since the State Government has close contact with the masses, it is quite necessary that the money obtained from the people of the state must be spent through the State Government only.

If there is a feeling that the revenues and the powers of the State Government are not adequate, we should not hesitate to augment them. The opposition leader, Thiru R. Venkata-

raman may say that to-day's powers are quite adequate. But when different parties have assumed power in different states, we should see whether to-day's powers are adequate.

2

Now a new chapter begins in the relations between the State and the Centre. While I say so, you need not think that I am bringing in indirectly the demand for Dravidanad, which I claim I have given up. If anybody thinks so, then he must be a doubting Thomas. At the same time we have given up that demand since we strongly believe that our objectives can be achieved by remaining in the Indian Union.

(Too much of power should not be concentrated in the Centre. There should not be regional imbalance or linguistic imperialism.) We had been demanding a separate Dravidanad only in order to weed out these evils. Now we have certainly given up that demand. But, I should like to say that we would press these demands with greater right, firmness and vigour than before.

We have firmly decided to resist continuously the domination of Hindi. We are the

people who have grown up with Anti - Hindi Agitation. We are also the people who have received better training in resisting Hindi imperialism than any other imperialism. We shall resist imperialism from whichever quarter or from whomsoever it comes. Likewise we shall not impose our views or destroy the beliefs of anybody anywhere. Compulsion always breeds opposition. The modern era signifies the growth of opposition to imperialism. Such being the case, if a new language is thrust on a people whose lives are inextricably linked with their language, there is bound to be considerable opposition.

In that case we shall stubbornly resist the imposition of Hindi. Therefore, I request you all to co-operate with us and lead us to the goal of victory.

The Salem Steel plant has not become an accomplished fact only because of regional imbalance. Since it is necessary for us to ask others and get it from them, it has not been achieved. The Centre interferes with our



actions at every step. Please do not run away with the impression that I am saying all this to demand a division of our mother-land. Far from it.

Speech delivered at the Madras  
Legislative Council on 28-3-'67  
while replying to the debate on  
the Interim Budget.

“ He who knows the proper duties of benevolence live truly.  
Others are to be reckoned among the dead ”.

—*The Kural* (214)

## 6 | Procurement And People's Responsibility.

1

Procurement is a dire necessity since the Government has the responsibility of providing food in the statutory rationing areas like Madras and Coimbatore. The members complained that some officers acted in an unjust and arbitrary manner during procurement. If any officer acted arbitrarily, the Government would not hesitate to take action against him.

The members who say that the rights of the individual are affected by procurement,

must extend their co-operation in carrying-out the procurement scheme successfully, as it is the duty of the Government to provide food for all people. If we had not taken such steps, we could not have procured to this extent.

The members said: "We should see to it that the rights of the individuals are not affected while procurement is made." I have great sympathy for the rights and interests of the individual. I assure you that their rights and interests will be properly safe-guarded. I wish that hoarders should not make use of the views expressed by the members about the rights of the individual.

Honourable member Damodaran said: "During ration time in England egg was not available in London, whereas the villagers had it". Let us imagine such a state of affairs in Madras. Even if eggs were not available, people could buy them at black market rate. What does this show? It shows that we have not attained such a high degree of public morality as they have in England.)

Not only that. Londoners even saved a part of the milk and egg supplied to them in

ration and gave them to the less fortunate people. Such was their fellow-feeling and tenderness! When will such a state of affairs obtain in our country?

2
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There are yet people among us who escape taking advantage of the loopholes in law. It is rather absurd to say that procurement officers may go everywhere. But the hoarding merchants hoard at all places without any distinction. Therefore, I believe that there is necessity to scrutinise all places. If members say categorically, that procurement officers had behaved in a disrespectful manner, we shall take stern steps against them. There may be some erring officers. We shall never hesitate to condemn them.

The hoarder himself may adopt some trickish ways. He may call the place of hoarding a prayer hall and try to prevent the officers from entering it and quote the discussions in the Legislative Assembly in his favour. If we make a fuss about these little things, it is not conducive to public welfare.

There is a way for doing such things. If you have any specific grievances, I would request you to tell us about them in person.

You may even go to the people and ask them to help and co-operate with the Government.

Procurement is quite necessary. It is an evil necessity as well. As soon as we assumed power, we would have been happy if we could say that there would be neither procurement nor control. But, we cannot forget that we have the responsibility to provide food for society.

If the hoarders number only fifty or sixty, the police will catch them in a day or two. But they are spread out everywhere. Even in the days of rice scarcity, as long as there are people determined to buy two measures more than what they require, there will be hoarders. Under such circumstances it is difficult to find where the hoarders have hidden the commodities. The feeling that we should do our duty to society does not exist among our people. Therefore, the system of rationing could not succeed here. Since that sense of social awareness existed in Britain, the ration system was a complete success there.

Speech delivered at the Madras Legislative  
Council while replying to the debate  
on the Allotment Funds Bill  
dated 29 - 3 - '67.

“ The worthy and unworthy shall be known only  
by the existence of their offspring ”.

—*The Kural* (114)

## Conventions and Decency in Public Life. | 7

1

I thought that the debate on the governor's address would be somewhat acrimonious since the D. M. K., the erstwhile opposition party has become the ruling party and vice-versa. But, as far as I am concerned, I am glad to say that it was less acrimonious than I expected.

A few Congress members remarked quoting Rajaj's words that the alliance between the D. M. K. and the Swatantra had broken since their honeymoon came to an end. I have

often been speaking about our association with the Swatantra. Our relations are not based either on ideological unity or on similarity of outlook. Rather they were formed with the firm aim that the Congress rule must be done away with.

In certain things there is a similarity of outlook between the D. M. K. and Swatantra. Both of us say that the administration must be clean and corruption must be put an end to. On that account it cannot be said that we have accepted all the policies of the Swatantra. Likewise we have accepted some of the policies of the Left Communist Party. On that account it cannot be said that we have accepted all their policies. There may be cleavage of opinion among us with regard to ideological differences.

In the pictures honeymoon means this. The lover and the loved will run about singing near a stream. Whether they enjoy the honeymoon or not, they will certainly please the audience! "Embracement is only after feigned dislike in the case of husband and wife". Thiru Karuthiruman, who had just returned from the Kamban Festival, would have known this well. Referring to me Rajaji said: "He is a good man. Responsibility can safely be

entrusted to him." and thereby our political honeymoon started. Only after the honeymoon the family life begins. We must speak of it only when the family is set up.

We never thought whether any of the parties, the Swatantra or the Left Communist or the P. S. P. or S. S. P. or the Muslim League or Tamil Arasu Kazhagam should join us after losing their individuality and entity. On that account you need not spread the fear that they will not co-operate with us. The just relationship that exists now among us will last for ever.

Those who said that the alliance had broken, expected that a coalition ministry might be formed, when we were about to form the ministry. By this they wanted to bring about a split among us by instigating the parties of the alliance about their representation in the ministry.

But, the Left Communist Party announced clearly, "Let the D. M. K. rule. We don't want a share in the ministry." My esteemed friend Gramani said, "I support the D. M. K. ministry only. I shall tell them what I want to say." They are all elderly people who supervise us. We have the confidence that,



if we include some of the elders, our burden will certainly be lessened and our efficiency and capacity will increase. Since they want to supervise us, we do not include them in our Cabinet. As the parties of the alliance they will give us the necessary co-operation when and where it is needed.

2

During elections Congress men adopted the foulest methods of propaganda, calling names and abusing individuals. It was very painful to me. Even when such foul and indecent attacks were made, some Congress leaders whom I revere did not come forward to utter a word of condemnation.

Thiru Natarajan, the Organising Secretary of the D. M. K. once in his emotional speech asked the people to throw stones at those who threw them. Even at that mammoth gathering of about three and a half lakh of people held in the Madras Marina Beach, I made him apologize before the people for his unworthy remark. Perhaps, they think the more vulgar their speeches are, the higher they will rise in the estimation of the public. The masses are intelligent, so they know what is what! They attacked Rajaji and Gramani

in the foulest language possible. In those days Thiru Ramasamy Mudaliar and Thiru Sathiamoorthy used to contest elections with a friendly talk and without any bitterness in their hearts. But was the recent election propaganda conducted on that high level ?

They drew a cartoon as if Rajaji, Kayetha Milleth and I were riding on a donkey. They did this wantonly in order to condemn our alliance. Not a single Congress leader came forward to condemn it. Whether we rode on a donkey or a horse we have been given the mandate to rule.

3

Some members said that there was nothing new in the Governor's address. Some others remarked that it did not contain what they expected. The Governor's address is not expected to give a detailed account of the proposed actions of the Government. It can only hint at the shape of things to come.

If nothing is mentioned about the workers and the fate of handloom, it does not mean that we have forgotten them. Those who say that there is nothing new in the Governor's address repeat their argument as if they have

a strong point in their favour. There is neither logic nor politics in their argument.

My esteemed friend Gramani said, "While Tamil is the official language of Tamilnad, one who assumes the office of Governor must be conversant with Tamil". While it is argued that only one who is proficient enough to address the parliament in Hindi is fit to become the President of India, there is nothing wrong, however, in saying that one who becomes the Governor of Tamilnad must have a knowledge of Tamil. Thiru Gramani also expressed the opinion that the Governor must be a person elected by the people. His opinion is worthy of consideration.

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I am grateful to the members who spoke highly of me as if I were next only to the Governor. Even the opposition leader, Thiru Karuthiruman said that I was sure to win the election from any Constituency. My friend has a soft corner for me !

Any member of the Legislative Council may become either a minister or the Chief Minister. There is no law prohibiting one from holding the finance portfolio. If I say there

is no law, the opposition leader will say there is a convention.

Convention is only a practice. When I was speaking to an English scholar about the origin of the term 'convention', he said that it was derived from the term 'convenience'. Therefore, it is a convention only as long as it suits us or is convenient to us. The convention that does not suit our convenience cannot become a law.

You might have seen the portraits of Governors put up in Rajaji Hall. Are the present day Governors dressed like the Governor of the olden days? Nor do the present day ministers dress like the previous ministers except in one or two cases?

Therefore, it is good to do a thing to suit one's convenience. It is not just to cite precedents governing the choice of the Finance Minister.

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The Congress members asked us not to blame the Central Government. If the people in authority at the Centre will not do what ought to be done for us, not only do we blame them but expose them before the bar of public

opinion. That is the difference between the previous and the present Governments. We shall tell the people what ought to be told.

A large number of people have been repatriated from Burma to Tamilnadu. They have left all their belongings there. Can we ask the Burmese Government to give us rice, if not the cash value of their belongings?

We shall announce to the whole world how powerless the State Governments are under the Constitution. Thiru E. M. S. Namboodripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala will co-operate with us in pointing out how the Central Government conducts itself. Not only Namboodripad but also other non-congress Governments will co-operate with us in this regard. I would request that all members must give us their co-operation in our attempts to get the necessary rights from the Centre.

Reply to the debate on the Governor's  
Address in the Legislative  
Assembly on 31-3-'67.

“Do an act wherever it is possible.  
If not do it where it is useful.”

—*The Kural* (673)

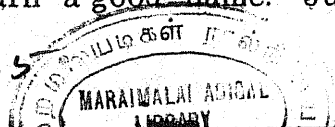
## 8 | To-day's Regime in the Footsteps of the Chola Kings.

1

While expressing an important opinion, all the members pointed out that, whichever party may be in power or whoever may be in authority, if people should be benefited, the administration at the village level should be carried on well.

Government's plans will be implemented only if the people are well satisfied and the Government will earn a good name. Just as

23/65



the blood vessels and nerves are essential for the proper functioning of the human body, so also the district administration can function well, if it is organised in the order of villages, firkas, taluks and districts.

I consider it important because the members have realised the truth that, unless the district administration is carried on properly, no benefit will be derived from some schemes formulated by the Government. The reformative measures which we wish to undertake in this regard should be carried out only after deep and careful consideration.

2

I beg to differ from the opinions expressed by the honourable members in one point. It is not correct to say, that the administration based in the order of villages, firkas, taluks and districts is the creation of the Britishers and it will not function well at present and we are unable to adopt that system.

We need not take into consideration the whole of India at present. So far as Tamilnad is concerned, we should remember that the system devised by the Cholas is in a way put into practice to-day.

The Chola kings took the villages as the fundamental unit of administration. They integrated the villages into Panchayat Unions, Panchayat Unions into districts, districts into zones, zones into states and lastly states into kingdom in order to carry on administration efficiently. Though the rule of the Tamil kings was on the whole good, the rule of the Chola kings was in particular excellent.

Historians admire their administration because they divided it into different departments and established vital links between one department and another in order to ensure excellent administration. Not only did they divide districts into different units but they also constituted different boards to look after various affairs. The boards thus constituted were the Agriculture Board, the District Board, the Irrigation Board, the Defence Board, the Revenue Board, the Board of Accounts, and lastly the Highways Board. When we speak of 'Irrigation' and 'Highways', we think of them as if they were introduced by the Britishers. But the truth is otherwise.

Even in the days of the Chola kings there were separate boards for every one of these affairs. Although we have the same kind of



administration to-day, the vitality of their administration is absent. The reason for lack of such vitality to-day is that our villagers do not evince the same interest in administration as was evinced in those days.

My friend Thiru Karuthiruman knows this. Some twenty or thirty years ago, if a culvert gave way, the villagers would repair it themselves without waiting for the Collector or the Legislator. They all worked as a team in attending to such public works.

The present day tendency is to expect Government loan, or aid or grant for doing anything and everything. Even for repairing a culvert we expect some Government Officer's help. I request the honourable members to enthuse the villagers to help themselves.

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While presenting the budget, I made special mention of the Prosperity Brigade. Although some of the speakers expressed doubts whether it was a Red Army or some other one, I made it clear, that the brigade would be utilised only to put the idea of this self-help into practice. I believe that the brigade can be made use of to implement many

useful things if it is organised not only at district level but also at village level. All the things which cannot be carried out either by the Prosperity Brigade or by the village volunteers because of their complication and for want of administrative genius should be left to the Government. It is not unjust for the Government to interfere in such matters. On the other hand the Government must necessarily interfere in some tasks.

I would request all the honourable members to rekindle in the public mind the spirit of self-help that was in evidence twenty or thirty years ago.

I was listening with rapt attention to the opinions expressed about the District Development Council for I am vitally interested in this problem.

The Panchayats were created in the belief that every village should have a Panchayat. It was the greatest privilege that the Government could confer and that would bring 'Swaraj' to the door-steps of every villager.

Many Panchayats have been established in tiny villages. Since their income is meagre, they do not have the opportunities of carrying out all the duties of the Panchayats.

The leader of the opposition pointed out that all small villages should be reorganised on the basis of income. When the Government comes forward to reorganise, all the parties should accept it as a right move. Then only any party in power can venture to do so.

Reply given to the debate on Demands for District  
Administration in the Legislative  
Assembly on 12-7-'67'

“Those who do not know how to act agreeably with the wise men of the world are said to be ignorant even though they are learned.

—*The Kural* (140)

## The Self-Respect | 9 Marriage Bill.

1

This Bill has been discussed in this same House twice before. If I remember right, efforts were taken when Kuttikrishna Nair was the Law Minister. Again in 1957 another attempt was made and again in 1965 yet another attempt was tried. Even now we are engaged in this attempt.

If we read those debates, then we will know how the people who expressed their

opinion on the Bill, when it came in for discussion, have progressively changed.

When such an amendment was brought forward for the first time, many people were rather agitated but none is agitated now.

When the problem was discussed for a second time, only a few were agitated but some entertained fears. But nobody entertains any such fear now.

As was pointed out by Dr. Hande the only problem now is, "Why do you single out the Hindu for repeated attacks?"

The Muslims will make efforts to reform Muslims. Such efforts will be quite welcome by them.

The reason why we have to single out the Hindu Community is this. There is a school of thought which says that more than any other religion, Hinduism contains all philosophies and it does not leave out anything so far as Philosophy is concerned. Another school of thought says that the eternity of Hindu religion is the reason for this. Yet another school of thought believes that the amorphousness of Hinduism is the reason for this.

Whatever may be the truth, Dr. Hande need not contend that it applies only to the Hindu and not to others

I remember that it was Swami Vivekananda who said that a true Hindu should not fear reformation.

I remember the same Swami Vivekananda saying that a true Hindu should imbibe the spirit of the times.

Many Hindus have themselves pointed out that a true Hindu does not recognize caste. Therefore, we need not worry that it applies to Hindus only.

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It is a principle of law that any habit or custom practised by people over a period of time must be legalized. We are only legalizing a new system that has been in vogue in Tamil Nadu for the past thirty or forty years. This is not the law which says that from to-day everyone should marry under this system after the promulgation of the law. To use legal parlance, it is only a 'permissive act'. This is not the law which says that all marriages in Tamil Nadu should be performed under this

system prohibiting other systems of marriage. If it is a prohibitive act, then we should ascertain the opinion of the public. It is only a permissive act which legalizes marriages already performed or which are proposed to be performed under this system.

3

Many opinions have been expressed about these systems of marriage. The Hon'ble member Thiru Arangannal said, "This system is beyond party politics".

When Thiru K. Kamaraj, President of the All-India Congress Committee went to Viruthunagar, the marriage performed there could not have been done under the old orthodox system. People in the localities of Viruthunagar, Sattur and Sivakasi have been performing their marriages under the Presidency of the leading man of the clan. This has been in vogue for the past thirty years.

Though Thiru Ponnappa Nadar hails from Kannayakumari District (which was once a part of Kerala) he must be familiar with the Kerala system of marriage performed by exchanging *mundu* (dhoti-like cloth) and with the good wishes of the elders in preference to the old orthodox system.

The Brahma Samajists of Bengal have introduced certain reforms in the marriage system. The Arya Samajists of Punjab introduced similar reforms.

In Islam, even when the marriage is about to be performed, the question is put to the bride, "Are you willing to marry?". This practice has been in vogue for long.

Advocates of the Self-respect Movement, and the late lamented Tamil Scholars like Thiru Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and Maraimalai Adigal have supported this system by quoting literary evidences. They also have opined that this reform is harmless, necessary and is best suited to the culture of the Tamils and is in keeping with the spirit of the times. The Tamil Arasu Kazhagam led by our esteemed friend Thiru M. P. Sivagnana Gramani also lends support to this reform. Therefore, there is nothing detestable or abominable in this amending act.

Speech delivered on the floor of the  
Legislative Assembly on 18-7-'67.



“ Those who wish to win the world will wait for the opportune time to conquer it without worrying about it.”

—*The Kural* (485)

10

## A Historical Resolution

1

This is a historical event in which the resolution to rename the State of Madras, Tamil Nadu, is about to be passed with the wholehearted approval of all parties in this House. It is a red-letter day for all the present members of the assembly because it will give immense joy and high spirit to every one of the members in his life.

In the midst of our jubilation, our only regret is that we had to wait so long for such a day. Although this event should have taken

place long ago, and although we are celebrating it belatedly, it is a matter of high admiration that all the parties have unanimously approved of this resolution.

Even the leader of the Opposition, Thiru Karuthiruman approves of this resolution. He has given certain suggestions because as the leader of the Opposition he feels that it is his duty to do so and not that he opposes this resolution. Therefore, this resolution is to be sent to the Central Government with the unanimous support of one and all.

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When I had the opportunity of discussing it with some highly influential people at the Centre, they have made it clear to me in advance that if the resolution was passed by the Tamil Nadu Assembly and sent to the Centre, there would be no hesitation on the part of the Centre in amending the constitution.

Though Thiru Chavan, Union Home Minister was accustomed to calling this State, Madras State, in his speeches in Parliament he has with great care and concern referred

to it only as "Tamil Nadu", in order to show that people in authority at Delhi accept this. Therefore, to-day we have an excellent opportunity of enabling them to accept this resolution and amend the Constitution accordingly.

Some people thought that we might not be sufficiently interested in the renaming affair because we prefixed the word "Dravida" to the name of our party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. But we of the D. M. K. have been emphasizing the need for renaming the State of Madras, Tamil Nadu, for a number of years.

Although Congress men opposed such a move before because it was brought by the Opposition, and although they asked whether there is any literary evidence in our support to-day, they all feel extremely happy and proud in calling our State, Tamil Nadu.

If we win such a victory to-day, it is not the victory of the D. M. K. or Tamil Arasu Kazhagam or any other party. But everyone should partake of this victory in the hope that it is the victory of the Tamil language, the Tamils, the Tamil history and Tamil Nadu.

It was pointed out that the name of Tamil Nadu would not be understood by foreigners. Thiru R. Venkataraman, former Industries Minister, stressed that the treaty to be made hereafter between one country and another should be written enforcing this alteration and it might lead to complications. By this they remind us that they are only globe-trotters and they are not interested in any real complications or problems.

‘Gold Coast’ (an African country) has become ‘Ghana’. As a result of that, no international complication has resulted.

Tamil Nadu has not been renamed as such after becoming an Independent country. There is no justification, however, for any international complication because it is a part and parcel of India with its new name. Therefore, I am highly delighted to see that everyone feels it his duty to support this resolution on behalf of his party.

It was pointed out here that a fitting memorial should be erected in honour of Sankaralinganar who sacrificed his life for getting the State renamed Tamil Nadu. I am sure that everyone will bear that in mind. It

is a matter of life-long pride to us that his (Sankaralinganar's) wishes are being fulfilled and that we are taking part in creating conditions for the fulfilment of his desire.

Reply to the debate on the resolution to rename  
the State of Madras, Tamil Nadu, in the  
Legislative Assembly on 18-7-'67.

“ Acting at the right season is a cord that  
will immovably bind success ”

— *The Kural* (482).

## Budget for | II people's Welfare |

1

I hope this House would permit me to bring to its notice the economic condition of the country when the present Govt. assumed office. At that time the third plan had been completed and even after the lapse of one year it was still doubtful if the fourth plan could be launched at all. From the financial point of view, the third plan had been fulfilled beyond expectations.

In the first place actual expenditure rose to Rs. 8,600 crores as against the estimated amount of Rs. 7,500 crores. The people of the country had also made the sacrifices expected from them by accepting the additional taxes levied for implementing the third plan. The Central and State Govts. took steps to collect additional taxes to the extent of Rs. 2,880 crores as against Rs. 1,710 proposed to be collected.

In the first place as against the estimated amount to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores, an additional tax burden to the extent of Rs. 2,880 crores fell on the people through the taxes levied and collected by the Centre.

The Centre collected only Rs. 320 crores by way of direct taxation such as income tax, corporation tax and wealth tax levied on the rich people. The rest of the amount was raised by indirect taxation such as customs duty and by adjustments made in railway fares which had affected adversely not only the daily expenses of the common man but also the cost of production to a great extent.

Though financially the plan had been completed beyond expectations, the targets had not been achieved to a great extent in vital sectors.

Except in the year 1964-65, agriculture and harvest have not registered any appreciable progress at all during the third plan period. Our target was to produce 10 crore tons of food grains during 1965-66. But only 7.3 crore tons of food grains were produced.

Our annual National income increased by 2.8% only per year as against the target of 5%. As the population had grown steadily, it was calculated that the average per capita income during the third plan period increased by 0.3% only. Though enormous amounts have been spent and though people have been subjected to considerable hardships by additional taxation, yet the standard of living has not improved to any remarkable degree.

The failure in implementing the agricultural production and the spending of huge amounts in the name of planning altogether raised the prices still higher and as a result the people suffered a lot.

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Taking the third plan period as a whole, the prices rose higher to the extent of 36.4% than that of the last 10 years. Apart from the general increase, the prices of food-grains



alone rose by 48%. There was no change in the price index. The situation still worsened on account of the devaluation of the rupee in July, 1966. As a consequence, the price index rose by 16.5%

On account of the fall in agricultural production and the steep increase in the price of food grains, the purchasing power of the people dwindled considerably. As a result the demand for industrial goods decreased ; industrial slackness prevailed and unemployment arose. On the one hand the productive capacity in different industries reached a high degree. On the other hand a contradictory situation of unfulfilling the peoples' wants was created. Though the aim of planned economy is to arrest such a situation, it is rather a surprise that such a situation arose somehow.

This is the economic condition that faced us when we assumed office. It soon became clear that it was not within the powers of the state Government to find solutions for the problems of the people. Under the provision made in the Constitution with regard to the limitation of powers, the Centre only can determine our growth of economic deve-

lopment in all possible ways because it controls monetary transactions, banking affairs and foreign trade.

3

If the Government formulates essential schemes in the interests of the people, the Centre should give it financial aid based on sound economic principles. Under these circumstances, it is crystal clear that the task of augmenting economic growth is the joint responsibility of both the Centre and the State, the Centre having greater share of responsibility. Therefore, it is for us to decide whether the present budget helps to overcome the economic hurdles confronting the people and whether the State Government with its lesser share of funds has discharged its duties in the interests of the people in all possible ways expected of it. It will be fitting and proper if this august House examines all these aspects.

According to the revolutionary ideas formed in our mind with regard to the Government's role in the present day society, the budget also has changed for the past few years from being a mere statement of income and expenditure. Now-a-days the budget serves

as an instrument for realising the aims and objectives of the Government that has been formed democratically with the people's trust and confidence.

Since the presentation of this budget coincides with the completion of the first year of this Government, it is just and proper for this House to expect me to explain in detail how far the actual expenditure for the current year and the proposed budget for the next year will be useful in implementing the worthwhile policies placed before the people by the Government.

Speech delivered at the presentation of the budget  
for 1968-69 in the Madras Legislative  
Assembly in February, 1968.

"Consultation ends in forming a resolution but delay in the execution of that resolve is an evil".

— *The Kural* (671).

## 12 | Our Five-year Plans

1

Indeed I do feel sorry that, for the past few days, I have not been able to participate in the proceedings of the House, which have always given me great delight and enthusiasm. Whenever I am faced with a dilemma, the opinions expressed by the Hon. members of both the houses have been a source of strength and steadiness to me.

Whenever a doubt arises in my mind about any problem, the opinions of the Hon. mem-

bers have helped me a great deal to resolve the doubt. That is why I am really sorry that I have been unable to participate in the proceedings of the Houses for the past few days.

I learn from the Press that Hon. members also were equally worried about my \* absence and I am grateful to them for their sympathy. In particular the leader of the opposition congratulated the ministry on its performance in the first year and expressed his good wishes for its continuance in office for four more years.

I have no doubt that, as a good friend of mine, he will express such an opinion. Therefore, it is my duty to thank him with special personal regard since he has advanced such a fine opinion as a Congress man.

As I have said at the beginning, we do not have the itching feeling that we should be in power for five or ten years. I wish to emphasize this point once again.

My friend's good wishes that we should continue in office will enthuse us to discharge our tasks before us still better. I am indeed grateful to him for his good wishes.

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\* Attack of suspected cancer begins.

The budget contains 58 pages. The relations between the Centre and the State are explained in about four pages. At first I feared that the reference to the Centre-State relationship in four pages might perhaps be left unnoticed by the Hon. members. But it is clear from the speeches of the Hon. Members including the opposition that those four pages have attracted the attention of the members as they deserve to be attracted. I should like to offer a clear explanation in this regard.

When I speak of the Centre-State relations either in this House or at public meetings, I have never mentioned anywhere that such a state of affairs exists because the Congress rule is at the Centre and the non-Congress rule prevails in some states. The things I have mentioned in this connection relate to general political ethics and they are above party politics. As I have observed once in this House, the problem of Centre-State relationship is assuming greater political importance. Therefore, it is my earnest desire that all parties should support it on a non-party basis.

The leader of the opposition said that, if the Centre showed partiality to some non-

Congress State Governments, he would join hands with them in fighting with the Centre. Let me make it quite clear. Neither in the past nor at present did I ever utter so.

To say further, I have to mention that the Centre is behaving very kindly towards our Government, instead of being partial. I should like to cite an example. There are leaders in our state who said that the problem of burning the National Flag was instigated by the D. M. K.

There are some leaders among them who said that the two of the burners were D. M. K. men. There are leaders who even said that the incident took place with the full support of the D. M. K. This is what the political leaders of our State stated. But in order to show that the Centre is not partial towards us, Thiru Shukla, one of the Union Ministers has categorically stated thus: "D. M. K. has nothing to do with the National Flag Burning Agitation. It has not conducted it nor did it instigate it".

I am not mentioning this in order to explain the problem of burning the National Flag. I have to mention it simply to show that the Centre is not partial towards us.

I wish to make another point more clearly. If you create an impression that we are itching for a clash with the Centre or we want to create differences, you will fail to appreciate the ethics behind my statement. Therefore, it is better on your part to get rid of such a notion altogether.

In our country federal structure prevails. In a country like ours this problem is unavoidable. It has to be solved one day or other. It is a problem in which the Centre and State relations have to be altered. I mention this just because I want every Hon. member of this House to accept the fact that Powers should be shared between the Centre and the State. It need not be construed, on any account, as a clash between the Congress and the Non-Congress Governments.

3
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Another instance in point. In the first two or three pages of this budget, we explained the difficult circumstances under which we came to power, when the Third Five Year Plan was nearing its end and when the targets had not been reached. The Congress members are



rather angry about this. They say that we are indirectly blaming the Congress Government, when we point out the failure of the Five Year Plan. They do not even want us to speak about the failure of the Five Year Plan. That is why it has become necessary for me to explain in detail in what respects the third Five Year Plan has miserably failed. I made only a passing reference to the budget. While doing so, I stated that, in spite of spending greater amounts than the allotted sum in the third five year plan, the aspired targets have not been achieved. That is why I characterised it as a failure. I never meant that there was no progress at all.

The leader of the opposition said, "We have raised the amount given to you from 80 crores to 200 crores". He mentioned all the taxes levied to raise the amount.

To go a step further, if Rajaji has not levied the Sales tax, when he was in this House, we would not have presented a budget of this kind. We are indeed grateful to Rajaji for his bold measure.

To go yet a step further, if the British had not taught us the principle of levying taxes fearlessly, our revenues would not be

what they are to-day. We shall remember them with gratitude for their intelligent measure. There is no end if we go on arguing like this.

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Certain objectives were laid down, when a sum of 8000 crores of rupees was allotted to the Third Five Year Plan. Were those targets achieved as we had expected?

My friend Thiru Hande said that the matter should be discussed in Parliament and not in this House. Indeed he did not mean to imply that he and I are not members of Parliament. Our budget and the Union budget are indissolubly linked. So what happens there is reflected here.

If Thiru Hande looks at the reflection of his face in a mirror without polish, he will be surprised to see why his face is so distorted. I tell him that the mirror needs polishing. But Thiru Karuthiruman says emphatically that the mirror is all right. Perhaps he wants to find fault, not with the mirror but with my remark. I do not blame the Congress rule nor am I in the habit of making a sweeping statement that the Congress Government which ruled this State has not done any good.

But if the Third Five Year Plan had succeeded as we had expected, the conditions as such not only in our state, but in other states also would not have arisen. That is why I wish to point out in what respects we have failed in implementing the third plan.

In the Food Front the target aimed at was 100 million tonnes. After spending the entire amount, we were able to produce only 72 million tonnes. In the field of Irrigation the target was to bring 29 million acres of fresh lands under the plough. But our achievement was only 18·6 million acres.

Our target was to produce 9·2 millions of steel ingots. But we were able to produce 6·2 million tonnes. We proposed to manufacture machine tools and tools for making machines. to the tune of 30 crores of rupees in the third plan. Have we achieved the target? I hope my friend Thiru Karuthiruman will not object to my using the word 'We'. If I say, "You drew the plan", "my Congress friends would certainly get annoyed. That is why I use the word 'We'.

We produced only 2,33,000 lakhs tonnes of nitrogen fertilizers as against the targeted amount of 8 lakhs tonnes.

We produced only 68 million tonnes of coal as against 97 million.

We produced only 4,400 million yards of mill cloth as against 5,800 million yards.

We produced only 3,150 million yards of handloom cloth as against 3,500 million yards. So far as handloom cloth is concerned, Tamil Nadu has the lion's share of production and that is why we have not failed considerably.

There are some more facts and figures. But my friend Thiru Karuthiruman will retort saying, "Oh! what are these figures. I too know them. In fact we trusted these figures and so suffered miserably." That is why I shall stop my figures with this so that I may not be subject to a similar fate. But still it is obvious from these figures that the Third Five Year Plan has not been a success,

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In spite of the failure of the Third Five Year Plan, my friend Thiru Karuthiruman puts this challenging question: "A year has passed. What job opportunities have you provided? A year has passed. What new industries have you started?"

I think he poses this question not because of his wrath towards us but because of his sincere concern for the poor !

I really feel sorry to make this remark. Is it a matter for pride that, the party to which he belongs, has not yet implemented the Fourth Five Year Plan in spite of its wide publicity? I request him to think over it.

The one remarkable quality of the Congress is that they are implementing the plans whatever might be the consequences. To quote Bharathiar's words, "Though the heavens may fall upon our heads" they uttered firmly that they would implement the plans because they were after them.

Though the great intellectuals like Rajaji opined "The Nation will not bear this plan. Give it some rest or relaxation" they said there was no room for rest or relaxation for the plan since it was just like a serial story and that it would not stop in the middle.

The draft report of the Fourth Five Year Plan was given to my friend, Thiru Karuthiruman and to me in Parliament. We also looked into it. What happened to it? Three years have passed until now? It is yet to be implemented.

While I was at school, the students would tell a humorous story about one of my teachers. I tell it with all care because I do not know whether it is true or not.

For a long time his wife did not conceive. A rumour was set about that he was going to marry another lady. On hearing this his wife took some gunny straps and tied them in folds around her belly. Her husband came to notice it. He asked her if she was expecting a baby. She replied that she did. She went on increasing the folds of straps month after month. When it was the eighth month, she was clever enough to go to her mother's house for delivery. After her return she said to her husband that the child born had died. From that day the students used to call him 'gunny strap teacher'. Just like that the Congress had been wearing gunny straps in the name of five year plan for a long time. It was during the Fourth Five Year Plan the straps slipped down of their own accord. At this stage, when conception is confirmed, the conceiving ceremony is going to be celebrated. I hope it will bring fame neither to the party nor to the Government run by the party. If my friend Thiru. Karuthiruman considers it a fame, he has every liberty to do so.

Even Thiru. Kamaraj gave his opinion without any hesitation in an apt and appreciable manner, while he presided over the Jaipur Congress.

“The plans will be worth nothing if they are planned to the tune of 22,000 or 25,000 crores of rupees as if to scale the heavens. Draw the fourth Five Year Plan to the extent of 15 crores of rupees. It is practicable”. If the Congress has accepted it, we shall be implementing the five year plan in these two years. As a result job opportunities for engineers and doctors would have been created. Instead of doing so, they throw the blame on us.

They even question us. “A year has passed. What have you done for people?”. This reminds me of another story.

A certain man committed both patricide and matricide. He was tried in the Court and death sentence was given to him. He pleaded to the judge for mercy and said, “Your honour ! Now I am an orphan. Please do not kill me”. Likewise my friend argues, when I make a reference to the failure of the five year plan. I should like to point out that it is not right on his part to argue like that here,

This is being mentioned not because of political fever. If you consider so, I should like to quote one or two sentences from some people who are above party politics.

One remark is as follows : " Lack of frame work of policy is a notable feature of the planned Indian economy. The Indian planning experts have openly and publicly given up that frame work. Thus, it is fair and just to remark that there had been a decline from plan to plan ".

The gentleman Thiru Gadgil who made this remark is not only an economic expert but also the Vice-chairman of the Planning Commission.

Another gentleman Thiru H. M. Patil who held a high post in the Central Government and who was with us remarks : "The Government must know thoroughly about its stringent control over economy. It should realise it even before it undertakes economic development measures. If it does not do so, it is rather difficult to achieve economic growth" .



Thus, our Central Government has a control over the economic machinery. What the Congress wants is also that. That is the fundamental difference between the Congress and the Swatantra. The Swatantra says that there should not be Government's pressure on the economic machinery. The policy of the Congress and also the accepted policy of other parties is that economic machinery should be properly looked after and the Govt. should have a control over its implementation. It is just like controlling the rotating wheel properly.

Once again another story comes to my mind. A certain man went to France to learn sword-fighting. The man who gave him training said, "If you hold the sword tightly, you cannot achieve mastery of the intricacies of the strokes. At the same time, if you do not have a control over the sword, it will fly away like a bird". Although deft handling and control go together, the former is more important than the latter. That is, executing the plan is more important than planning.

When I say this truth, it is viewed from political angle. Ten days back, the Ex-finance Minister Thiru T. T. Krishnamachari also

made this remark: "If you know who are in power now, you can decide yourself if something is possible or not from them".

Some economic experts point out that all these evils had begun only during the period of the Congress rule. I cite this reference not because of political animosity but just to show the prevailing condition.

Dr. Loganathan observes: "In the third plan no target was achieved properly. As a result we have been subject to economic stagnation".

One can marry a beautiful girl. After one or two years unfortunately she may have an attack of small pox and her face may be disfigured by scars. Few husbands only will forget the past beauty of their wives. The scarless beauty comes to the mind of the opposition leader. But I see before my eyes the disfigured beauty. Therefore, I wish to emphasise that our economy is dented. Thus the entire benefit of the measures of the State Government depends upon the measures of the Central Government alone.

The Ex-minister Thiru Bhuvaraghan then asks, "Won't you do anything?"

I shall not say, "We won't. If any Government says so, it is not worth the name." Even in this critical situation, whether we have done something or not is made clear in the fifty pages of the budget.

7

We believe we can provide facilities for industries either next year or after that or after the fourth five year plan. If you ask why we cannot create the required facilities in the meantime, I have to pose this question : "How many large industries have been set up by the Centre with the States' finance only? Can you single out an instance to elucidate this point? How far will the States' finance be beneficial to achieve this purpose? Certainly it won't."

Under these circumstances what all we can we do is this. We can set up a factory at Thanjavur to assemble cycle parts or an industry to make mudwares at Virudhachalam or an industry for mat-weaving at Thanjavur or the like at other places. Can we do anything more than that?

But can we establish a heavy boiler plant at Trichy or a fertiliser plant at Neyveli or an

industry to manufacture tanks at Avadi? No. All these industries have been either started by the Central Government or by individual industrial magnets in a period of fifteen years.

We have done all that is possible within the financial limits of the state. Not only that. It is easy to tell a thing but it is hard to do it. We should realise to what extent we have been beset with difficulties.

The previous Congress Government planned to start an industry at Arakonam. Still it is in principle. The contract has not yet been signed. Now we have made the start once again and we have entered into a contract with Russia in this regard. I am happy to say that the industry is growing to our entire satisfaction. The cement industry is fast growing at Rajapalayam. Likewise, seven tea industries have to be started in the Co-operative sector at upper Kothagiri and at lower Kothagiri. Efforts are being made to extend two more industries. At the same time even the private sectors are expanding considerably.

Some may sarcastically ask, "Why is Wimco closed? Why is there a lock-out in the Metal Box?"

I should like to put this question to them: "When you (Congress) were in power, how many mills had been closed at Coimbatore and at Pudukottai? What were the steps you took to open them again?"

If we take into consideration the circumstances under which those mills were closed, we cannot say that the lock-out in Wimco and Metal Box is unwarranted. However, I am glad to say that conditions conducive to the opening of Wimco and other industrial concerns are being created.

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Whether it is the Congress rule or the D. M. K. rule, if we should start large industries within the financial limit of the State, we should get proper shares from the Centre in our sources of revenue.

It was pointed out that 75% of the income tax is to given to the State. Giving of shares means not only the shares from our collections but also shares from other sources of income. After the formation of the Finance Commission taxes have been enhanced by two or three methods. We cannot find fault with it.

No doubt, we get our due share from the income tax. But what happened in the middle? They levied a new tax in the name of the company tax. We do not get our share from it. Likewise, the railway fares have been enhanced. If it is railway tax, we shall get our share. They have evolved their own method to augment their financial resources. Mention is made in the budget that all these problems should be reconsidered. I expect the co-operation of all the Hon. members of this House in the matter. There is no politics in it. It will not be a hindrance, even if you (Congress) came to power again. Rather the financial condition will improve!

We should like to augment the finance just as you did. Should I not feel proud that we have reserved to the best of our abilities for you when you come back to power? Therefore, I would request you to co-operate with us now. Let us see later on who should come to power!

I am really sorry for our inability to extend the rupee-a-measure rice scheme to all people. I do not want to hide it nor do I want to plead for our inability. I should like to say I have also a desire to extend the scheme

when conditions improve gradually. Though we are not capable of doing it, we do not want to prevent others from implementing it successfully by their coming to power. But the regrettable thing is that those who criticise us do not come forward to carry it out. Therefore, I would request you to co-operate with us still better in the levy and in the production of food grains. If levy is done sufficiently and if you co-operate with us to receive enough subsidy from the centre, I can try my best to extend the scheme to some more places.

When it was pointed out that the prices were shooting up the then Minister Thiru Bhuvavaraghan said sarcastically, "What is the harm in it? Go and see the cinema theatre. You can see a long queue standing there." According to him it is an economic principle! I do not want to say whether it is right or wrong. But our economic principle is that the articles purchased by the ordinary people daily should be within their buying capacity. Then only there will be an economic balance in other things. Not only do we follow that principle but it is also followed in some other quarters.

Difficulty is bound to occur in politics. To get rid of it do we not follow a policy or scheme accordingly? If you accept the scheme that rice should be supplied at cheap price and offer your suggestions, it will be still better. Whether we supply rice at cheap price or not, you should not fail to bear one thing in mind. You should think on sound economic principles. The policy of our party, then, is that prices of commodities should be within the purchasing capacity of the common people.

Condensed from the budget speech  
delivered on 6-3-'68 in the  
Legislative Assembly.



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

— *The Kural*, (979).

## The Ruling Party and the Opposition.

13

1

I remember to have read in a book the justification for the existence of the Upper Chamber when there is the Legislative Assembly.

Why is a chaucer needed when there is a cup to drink coffee from ? It is just to cool coffee when it is hot. It is also to prevent coffee from spilling on our clothes. In the same manner the upper chamber serves to

consider coolly and dispassionately, emotional issues and to pacify them. When I was against the existence of the Upper Chamber, I read this idea. To-day I owe my ministership to none but the indulgence of the upper house.

Thiru S. R. P. Ponnusamy Chettiar claimed to speak on behalf of the capitalists. But he also spoke for the weavers. In addition he belongs to a weaver's family. None born in a weaver's family ever loses his or her patience. A thread snaps; they set it right with patience. Problems arise; they solve them with endurance. It is no wonder, therefore, that he is patient since he belongs to such a famous family.

Thiru Sambasiva Reddiar reflects the idea of the villagers. He expressed those ideas in sweet Tamil.

Thiru S. D. Sundaram is engaged in the field of art. He served with distinction as the representative of art.

Thiru V. K. Palanisamy Gounder belongs to a famous family of farmers. He knows more of agriculture than we. We always welcome the advice of such learned men.

Thiru K. Balasubramania Iyer's rare qualities will be appreciated whether he is in this house or anywhere else.

When I was a member of the Legislative Assembly, whenever he spoke in the Upper House, I myself used to hear his speeches eagerly.

He would stand up with the look of a person who knows nothing. He would express original ideas not known to others. He is a man of humility and remarkable knowledge.

Some would think that they are all-knowing. But they would have no desire to know anything.

Some would say that they know nothing. But they will be really well informed.

Some would find it difficult to express clearly what they know. But Thiru K. Balasubramania Iyer expresses himself so clearly that he stimulates others to think.

It is difficult to express our ideas so as to move the hearts of others. It is still more difficult to express our ideas in order to make others think.

When I was a member of the lower house, I pleaded with the Commission that investigated the Third Five Year plan to allot a sum of Rs. 1000/- crores to us. "What! One thousand crores? Where is the money to come from? How do you propose to spend it all?" some sarcastically asked.

Thiru K. Balasubramanian gave a fitting reply to those questions on the floor of this house. "If you ask how are we to get one thousand crores of rupees I shall suggest a solution. You should raise money for it in the same manner as you raised funds for the five year plan."

I shall explain how it is to be spent: "Spend it just as you spent money on the five year plan."

I was thrilled to hear that reply. Though it is a simple reply, it contains a great economic principle. We eagerly expect that such a person will continue to be a member of this house.

The national poet Namakkal Ramalingam has brought honour and glory to Tamil Nadu with his poetic genius. He has also brought honour through Tamil to the world of poetry.

He is not only a poet but also a freedom-fighter. He has also rendered national service. He has won the hearts of millions of his countrymen by his laudable services and by his sweet qualities.

Thiru Raja Iyer has served the cause of teachers so well that it is difficult to find such a worthy representative.

The Congress member, Thiru Ramadoss speaks with the emotion of the youth. I congratulate him on his continuing in the Congress Party for twenty years. To-day continuing in the same party has become a rarity. When people change political affiliations day after day to the fear of all and when political loyalties have become so cheap, being a member of the same party is indeed praiseworthy. I congratulate him on his loyalty and enthusiasm for his party.

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We should know why we are in the party and how long we will be there. We should foster the growth of the feeling of democracy believing that, just as we are loyal and attached to our party, others also are equally

loyal and attached to their own parties. Thus, if we make democracy a success in Tamil Nadu, we will be in a position to show the way to the whole of India.

Thiru Rajaram Naidu has been a Minister and member of this house for long. He is of the view that villages should prosper and "Gramswaraj" should become a reality.

Unless the problem of the villages is solved, the problem of the country cannot be solved. Unless the villages are strong, the country cannot be strong. Unless the villages are prosperous, the country cannot become wealthy. Unless there is political clarity in the villages, there cannot be political clarity in the country.

The standard of a Government depends not on the ruling party. It rather depends on the standard of the opposition.

The standard of the ruling party and the opposition must not be so low as to deteriorate the standard of the country in general.

The people in the opposition to-day have had the experience of ruling the country for

twenty years. Hence, they should come forward and try to raise the standard of the country.

Speech delivered on 2-4-'68 on the floor of the  
Legislative Council while felicitating  
the retiring members.

“ Do an act after considering the exertion required, the obstacles to be encountered and the great profit to be gained ”

— *The Kural* (676).

## 14 | The Burning Language Problem.

1

We have been opposing Hindi from the very day it was introduced in the Indian Constitution. In order to stress that, Nehru should give an assurance in this regard, we even passed a resolution to show black flags to the President during his visit to Tamil Nadu. Thiru Sampath who was with us then — who is with you now — met the President in this connection. The President told him that an assurance would be given with regard



to Hindi. After that we decided not to engage ourselves in a black flag demonstration.

After that, the assurance of Nehru was published in all newspapers when China committed aggression. Even after that the assurance was repeated. When the bill was brought in, a meeting was convened in the Marina Beach to show our protest. I came all the way from Delhi by air to participate in that meeting.

Rajaji and I took part in it. We were not then as close as we are to-day. Rajaji said in the meeting: "Kamaraj and I should sit together. Instead Annadurai and I are sitting here side by side. All are surprised to see this. But there is a truthful lesson in it. In the Hindi problem unfortunately Kamaraj happened to separate. English has joined us (Annadurai and I) together."

When we were all disputing over the use of "May" and "Shall" Thiru M. Bakthavatsalam the then Chief Minister arrived at Delhi. When he left for Madras he made this remark to the press reporters: "May will be enough. It gives me entire satisfaction."

I recall to mind what people like Karuthiruman said in this connection when they met

me individually. They expressed their regret over the matter and said: "What this man! What thing has he done?"

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In continuation of it the students' Anti-Hindi Agitation followed. When we speak of Students' agitation, we fail to remember the differences between their agitation carried on in 1965 and the agitation now going on. In 1965 the students did not announce that they were going to launch an agitation. Instead they announced that January 25 would be observed as a day of protest to oppose the imposition of Hindi.

Though January 26 was the Republic Day we made it publicly known that the Day would be observed as a day of mourning since Hindi was imposed on us that day.

We did not forget all that happened then. Our houses were attacked. Our press offices were looted. Unable to frame charges, the party in power put Karunanidhi in lock-up at Palayamkottai. The present speaker also was imprisoned.

Meanwhile on 25th January, the students at Madurai took out a procession. When they were marching, a man from the office of the Urban Congress rushed towards the crowd and stabbed a student.

When the students took out a procession at Chidambaram, shooting was ordered and Rajendran was a victim to it. The students at Madras went in a procession to meet the Chief Minister and he refused to meet them. Another Minister Thiru R. Venkataraman - I think so - met them.

Even the very first day shooting was made. Within a week four or five thousand D. M. K. volunteers were put in prison. When our student friends wanted to have an interview with Thiru M. Bakthavatsalam, the interview was refused. Now I should like to meet some students. They refuse to give me an interview! I yield to them because I respect their feelings. We do not want that they should continue an endless agitation. An anti-Hindi feeling is bubbling in their minds.

Our respected past Congress President Thiru K. Kamaraj said to me, "The elders

should guide them properly. After all they are students. What can they do?"

I had in mind what Thiru Kamaraj said. In order to be more human and sympathetic in dealing with them, I have spent at least five nights in talking to them so far.

Not only the D. M. K. students but also the Congress students numbering twenty or twentyfive met me. They put several questions to me like a Minister of fifteen or twenty years' experience putting questions to his departmental heads.

"What is your language policy? What is your plan to implement this policy? Could you please explain to us about it clearly?" demanded the students.

I was extremely happy indeed. I was listening to them in the hope that they would recall to mind this incident when they were similarly questioned by higher officials in their later official life. I answered all their questions to the best of my abilities. This is the difference between the condition that prevailed in 1965 and that prevailing in 1967.

"Why do you change it because they demand it?" asks Thiru Karuthiruman.

" You have changed the three-language formula. Now you speak of two-language formula. Have you done all this simply for the sake of students?" pleads Thiru Karuthi-ruman.

Who are students? They are our own flesh and blood. They are the sons of our family. They are the future citizens. I think it is my democratic duty to do the right thing that they aspire. We have no strength to change the 17th article of the Constitution relating to the language.

We are 138 here. The Congress which does not want this change is 49. Our strength in Parliament is 25, whereas that of the Congress is more than 300. Don't the students know this simple arithmetic? Even those twentyfive opposed the bill and cast their votes against it. They did their duty. I honestly believe that, if we all join together and do our duty we can make the centre yield to us.

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There are different stages in love just as there are different fronts in warfare. We often speak of giant love. It is nothing but

the love which is induced by mere punching and striking. According to my experience in the North — I mention the political love — if they come to know that we act in such a way as to oppose theirs, they will yield to us. There is no alternative. That is why I have brought this resolution.

I do not say that the people in the North will be afraid of this resolution because we have acted boldly.

On the one hand I was pained a little bit when Thiru Karuthiruman said that I had demanded a division of the country. On the other hand I felt happy about his remark. My humble desire is: "Won't they yield to us somehow or other if this news reaches Delhi?"

I accept any words of condemnation from any quarter with great satisfaction, if it is useful to find a solution for our problem. The one thing that we all have agreed is that there are difficulties in this resolution which accompanied the language bill. I do not say that there are no differences of opinion in other matters. Nobody can change it immediately. We all agree only in this matter.

The Hon. opposition leader remarked that a meeting of all the political leaders of the country should be convened to elicit their views in the matter. I have accepted it. Nobody will be more pleased than I, if an excellent solution is found for this burning problem.

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If you go through the back numbers of our dailies **Nam Nadu** and **Murosoli** you can clearly understand what our goal is. Our resolution is that all the national languages of India should be made official languages. Until it is done, English should be the official language. Until it is achieved we cannot have complete satisfaction.

Some people asked, "What do you think of the act now brought into force?"

I replied, "Just as we use our upper cloth instead of the umbrella, to avoid drenching when it rains, we can stop Hindi coming immediately by the use of English."

When we do so we must strive hard for the development of our 14 national languages. As it was pointed out by Thiru Balasubramanian and Thiru Sankaraya, instead of showing privileges to Hindi only, equal status should be

given to all languages. Then only they can develop well and achieve a higher status. Until then we must somehow put up with the difficulties. Therefore, this language bill is brought in to prevent the rapid spread of Hindi until there is some gain for our people. It was pointed out here that I expressed my opinion in this regard. I gave my opinion with all care even to the Prime Minister and to the press reporters: "As far as we are concerned, our goal is that all the National languages should become the official languages."

I said, "Though we are not satisfied with the bill which allows the continuance of English, it will satisfy certain sections of the people."

"This resolution grabs what this bill gives. Though you have brought it in order to silence the protest of Hindi zealots, it will really affect the benefit that can be derived from the bill. I made it clear to the Prime Minister: "If the resolution accompanies the bill, we shall not vote for it."

It is no wonder that, in spite of my elucidation, it was rejected.



When it was not passed, Thiru K. Kamaraj the then President of the Congress gave a clear statement to the Press: "This resolution is not proper. With this amendment it cannot be passed." Before he reached Delhi, it was passed and the news appeared in the papers. Due respect was not given to his words. Whatever may be the party differences, every Tamilian has got a right to condemn it because a Tamilian who was born in a poor family and a great son who achieved fame throughout India was humiliated.

6

As regards Tamil as medium of instruction, different views were expressed. I am not the man who neglects English. At the same time I am not the man who holds the view that English only should be the medium of instruction and Tamil should not get its due place. I shall not hesitate to say that, of all the Indian languages, Tamil is the fittest language to be used for all purposes just like English because it is a rich language.

As was pointed out earlier, some delay is caused in preparing text books and selecting teachers to teach them in Tamil.

I have added the note of the opposition party to my amendment. The Government will take steps to make Tamil the medium of instruction in all Colleges within five years. Not only that. I should like to announce to-day that Tamil should be the medium of instruction in all the Government Colleges from the next year.

Thiru Vinayagam complained, "You drag the students, whereas they take to their heels in your regime."

As soon as we assumed charge, they threw all the blame on us. But what does statistics show? When you were in power during 1966-67, 4600 Tamil Medium students studied in P. U. C. In 1967-68 we, the damned, came to power. It was said that the strength decreased. But the fact is that the strength increased from 4600 to 6364.

Next year in all Government Colleges Tamil will be the medium of instruction. The English section will be done away with. I agree with Hande, when he says that a knowledge of English is essential to establish a worldwide contact. Even Ma. Po. Se. does not object to the study of English as a language. Therefore, steps will be taken soon in consultation with the Vice-chancellor to make Tamil the medium

of instruction with all its rights. At the same time steps will also be taken to maintain the standard of English. The College curriculum will be revised accordingly.

Whenever the workers want to place their demands before their master, they will place 25 demands. But when they speak among themselves, they will say that it is enough if their master accepted the demands 7, 9 and 11 only. Their master may accept demand 9 and reject the demands 11 and 7. That is why when they place their demands, they place as many as possible.

Likewise let us place more demands and let us see which of them get acceptance. Let us take up other demands then. When great people do this, it is otherwise called diplomacy. When the common man does it, it is condemned as being crooked. I shall be more pleased if you, as great people, do this and if you are acclaimed as diplomats.

I should like to request the leaders of opposition and all party leaders with all humility to accept the amendments brought by me and not to press your demands.

Condensed from the speech delivered  
on 23-1-'68 in the  
Legislative Assembly.

“ Shrinking back from hatred will yield wealth;  
indulging in its increase will hasten ruin.”

— *The Kural* (858).

## Law and Peace | 15 in Tamil Nadu.

1

The Hon. Congress members remarked: “The Police Department under my administration is the first in India and the second in the world next to the London Police.” It was just like fanning when it was hot.

The Hon. Communist members and others said, “Even though the rule is changed, the attitude of the police is not changed. They follow the same good old attitude.”

The officials are part of the society. They will behave according to the standards a society has evolved.

We must first see how far we behave ourselves respecting law and peace. Let us not leave the responsibility of maintaining law and peace to the police only. The police alone cannot do this because their percentage is considerably small in the total population. The society should discharge its duty first. Then only law and peace can be maintained.

I should like to appeal to the Police Department through this House. If a criminal appears before you, you should know only the crime and not the dress that he puts on.

It is but natural that, whoever commit crimes, will escape by saying that they belong to the party in power. Therefore, even if the criminals say that they are D. M. K. men, the police need not be afraid on any account.

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Thiru Karuthiruman said, " Our party men are attacked. It is with fear that we have to walk in streets."

When we were not in power and when the Congress ruled this state, our comrades

Odayarpalayam Velayudam

Nellikuppam Majid

Tuticorin K. V. K. Sami  
 Tuticorin Thalamuthu  
 Mayiladi Mariyappan  
 Alandur Chinnan  
 Alangudi Chidambaram

were murdered. Except K. V. K. Sami's case, none had been investigated. When they shed blood and died, motives were attributed sarcastically to their death by the Congress people. Murder, robbery, quarrel—are all these happening only after we came to power?

Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead in Congress rule. Did the people say immediately they were unfit for ruling the country. Rather the country took it as some unpleasant happening! That is all.

They talked of everything from the burning of the huts to the attack on Prof. Anbalagan, including the varnish death and language agitation.

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When the Congress people say that law and peace are going to the dogs, we have to speak about other states. While doing so, the intention is not that all those should happen here. It is just to point out that even the able Congress people cannot stop it.

On 7th October in Assam where the Congress rules, a Minister surrendered to the Police station because a rebellious crowd chased him. The same day, as a result of shooting in Srinagar, one was reported to be killed. The reason was the dispute over a football match.

On 13th October in Bombay a woman was raped and shooting was ordered.

On 15th October in Calcutta during Durga Puja seven were killed as a result of shooting; 16 were wounded. Likewise at Choorchand houses were burnt to ashes.

In Rajkot and Bombay shooting incidents took place. In New Delhi on 12th January women were molested. On 4th February in Calcutta the police fired during a festival. In Visagapatnam and Trivandrum shooting incidents were reported.

Why I say all these is to point out that even in places where able administration is going on, such incidents are bound to happen.

Thiru Karuthiruman asked, "When the D. M. K. was in opposition didn't they speak of police officials?"

Let us place the speeches of both parties before this House and let us decide who spoke so mean and low.

A higher police officer went to a Congress meeting. Seeing his presence, some Congress men in the meeting abused him thus: "Why is this man wearing a khaki dress instead of a saree?"

Do you know what action I took when it was brought to my notice? I simply added my note like this: "To be ignored."

Thiru Vinayagam said: "We shall not topple your Government."

I am highly pleased to note that there are able people in the Congress like Vinayagam to support us.

I am repeatedly saying that if you topple our Government the loss is not to us. On the contrary it is to the country.

The World Tamil Conference was conducted. People gathered in lakhs. Did any unpleasant thing happen? I expected they would applaud it. But none came forward to appreciate it.

In the World Exhibition people thronged in lakhs again. Splendid police protection was given. Nothing untoward happened. Thiru Vinayagam referred to Rajaji as saying that



police protection was inadequate. I am happy to see that they use Rajaji to this extent !

But what Rajaji said was quite different. However, we must bear one thing in mind. There is vast difference between "There is no police protection " and " Give me police protection."

Thiru Karuthiruman remarked that even Periar had said that there was no police protection. I am glad to know that even Karuthiruman addressed Periar as *Thanthai* (father). I wonder when Periar has got such sons !

In his statement Periar has told another thing : " In 1965 my car was attacked. Please remember that in 1965 it was your party that ruled the state."

But I should like to say one thing with all humility. Whatever the reference may be, whoever quoted it and from whatever high quarters it may come, it is of no value, if it is not supported by evidence.

It is said, "It is our right to show black flag." We do not want to suppress it.

We do not get irritated whenever we see a black flag because half of our party flag is utter black.

But those, who showed us black flags at Cuddalore, carried a stick as high as a man instead of a stick at arm's length. Why? When we were in the opposition and whenever we wanted to show black flags, we stated the reason for the black flag demonstration. We also stated when and where and by whom it would be conducted. I allowed it only after ascertaining all the above particulars.

When black flag was shown to Pandit Nehru, I came to know that a member of our party wrote something unpleasant about Nehru. At once I instructed him to destroy all the forms that carried his writing. He implicitly obeyed and destroyed all that were printed. Such people adorn the Congress now. I recall to mind a line of his song in which he spoke of Nehru's face as "roasted bringal."

I am least worried about the abuses of my old friends in the Congress because they have praised me hundred times more than one could praise. If I remember right, someone composed even a poem called *Anna Forty* on me.

The more they abuse the greater is the gain to us.

What all I request the Congress people is this: "Please stop abusing the police officers in the foulest language. Please show this as a gesture of your 20 years' rule!"

Finally I would like to say one thing more. You are not left by the people as orphans. You have secured 42% votes. If you conduct your party properly, you can get 52% votes. You can even become the ruling party. Then only a stage will evolve when we can compare different administrations.

You must do two things to foster the growth of your party. Allow the right people in your party. Expel the bad elements at the same time. The former needs courage and the latter demands talent for achievement.

Whether you do this or not, please try to avoid personal abuse of the police officers.

Speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly  
in his reply to the debate on  
Police Demands on 20-3-'68.

“Hasten to secure the alliance of the foes rather than to perform good offices to one’s friends.”

— *The Kural* (679).

16

## The Knotty Industrial Problem.

1

Though our opposition leader Thiru Ponnappa Nadar accepted the increase in the dearness allowance given to the Government employees which comes to more than three crores of rupees, he pointed out that it should be merged with the salary and efforts should be made in this regard. It is a view generally stressed by all. We need not think that there is no relation between the supplementary demands and the dearness allowance. Generally it is a matter worthy of consideration.

It was also mentioned that a Pay Commission should be appointed for that purpose. This view has been stressed by people from different walks of life in our country. It is one of the problems investigated both by the Central Government and the State Government. We have given Dearness Allowance to our employees on a par with those of the Central Government because we have realised that it is fair and just. The Hon. Members know fully well the hesitations and dilemma of some states in this regard. I think all will be glad about this measure because we have given it without any hitch or dispute.

Though the Supplementary Estimates come to 6 crores of rupees, one half of it is given to the employees by way of salary. The rest goes to the development of agriculture and electricity. A part of this amount has to be spent on lift irrigation in order to increase it.

An Hon. Member remarked, "Why has a sum of 66 lakhs of rupees been allotted to Thanjavur District, which is already a fertile district? Is'nt it just like making fertile areas still more fertile?"

It is not our intention that other areas should not be provided with facilities. Why should we then spend such a large amount in Thanjavur District area ?

Experts have endorsed the view that the estuaries of the Grand Anicut have not been looked after properly for a very long time. On their advice a plan at an estimate of 66 lakhs of rupees has been undertaken. This Government has decided to spend 26 lakhs of rupees from the allotted amount of 6 crores of rupees. I think none will deny the need for it.

Likewise it was said that an additional allotment of 50 lakhs of rupees should be made so that loans might be granted to the peasants for the purchase of fertilisers. On the whole a sum of 2 crores of rupees has been allotted for this purpose. The Hon. Members will be glad to know this piece of information.

None will fail to welcome the allotment of 88 lakhs of rupees for the protected water supply scheme to the huge industrial complex springing up at Manali, Madras. The Hon. Members wished that it should be expedited. It is being expedited. It will soon be completed.

Likewise the Hon. Members pointed out what we should do to our brethren returning from Ceylon. We need not think that we can provide all facilities to them with a sum of 10 lakhs of rupees. That is why some Hon. Members remarked that they should be rehabilitated at plantations. All their fruitful ideas have been put into practice now in the form of many schemes which have been duly approved by the Centre.

The repatriated people from Ceylon want to engage themselves in small industries. Loans for this purpose will be given to them from the allotted amounts.

Besides, if the Hon. Members know what the Government is doing for the people repatriated from Ceylon, they will be highly pleased. Government notifications are being issued often about these things.

Our higher officials went to Andaman and selected ten thousand acres of fertile lands. They recommended to the Centre that they might be given to them for cultivation. On scrutiny the Centre accepted the recommendation.

Likewise in Guddalore, Nilgiris, a scheme is in force to rehabilitate them. In each district the cultivatable lands have been calculated and they will be given to the best peasants coming from Ceylon on repatriation.

If my friends know the full particulars about it and if they know the things done in this connection, I think they will certainly endorse the view that the sum of 10 lakhs of rupees is a meagre amount.

Likewise the case is the same with schools and industrial schools. More compensatory amount has been granted to them, 66% to schools and 75% to industrial schools. I think the Hon. Members will welcome this allotment.

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Some members have expressed dissatisfaction with regard to two things. One is whether prizes should be awarded to cine films. The other is whether it is fair and just, to spend one lakh of rupees on the release of Newsreel. This depends upon one's tastes and distastes. When we give one lakh by way of prize to a standard cine film, we should not



fail to take into account the gain that we derive from it. We collect 6 or 7 crores of rupees by way of entertainment tax. If superb pictures are released, more people will see them and we will get more money, a crore in addition. If my friends had understood this simple arithmetic, they would not have put this question.

It was asked: "Is the production of a newsreel necessary?"

The Government feels the pressing need for it. So it will produce it.

It was also said, "Only the faces of the Ministers appear in it. Other faces are not seen in it".

We make all arrangements for the appearance of all faces. If some faces are not seen somehow or other, we should not be blamed.

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Certain general opinions were expressed by the Hon. Members on the Supplementary Estimates. I shall not hesitate to give them due respect. At the same time you need not expect me to accept all of them for implementation.

In his speech Thiru Ponnappa Nadar remarked that some men in police dress beat their party workers. He did not categorically state to whom the alleged police dress was given. Fortunately he stopped it with the policemen.

I am happy to note that his imagination did not go beyond that. He did not say that all D. C's. and S. I's. were not true men and some people appeared in their dress. I have in my hands the reliable particulars. As I shoulder the responsibility of the Government I have to repudiate his charge out and out.

They said that 600 were beaten up. Upto yesterday the number was 500. But the newspapers put it as 300. As far as I am concerned I would feel sorry even if three were beaten up. I should like to request you with all humility, not to be under the bad impression that, if the number of the injured is increased day by day, the accusation also will be strengthened!

They also said that the procession going on peacefully was attacked. I want to emphasise this point again. When permission is given to a procession, a regulatory order also will be issued as to the routes the proces-

sion should take. The police did not attack those who went on the routes specified clearly. Nor did the condition arise to attack. Most of the processionists did not confine themselves to the routes to which permission was granted. The rest tried in vain to go in other direction. Then only the police were forced to disperse them.

The information I received is that lathi-charge was made while they were dispersed. The same news appeared in the papers.

The processionists of the front part were going towards the Kannappar ground. Those in the rear violated the rules. Therefore, they were dispersed. If the police had made the lathi-charge indiscriminately, I would have condemned it

Conducting a procession is one of the democratic methods. When the processionists violate laws, it is a dire necessity on the part of the police not only to stop them but also to disperse them.

It was accused that a heavy lathi-charge was made. At once I gathered full particulars about the incident from the police officials. What I am going to say now is not a pleading for what had already happened

We have been lathi-charged. There was no condolence motion. Nor was there any adjournment motion. Our party workers had been lathi-charged in such a brutal way that medical facilities had to be given in all the hospitals in and around Madras City.

They said: "I have a tender and soft heart".

I am highly thankful for the remark.

I have to inform you that the Hon. Members have not expressed just opinions about the lathi-charge. I cannot refrain from saying that the lathi-charge had been magnified, with a view to giving it a political twist for their own political propaganda.

A judicial inquiry into the incident was demanded. There is no need for it. They asked why the police chased and beat their workers upto Moore Market. If they had retired peacefully, a compelling necessity could not have arisen for a lathi-charge. They exchanged blows with the police. Therefore, the lathi-charge was continued till all were dispersed. In this operation two high police officials and seventy police officers were attacked. This is a fitting evidence to show that there was a formidable counter attack.

Even Thiru Ponnappa Nadar would not go to the extent of saying that men wearing pseudo police dress had attacked the real police men. If he would write a story out of it—not for the Newsreel—and if it was filmed perhaps he could receive the price of one lakh for his high imaginative and fabricating skill! This Government will not give room for such unwanted and untoward things to happen.

While speaking on this problem, the communist member Thiru Balasubramanian expressed a general opinion. He said : “I do not mention any particular incident. Generally the attitude of the officers has not changed. In particular the steps and measures of the police have not changed. We must effect the necessary change in this connection”.

It is not only a general opinion but also a general problem. Has the lathi-charge been stopped even in places where the communist party rules, and where fundamental changes are being contemplated? Has shooting been stopped there? No. They hadn't. They also expressed regret over the lathi-charge. I share my feelings of sorrow with them.

The changes contemplated by my friend Balasubramanian and also by me will not

come very easily. Nor will they come very soon. I have to tell you that we have been making efforts, as far as possible, in this direction to change that attitude.

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Mention was made by Hon. Members about the industrial peace. They remarked: "The industrialists do not act properly. They do not accept arbitration".

It is a fact. When I invited an important person from an industrial concern for arbitration he rather hesitated to come. I was really sorry for that. Later he approached me and explained several things.

He said: "If I had come then, the situation would have been worsened. In order to avoid it I didn't come".

I would like to inform this house that I was not satisfied with his explanation. I am highly grateful to Thiru Balasubramanian for his idea which helped me to let you know this piece of information.

Whenever industrial peace is likely to be hindered and whenever it is brought to my notice, I have taken the necessary initiative

to settle the dispute by calling the two parties. I want to quote many instances.

Even yesterday night until one O'clock, I had a talk with the peasant workers who were about to launch an agitation because lands were not given to them. I listened patiently to all their demands and ended my talk with the assurance that an amiable solution would be found for their demands.

Likewise a dispute arose between the peasants and landlords in a certain area of Thanjavur district. In spite of my ill-health for the past few days and in spite of my inability to talk much, I called the two parties and had a talk with them until 2 O'clock in the afternoon to find an acceptable solution.

This Government and I are greatly interested in safeguarding industrial peace. I should like to mention a few things as evidences to show that steps are being taken in this regard.

Disputes have arisen in Easun Group Industries, Metal Box Company, Wimco Factory, Indian Forge and the Hindu Office respectively. I have made honest efforts not only to settle them but also I have asked all my friends to try for an amicable settlement. We are making it rather a convention.

Two or three days back the hand cart workers threatened to launch an agitation. I sent the Hon. Member Dr. Hande to settle it somehow because he is the M. L. A. of that area.

When the strike of Beedi workers and the Leather Tanning Workers took place in North Arcot, I called the two parties to find a lasting solution and justice was administered. I inform all these not only to Thiru Balasubramanian but also to others who decry us, as if the industrial peace is lost altogether.

In certain disputes arbitration is impossible. The same condition continues now. I have complete faith in settling all disputes by the quality of patience.

With this faith in abundance we have been approaching the problem of Coimbatore Mills. If the people at the Centre had been large-minded enough in the levy of new excise duty rates and if they had co-operated with us willingly in our efforts, the problem would have been already solved.

In spite of our many approaches, the Centre, particularly the Finance Minister



Thiru Morarji Desai still refuses to remove the excise duty. We have made many efforts in this direction. We have given guarantee to the mill owners to get a loan of more than 2½ crores of rupees. In case they failed to pay it, the Government would have to pay it.

Likewise concession has been given to them to pay the electric charges of three mills on an instalment basis. The case is the same with the Sales Tax. Not only that. The people concerned with it, will know what efforts we have made to form a committee to undertake all these things. For this purpose we had to go to Delhi many a time. We had to knock at the doors of many ministers. We had to remind them of it several times. If I were to say how they unnecessarily prolonged the formation of committees, I have to place before you some conflicting views prevailing between the Centre and the State. That is why I think I need not give you all the details.

8

After assuming the charge of the State Government, I am more careful and cautious that we should not create futile hostility between the Centre and the State. I have to

inform you with regret that we do not get the necessary co-operation of the Centre with regard to the problem of mills. If we get the best co-operation of the centre, we can solve the problem without much difficulty. With this faith and confidence, we have appointed three committees, instead of one, to hold a thorough enquiry into the matter.

All my friends including the Communist and the Congress, will know well that, whoever forms the Government has to take measures under the restricted laws and regulations. If a mill is closed because it does not function properly, we cannot say on behalf of the Government that we shall undertake it. If we had possessed the right to undertake the mills, we might have already done so.

If our Congress members co-operate with us to remove the excise duty or to reduce it, Thiru Morarji Desai can accept our proposal to some extent. I inform you that somehow a solution will be found to this aching problem.

When the Committee was formed, the number of closed mills was 21. Now six more mills have been closed. It is said that many more mills are going to be closed.

I explained to them (the Centre) the situation to the best of my ability. I said: "The problem of mills is a grave and formidable problem. It will affect the poor". In spite of my sympathetic explanation, still the Centre shows delay.

The Hon. Minister Thiru Dinesh Singh too said to me: "I come during the month of September. I meet both the mill owners and the workers. I stay there for two or three days". By his statement he showed his interest in the problem. What he said gave some faith and solace. I expect that he will come soon.

We should furnish them more details so that they can get themselves involved in the problem. If the Centre shows any delay even after that, we need not consider this a party problem but a national problem. I request my Congress friends to co-operate with me so that I can make the Centre take necessary steps in this regard. Others have expressed their co-operation in the form of a resolution. That is what I ask the Congress friends only. Just as we stood united in the Tamil Nadu problem, we must also get united to solve this problem. Particularly the Congress friends must stand united in solving this problem.

If the problem of mills must be solved and if mills must function properly, we all (including the Congress) should pass a resolution unanimously to remove the excise duty. Then only my views will get strengthened.

If the Hon. Opposition Leader discussed this problem with his party people and convey me their views, I accept even to pass a resolution in this connection. If they opposed, it would be rejected by the Centre. When the resolution goes there, it will be rejected on the ground that it is not passed with the support of the Congress.

Everything is in your hands. The opposition leader should give serious thought to it. I request him to discuss the problem with his party men so that they can come to a final decision.

7
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My friend Thiru Ramadoss goes to the night dance. I wonder how he hates the cinema.

The cinefield is a medium providing recreation for us. It is also a medium which provides job for thousands of people. There is abundant scope for the use of scientific

equipment in it. It is a medium which promotes the imaginative skill and the histrionic talents. Therefore, awarding prize to the films on the basis of merit, is one of the things done by the Government.

Just like giving prize to a distinguished book-writer, just like giving prize to a talented musician and just like showing our appreciation to a fine actor, we can award prize to a superb picture. It will not only enhance the income but also raise the standard. Therefore, one lakh of rupees may be spent on it.

As far as I am concerned, I view art in a good sense. Not only that. I consider politics an art too. It need not be construed that art is far beyond politics. Art is nothing but systematised and refined talents.

While they ask if political motive will be attributed, they want to ask something else. So they stop in the middle.

I tell you what they want to ask. They fear if prize will not be given to films in which Congress actors have acted. I do not want to mention the name. Whom you think is the

Congress actor is also one of my brothers. I assure you that any political motive will not be attributed. But a committee should determine if it is a first class picture.

I accept Thiru Kasiraman's valuable suggestion that this system may be extended to other fields like industries. I shall certainly implement it when I have an opportunity next. Now prizes are being awarded to those who do the exporting business with a high standard and integrity through the Export Promotion Council.

Likewise prizes are being awarded to those who make discoveries and inventions. Prizes have been instituted in handloom for best border designs. My aim is that it should be done on an extensive scale.

I do not want to elaborate every idea of the members. I give due respect to your ideas. I accept what all can be accepted and enquire into them.

I shall explain to my friends if I am not satisfied with some of their ideas, when I have a chance to meet them.

We have great faith in the quality of patience to solve problems. The Congress people should co-operate with us to change the firm attitude of the Centre. Finally I request all the Hon. Members to accept the Supplementary Estimates.

Reply to the debate on the Supplementary Estimates  
in the Legislative Assembly on 19-8-68

## Anna's Epigrams

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Compassion, Clarity and Courage.

Democracy is a domestic lamp.

Dictatorship is a wild fire.

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?

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

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

Let virtue be your guide.

Let wisdom be your weapon.

The good will thrive.

Wisdom is manifested in action.



## Anna's Select Works

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### TAMIL.

#### ESSAYS:

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

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

7. கடவுள் தண்டிப்பார் (God will Punish)  
—Parimalam Pathippagam, Madras-34
8. புராண மதங்கள் (Puranic Religions)  
—Valluvar Pannal, Madras-2
9. தேவ லீலைகள் (The Lust Deeds of Gods)  
—Kalai Manram. Madras-1
10. சமதர்மம் (Socialism)  
— Anbu Nilayam, Broadway, Madras-1
11. எல்லோரும் இந்நாட்டு மன்னர்கள்  
(All are Kings of this Country)  
— Thuya Malar Publications, Madras-2

**LETTERS :**

அண்ணாவின் கடிதங்கள் (Anna's Letters)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.

**NOVELS :**

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

**PLAYS :**

1. ஒரிசு (One Night—Social Play)
2. காதல் ஜோதி (The Flame of Love—Social Play)  
—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1
3. சந்திரோதயம் (Chandrodayam—Social Play)
4. சந்திரமோகன் (Chandramohan—Historical Play)
5. நீதிதேவன் மயக்கம் (The Dilemma of the God of Justic—Literary Play)
6. வேலைக்காரி (The Servant-maid—Social Play)

**SHORT STORIES :**

1. அண்ணாவின் ஆறு கதைகள் (Anna's Six Short Stories)
2. கபோதிபுரக் காதல் (The Love in the World of the Blind)
3. கற்பனைச் சித்திரம் (Imaginative Stories)

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

4. அண்ணாவின் சிறுகதைகள் (Anna's Short Stories)

5. வண்டிக்காரன் மகன் (The Cart-driver's Son)

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

### SPEECHES :

1. அறிஞர் அண்ணாவின் கருத்துரைகள்

(Thoughts of Arignar Anna)

—Appar Book Stall, Thanjavur-1

2. அண்ணாவின் சொற்செல்வம்

(Thoughtful Speeches of Anna)

—Parri Nilayam, Madras-1

3. ஏ, தாழ்ந்த தமிழகமே !

(O The Down-trodden Tamil Nadu)

—Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.

4. தமிழரின் மறுமலர்ச்சி (The Renaissance of Tamils)

—Parri Nilayam, Madras-1

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.

7. Carry on ! But Remember.

—Thuyamalar Pathipagam, Madras-2

## Works on Anna

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of the Intellectual World)  
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2. அறிஞர் அண்ணா (Scholar Anna)  
—Mara. Thamilzhchelvan, Asokan  
Pathippagam, Madras.
3. அறிஞர் அண்ணா வாழ்க்கை வரலாறு  
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—P. V. R. Pandian, Kalaipponni,  
Madras-1.
4. அண்ணாவின் கதை (The Story of Anna)  
—Naveenan, Indian Express, Madras-2.
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(The Political Path of Anna)  
— M. Thangavelar, Anbu Nilayam, Madras-1

6. அண்ணாவின் கடைசி நாட்கள்

(The Last Days of Anna)

—Nagai Tharuman, Poonkodi Pathippagam,  
Madras-4.

7. பேரறிஞரின் பெருவாழ்வு

(The Great Life of a Great Scholar)

—A. Maraimalayan, Vanathi Pathippagam,  
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the great leader Periyar)

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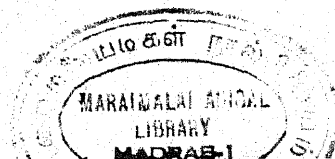
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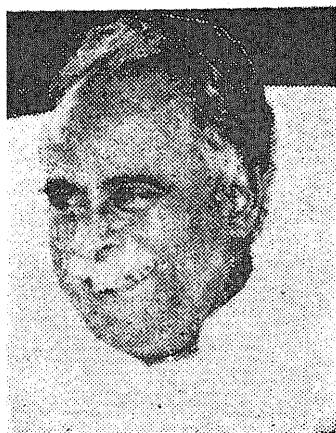
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## ECONOMIC PRINCIPLE

"Our economic Principle is that the articles purchased by the ordinary people daily should be within their buying capacity."

—ANNA

## ANNA'S FIRST SPEECH AND NEHRU'S REMARK 169



169

" 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* "

Thiruvalluvar Achagam, Thanjavur-1, Tamil Nadu.