

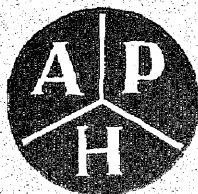
OCCASIONAL SPEECHES of ANNA

The greatness of fame lies in giving only. Giving means: "Part with what you have and what you can."

—ANNA.

Editors

A. K. MOORTHY
G. SANKARAN





ANNA'S ADDRESSES..

"His English addresses to university audience and abroad breathe a clarity of thought and facility of expression of any renowned orator or writer.

—Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM.

1975 - 76 Edition

Price : Rs. 15—00

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Occasional Speeches of ANNA

editor-in-chief

A. K. MOORTHY

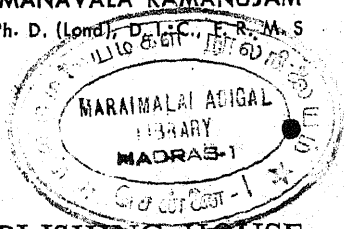
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G. SANKARAN

with a foreword by

Dr. S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM

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



ANNA PUBLISHING HOUSE

THANJAVUR-1

TAMIL NADU..

An Anna Publication

First Edition : 1975

Anna's Literature

Oratorical Series.

OCCASIONAL

SPEECHES OF ANNA

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Printed at :

Thiruvalluvar Achagam, Thanjavur,
Tamil Nadu, India.

FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Madras-7.

S. G. MANAVALA RAMANUJAM.

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

† The first speech *The Ideal to be Achieved only in Occasional Speeches* was made by him in 1961.

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

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

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

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

The plan for the translated speeches is as follows :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the sake of clarity and purposeful reading, every speech is divided into many units. An arresting title appropriate to the context and substance of the speech is also given. To increase the usefulness of the book to a greater degree, well and carefully classified appendix and index are added at the end of each volume. Memoirs of Anna, Anna's Speech-An Appreciation in five volumes, General Index and A Critical Introduction to Six Volumes in *Occasional Speeches* are the special features of the series.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“To discern the truth in everything is wisdom”

— *The Kural*.

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

A. K. Moorthy.

A Critical Introduction to Six Volumes

1. The Substance

The one hundred and twenty eight speeches of Anna compiled in The Oratorical Series are concrete specimens of consummate oratory. In order to illustrate their excellence an objective criticism has been written in the following pages.

All the speeches as reported in *Nam Nadu*, *The Hindu*, and *Home Rule* are included in the series and they have been duly compared with several other sources. In a way the series is complete and comprehensive for a three-year period from 1967 to 1969.

For a critical study, the subjects dealt with in all the speeches are alphabetically arranged as follows :

- Administration
- Agriculture
- Biography
- Democracy
- Economics
- Education
- History

Industry
 Language and Literature
 Law
 Medicine
 Politics
 Religion and
 Social Service

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

Administration : In five addresses (8. To-day's Regime in the Footsteps of the Chola Kings AS; 3. We are of one Family 4. Let us Co-operate 47. Act without Fear or Favour OS; 1. A Call to the People RT) Anna deals with administration and Government. He says that the system of administration devised by the Chola Kings is in a way put into practice to-day. Further he solicits the whole-hearted co-operation and support of all sections of people-the workers and the officials, the public and the press, the tillers and the merchants, the students and the intellectuals-to run a clean Government with the sole aim of serving the people, the actual rulers. He defines a good Government thus: "A good Government is a judicious combination of all these factors (run by all sections of people in unison). Government cannot be carried on from a few halls. The culture and morality seen in an individual is ultimately reflected in the Government of the country."

Agriculture : In five addresses (2. The Abolition of Land Tax 6. Procurement and Peoples' Responsibility AS; 12. Agricultural Economy the basis of our Progress 25. The Revolution in Agriculture IPA; 24 The Silent Revolution OS) agriculture is spoken of with special emphasis because it is the basis of all industries.

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

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

Biography: In twenty two addresses (2. Dr. Ambedkar a Champion of the Down-trodden 3. Kamaraj the People Leader. 4. The Greatness of Artistes. 5. Muthiah Chettiar 'a Lover of Tamil. 6. Venkataraman a Man of admirable Qualities. 7. Ramasamy Iyer a great social Worker. 8. Appadurai a literary Genius. 9. Bakthavatchalam a venerable Politician. 10. Periar the first Professor of Tamil Nadu 12. G. D. Naidu a self-made Man. 13. Karunanidhi a man of rare Talents. 14. Acharya Tulsi a venerable Saint. 15. Dr. Mu. Va. a writer of Clarity. 16. Chengalvarayan a man of affable Manners. 17. The Great Twins. 18. Rajaji the elder Statesman. 19. Chandrakantha a refined Artiste. 20. Sivaji Ganesan a talented Actor. 21. T. K. Shanmugham the celebrated stage Actor, 22. M.G. R's Excellence in Art and Politics 23. N.S. Krishnan the King of Humour FA; 2. The Ideal Society of Gandhi RT) Anna amazingly pinpoints only the praiseworthy qualities of each and every person whom he felicitates. His felicitation is neither a flattery nor an exaggeration but a sincere expression of his innermost heart.

It is heartening to note that Anna has felicitated almost all prominent men of Tamil Nadu in the world of

art, drama, politics, literature and other fields. Anna also pays his kind respects to Acharya Tulsi. The climax of his felicitation lies in his heart-felt tributes to Gandhi, the virtuous man of world renown.

Anna is a Gandhian in every sense. Therefore, his firm conviction is: "Let us not be content with deifying him as an *avathar* worthy of worship, not with singing his fame and remarkable achievements. I would appeal to you to remember and strive for the society he dreamt of, the ideals he propounded and the moral integrity he exemplified".

Democracy: In seven addresses (13. The Ruling Party and the Opposition AS; 15. Local Bodies the Foundation of Democracy. 16. Art and Politics. 27 Government Offices as the Training Centres of Democracy 28. The Government Officials and the Peoples' Representatives. 30. Towards the goal of Democracy IPA; 32. Press and Democracy OS) Anna explains the ABC of democracy expressively and explicitly.

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

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

Economics : In eight addresses (1. We are not Simpletons. 11. Budget for People's Welfare. 12. Our Five Year Plans AS; 7. The Basis of Integration IPA ; 10. The Need for Common Asian Market. 17. Austerity Measures. 19. Supply of Cheap Rice. 50. The Raffle Scheme (now abolished) OS) as a student of economics Anna is at his best to explain the economic fundamentals and reviews critically the Five Year Plans quoting authorities like Gadgil, H. M. Patil and Dr. Loganathan in his favour.

Anna's concluding remark is : "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."

Education : In eleven addresses 1. The Function of a University. 2. The Supreme Task of a University CA ; 1. Society is indebted to Teachers FA ; 9. A Call to Engineering Students. 10. Students' Responsibilities. 18. Intellectual Freedom. 26. The Need for Women's Education IPA;14. What we owe to the noblest Community. 21. The Teachers' Lot. 44. Let us labour Hard. 48. National Integration OS) Anna speaks about the elementary, secondary and university education. He explains education in a triangular aspect in which he takes into consideration the teacher, the taught and the parent. He

stresses more the service and knowledge aspects of education than the livelihood aspect. He welcomes reform in education for its better development.

Being himself a teacher, Anna values teachers highly and his fitting remark is : " The rise and fall of a society is in the hands of teachers."

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

Anna stresses equally the need for women's education because they bring excellence to the country by their learning. He requests them to engage themselves in the field of pedagogics and medicine so that they can foster their triple qualities of clarity, compassion and sympathy which will be immensely useful to society. His sagacious remark on learning is : " Learning is the pillar of support, the constant pride and the permanent wealth of a country."

With regard to national integration Anna aptly remarks : " Integration will not take place immediately in a country like India which is noted for its multiplicity of languages, cultures, ways of life and thoughts. We should strive hard for a pretty long time to achieve it".

History: In twelve addresses (1. Why this All-India Basis. 2. The Future of Tamil Nadu. 13. The Need for Authentic History of Tamil Nadu IPA ; 11. An Appeal to the Talented. 34. The Call from Yale University.

36. I shall bring glory to our Land 38. Cordial Relations between India and America. 41. My Impressions of Foreign Tour. 45. What Japan has to teach us. 49. The Great Historical Events OS; 3- The Role of the United Nations. 4. The Human Rights Day RT) Anna speaks with a critical historical sense. He is of the opinion that All-India basis need not be introduced in each and every thing. He aspires for a bright future for Tamil Nadu.

Anna argues his case for writing the authentic history of Tamil Nadu in order to reveal its true greatness. He appeals to the talented to help him to run the Government efficiently. He refers to his visit to America and gives his indelible impressions.

According to Anna, the renaming of Madras State as Tamil Nadu, the abolition of Hindi and the passing of Self-respect Marriage Bill are three great historical events.

Anna emphasises that the U. N. O. must be maintained at all costs for world peace and concord because its achievements are more than its failings. He says emphatically that it is the duty of every one to see to it that the human rights are respected and safe-guarded in the best possible way for the glory of mankind.

Anna's historical conclusion is: "It is not that whether a country's progress depends on socialism or capitalism. It is that each and every one should have a burning desire and a high determination to promote the progress of one's country".

"Determination in the minds of the people, faith in labour and firm hold on time-sense - these are the fundamental reasons for the progress of a country".

Industry: In six addresses (16. The Knotty Industrial Problems AS; 22. The World Exhibition IPA 5. Adulteration the greatest Evil. 7. The Role of Merchants in Society 12. The Plight of Handloom Weavers 40. An Appeal to Industrial Magnates OS) the subject of industry assumes added importance. It is correlated to economics and agriculture.

Anna refers to the problems in industry and requests the co-operation of the Centre to solve them. He reminds the merchants of their vital function in and moral binding to society. He makes a sincere appeal to the advanced countries and to the Indian industrial magnates in foreign lands to help India in her development. He remarks that anyhow the woes of the handloom weavers should be removed.

Finally Anna says: "A country's progress is judged by the growth achieved in fields like education, industry, economics and real administration".

Language and Literature: In nine addresses (8. Tamil as the Medium of Instruction 19. The Universality of Tamil 20. The Duty of Tamil Scholars 29. Tamil Culture IPA; 8. It is possible in Tamil 23. Thirukkural our guide in Life 27. Thirukkural the treasure house of Knowledge 29. Falter not Faint Not 30. The Value of Symposium OS) Anna examines Tamil in all aspects and extols the uniqueness of Tamil and the greatness of Tamil Culture. He tells us that Tamil should be used in all fields and in all walks of life for its all-round development. He also says that the value of symposiums lies in finding the greatness of Tamil. His learned remarks on Tamil culture, Tamil Scholars and *Thirukkural* are worth-considering here:

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

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

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

“ யாதும் ஊரே ; யாவரும் கேளிர் ”

—புறம் (192)

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

—Puram (192)

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

“Valluvar's *Thirukkural* is not meant to be read only but it is meant to be followed by us all in life. Therefore we should practise the profound ideas of the *Kural* in our day-to-day life”.

Law : In eight addresses (3. Justice is Permanent 4. In defence of Amnesty 9. The Self-respect Marriage Bill 10. A Historical Resolution 15. Law and Peace in Tamil Nadu AS; 31. The Able Police Force of Tamil Nadu IPA; 6. A Call to Lawyers 9. Executive and Judiciary OS) Anna briefly hints at the implications of law and justice.

Anna's unshakable view is that justice only is permanent and human judgment is not always just. While

defending amnesty he puts forth his argument that amnesty was granted to people who were the victims of circumstances and environment.

Of Self-respect Marriage Bill Anna says : “ It is only a permissive act which legalizes marriages already performed or which are proposed to be performed under this system.”

Anna is immensely happy about the passing of the historical resolution to rename Madras State Tamil Nadu unanimously in the assembly.

Anna pays his warm tributes to Madras Police for maintaining law and order even in difficult times.

He solicits the lawyers to give their valuable views on problems of public and legal importance so that proper solutions may be found for them.

His final remark is : “ The executive and the judiciary are different entities. The Government of Tamil Nadu will be firm in observing this difference’ ”.

Medicine: In two addresses (13. The Uniqueness of Siddha Medicine 35. A Call to Doctors OS) Anna applauds the Siddha Medicine and remarks : “ Siddha Medicine is the outcome of botanic research and scientific methods. Administering poison that kills the disease only, without doing any harm to the patient is the underlying principle of Siddha system”. Hence it should be developed in all possible ways.

Anna then requests doctors to serve society usefully and says: “ You must serve sincerely to alleviate the sufferings

of crores of diseased people so that they can lead a happy life with their regained vigour and energy. You must excel in all fields as great social workers”.

Politics: In twenty four addresses (5. The State and the Centre 7. Conventions and Decency in Public Life 14. The Burning Language Problem AS; 11. The Language Problem and Integration FA; 5. A Plea for More Powers. 6. We stand for Justice 23. The Originator of Language Problem IPA; 1. The Ideal to be Achieved 2. The Task before Us. 15 The D. M. K. Government and the Cine-field 16. May Day 18. Labourers and Labour Unions 20. A Self - Revelation 22. a. The Centre should pave the Way 25. What is the Cost of Freedom? 26. A Plea for Peoples' Support. 28. The Burning Language Problem 31. The Heroic Prayer Day 33. Our Cherished Goals 37. The Link Language 42. Undue regard for Politicians 43. Problems are born with us. 46. A Strong Plea for more Powers 51. The Meritorious Services of the Justice Party OS), politics is treated in different aspects.

In four addresses, as a powerful advocate of State autonomy, Anna pleads for more powers to the states so that they may do considerable good to the people. According to him: “The most important task of the present decade is to equalise the powers between the Centre and the States”.

In five addresses he refers to the language problem and integration. He is of the view that a lasting solution should be found for the complicated language problem and English alone should be the link language.

Of integration he says: “Integration cannot be achieved by mere pledge alone. It must rather be achieved by mutual trust and confidence”.

In one address Anna painfully remarks that there is no decency in public life and the political parties are responsible for it. He says that somehow such a sorry state of affairs should be got rid of.

In three addresses he deals with the problems of workers. He says that the D. M. K. will support any right and just cause of the workers. He justifies May Day Celebration and says that it is beyond party politics and that it should be celebrated in a fitting manner by all parties to honour the workers.

In eleven addresses he gives the readers a clear social and political history of the D. M. K. and hints at their great responsibilities after assuming power and the onerous task before them to work for the common good. In this connection he requests the public to support the D. M. K. Government.

Anna tells us that problems will always be there and prudence lies in finding solutions for them whenever they arise.

Anna, next condemns strongly the undue regard given to politicians in India. To quote Anna: "Politicians alone cannot raise the greatness of a country".

With regard to winning our freedom Anna makes his prudent remark: "Safeguarding freedom is harder than winning it. Even safeguarding freedom is not difficult. What is really difficult is to see that the fruits of freedom are equally enjoyed by one and all".

Lastly Anna praises the meritorious services of the Justice Party and observes thus: "The Justice Party

leaders were people noted for their sobriety. They were highly interested in the slow but steady progress of the state. They even proved it by their action”.

Religion : In four addresses (4. The Greatness of Jainism 17. Temples and Humanitarian Service 21. The Laudable Sikh Religion IPA; 22. The Path of the Buddha OS) the major part is devoted to Hindu religion. Anna's concept of religion is clearly revealed in these four addresses. It will be interesting to reproduce some excerpts from Anna: “The teachings of Mahavir constitute a noble code of conduct. ‘Have control over the five senses. Avoid excessive desire of things,’ said the great Mahavir. If people had really realised the full significance of those teachings, there would have been no wars or conflicts in the world; there would have been no necessity for the United Nations.”

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

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

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

“The religious code is holy, truthful and humanistic”.

Social Service : In five addresses (3. A Lesson for the Public 11. The Need for Prosperity Brigade 14. To be or Not to be. 24. The Social Reform a great Task. IPA; 39. The Need for Social Service OS) the central theme is social service because it was the greatest task that Anna had ever undertaken in his life.

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

As a strong advocate of prohibition, Anna urges that it should be implemented at any cost, taking it as a national problem. He pleads for national approaches for social problems like untouchability and casteism.

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

2. The Qualities

The Oratorical Series of Anna is a *magnum opus* and it brings to light the splendid qualities of Anna.

The speeches in the series breathe also the accumulated wisdom of Anna for over three decades which is in fact massive and profound in nature. It is the result of his vast reading and innate understanding of things in their proper perspective. They stand as monuments to reveal the versatile genius of Anna at all times in all its splendour.

All the subjects in the series are treated in a masterly manner with ease and equal importance in correlation to and comparison with one another. In such a fine treatment, all natural niceties of expression, which are characteristic of superb oratory, are employed to enrich the varied subjects of encyclopaedic nature.

The duration of the speeches ranges roughly from fifteen minutes to one hour. Convocation addresses, public utterances and assembly speeches are fairly long. All others are comparatively short. All the speeches except the convocation addresses and the radio talks are extempore speeches. The exposition of the subjects treated in the speeches is not only popular but also scholarly.

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

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

Anna is altruistic and humanistic in explaining the relations between the capitalist and the labourer. Here he is a Ruskin the author of the celebrated work *Unto this Last* which brought about a miraculous change in Gandhi's life

Anna is absolutely self-revealing and self-denying, simple and humble in some of his speeches. To put it in his own words :

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

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

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

The last quotation reminds us of Socrates the great Greek philosopher.

As a shrewd student of history, Anna never fails to portray the social, literary and political history of Tamil Nadu in places where they are apt and appropriate.

Anna's regard for authorities and his admiration of saints and seers is really remarkable. He reveres greatly monumental works like *Thirukkural* and the *Bible*.

The addresses are also noted for their valuable autobiographical materials such as Anna's failure in the S. S. L. C. Examination twice, his entry into politics from the Corporation Election, his lasting association with Chengalvarayan his close associate, his eagerness always to study the original even as a student, his academic distinction, his secretaryship of the English Association in the College and his veneration for his professors like Mosur Kandasamy and Mani Thirunavukkarasu.

For his self-revelation his own words may be quoted thus :

"I have never in my life betrayed those who reposed confidence in me nor have I ever done them any harm nor have I ever allured them to change their direction by sweet words and promises",

"I act slowly and deliberately. I do not make hasty statements. Having made a statement I never fail to carry it out. If I am unable to do so, I would rather end my political life than wriggle out of my promises".

We find in Anna an extraordinary debater and a reputed parliamentarian in *Assembly Speeches*, a well-read scholar in *Convocation Addresses*, a brilliant biographer in *Felicitation Addresses*, a refined politician and a great philosopher-statesman in *Inaugural and Presidential Addresses* and *Occasional Speeches* and an astute historian in *Radio Talks*.

As an orator Anna is a class by himself. He has enthralled all categories of audience from the illiterate to the learned both in India and abroad, both in assembly and Parliament, both in public platforms and in all centers of learning for over three decades by his inexhaustible eloquence. Therefore, it is appropriate on our part, to call Anna hereafter the matchless orator of Tamil Nadu. Though we may compare him to the famous orators of the world like Antony, Abraham Lincoln, Burke, Churchill, Demosthenes and Disraeli, he excells them all because we find all of them in Anna in one voice.

Anna's oratory is so refined and rational that it emanates the sparks of his astonishing genius. In the art of public speaking he is never a demagogue or a sophist as we come across in Greek history.

All the addresses clearly show the admirable qualities of Anna such as his pleasing politeness, keen sense of culture, inborn craving for refined democratic and political traditions, massive magnanimity, praiseworthy political nobility, adorable intellectual honesty, high humanity, utmost veracity and utter humility.

In fine it is a pleasure to remark that we get a clear picture of Anna as an exemplary democrat, a powerful debater, a real pragmatist, a high humanist, a refined politician, a reputed parliamentarian and a great philosopher-statesman. Above all, his life is a living example of his own triple code of conduct namely, *duty*, *dignity* and *discipline* which he had practised to the very last breath of his life.

We can say that after Gandhi and Nehru, Anna was the most trustworthy man in public life noted for his high integrity and he himself stands as an illuminating example of many of his illustrious qualities.

The hall mark of Anna's oratory is sublimity and veracity. His addresses begin with a note of congratulation or regret or with a statement, definition and quotation. The body of the addresses develops coherently and logically. In its logical development we find fine ideas, arresting quotations, amiable solutions to the burning problems of the country and interesting stories, all surpassing one another. The addresses end with an appeal or a tribute or suggestion or assurance.

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 remarkable qualities of Anna's addresses.

3. The Style

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

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

He makes use of quotations for the sake of emphasis. The various authorities quoted are Abraham Lincoln, Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russel, Bharathi, Bharathidasan, Churchill, Eisenhower, Jefferson, John Pope, V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, Lafayette, Dr. Loganathan, Maraimalai Adigal, Marcus Aurelius, Mathew Arnold, Nehru, H. M. Patil, President Kennedy, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Rajaji, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Sir R. K. Shanmugham Chettiar, Swami Vivekananda, Thirumular, Thiruvalluvar, U-Thant and Wendell Willkie. He also quotes abundantly from Tamil Classics as usual especially from *Thirukkural*, *Agananuru* and *Purananuru*.

His wise use of innuendo is to emphasize his point of argument.

He uses vision effectively to add vividness to the description of past events. He uses irony to shatter the untenable arguments of his opponents. His use of satire and sarcasm serves the same purpose.

He employs pathos to arouse sympathy and pity in the minds of his audience. He employs meiosis, antithesis and allusion for comparison and contrast.

His ingenious use of alliteration with oxymoron, metonymy, identical assertion and antonyms gives force and depth to his speeches.

Lastly he uses rhetoric and amplification to give effect to his speeches. He employs examples, illustrations, anecdotes, stories, historical references and literary evidences to strengthen his point of exposition.

Of all these devices, simile, metaphor, rhetoric, amplification, alliteration, anecdotes and quotations are predominant in all his speeches.

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

Anna speaks to all kinds of audiences. So he employs a varied style. In *Assembly Speeches* it is argumentative; in *Convocation Addresses* it is elevated; in *Felicitation Addresses* it is narrative; in *Inaugural* and *Presidential Addresses* it is illustrative; in *Radio Talks* it is sensuous; in *Occasional speeches* it is colourful. His fertile imagination flows throughout his speeches. To put it in a nutshell Anna's style has all the touches of a grand style.

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

4. Anna's Critics

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

With regard to his contribution to Tamil, eminent and impartial critics are yet to emerge. We are glad to know that Anna's Tamil works have been taken up for research for Ph. D. by the students of the Madras University. For instance Dr. R. Janarthanam has obtained his Ph. D. for his thesis on Anna's plays, entitled அறிஞர் அண்ணா நாடகங்கள்—ஓர் ஆராய்ச்சி. (Scholar Anna's Plays—A Research). *The Oratorical Series of Anna* is a right step in this direction.

5. Anna's Message

Anna's study of Tamil classics is absorbing indeed. In the speeches collected in the series he makes a striking reference to the following lines of Tamil Literature :

“ ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும் ”

—திருமந்திரம் (2066)

“ There is but one God and creed ”

—Thirumantram (2066)

- “ யாதும் ஊரே, யாவரும் கேளிர் ” —புறம் (192)
- “ Every country is my country ;
Every man is my kinsman ”. —Puram (192)
- “ செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல் ” —புறம் (189)
- “ The use of wealth lies in benefaction ”.
—Puram (189)
- “ வினையே ஆடவர்க்கு உயிர் ” குறந்தொகை (135)
- “ Nothing but deed is the soul of man ”
—Kurunthogai (135)
- “ ஈதல் இசைபட வாழ்தல் அதுவல்லது
ஊதியம் இல்லை உயிர்க்கு ”. —குறள் (231)
- “ Give and live a life of fame.
No other profit is so great to the soul as that ”.
—The Kural (231)
- “ பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஒம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை ”. —குறள் (322)
- “ Sharing food with others and guarding all lives in
this world is the essence of the advice given by the
wise ”. —The Kural (322)
- “ பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வா
செய்தொழில் வேற்று மையான் ”. —குறள் (972)
- “ All men that live are one in circumstance of birth
Diversities of works give each his special worth ”.
—The Kural (972)

Monotheism, brotherhood of mankind, living a life of fame by giving, sharing food with others and guarding all lives in the world, purity in action, altruism and equality of man are the universal ideas stressed in these immortal lines. We may conclude by saying that the message of Anna which is universal in appeal contains the above Tamil cosmopolitan ideas and ideals.

—A. K. Moorthy.

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Dedicated to.....



ANNA'S ADORED MOTHER, BANGARU AMMAIYAR

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

—*The Kural* (69)



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



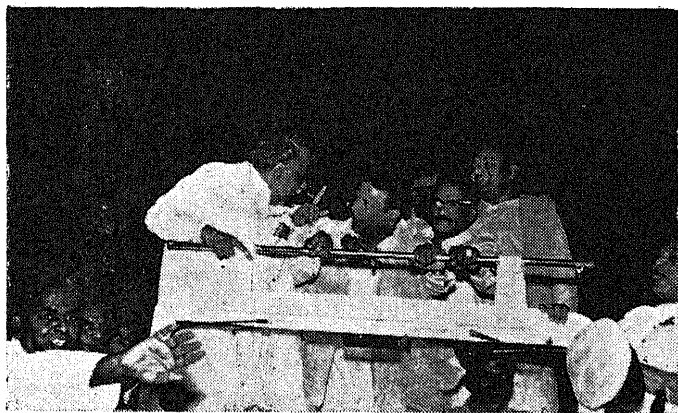
ANNA, THE MATCHLESS ORATOR OF
TAMIL NADU



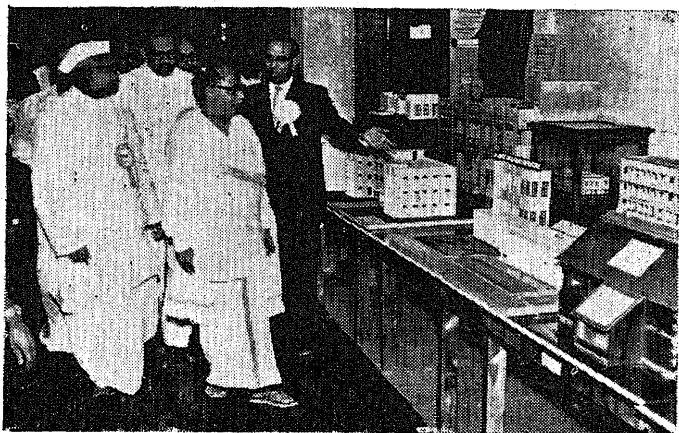
ANNA ADDRESSING THE MEETING OF THE MADRAS
SECRETARIAT STAFF ON 6—3—1967 (see page 17)



ANNA INAUGURATING THE RUPEE-A-MEASURE SCHEME
AT VILLIVALKAM ON 15-8-68 (see page 78)



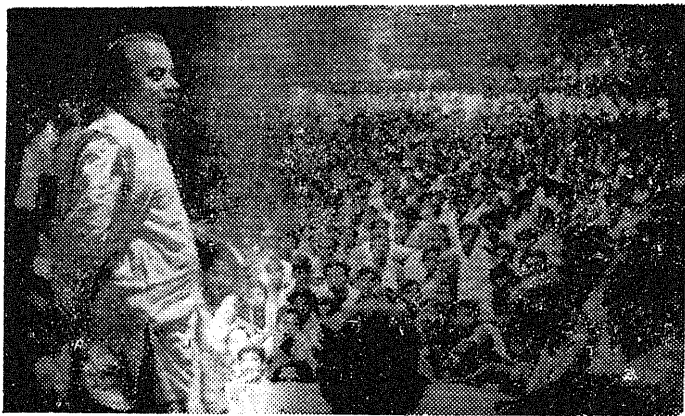
ANNA WITH HIS MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUES
IN THE GRAND PROCESSION CONDUCTED TO WELCOME HIM
ON HIS RETURN FROM AMERICA (see page 176)



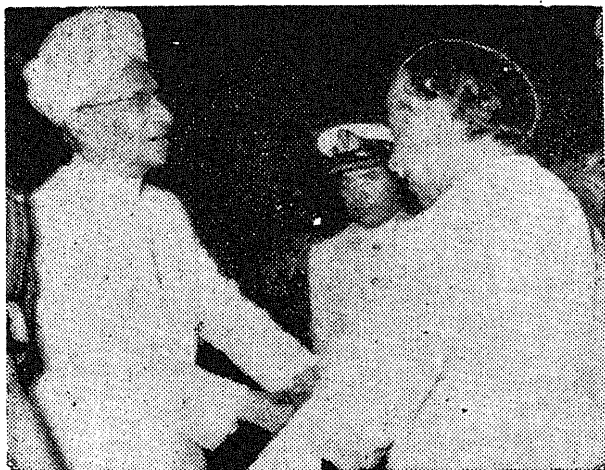
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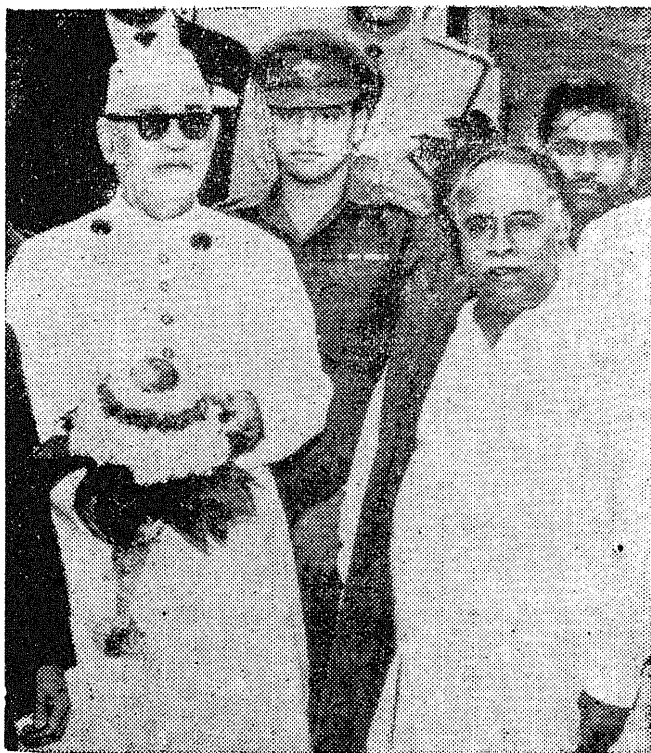
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ANNA ADDRESSING A MEETING WITHOUT MIKE AT THANJAVUR



ANNA WITH DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN



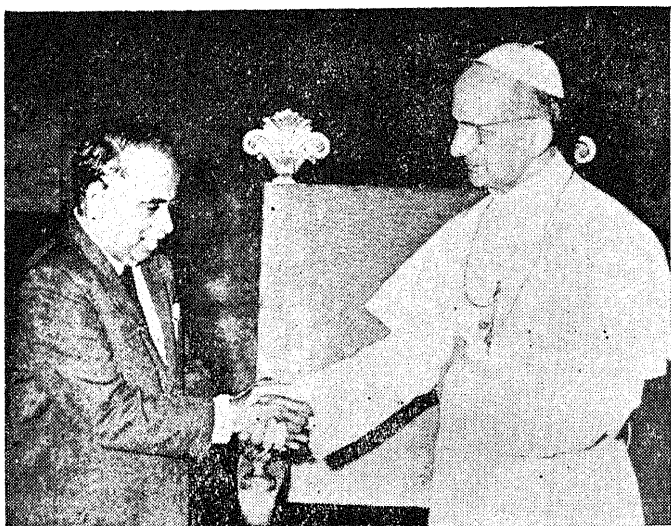
ANNA WITH PRESIDENT DR. ZAHIR HUSAIN



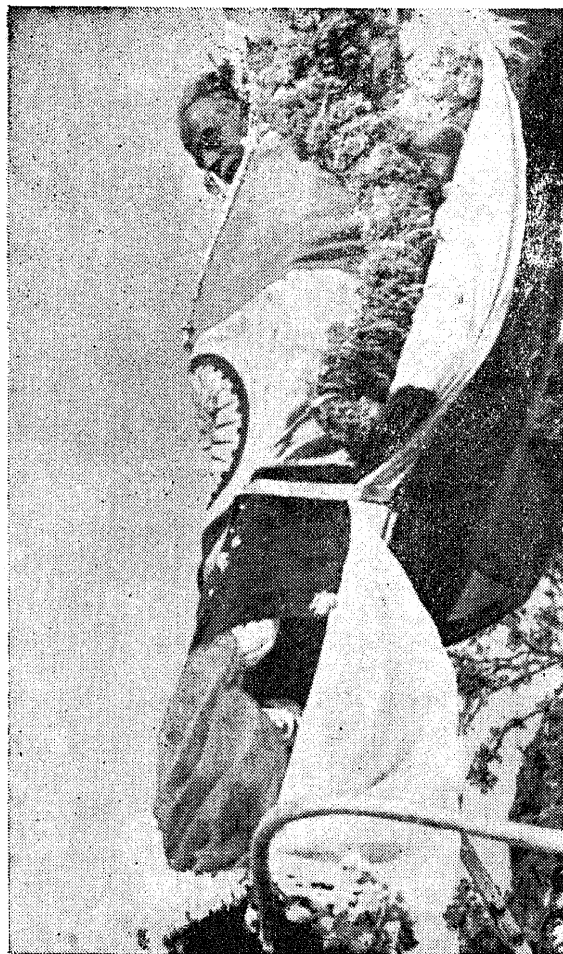
ANNA AS KAGABHATTER IN HIS FAMOUS
STAGE-PLAY *Chandramohan*



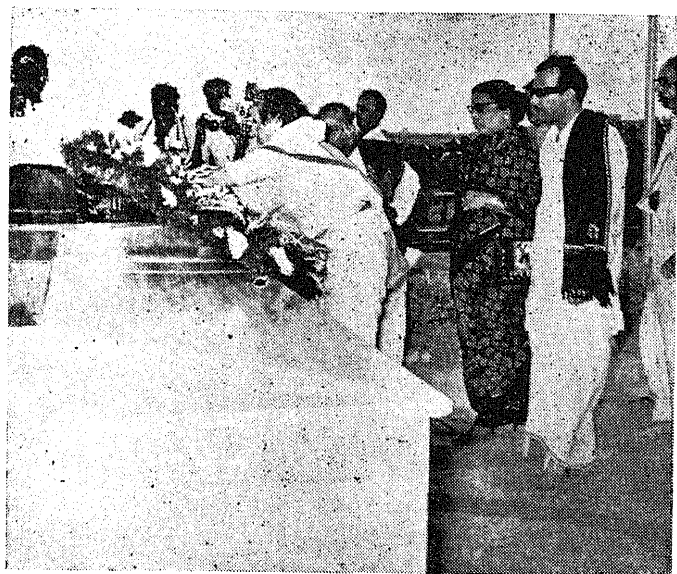
ANNA DRINKS PALM SAP



ANNA WITH THE POPE



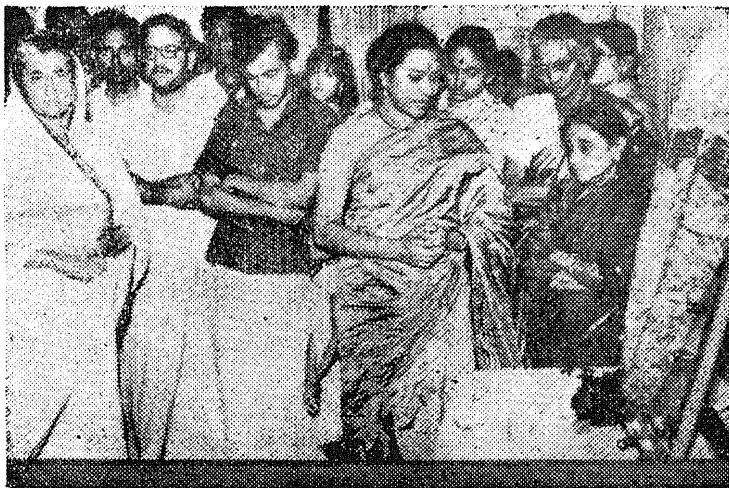
ANNA'S LAST JOURNEY



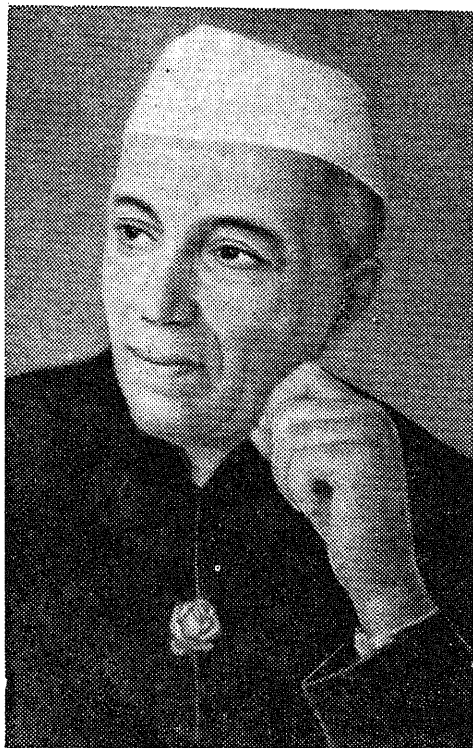
PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI PLACING
A WREATH ON ANNA'S SAMADHI



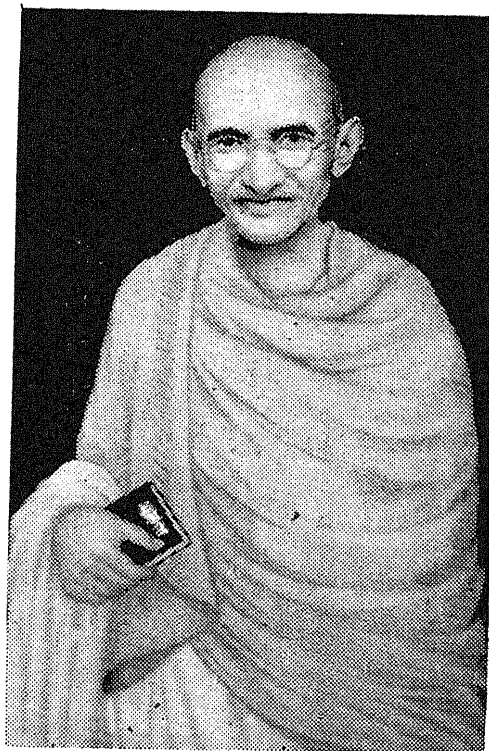
PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI ADDRESSING THE CONDOLENCE
MEETING ARRANGED IN CONNECTION WITH ANNA'S
DEMISE IN MADRAS ON 8--2--69



PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI AT ANNA'S HOUSE IN MADRAS
TO EXPRESS HER CONDOLENCES TO ANNA'S FAMILY



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
THE ARCHITECT OF MODERN INDIA



MAHATMA GANDHI
THE FATHER OF OUR NATION

“ The pendant world's dominion may be won,
In fitting time and place by action done.”

—*The Kural* (484)

I. The Ideal to be Achieved

1

It is with legitimate pleasure that after a careful assessment I am placing before the comrades, the crusaders and the liberators assembled at this conference the fact that the process of growth of the DMK from strength to strength has been continuous and growing, remarkable and even amazing, despite the voluminous and varied opposition engineered by vested interests and their stooges.

The DMK had to succeed in rediscovering Dravida Nadu and a public held under the grip of the enticing illusion, namely Indian Nationalism had to be educated about the hoary past, when Dravida Nadu was a prosperous and flourishing sovereign state with no caste and obnoxious orthodoxy enlightened and powerful.

Literature and history had to be carried to the door-steps of millions of people who are either illiterate or stuffed with wrong notions and false facts. It was an uphill task and with

no other support than our sincerity and painstaking effort we have succeeded in making millions rediscover Dravida Nadu.

The necessity for constituting a committee for National Integration after fourteen years of Independence by the ruling party—the Congress, is a repudiation of the illusion of Indian Nationalism. A comparative study yields interesting and important lessons.

Fourteen years after Independence, the Congress is still formulating plans for National Integration whereas the DMK twelve years after its inception has got the proud record of having made the Tamilians, Andhras, Kannadigas and Keralites feel their ethnic affinity and more than that the cruel fact of North Indian aggrandisement.

Statements expressing dissatisfaction, regret, or even anger about the injustice done to the Southern Region in the five year plans made from time to time by responsible persons and from all the linguistic units in Dravida Nadu are but strong indications of the rediscovery of Dravida Nadu.

Though we have not yet made our position strong in the other linguistic units, we have succeeded in establishing a pioneer force in all

those units. The prospects are bright and we are determined to work with redoubled vigour in all those units.

2

The power-grabbing nature of the Union Government and the injustice done to the units and the economic emancipation of the units are the most powerful and unassailable emissaries for the Dravidian struggle and no amount of blackout or misrepresentation, opposition or aggression is going to make these emissaries ineffective. Powerful forces are already at work leading all these linguistic units towards the path desired.

There was a time when it was thought and freely expressed that the DMK had not and could not carry on its message to the rural area. The situation today has completely belied this opinion. Today, even in small hamlets, our units are being organised and the rural area is solidly behind the DMK. Even powerful feudal and clan hold has been discarded in favour of this fervour.

The DMK proposes to carry on its message still further, not only through speeches and writings but through exhibitions and dramas. A plan is being worked out for the same.

So the present strength that we have built up is inspiring and we are anxiously awaiting the dawn. The darkness that was enveloping the land is no longer there for the torch-bearers are on the march.

The General Conference held at Trichy in 1956, has given us the mandate to enter the parliamentary forum and any unbiased observer will state that the DMK has been functioning with responsibility and restraint as a democratic opposition party, championing the cause of the public as against totalitarianism, political aggrandisement, maladministration and economic exploitation.

The quality more than the quantity of our legislative work has earned for us the esteem of the public and we have also raised the status of our ideal in the eyes of the public here and elsewhere. Hence we propose to continue our parliamentary function and contest the coming general elections. We appeal with confidence, to the public to stand by the DMK and work for the success at the polls.

The DMK need not place facts and figures elaborately before the public to argue the case about the Congress maladministration. The scars are there and the scare of another lease of

life for the Congress is before the public. It is the duty of the public to unseat the Congress from power—for that party, by its fourteen years of misrule has forfeited the confidence of the public. It stands today as a dictatorial regime with a thin veil of democracy.

3

The Congress Party swears by socialism to entice the masses but is having an unholy alliance with the Industrial Magnates and Landholders and through a system of political patronage like granting permits and issuing licences giving concessions, doles and loans and enabling the magnates to exploit the masses, keeps the magnates as their patrons and fund gatherers.

The various economic houses that are becoming monopolistic concerns under the Congress regime are well known. Experts have stated in scathing terms about the emergence of these "Industrial Empires."

To allow such a party to get a fresh lease of power is to court totalitarianism and the public in the interest of democracy should rise up in revolt against this engine of tyranny and smash the sinister organisation at the polls.

Those who analyse not only the trends but also the figures of the last general elections can find out an awkward truth. The Congress which holds the majority of seats in various legislatures has hence formed the government but the Congress has got not the majority of votes but only the minority of votes.

The anti-Congress votes are larger in number than the pro-Congress votes. But the electoral system is of such a nature that a party is able to bag majority of seats with a minority vote. So the Congress has not got the mandate from the majority to carry the government.

The multiplicity of parties and the absence of any sort of understanding as between them has caused the votes against the Congress to be split up and thus was the Congress seated in power.

This is neither conducive to democracy nor to political morality and above all this places the people at the mercy of a political party machinery strengthened by the funds placed at its disposal.

Thus democracy has become meaningless, purposeless and soulless. This has led many of the public figures of today to come forward with different proposals. Vinoba finds the

democratic machinery cumbersome and unreal, and pleads for Sarvodaya and self-government in villages. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan pleads for a partyless democracy.

Schemes akin to what has been brought forward by President Ayub Khan of Pakistan—basic democracy, is being recommended. Theoretically each one of these proposals has got some merits but from the practical point of view, these schemes do not solve the real issue.

There are still others, the Communists, prominent amongst them who advance a scheme of United Front of all opposition parties with a minimum programme. This proposal is qualified with a condition—the Communist party would not consider the Swatantra party fit enough to come under a rally of radicals

The bolder amongst the Communists make also another statement that for the DMK to come under this United Front it should give up its demand* for Dravida Nadu at any rate during the elections.

Likewise the Swatantra party will not touch the Communist party with a pair of tongs. So

* Speech delivered before giving up the demand for Dravida Nadu.

the proposal for a United Front raises new issues rather than solves the old issues.

No party would or could give up its basic ideal for the sake of an electoral advantage—for though elections are important and decisive, they form but a part of the whole, the party has got to function continuously for its ideal—so it cannot give up its ideal.

4

At the same time the parties that have realised the necessity for ousting the Congress regime should find ways and means for the same—for they owe a duty to the public—the public should be released from the clutches of a dictatorship in the making.

So my view after careful consideration and consultation with the General Council of the DMK is that keeping in view the necessity for unseating the Congress from power, each party should strive to avoid as far as possible contests between themselves and facilitate the task of defeating the Congress at the polls. This may be termed as 'demarcation of areas' or adjustments at constituency level.

And even for this arrangement to be real and effective, each party should assess the

strength and electoral prospects before opening any talk on this line with other political parties.

So I am proposing to the District Secretaries of the DMK to constitute forthwith a small special committee with himself as the convener-chairman and along with an appraiser to be sent from Headquarters to tour the various constituencies in the district and draw up an assessment.

From July 25 to 30, the assessment committee will function and submit a report to the Parliamentary Board already constituted through election. The Parliamentary Board will tour the state from August 1st to 15th and conduct enquiries, gather facts and keeping the Assessment Committee's Report as the basis prepare and submit a report to the General Secretary before the end of August.

The General Secretary after scrutiny and study will consult the General Council and then can gauge the prospects. Only at that stage can there be any real fruitful talk about area adjustment.

5

But the basic situation needs a thorough examination and I feel that there is an all-important necessity for making some other alter-

native in the electoral system to save democracy itself from being made a mere caricature. To my mind some form of proportional representation could be the one possible way of making democracy really representative in a country wherein there are diverse and differing forces at work.

I am placing this suggestion before the public and would also request leaders of thought and of political parties to bestow their thought and attention to this problem of proportional representation.

I have been urging for this from platforms and also from the legislature forum. I would also request the press to initiate a discussion about this proportional representation in the interest of democracy. Though nothing could be done on this line before the general elections of 1962 I propose through the D. M. K. to initiate the proposal as a long-range policy.

As far as the general elections of 1962 are concerned, my impression and study of the situation enabled by the intimate contact with the masses makes me feel encouraged about the prospects. The D. M. K. has got every chance of coming off in flying colours from the battle of ballots and the fond hope of the ruling party that defection from the party might have weakened it will be belied.

Our strength in the rural areas is going to cause a surprise to the ruling party at the polls. And I may mention that the very fact that we propose to form a labour wing of the D. M. K. state-wide is a clear indication of our growing influence in the labour section of society.

Defections are common occurrences and to discuss the size or strength of the seceding section leads one only to wishful thinking. A part can never be bigger than the whole—it is a contradiction in terms. As a matter of fact, the membership of our party has increased considerably, nearly 9,000 new members have been enrolled after what is termed as the crisis.

The fervour for and the determination to work for and achieve our ideal has become more intense and widespread and I am perfectly satisfied with the morale of the party.

Address delivered at the Third General Conference
in Thiruparamkundram
on 13-7-61

“Guard self-restraint as a treasure.

No other gain is so great as that to the soul”

— *The Kural* (122)

2. The Task before Us

1

This time, we the newly elected legislative members, have introduced ourselves to one another. Making introductions in this manner does not mean that we meet for the first time.

“The D. M. K. is confined only to the urban areas and is not seen in rural parts”, it is said. This time, we have come off with flying colours in the elections from rural areas in great numbers. A large number of the tillers of the soil have gained victory in the elections. People in all parts of Tamilnad have worked hard for the victory of the D. M. K.

All the people have entrusted the task to us with absolute confidence. At this holy hour we have to shoulder greater responsibilities. This is the time for us to show a high degree of maturity.

The people trust us just as they trusted the Congress after the attainment of freedom. We may state various reasons for the confidence that they have reposed in us. It is our responsibility to come up to their expectations and de-

serve their confidence. This is not only a time for rejoicing but also a time for self-restraint.

With a few exceptions, almost all the elected members are youngsters. This exemplifies only that a new generation is coming to power.

The friends who introduced themselves here, did not mention their educational qualifications. Among the elected members, there are great many who are graduates. There are people who served as teachers. They are people who hold engineering degrees. There are people who were Panchayat (Union) Presidents. There are people who are veterans in administration.

Generally, there is a wrong notion among the people of a particular class in society about the D. M. K. They think of it as if it were an assembly of fanatics and the uneducated. I presume that they would have considered us uneducated because we have humble appearance.

The D. M. K. is not only the stronghold of the educated but also of the uneducated. The D. M. K. gives representation even for the illiterates. There are scholars of repute in the D. M. K. There are in the D. M. K. all kinds of people drawn from all strata of society and from all walks of life.

In 1957 when I contested the election from Kancheepuram Constituency, Rajaji wanted to meet me. We met in a friend's house.

"It is my wish that you must get elected. You must do only one thing. You must issue a statement saying that you have no hatred against any particular class of people", said Rajaji. I replied, "I can't". Rajaji looked at me in wonder.

I said, "If I issue such a statement now, it will mean, I have so far encouraged class-hatred. Even in the past, I never gave quarter to class-hatred".

Rajaji was pleased to hear what I said and congratulated me then and there saying, "If it be so, you will govern this country".

When Nedunsezhian, Mathiazhagan, Natarajan and I were in the D. K., we did not show any trace of hatred to any individual. If anybody had the old receipt book of the Self-Respect Movement, I would request him to look at it. On its reverse side there will be rules intended for members. Those rules were written down by my hands. Only the following will be mentioned on it. "Anybody who sinks class differences and who accepts the principles of self-respect may become member".

The D. M. K. never showed any ill-will to any class of people. The D. M. K. will strive hard to foster social integration.

3

As elected members, let us govern only with the co-operation of others. There need not be any individual enmity. Let us make friends with others

I expect co-operation from the Congress friends. Though they are not in power, if they give their suggestions, let us accept them. Their experiences will be useful to us.

At this moment I wish to mention a very important thing to my Kazhagam comrades. At this juncture when we are going to assume power, we should realise that the government and the party are two different entities. By this it does not mean that those who assume office will not engage in party work. When they render service as members of the government they will belong to all people in common. When they engage in party work, they will work out and out for the party. Therefore, what we call government and party are different. The country and the government are stable and permanent but the ruling party is subject to changes.

The place where we must do our party work is *Arivagam* (the place of knowledge) and *Anbagam* (the place of love), the D. M. K. head quarters. The government office is neither Arivagam nor Anbagam. But, the government office may be a place of knowledge and love.

The responsibility we have assumed is very great indeed. We should behave in a self-restrained manner. The measures we take in future must be such that the people of Tamilnad are assured of a better standard of living. Let us translate our promises into action.

Speech delivered at the meeting of the
newly elected D. M. K. Legislators
held in Madras on 26-2-'67

“Is there anything impossible of achievement,
if it be done properly at the right time?”

—*The Kural* (483)

3. We are of one Family

1

This is a routine affair for me. But it is a strange convention for people in authority to meet and talk to you in person. This is rather a tradition which has not been in vogue until now. I wanted to meet you here, not only because I could not give up my habit but also because I wished to set up a healthy precedent.

Whenever I went to other states, I have heard people speak with admiration about the high administrative efficiency of our state. As one who has moved with people coming from various parts of the sub-continent of India, and as one who has experienced things personally, it has been a matter for pride to me to hear about your administrative excellence and efficiency.

Though I have not moved with many in Government offices both at higher and lower levels, there are some officers whom I am proud to claim as my friends. Yet, this meeting has been arranged in order to give us an opportunity to get to know one another and make friends.

It is a well-known Tamil adage that "Friendship begets friendship". Having assumed this new responsibility, I obviously seek your hand of friendship when I meet you.

The function has been arranged so that the administrative apparatus may continue to function without losing its lustre and, if possible, may shine a little brighter than ever before.

I have indeed felt a sense of pride and gratification, whenever I heard that knotty problems in other states of India could be solved by utilising the services of experienced officers of Tamilnadu. I have even felt a desire to work in co-operation with such a band of people. When the people entrusted this new task to me in order to fulfil my desire, I was filled more with fear and tribulation than with joy and elation.

2

It is said, "Tamilnadu stands out in administration. It has industrial resources. It also shows the lead in the field of education. There are political Pandits".

In spite of all these rosy things here, why is there so much of poverty? Why do we face the problem of inadequacy? Why does want of self-sufficiency stare us in the face? We have assumed charge in order to find answers to these pro-

blems. I request and appeal to you for your whole-hearted co-operation.

There may be delay in our work as we are new to our posts. I request you not to put it down to our habits but to accept it as the result of environment.

There is a lot that you and I have to do in common. Work tirelessly to solve the food problem. Make use of your talents to develop the industrial resources. Devise ways and means for equitable distribution of wealth in society that is derived from industrialisation. Pave the way for all people to gain the wealth of learning which is more enduring than material wealth.

There is a mountain of task before us. It is not a thing to be done by a single individual or by seven or eight Ministers who assist him. Rather it is a task that you all together must do.

If you look at the physiology of my body it will be clear to you that I am a man who cannot attain high stature. Therefore, I have the tallest Navalur Nedunsezhian and others to assist me. They are people who have talents to compensate my deficiencies and weaknesses.

In that sense I seek your help. Though I have been meeting you day after day, I am very

proud to meet you today after assumption of new responsibility in the hope that there must be new significance in my meeting you all.

3

So far we have been singing skylarks. Our music was sweet. Not only was it sweet but it also stirred the desires and feelings of the people. We have sought your help in order to give an assurance to the people that we will fulfil their desires and aspirations.

Hereafter the *raga* and *thala* should be set according to our music. We feel that 'No, No' has been the *raga* all these days and 'Go slow; go slow' has been the *thala*. But hereafter the *raga* should change to suit our music and the *thala* also should correspondingly change. By mere saying that the *thala* should change we do not mean that you should beat unmusical *thala*.

There are many kinds of *thala*. The *thala* familiar to a large number of people is *Adi thala*. We should change the *thala* of the past and beat it in unison with the heart beat of the masses.

People do not blame the administrators or the Government. They have confidence in them. Rather they want a change in policy as well as in administration.

We have assumed office as representatives of those people who voice such opinions. Our plans and procedures should be devised in such a way that we could fulfil the desires and aspirations of the people

We, the mouthpiece of the aspirations of the people and you, the executors of the people's policies should work as a happy team with mutual understanding. In that case, I have no doubt we can achieve many great things.

Speech delivered at the meeting of the
Madras Secretariat Staff on
6-8-1967.

"The pleasure derived from virtue only is genuine.
All else is neither pleasure nor praise",

—*The Kural* (39)

4. Let us Co-operate

1

I express my joy to you for having invited me and my ministerial colleagues to participate in your feast. I also express my gratitude to you for the political magnanimity with which the members of the ruling party and those of the opposition have come together on this occasion. My gratitude is also due to the elite of the city who have honoured and pleased us with their presence. I really believe the friendly feeling and comradeship that you show will prove beneficial to the people.

Though we have no experience of actual administration, we are the people who know how the administration should be carried on and under what conditions the administration would become perfect. Having drawn up plans with that purpose in view, we have already explained them to the people. Therefore, I believe we can govern the country in an excellent manner with your co-operation.

To whichever party you may belong and in whichever strata of society you may be, you

must have contact with us and strive hard for the progress of the country by extending to us your co-operation continually. Therefore I request you to become one with us in rendering service to the people.

2

My esteemed friends in the Corporation carry on the administration according to the availability of facilities and the financial resources and they have made Madras a city of beauty.

The welcome address presented to us reflects the deep comradeship that exists among our comrades ever since they came to power and the friendly understanding with which they have been discussing various things for the betterment of the city all these years.

I give you this assurance that I shall allot funds as far as it is possible for us without any hesitation for the implementation of the Corporation schemes in the interests of the people of the city. The previous Governments expressed their inability to implement the schemes of the Corporation.

Since we have come to power, we shall not say that we cannot execute schemes given by the Corporation. We shall study the problems

that are beyond our powers of execution. We shall consider the reasons for not being able to execute them and the problems involved in doing so with the officers concerned.

In fact, if it appears that we cannot execute the schemes, we shall pacify the Corporation. We shall call upon the Corporation to explain to us how the schemes are capable of being executed. Afterwards, if we hold a tripartite conference of the Government officials, the Corporation members and the Ministers to examine the problem in all its aspects, I think we can arrive at a good decision. I consider that this is the best method to be adopted for solving all the problems of the country.

The officers may agree with you in thinking that the schemes can be easily executed. But legal hurdles and financial difficulties may stand in the way of execution of the schemes. Therefore, I believe the problems will be solved only after a careful examination and discussion with the officials. If we cannot execute any scheme, we shall never hesitate to tell the people about our inability to execute them.

3

Only in the history of Indian Democracy can we come across such a strange event as that of an inexperienced party coming to power,

while seasoned administrators adorn the opposition benches.

I do not say that they should not oppose us. They must give us their suggestions when needed. Likewise they must oppose us when necessary. If they do so, I shall consider it as drops of rose water sprinkled on the eyes. And I shall never consider it as an attack either on me or on the D. M. K.

All parties are for the country. Accepting that the interests of the people are paramount, we must co-operate and help each other to govern the country. In the interests of the people, I believe they will let us have the benefit of their rich experience and the wealth of knowledge they have gained in administration.

Here the Mayor mentioned the protected water supply scheme. To solve the problem of drinking water, they have mentioned the scheme of bringing Cauvery water to Madras.

Now it is my wish that the water supply scheme must be drawn up in such a way that the people of Madras will be benefited by it, not only for five or ten years but for the next twenty five years at least. I shall try to get particulars in this regard from the Government.

Madras City is put to considerable suffering for lack of water. It becomes impossible to start new industries. Therefore, I want that we should find an immediate solution for the water problem of the city.

We are feasting in the bewitching and pleasant twilight. At the same time we should not forget the lot of those countless people in the country who live in abject misery without food and shelter. It must be our principal aim to weed out the difficulties of that down-trodden community which is leading a suppressed life and to raise their standard of living.

A society in which happiness and enjoyment are the lot of the few and in which a great many people live in penury and misery cannot be an example of a healthy society. Opposites cannot co-exist for long.

Reply to the Civic Address presented
by the Corporation of Madras
on 10—3—'67

“ Only wealth acquired by blameless and proper means
will give virtue and happiness. ”

- *The Kural* (754)

5. Adulteration the greatest Evil

1

Those who felicitated us said that protection was necessary for the oil mill industry. I assure you whatever occupation or whatever trade you may be engaged in, if it is beneficial to society, we shall look after it with care and sympathy. We shall analyse the problems connected with your trade and let you know the things that can be done by us

It was pointed out that the ground-nut is an essential commodity of Tamil Nadu. The by-products of it are essential to the poor. It is also said that it is wrong to send ground-nut to other states, when we are in need of it and it must be stopped. If it is stopped and used here, our industry will flourish and the prices will go down. But we have to export it to other states.

If we stop exporting it to Bombay, they will not supply us doll in return from them. As a result we shall be worse off than before. I inform you that I shall get in touch with the Centre and make all arrangements to send

only surplus ground-nut to other states and take all steps for the proper utilization of ground-nut in Tamil Nadu.

The groundnut cake is a good manure suitable for farming. It is also a cheap manure which has been in use from time immemorial.

When we stressed in Parliament the necessity to stop the export of commodities needed for us, they had stopped the export of ground-nut. Later, however they began to export it again. Therefore, I tell you that we shall discuss with the Centre so as to retain the stock of ground-nut necessary for us and at the same time to continue the import of doll from other states.

2

It was said, "Multipoint sales tax accounts for the rise in prices. Therefore, it must be abolished." Among the merchants there has been no unanimity of opinion in this matter for the last ten years; nor have they given clear-cut suggestions in this regard. It is easy for me to say like this: "I shall do away with multi-point sales tax. Hereafter, we shall have only single-point sales tax." But we should arrive at a decision only after careful consideration.

Whether it is the multi-point or single-point sales tax, we have to draw up schemes, bearing

in mind the need for fetching income to the Government. Therefore, I would request you to give me feasible and useful measures after careful examination without loss of revenue to the state. I have a mind to convene a symposium of the merchants in one or two months. The Officers concerned with these problems will take part in it. You are welcome to offer your opinions. Having examined the opinions of both parties, let us come to a mutual agreement for action so that conditions conducive to the growth of friendly relations between us may be established.

3

Adulteration! The very mentioning of the term is dreadful. If we go to hospitals, the doctors treating the patients say that their diseases are caused by adulteration. The oil mill owners say that they are punished by the officers who convict them of adulteration, if the seeds are defective or the oil undergoes natural changes.

If the gingelly seed or ground-nut is the cause of the impurity in oil, we may consult and discuss with the concerned food analysts to find the remedy. What is the use of blaming the ground-nut after you have indulged in all kinds of malpractices to adulterate the oil?

The products coming to the market must bear the mark of purity given by the Manufacturers' Association. Please consider the possibility of selling only such guaranteed goods in the market. There is no objection however to solving the problems and satisfying the demands that you have raised here. I may tell you that the Government will take all steps to solve your problems and to foster the growth of social and friendly relations between us.

4

They wanted representation in the Legislature on the basis of industry. If representation be given to the owners of oil mills, then people belonging to other industrial enterprises like iron and steel and textile industries will demand representation for every one of them. Thus, if all demand representation, what can we do?

In order to solve this problem I have been saying for the last few years that the constitution must be amended on democratic lines so that representatives of workers can become members of the Legislative Assembly and rule the country. For this the constituencies must be delimited on the basis of industry. In English it is called 'functional democracy.' I have reiterated this idea many times. We shall take further

steps to implement it. Though we cannot derive immediate benefits now itself, I believe, in a few years a change will be brought about in the constitution for the formation of constituencies on the basis of industry.

The business experts and the workers' leaders elected from such constituencies can point out the merits and demerits of their industry; they can explain their complicated problems in the Legislative Assembly. Therefore I assure you, we shall endeavour for the formation of industrial constituencies in the country.

Speech delivered at the felicitation
function arranged by the Madras
Pinto Rotary Oil Mills
on 31-3-'67

“ Not the lance that gives the victory
but the sceptre swayed with equity ”

—*The Kural* (546)

6. A Call to Lawyers

1

I am highly pleased to see my old friend, Thiru Ramadoss in your midst. When we studied at College, he was a very attractive youth. Though he is aged now, he looks as attractive as he was in his younger days. I am also highly pleased to hear from my friends that he is serving here as an able judge.

I have come here to get your blessings and good wishes. I request your support to strengthen us in performing our tasks. In the Legislative Assembly there are more than twenty-eight D. M. K. lawyers. This shows the relations between the D. M. K. and the lawyers. I believe you will be satisfied with the composition of the ministry which includes lawyers.

Hereafter, we shall enact laws so carefully that they will not be struck down by any court of law. It is not enough if there are lawyers in the Legislative Assembly. They must help us in enacting laws which will command the respect of the people and be free from loopholes and lacunae.

As lawyers, you must not be satisfied with attending to your affairs only. You must gather and discuss the conditions in the country and arrive at certain conclusions. Then you will be considered our friends and helpers.

The duty of an ideal lawyer is to prevent the cropping up of a large number of cases in courts of law. Just as doctors arrest the spread of diseases by giving immunity injections to prevent diseases, so also ideal lawyers must desire that too many cases should not arise. Particularly, you must find ways and means to avoid cases arising either between states or between the State and the Centre. Similarly, the courts of justice must strive to function independently. My Government will not fail to create an atmosphere conducive to it.

The lawyers must serve the country in a useful manner. People like Alladi Krishnasamy have done meritorious service by making laws that are beneficial to the country. I would request you to follow his example.

2

Politics does not attract many scholars and learned men. Whether one is the student of politics or not, nobody can be or should be

ignorant of the politics of the country. Please remember that politics is different from party, when I call on you to take part in politics. Please take part in politics beyond and above party affiliations.

Politicians do not invite others to their fold. As a politician I am a class by myself. I believe that politics will become pure and refined as scholars and others take to it in large numbers. May I place before you the two differing public opinions about every problem in the country, whether it is procurement or family-planning? Some argue that controls should be lifted. Others demand that they should be retained. Under such conditions intellectuals like you may help us by letting us have the benefit of your considered opinions.

Next, people believe that industrialization is good to the country. Some are for the nationalisation of all industries. A few others desire that they must be under the private sector. You must carefully consider such differing views and tell us what is the best in the interest of the country. As I believe you are all able lawyers. I leave these cases with you. I do not expect you to be one with me in considering them. On the contrary, I request you to examine them on the basis of the Constitution. It is enough if

you decide which opinion is the best. Therefore, lawyers should examine these problems and give their interpretations. When I make this appeal to you, I exclude my friend Thiru Ramadoss because he is a judge. He has to administer even-handed justice.

3

In a civilized country judges should be above party affiliations. Just as the people in other countries safe-guard the freedom of the judiciary, so also our Government, too, will do the same. It will never fail in maintaining such a tradition.

I have read histories of foreign countries. I know that the executive was mercilessly overthrown when it tried to curb the freedom of the judiciary. Nehru has said that, if a law is meant to suppress an individual or a party, there is nothing wrong in overthrowing such a law.

Democracy is a long-drawn case. Please make your contribution and strive hard to promote the growth of true democracy.

Speech delivered at the Bar Association
in Trichy on 3-4-'67.

“ The thriving trader is the one
who guards another's interests.”

—*The Kural* (120)

7. The Role of Merchants in Society

1

It was said here that the merchants would extend their continued support to the new Government of Tamilnadu. The merchants have an important part to play in society. It cannot be categorically said that all merchants are good or bad. There are also some black sheep among them. The whole merchant community earns a bad name because of these black sheep.

It cannot be denied that some merchants hoard essential consumer articles and use worn-out weights and false balances. Society cannot function without merchants. In olden days Tamil society was divided into the virtuous, the rulers, the merchants and the citizens. We can realise from this division how important the merchants are in society. But, in the middle ages, caste differences based on those divisions began to creep in.

The opinion that the wrongs committed by a few merchants bring a bad name to the whole

community has been repeatedly stressed both in Parliament and in the Legislative Assembly by many members.

Friends here asked if there was a future for the merchant community. In the D. M. K. rule there will be certainly a good future for the merchants. It is for you to decide whether that future will be blameless or blameworthy because the responsibility of doing good or bad rests with you. It is also said that merchants hoard rationed articles and exhibit 'nil stock' boards.

2

It was also said here that controls must be lifted. A few people tremble at the very mention of the term 'control'. There is no need for them to have such a fear. We must consider whether controls are good, whether they are necessary and for whom they are meant. They solve many problems.

If the Government considers that any control is unnecessary, it will lift it immediately. Now control refers only to food control.

We have the responsibility to provide the poor people foodstuffs at reduced prices. Any Government which is not able to provide food for its people who depend on it, forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government.

The responsibility of saving the people from the food crisis rests with the merchants. The merchants should co-operate with the Government in this regard.

Speech delivered at the reception accorded
by the Merchants' Association and the
Tamil Association in Trichy
on 5-4-'67.

“ Efficacy of support will give wealth
Efficacy of action will give all that desired.”

—*The Kural* (651)

8. It is possible in Tamil

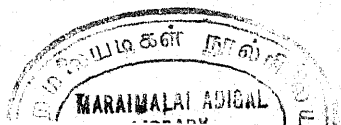
1

Though I am glad to release the twentytwo books brought out by the Bureau of Tamil Publications, I would have been happier if I had written one of these books. I appreciate the services of the authors of these books and I convey my congratulations to them.

The Bureau of Tamil Publications is doing an excellent job. We have been gradually developing Tamil, which is noted for its beauty and vigour in order to bring out its tenderness and glory.

Tamil, the classical language, is our mother tongue. If it had been the mother tongue of any other people, by this time it would have become the ‘lingua franca’ of the world. As Shakespeare said that Caesar’s wife must be above suspicion, the people who are conducting the affairs of a big Government should not be the target of any accusation or suspicion and they should have equal respect for all languages. We have a wealth of knowledge handed down to us by a succession of Tamil scholars from time immemorial.

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By 'development of Tamil' we do not refer to the development of the language only. It has already developed to the greatest possible extent. By 'development of Tamil' we mean development of Tamils. That is the Tamils must develop to the extent that Tamil has developed.

We believe in the greatness of our mother tongue. That very thought fills our minds with the possibility of danger. We believe that we can enrich our lives by Tamil. Hence, we have great love for our mother tongue. The love that we have for our mother tongue is natural. The development and progress of our mother tongue signifies our development and progress.

Thiru T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University said, "Love of one's mother tongue is equivalent to Godliness". That is why our blood boils when we sense danger to our mother tongue.

If two men going along the street talk something secretly between themselves, we are provoked. In fact, they may talk something that does not concern us at all. When people of other languages gather together and talk frequently, we naturally get a doubt that our mother tongue is in danger. In a multilingual

country like ours, if one language occupies a position of supremacy, naturally anger is aroused.

Thiru Thiri Guna Sen, the Central Education Minister has come here. I would like to tell him this, "It is not enough if the Tamil Development and Research Council releases books in Tamilnadu only. At least once a year its publications should be released in New Delhi also."

A few days ago when I was in Delhi, I met Thiru Chavan, the Home Minister. Perhaps hoping to please me he remarked that ways and means would be devised to make provision for the Development of Hindi and other languages in the proposed Bill that would be introduced in Parliament to prolong the use of English as an associate language. He could have considered that I would be pleased since the term 'other languages' had been mentioned in the bill.

I said, "To use the term 'Hindi and other languages' means that some preference is shown to Hindi. Equal preference should be shown to all national languages". Then only Thiru Chavan said that he would consider it.

3

The development of Tamil is not of recent origin. The ancient work in Tamil is *Tholkappiam*. By the term Tholkappiam (*Thol*-ancient;

kappiam - work), we may mean ancient work. The author Tholkappiar mentions in his work now extant, why certain methods or systems are classified. He says that he has done it according to the systems classified by his predecessors. When he says, "According to the system spoken of by scholars like me", it is evident that there were a large number of scholars prior to him.

Tholkappiar speaks of a bat-like attitude in literature. The bat that is hanging upside down on a mango tree will be thinking of Tamarind fruit. Just like that, till now we are hanging on a mango tree, thinking of Tamarind fruit. Just now, realising that we are hanging on the mango tree, we have begun to think of mango fruit. Having given up the bat-like attitude, we have developed the parrot-like attitude. We have come to the conclusion that we shall know the taste of anything, only after having a bite at it. The attitude to taste the whole thing has been developed among us.

4

The Tamil Bureau is to be congratulated on having released one hundred and fifty books so far. The Economics books brought out by the Bureau may be placed on a shelf. But the English books on economics can be spread over the whole hall. All these treasure-houses of knowledge in thousands should be brought out in Tamil.

When it was said that Tamil could be made the teaching medium, some people said, "What is there in Tamil? There are the *Thirukkural*, the *Ramayana*, the *Thevaram* and the *Thiruvasagam*. But for these works, where are the text-books to teach in Colleges?" The Bureau has been doing its duty in order to disprove the critics and to prove that everything can be expressed in Tamil and that there are books in all fields. This is not done to please anybody else. It is to convince ourselves that Tamil can be used at all levels and for all purposes.

My esteemed friend, Thiru C. Subramaniam wrote a book entitled "It is possible in Tamil", in order to reply those critics who raised the question, "What could be done in Tamil?" I was glad to see the work. At the same time an anxiety arose in my mind.. It is rather a pity that one should write a book in Tamil to convince the Tamils regarding the possibility of its use for all purposes. Realising this, I would request our teacher-friends to bring out a large number of books.

Some of us are under the wrong impression that history and geography should be studied through English only and medicine through German only. Such a wrong attitude should go.

Speech delivered at the Publication Ceremony
of the Bureau of Tamil Publications in
Rajaji Hall, Madras on 15-4-'67

“Loss and gain come not with cause
Evenness of mind is the ornament of the wise.

— *The Kural* (115)

9. Executive and Judiciary

If laws are enacted taking into consideration the desires of the people, the laws may be called the People's Laws. The Courts of law can give interpretations, bearing in mind the context and the circumstances under which the laws were enacted.

The Chief Justice who spoke here said that the courts of law were competent to find subtle solutions and administer even-handed justice in all cases that arise between the states and the individuals.

In the changing world, conflicts may arise between the State and the Centre. Conditions may arise when courts of law will have to give their interpretation for the conflicts arising under such circumstances.

The Executive and the Judiciary are different entities. The Government of Tamil Nadu will be firm in observing this difference. The New Government of Tamil Nadu does not want that the courts of law should be flexible enough

to play second fiddle to the Government. The Government rather desires to enact laws only in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Speech delivered at Sengulum, Madurai,
while laying the foundation stone for the
Madurai-Ramnad District Courts on 17-4-'67

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

—*The Kural* (675)

10. The Need for Common Asian Market

1

India's exports to foreign countries has decreased as a result of the devaluation of the rupee. The people who were responsible for devaluation were expecting that they could boost the exports. On the contrary, exports had considerably decreased beyond their expectations. Nobody should think that I am saying this with a political motive. I am pointing out the conditions as they are.

We have presented prizes to three persons for their laudable efforts in exporting our manufactured goods on a large scale and in a proper manner. I feel happy about this. I appreciate and congratulate them. However, our exporters should take measures to expand our exports and zealously apply themselves in constructive measures in that regard.

The merchants of the Asian countries must come together and set up a common Asian Market in order to augment and improve the economy and the resources of the Asian countries.

Foreigners complain of lack of publicity for our exports in their lands. Therefore, we must give enough and wide publicity in foreign countries to our manufactured goods in order to attract foreign markets. Then only there will be great demand for our goods in foreign countries. In addition, they will be highly valued and they will fetch good prices.

At the same time, while we think of expanding our exports, we should also take all measures to cut down our imports. The people engaged in this field should take the necessary steps. We should encourage our labourers who are the backbone of our export-trade by increasing their wages according to the needs of the times.

We should strive hard to export silk and handloom goods to the greatest possible extent. A truly progressive country is that which has cut down its imports to the barest minimum. We have been gradually reducing our imports with the exception of drugs, manures and machinery.

The opportunities for exports between India and the advanced countries cannot be said to be good. Therefore, we must try to set up the Common Asian Market. The economically

developed countries should encourage the exports of the countries like India by reducing import duties and relaxing tariff restrictions connected with imports.

Speech delivered at the Shield Presentation
Ceremony got up by the Association of
Importers and Exporters
in Rajaji Hall, Madras
on 19-4-'67

" The world owes its very existence
to the great. If not it will perish."

—*The Kural* (996)

II. An Appeal to the Talented

I

I see my friends and well-wishers among the people present at this function. Thiru P. T. Rajan said, "There is no political motive behind the reception accorded to us here".

Any function in which the learned Rajan participates assumes added significance. He conveyed to us his congratulations, instead of giving his advice. As a man of culture, he might have thought that he should give us his advice in private and so he has given his congratulations in public. Learned men like P. T. Rajan are fit to be our guides.

In those days, when the Justice Party was in power, people acted according to the desires of the political leaders. But, in these days, whoever forms the Government has the responsibility to fulfil the desires of the people.

When the Justice Party was in power, able men like P. T. Rajan carried on the administration very efficiently. People like P. T. Rajan

should co-operate with us and help us to maintain that high administrative efficiency continuously.

In those days the Justice Party had two great responsibilities. One was to act so as to fulfil the desires of the people and the other was just to achieve whatever was possible without clashing with the British regime. The policy of the Justice Party then was this. "We should derive the maximum possible benefits from the British people without creating conflicts with them".

In the past when we said to the Congress ministers that they should claim their rights from the Centre by agitation, they replied that they could derive greater benefits by acting in unison with the Centre than by clashing against it. The policy of the Justice Party was the same as that of the Congress rule in Madras with reference to the Centre. The Justice Party made use of the opportunities available then. Perhaps that policy may not suit present day politics !

Thiru P. T. Rajan may say that the Justice Party is with him. But, there is room for all parties to say that the Justice Party is theirs. It was at the Salem Conference that the Justice Party was converted into the Dravida Kazhagam. Therefore, we the D. M. K. people may say

that it belongs to us. The Congress people also may claim a right to it saying that the former pillars of the Justice Party are with them. People like P. T. Rajan may feel happy and proud to see all parties claiming kinship with the Justice Party.

As far as I am concerned, I derive power and benefit in three ways. As I had contact with the Justice Party, I shall derive the magnanimity, characteristic of that party. Having been associated with the Self-Respect Movement, I shall get the feeling of self-respect, whenever necessary. As I have made friends with the great leaders of the Congress Party, I shall adopt their diplomacy in handling political problems. Therefore, I shall act as a representative of three different schools of thought.

2

Some people expressed their fear saying that the new Government of Tamilnadu would bring about revolutionary changes in order to achieve progress and would ruin the very foundation of the society. On the contrary, the Tamilnadu Government desires only gradual reforms and developments. It will be stable and firm. The responsibility of giving proper advice and guidance to the new Government belongs to experienced and talented people like you. We shall get them whenever needed.

Thiru P. T. Rajan referred to the existence of complicated problems. As we can rely on the good-will and co-operation of all of you, we shall wholeheartedly strive to find proper solutions for all problems.

Previously my day-to-day work was not regulated by calendar and clock. I did not pay any attention to them. But, now, the whole thing has entirely changed. To-day the calendar and clock have become my masters.

Speech delivered at the reception accorded
by the Justice Party in Madras
on 20-4-'67.

"One can sleep even in the midst of fire with eyes closed. But none can do so by any means in the midst of poverty.

—*The Kural* (1049)

12. The Plight of the Handloom Weavers

1

I belong to Kancheepuram, famous for handloom industry. It is a city full of handloom weavers, industrial centres and handloom-shops. Therefore, I know from personal experience the conditions of the weavers.

The problems of the handloom weavers are growing day by day. We should find a solution for their problems.

Yarn is important to textile industry. It is always liable to twists. Likewise the lives of the weavers also are full of twists and complications. Just as we untangle the twists of the yarn carefully, so also we should solve the problems of the weavers tactfully.

There is gradual improvement in the quality of the handloom texture. The loveliness of the handloom products has been growing in such a way that it has won world-wide recognition and appreciation.

It is said by some that the handloom goods do not find ready market because the weavers fail to produce according to the wishes of the people and the needs of the time. Such people witness handloom products only on ceremonial occasions like this. In fact the weavers produce their goods keeping in mind the wishes and needs of the people at different times

The Government have not forgotten that it is their duty to bring cheer and joy in the lives of the weavers. The new Government are fully aware of the trials and difficulties of the weavers. Even when we were not in power, we gave our support and encouragement to the handloom industry. When we have assumed power, how can we fail to extend our solid and wholehearted support to the handloom industry? The Government will help the weavers to the best of its ability.

The handloom goods are sold to this extent in our country, thanks to the patronage of our ladies. The ladies of our country keep alive the age-long tradition of supporting handloom goods. On the contrary, the men are fond of Ahmedabad textiles and Khatauv ties. Our ladies have not yet forgotten Kancheepuram, Kumbakonam, Ammapet and Salem. If they had forgotten, the weavers of Tamil Nadu would

have been living on the pavement of the Madras City. I am grateful to the ladies who have been lending their support to the handloom goods in order to avert such a state of affairs. I also appeal to them for their continued support and patronage.

2

Four reasons are attributed to the crisis confronting the handloom industry. They are: Rise in the price of yarn, the need for the import of dye varieties from foreign countries and the rise in the prices of dyes available from other places, lack of co-operation between the banks and weavers and lastly the closure of markets for our handloom goods in foreign lands which formerly imported them. As a result of these difficulties, the handloom industry faces a grave crisis.

Once even the Romans were fascinated with our handloom goods. But, now, we have to find market for them by giving a rebate of ten or fifteen paise. Our handloom goods have lost their market in foreign countries which they once enjoyed.

Throughout the world there are our embassies and trade consulates. We are spending crores of rupees on them. The Officers of the

embassies in general, the trade consuls in particular, have the responsibility to find market for our handloom goods.

When I went abroad, I tried to find out if our embassy officials were wearing handloom clothes. They were dressed either in foreign clothes or in Khadi (National dress) but none was dressed in handloom fabrics.

Our embassy officials and trade consuls should wear handloom clothes in order to bring out their fine texture. Wide publicity and advertisement should be given to handloom goods in foreign countries. The Central Government should take the necessary measures in this regard. Our Central Government should co-operate with us in finding good market for handloom goods. I deliberately claim kinship with the Central Government by calling it 'our Central Government' because some doubt that I am itching for a conflict with the Centre on all problems. More than 30 lakhs of people of Tamilnadu depend entirely on handloom industry. To tell you the truth they are eking out miserable lives! The Tamilnadu Government will do its best to redress their grievances.

3

It is said that people from Kashmir to Cape Comorin should unite and lend their support to

the handloom industry. But even in matters like this, we are not able to bring about that unity.

In each and every state power looms are being rapidly introduced. When power looms are spreading fast in the neighbouring states, how can the handloom industry of Tamilnadu thrive and flourish?

In the whole of India the credit for successfully implementing the policy of prohibition goes to Tamilnadu. I read this morning in the press that liquor shops would be opened in Andhra. Prior to that the news came that prohibition would be relaxed in Kerala. Still earlier the news came that beer-shops were being opened in Bombay. The news also came that in a certain part of Bihar prohibition was completely scrapped. Will not the people of Tamilnadu reading this news be tempted to think that following the example of the neighbouring states prohibition will be scrapped here also? Will not it also tempt those who have forgotten all about liquor? The introduction of powerlooms and the scrapping of prohibition clearly point out the injustice done by the Centre.

The Government of Tamilnadu incurs a loss of about 30 crores of rupees on account of prohibition. In spite of the loss of 30 crores of

rupees, we firmly hold the view that prohibition is necessary to increase the happiness, to establish *dharma* and to promote the character among the 3 crores of people of Tamilnadu.

If prohibition be scrapped in neighbouring states, how can it be successfully implemented in Tamilnadu? Under these circumstances, to talk of unity from Kashmir to Cape Comorin can only be tall talk indulged in platform orations but not a wise saying.

Prohibition is laid down as one of the directive principles in our Constitution. Still the Central Government is a party to the injustice of relaxing prohibition. I urge the Central Government to change this state of affairs.

Speech delivered at the Handloom Exhibition
held in Madras in connection with the
13-th All-India Handloom Week
on 22-4-'67.

“The duty of the physician is to enquire into the disease, its cause and its method of cure and treat it faithfully.

—*The Kural* (948)

13. The Uniqueness of Siddha Medicine

1

Even a decade ago I advocated Siddha Medicine. I wish to make it clear that Siddha Medicine has no better friend than me because I have faith in its efficacy and its future development.

Although we know Siddha Medicine as our efficient system, it is dying a slow death even before our eyes. We should create a bright future for it. I wish to announce that the Government of Tamilnadu will take necessary steps to establish Siddha Clinics in each and every town. But it is the duty of Siddha doctors to create confidence in and the need for Siddha Medicine among the public.

As soon as a request for opening a Siddha Clinic comes from any town, we shall immediately respond to it by opening the Siddha Clinics in many more towns. We shall offer our help and protection to the growth and development of Siddha Medicine.

The Siddhas are capable of achieving any thing. Therefore, if the Siddha doctors take it into their heads, they can change the attitude of the public and attract them to their medicine.

While we engage ourselves in the development of Siddha Medicine, we should eschew some of our faults and defects. For instance, the Siddha doctor says, when a patient comes to him that he can prepare medicine (*lagiyam*) at a cost of ten rupees or five rupees. The patient wonders if the medicine changes according to his paying capacity.

Some Siddha doctors say: "None but I can prepare such medicines". Some others say: "Oh! Such medicines. I do not stock them at all".

The allopathic system is so well codified and defined that any one can practise it. Their system of packing and stocking medicines also is attractive.

I have paid several visits to the clinic of Dr. Chirtsabai, the President of this function. His method of keeping, naming and classifying the medicines tempts us to believe that Siddha

Medicine is superior to allopathic system. We should learn to keep medicines in an attractive manner.

When the Siddha doctor asks the patient to open his mouth and thrust some pills into his mouth, then the patient has no means of knowing what the medicine is. The Siddha doctors should explain to the patients how the patients were saved by certain medicinal herbs and what were the symptoms of the disease at the time of administration of the medicine and how the disease disappeared when certain medicine was given.

Under allopathic system a diabetic patient takes six years to get cured. But Siddha Medicine cures it in three months. If this fact is made clear to the public, then we can change their mind and attract them to Siddha system. Therefore, under the auspices of the Siddha Medical Association pamphlets should be distributed widely in each and every town, highlighting the greatness and uniqueness of Siddha system. Instead of creating confidence in the minds of the public, some people link Siddha Medicine with magic and *mantras* and superstitions.

A book has been published on medicinal herbs. A picture of God Vinayaga distributing the herb appears on the wrapper. People looking at it may get the impression that the medicinal herb has no intrinsic value but it derives its efficacy from the blessings of Vinayaga.

If the Siddha doctor says, "Goddess Devi appeared in my dream and ordered me to bring a medicinal herb that grows near a bush on a hill six miles off. Pluck the herb blind-folded and make use of it", then those who do not believe in magic and mantras lose their faith in Siddha system itself.

Siddha Medicine is the outcome of botanic research and scientific methods. Administering poison that kills the disease only without doing any harm to the patient is the underlying principle of Siddha system. Lack of surgery in Siddha Medicine may be pointed out. The Tamil medicine (Siddha Medicine) has the potent ability to dissolve any abscess by means of drugs only without recourse to knife or surgery. Therefore, the Siddha doctors must have themselves confidence first in their system and then instil similar confidence in the minds of the public.

You must strive hard for the development of Siddha Medicine by classifying the medicines, by giving suggestions to the Government and by establishing research laboratories. Some doctors suffer from lack of medicinal herbs which will cure certain diseases. You must set up gardens and grow the rare medicinal herbs in them. We can solve the problem of foreign exchange even by exporting some medicinal herbs abroad if there is market demand for them.

Speech delivered at the Siddha Doctors' Conference
held at Kancheepuram on 23-4-'67.

" The learned want to learn more because their joy of learning is the cause of the joy of the world."

—*The Kural* (399)

14. What We owe to the noblest Community

1

It gives me great pleasure to participate in functions like this. Political meetings are ephemeral like the present whereas school functions are enduring like the future. We can know what their future will be by looking at the faces of the boys in front of us. Even twentyfive years ago I participated in the Silver Jubilee function of this school. I cannot but feel sorry, when I see the school in the same condition even after a lapse of twentyfive years.

To-day you have placed confidence in me. We cannot suddenly produce any change or progress which has not been possible during the last two decades. Therefore, I request you to bear with us for a year or two with your usual patience.

When I awarded prizes to the children here, memories of my student days came back to my mind. When children return home with prizes, parents are filled with immense joy. Nothing else in all their lives can give them so much joy and

happiness, as they experience then. I advise the children who have not won prizes here to try their best to win prizes next time. Let the children bear in mind with what sufferings and sacrifices their parents are giving them the benefits of education which they themselves did not enjoy in their younger days.

A friend of mine was speaking to me and hinting at the deterioration in standards of education. But, really I do not subscribe to that view. I believe that general knowledge and standards are of a high order among our students. So teachers should change their methods according to the times.

2

It is the teachers who have instilled a love of Tamil in the minds of our boys. Such teachers are enthused by the views expressed by people like M. P. Sivagnanagramani. In his speech Thiru M. P. Sivagnanagramani pointed out the results of English being the medium of instruction and stressed the need for Tamil studies. Fortunately, he has not studied English at College level like me. It is not easy to describe how difficult it had been for me to decide whether I should have Tamil or English after my acquisition of English knowledge.

We wish to be able to say, "We were in the Fort St. George to create a bright future for the people. We served the people for five years for their betterment."

A large number of parents have come to this function. It is the duty of parents to lend their support to functions organised by students. At the same time we should bear in mind that the teaching community is in a low status. Society should take steps to better the lot of the teaching community. I shall not make the mistake of saying that there is all-round progress as people said in the past.

I can say from my personal experience that people's interest and enthusiasm for education has been growing over these years. Similarly students have been evincing greater interest in their studies. We are delighted to note this.

The opinion that the present system of education needs to be changed is wide-spread throughout the country. Even Thiru M. P. Sivagnanagramani expressed the same opinion here. It needs to be emphasised. We have reached a stage when changes desired by the people have to be carried out.

Even an imaginary story of a teacher amassing fortune or acquiring ten acres of land will

not be published in the press. It is our duty to raise the status of teachers who are in such a poor state. All that the teacher desires is to see his old students well placed in life. When one of his old students accosts him coming in a costly car and pays his respects to his former teacher and says that he is drawing a fat salary in a big business firm in Calcutta and he owes his position to the training he received from him, the teacher's joy knows no bounds and he sheds tears of joy. It is our bounden duty to raise the status of such a noble community.

Speech delivered at the 49th Anniversary of
the Poonthamalle Government High School,
Madras on 27—4—'67.

"Making excellent choice of means, time, manner of execution and the rare task-there are the qualities of an able minister."

—*The Kural* (631)

15. The D. M. K. Government and the Cine-Field

1

This is not a mere welcome function. It is also a function at which we show our sympathy to the people of Bihar who are the victims of a terrible famine by contributing one lakh and one thousand rupees to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. At the same time Thiru Meiyappa Chettiar and Thiru Nagi Reddy have respectively contributed rupees sixteen thousand and twenty five thousand to the Chief Minister's Relief Fund which has just been started.

Whenever calamities broke out in the country or when people were in distress, the artistes never failed to lend their helping hand unhesitatingly. They have not only contributed from their resources but have been enthusing the public also to make similar contributions. While we appreciate the munificence and philanthropy of the artistes in times of need, we should bear in mind that they should have also enough of income.

In the course of his speech Thiru A. L. Srinivasan said that they had taught a lesson to the Government by doing good in spite of the handicaps thrown in their way by the Government. We are not pained to hear their remarks as only sixty days have passed since we assumed power. It looks as though he was referring to the last chapter of the old story and not the first chapter of the new story. When a thing has been going on continuously, we cannot interfere all of a sudden and achieve anything. The cine-field people know this very well.

When a new producer takes charge of an incomplete film of 8,000 feet he may have to cut the length of the film or he may have to change the villain into the hero and vice versa, according to circumstances. Similarly, we cannot effect radical changes since we have just come to power. But, we shall look into your problems gradually with great interest and sympathy. I shall so conduct myself that people will say in future that the cine-field people can have no better friend than me in redressing their grievances.

2

Here it was pointed out that the Government should reduce the fees for outdoor shooting. If I were to speak without considering the

financial aspect of the matter, I should say that it is the Central Government which should be indebted to you because you promote tourism by exhibiting outdoor scenes and scenery. Since the publicity you give serves as good propaganda for the department of tourism, I shall try to get back the money from that department.

The 12% tax levied on the film industry by the British Government has been enhanced to 65%. It was also pointed out here that the levy works to the detriment of the industry. As the film industries people have explained their position, I feel I can also explain the position of Tamilnadu Government. We have to pay a sum of 23 crores of rupees as interest for the loans that we have taken from the Central Government. I have asked the Central Government not to write off the interest but to extend the time for payment. The amount that has to be repaid this year out of the loan taken by the previous Government is 13 crores of rupees. Whenever a loan is cleared, a fresh loan is raised. Still we have to repay 13 crores of rupees this year.

Whenever the Centre raises the dearness allowance for its employees, the State Government also has to raise its dearness allowance. It is necessary and proper to do so. But resources should be found for it.

There is a deficit of 7 crores of rupees in the budget and that has to be made up. Under these circumstances, I hope that you will not ask for any immediate relief. But, in principle, I do not say that no tax relief should be given to film industry. When conditions improve, the Tamildadu Government will certainly go into the matter.

Our films should be exported to the Far East. The Centre should render all help in this matter. The Centre should also show large heartedness in the matter of importing of scientific equipment needed for the growth of film industry. I shall be your friend in putting forth these demands to the Centre and supporting them.

Speech delivered at the reception accorded
to the Madras Ministry by the
South Indian Film Federation
in Madras on 29-4-1967.

“The Minister is one who examines the task to be done, executes it in the best possible manner and offers his conclusive advice”.

—*The Kural* (634)

16. May Day

1

May Day is celebrated all over the world. This day is not associated with any particular party or country or religion. Workers all the world over celebrate it without any distinction. Wherever there is justice, wherever there are people who defend the rights of the workers, there this auspicious day is celebrated. Wherever workers' rule is established, this day is celebrated with great splendour. This day symbolizes such a lofty ideal and is dedicated to the welfare of the workers.

I am happy to note that this day is celebrated all over Tamilnadu and in particular by all the parties in Coimbatore. I shall cherish the memory of my association with this day for a long time to come. I think that there is a special significance in my participation in such a function for the past many years. The former rulers blamed the May Day celebrators as irresponsible men and rebels who had no respect for law.

It gives me immense pleasure to participate in this function as the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. It was pointed out here by the speakers that no Chief Minister had ever participated in May Day Celebrations so far. From this it must be clear to you whom I and my Party respect. This function will convince the world that this Government not only welcomes this celebration but is definitely on the side of the workers. My Government though not an outright communist government is no enemy of communism. I shall give you the assurance that the Government of Tamilnadu will be the government of the workers, for the workers.

Whenever I participated in this function, I had appealed to the previous administrators to declare this day a holiday. The then administrators jeered at me and asked me to declare a holiday if and when I came to power. Accordingly I have become the Chief Minister and declared a holiday to-day. In declaring this day a holiday, I feel greater joy than ever before. The workers enjoy this day as an auspicious, beneficial and red-letter day.

There is bound to be special significance in the D. M. K. rule. The Tamilnadu Government

is an example of Workers' Government. It is needless for me to say how important it is for workers and trade union friends to support such a Government. My participation in to-day's function will find a permanent place in the history of Tamils.

Speech delivered at May Day Celebrations
in Coimbatore on 5-5-1967.

“ Nothing is impossible for those who are endowed with the means of doing appropriate things with sustained effort after gaining a thorough knowledge of it ”.

—*The Kural* (472)

17. Austerity Measures

Expenditure on administrative machinery goes on increasing day by day. In order to effect economy even if we take steps to retrench surplus staff, the effect will not be felt immediately. There is legal security of tenure for Government employees. If permanent employees are retrenched they must be provided with alternative jobs. Even if we do not retrench the existing staff, we can stop fresh recruitment of staff in order to see how far economy can be effected. The real effect of these austerity measures will be felt only if we are able to announce after a period of two years that a sum of nearly Rs. 10 crores has been saved.

Even this evening a group of about thirty or forty educated young men from the mofussil met me and expressed their fear that if they were thrown out of employment, they would suffer great hardships. I told them firmly: “ It is not the intention of the Government to throw any one out of employment. The aim of the

Government is rather to see that everyone is best fitted for the job in whatever capacity he may be employed. We can either grow greens or plant or crotons in our home garden. No doubt crotons will beautify the garden. But they are not as useful as greens. Similarly the Government does not approve of certain posts which are meant merely for pomp and splendour. Let me make it clear that it is not our intention to put anybody to suffering.

Extracts from the speech delivered at the
Anniversary of the Purasawalkam
Merchants' Association,
Madras on 12—5—1967.

“ There are failures even in acting well, when it is done without knowing the various dispositions of men ”.

—*The Kural* (469)

18. Labourers and Labour Unions

The trade unions and the trade union leaders should make it a point to serve the labourers for their harmonious welfare. The labour leaders should not bargain with the capitalists for their own interests only. Such a deplorable attitude should vanish.

Certain labour organisations are under the aegis of political parties. Certain others seek the mercenary support of the owners of industrial establishments.

Certain capitalists approach a few labourers in order to endanger the very unity among them and to suppress the just labour movement and thus they are spoiling the labour unions. Certain others are creating chaos and confusion in the labour unions which have been started for a good and noble purpose. Such a sorry state of affairs has been going on continuously.

Perhaps the capitalists could have thought that, if the labourers stood united, they could get all legal rights by organising strikes and all

concessions by demanding fair justice. Therefore, they have purposely created *parallel labour unions* with the help of few labourers to meet their own selfish ends.

All labour union leaders should fight for the due rights and the just demands of labourers. I shall do the things that you need, with utmost care, so that your welfare and interests can be safeguarded by suitable legal means and you cannot be deceived by the capitalists.

Can any labour union grow by intimidation alone! It was said here that some people conducted labour unions by intimidating workers. I dare say that it is most deplorable.

I should like to tell you that you need not isolate yourselves from labour movement because certain people threaten you. I assure you that, at any time, the Tamil Nadu Government will protect and safeguard the interests of workers.

Condensed from the speech delivered
at the special meeting held in
Otraivadi Theatre, Madras
on 14-5-1967,

“Though afflicted with pain, resolve to do
the act which gives pleasure”

—*The Kural* (669)

19. Supply of Cheap Rice

1

It is the indispensable duty of the Government to provide rice at cheap rate to the poor who lack purchasing power. That is why we have come forward to supply rice at one rupee a measure without waiting for or worrying about the central aid or subsidy.

When the Government is engaged in procuring rice at a higher price “so that the producers may not be adversely affected” and supplying it at cheap rate to the poor, the prices of fertilisers and agricultural implements have been raised. Let me pose this question to all lovers of justice and fair-play. Is this right or proper?

When we are about to give food to a starving man, if his legs are tripped, the food will not reach his hands. Similarly the Centre so conducts its affairs that the measures of the state government do not benefit the people. It is against this background that all talk of co-operation is indulged in. If they really wish to

co-operate they should stand by us and strengthen our hands in doing good to the public. I leave it to you to judge for yourself whether it is just and fair on the part of the Centre to throw hurdles in our way when they are in a position to co-operate with us and help us.

2

Our state is already a deficit state. When we are trying to make it a surplus state, there can be no justification for putting up the prices of fertilisers.

The wheat sold in Kashmir is supplied by Delhi. But it is sold in Kashmir at half the price at which it is sold in Delhi. The Centre reimburses the loss incurred by it.

We have reduced the price of rice in Tamil Nadu. Some people look at it with wonder and ask "Is it possible? Have you got aid or subsidy from the Centre?"

Everyone knows that it is the Centre which is responsible for these spiralling prices since it has caused inflation by printing currency notes in large quantities. It is they who control finance that is responsible for inflation. The Centre which is responsible for inflation

and consequent increase in prices should come forward to aid the state government in its attempt to bring down prices.

If the Centre tells us, 'If you wish to supply rice at one rupee a measure, it is your duty to find the necessary money for it,' then I ask the Centre to give us complete freedom of action in all fields.

Whatever is produced here—be it onion or any machinery—it should be sold or exported only with the permission of the State Government. Similarly all imports—be it a pin or any newly invented piece of machinery should be imported only with the permission of the State Government.

Let the rights of export and import control be given to the State. If that is done, I shall not seek aid from the Centre.

Speech delivered at the Extraordinary
meeting of the Simpson Amalgamated
Companies' National Workers'
Association, Madras
on 15-5-1967.

“ The great will always humble themselves,
But the mean will always exalt themselves
in self-praise.

—*The Kural* (978)

20. A Self-Revelation

1

The foreign press categorically stated that only the D. M. K. would come out successful in the general elections. But the Indian Press, like myself, was not quite sanguine. It expected that the strength of the D. M. K. which was only fifty might rise from fifty to sixty or seventy in the legislature however hard they tried. Perhaps it did not assess the D. M. K. properly!

The foreign journalists who toured Tamil Nadu only for a month were sure of the success of the D. M. K. Likewise the D. M. K. volunteers also proclaimed that the D. M. K. would come to power. The D. M. K. musicians sang about Anna (myself) being the Chief Minister and other prominent party men holding other portfolios. I felt rather embarrassed. Even when a party worker presented me with a meagre purse and greeted me as the prospective Chief Minister, I wondered whether the Chief Ministership was so cheap. But the poor

illiterate down-trodden masses of Tamilnadu have falsified my calculations and the predictions of the Indian Press.

Awards were now presented to Thiru E. R. Krishnan and his band of tireless workers. My joy on this occasion, when my party workers were honoured, is greater than the joy I experienced on becoming the Chief Minister. So far as the party is concerned, the workers constitute the real solid foundation. I am only the ornamental top. A large number of workers have sacrificed their all for the good of the party. You have been my faithful followers for the past two decades.

You and I are the members of the same family and votaries of the same ideals. This very relationship is not of the ordinary kind nor is it the result of our coming to power. It is an extraordinary kinship based on fraternal feelings and mutual understanding. It is my wish that our relationship should continue as before.

2

If our relationship were to continue and prove beneficial to the public at large, we should continue to serve them. When I repeatedly talk of service, I do not mean mere appreciation

of the Government's efforts. Of course appreciation is necessary to some extent. An administration cannot be stabilised by mere appreciation alone. Therefore, I would appeal to you to give your time, attention and service for the successful implementation of the Government's measures and schemes. You may be ready to serve on those lines. I have not yet decided how I should utilise your services. I shall give the call when my mind is made up. I expect you to respond with your characteristic zeal, fervour and spirit of sacrifice.

Even before I came to power I had been thinking on these lines. I spent a sleepless night on the eve of my assuming office. My mind was full of worries and anxieties about the responsibilities of my new office. Lack of finance would stare at me. Legal procedures would intervene. Obstacles might be put by the Centre. The opposition might plague us whatever good we might do. I have been habitually experiencing such mental conflicts. Even party workers used to say behind my back "Anna does the right thing. But he lacks courage". But to tell you the truth, I am not lacking in courage. Nor do I act in haste and anger.

I have never in my life betrayed those who reposed confidence in me nor have I ever done

them any harm nor have I ever allured them to change their direction by sweet words and promises.

I act slowly and deliberately. I do not make hasty statements. Having made a statement, I never fail to carry it out. If I am unable to do so, I would rather end my political life than wriggle out of my promises.

Speech delivered at the Salem
Public Meeting
on 19-5-1967

“To the learned man every country and every town is his own. How is it that one can remain without learning till his death?”

—*The Kural* (397)

21. The Teachers' Lot

1

I may be given some time to have a clear understanding of the financial position of the state. Now the Tamilnadu Government is engaged in understanding the real financial position and in deciding what steps should be taken to set it right. Therefore, steps will be taken to solve the problems of teachers one by one in order of priority taking into consideration the limitations of finance.

A request was made here to raise the age of retirement of teachers to sixty. Let me inform you that I shall consider the matter in all its aspects and arrive at a decision.

To maintain the standard of elementary education, to improve the quality of secondary education and to arrest deterioration in higher education—the cream of the educated community should be drawn to the teaching profession by making it sufficiently attractive and alluring.

Only if the emoluments of teachers are raised and if they are enabled to lead a care-free and peaceful life the best and the talented will be attracted to the teaching profession.

If we wish to prevent deterioration in education and if we wish to lay an excellent foundation for society, the services of the gifted and talented should be utilised in this profession for social progress.

2

I shall never be guilty of saying that the teachers are well paid, that they are above want and that they could lead a peaceful and contented life. We know for certain that unless the salaries of teachers are substantially raised, the best men will not be drawn to the profession nor will they have any enthusiasm in performing their duties. Only when such people enter the teaching profession, the country will register intellectual progress. Therefore, the Government of Tamilnadu will take steps to give high priority to the consideration of teachers' problems, to render all possible assistance to the teaching community and to serve the cause of education to the best of its financial resources.

I have been a teacher once. I am fully aware of the problems, trials and tribulations

of teachers. It is the teacher who can produce a good and decent society in the country. The rise or fall of a society is in the hands of teachers. Therefore, I shall carefully consider your problems. I assure you that, as soon as the financial position of the state Government improves, necessary steps will be taken to find solutions for these problems one by one. I appeal to you for your whole hearted co-operation in all our good efforts.

Speech delivered at the South Indian Teachers'
Union Education Conference, Ooty
on 19-5-1967.

“The union of soul and body in man is the fruit of
the union of love and virtue”,

—*The Kural* (73)

22. The Path of the Buddah

1

Buddhism, one of the world religions not only originated in our country but also reigns supreme in many foreign lands. It has attained such a high status that it is recognised as state religion in the neighbouring countries of Ceylon and Burma and going a little further in Thailand and still further in Japan.

There is a considerable number of followers of Bhuddhism in our counntry. There are a large number of Buddhist pilgrim centres in our country as well.

Friends from Japan and Ceylon have honoured this function by gracing it with their presence. As our esteemed friend, M. G. Ramachandran rightly pointed out, it is but appropriate that we, who celebrate Thiruvalluvar Day to-day, should participate in this function.

2

Had Gaudhama Buddha remained merely Siddhartha and died after his rule as a King, he

would have been one of the countless number of kings in history. No one would have celebrated a function in his honour. There had been many kings in the history of India who ruled over mightier empires than his.

But those kings and their clans had been completely forgotten and their empires had vanished. It was precisely because that the Buddha renounced the palace and kingship and identified himself with the masses, Siddhartha became the Buddha and we celebrate this function even to-day. We all regard this function as a sacred one. People admire the Buddha because he sacrificed what he had and gave the people what they did not have before.

The empire that was entrusted to him was a mighty one. His palace life was marked by a high degree of luxury and ease.

He married in time. He begot a lovely son. At a time when he was expected to lead a pleasant life with his dear wife and lovely son, the Buddha was moved by a burning desire to remove human suffering, disappointments in human life, irritations and worries and inequalities of life.

What usually happens is that Sadhus would spend their time in the Mutt, speaking of how

the King would be like. But this King, though living in a big palace, only thought of how the poor and the down-trodden lived and he acted according to his beliefs. It is quite evident from this that he followed the path of revolution.

The Buddha wanted to perfect human life. He wanted not only to preach noble precepts but also to put them into practice. He was filled with a desire to act then and there and so he fled from the palace renouncing his wife and son and subjected himself to suffering. He maintained his contact with the people while taking care to see that the contact did not degenerate into attachment. It is he who has bequeathed a lofty religion to the world. That is why I am deeply devoted not only to the life of the Buddha but also to Buddhism.

3

Even to-day when I think of important world events, two or three scenes appear in my mind's eye in a flash. One of the scenes is that of the Buddha leaving his place at midnight.

Here the Buddha looks lovingly at his sleeping wife and child. He does not yield to his desire to give one parting kiss to his beloved child for fear that the child may wake up and

talk. The talking may in turn wake up the sleeping mother who will plead with him not to part with them. Then his determination may be weakened. Therefore, he parts with his dear wife and lovely child, casting his last look of love and affection on them. Sometimes, when I recall this pathetic scene to my mind's eye I am usually moved more than ever before.

Similarly another scene from the Bible that comes to my mind is that of Jesus Christ, carrying the Cross on his shoulder, knowing fully well that it was meant to put him to death.

If religion means mere adorning of God with jewels, carrying him on '*Vahanas*' celebrating festivals and spending large sums of money in that connection, then I am not a believer in religion.

If religion means mere adorning of God but belittling man, then I am not a believer in religion.

If religion means appreciating man's efforts so as to enthuse him to do better, then I am a sincere believer in religion.

Many lofty philosophical tenets are like a run-down clock. There is a point in our having these philosophical tenets, only if they mirror

our lives just like the hands of the clock which move and show time. I have visited many a Buddhist pilgrim centre in Japan, Thailand, Sarnath and Gaya in India.

As far as my knowledge goes, whether his eyes are opened or closed in his statue, they are an example of eyes of grace as we speak of in our literature. No doubt, we know that the feeling of grace comes from the very bottom of his heart.

There is nothing greater than love in the world. The Buddha has given his religion of love to the whole world. Therefore, everyone should follow his religion of love and right conduct in life.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the
Buddha's Birthday Celebrations,
Madras on 24-5-1967.

"Despise none for his appearance for he is like the essential
linch-pin of the mighty rolling car".

—*The Kural* (667)

22 a. The Centre should pave the Way

1

The Politicians did not expect that the D. M. K. would come to power so soon. Not only that. They thought that we were unfit to govern. Nay, we were unfit even to take part in politics.

Those who were considered unfit for politics, those who were derided as 'Cine-people' and the party which was ridiculed as a party of educated men only, being devoid of workers from villages—it is such people who have assumed the reins of Government to-day.

In this connection let me narrate a story that is current in villages.

Once a black object was washed away by the floods of a river. People on the bank thought that it was most probably a blanket. A certain man who was nearby jumped into the river to take it. He was being washed away by the current along with the blanket. On seeing

it the man on the bank told him, "Don't worry about the blanket. Return ashore and save your life". He replied, "No. I would rather lose my life than the blanket". To the surprise of all, it was found at last that it was not a blanket but a bear.

Similarly people who considered the D.M.K. as a blanket realised on touching it in 1967 that it was a bear. You the public are the cause of this realisation.

2

We can understand the greatness of the D. M. K. only when we study its past history and understand the story of its growth. In 1957 the D. M. K. contested the election to the Legislature. In those days I thought that we should function as an opposition party interested in social reform. Therefore, I believed, from 1949 to 1957, that the sole aim of our party was to render social service to the people. It was then that Thiru K. Kamaraj said to us, "Why don't you try to enter the Legislature, if you can?". I thought "All right. Let us make an attempt." It was Thiru Kamaraj who kindled the very desire in us.

(See page 98)

“ Learn thoroughly whatever you learn. After learning
let your conduct be worthy of that learning ”.

—*The Kural* (391)

23. Thirukkural our guide in life

1

While Tamil works deal with separate branches of knowledge like devotion, literature and philosophy, Thirukkural alone equals them all put together. Each of these couplets of easy composition is pregnant with deep and wide meaning. Just as a small piece of diamond is valued more than a big piece of rock, so also this couplet of two lines is praised very highly.

As Tamil scholars delve deeper and deeper into it, and as readers develop their powers of reasoning more and more, the Kural lucidly reveals a wealth of ideas and profound thoughts. Thiruvalluvar has given us the Kural only to be practised and followed in life.

It is Thiruvalluvar who has dealt, in a single volume, with a wide variety of subjects such as how Government should be run, how powers should be wielded, how a family should run, how wealth should be acquired, how wealth acquired should be spent, how to make friends, how our foreign relations should be established and how to conduct ourselves in times of war.

Valluvar's Thirukkural is not meant to be read only but it is meant to be followed by us all in life. Therefore, we should practise the profound ideas of the Kural in our day-to-day lives.

2

We are happy to celebrate the function in his honour. The Government also celebrates Thiruvalluvar Day by declaring a holiday in his honour.

The portrait of Thiruvalluvar adorns the Tamilnadu Assembly Hall. The statue of Thiruvalluvar has been erected at Mylapore. There is a general and genuine feeling that everyone should celebrate Thiruvalluvar Day.

Our friends here requested me to urge the Centre to celebrate Thiruvalluvar Day as a National Day. I would request the Centre to consider this demand. Some of the aids that I seek from the Centre may involve them in an expense of a few crores of rupees. They may refuse them. But, what is required is nothing but their good-will in order to celebrate Thiruvalluvar Day as a National Day. The Centre should come forward and show its good-will by declaring Thiruvalluvar Day as a National Day.

Speech delivered at the Thiruvalluvar Day
Celebrations, Madras
on 26-5-1967.

[Continued from page 95]

I did not lose my temper then. But my comrades in the party took up the challenge. We contested and as a result fifteen of us were returned to the Legislature.

Even after seeing this, the Congress people did not respect us. They predicted that not even five of us would be returned at the next General Elections. Being stung to the quick, we took up the challenge and contested. Our numbers increased from fifteen to fifty-two in the Legislature. Similarly we increased our strength from two to eight in Parliament and we captured the City Corporation also.

Even then they did not realise that our party enjoys people's support and it is a truly democratic party. They said, "Let us face them again in 1967".

In this connection may I remind you of a toll-gate keeper in Ponneri area? He would sit in a chair and collect money from every carriage that passed that way. He must get eight annas from every carriage. Not only that. The carriage driver must come to him and give him the money. Otherwise he would not let the cart go. One day a bold cart driver who happened to pass that way challenged him saying "What can you do? Come here and let us fight it out".

The poor gate-keeper could not come because he was lame. Then he began to shed tears instead of threatening him. Similarly Congress men threatened the D. M. K. just like the Ponneri toll-gate keeper who threatened the cart driver and said "We shall try our strength before the next General Elections". Only as a result of their threat, one hundred and thirty-seven of our partymen have been elected this time. It is not the victory of an individual party. Rather it is the result of the alliance among the Swatantra, the Muslim League, the Praja Socialist and the Communist. The right Communists supported us only in one or two places. The Co-operation of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam has been given to us not only at the time of election but even subsequently.

Just two days ago, all parties joined hands together in the Demands Day for the Salem Steel Plant and the Tuticorin Harbour. Only the Congress which is in opposition did not join this day. They are ashamed to confess openly that the D. M. K. enjoys unprecedented popular support and influence on a big scale.

3

During the Congress regime productivity did not increase. Even ladies used to flock to the ration shops and stand in queue with aching

legs even from 6 a. m. with babies in arms. Even when they returned home they brought no rice. One could see the pathetic sight of women shedding tears with a woe-begone look.

As soon as we resumed power, we procured 8 lakhs tons of rice and planned to extend the 'rupee-a-measure scheme' to all towns where family ration cards were issued. Congressmen mocked at us and predicted that our scheme was doomed to failure. Officials were accused of harassing the producers in procuring paddy.

But thanks to the co-operation of the agriculturists, we procured five lakhs tons of paddy in two months and we have created conditions under which people can go to the ration shops with the certainty of getting rice. We are engaged in serious efforts although the rupee-a-measure scheme involves a loss of 8 crores of rupees. We are exploring all possible ways of increasing productivity. This year alone we have set apart a sum of 11 crores of rupees for improving irrigation facilities such as desilting tanks and repairing wells.

Congressmen said that schools would be closed if the D. M. K. came to power. But the truth is that we have planned to spend 7 crores of rupees more on education than they did. After the harvest in October is over, there will be no

shortage of rice even in any corner of Tamil Nadu. Not only that. Taxes on *Punja lands* (dry lands) owned by farmers who depend on monsoon rains only and who did not expect any assistance from the Government, have been remitted. We have introduced free education only for the poor in the P. U. C.* At the same time we have imposed taxes on the rich land-lords who can afford to pay. Besides, these efforts are being made to provide more job opportunities by establishing new industrial complexes.

The Agriculture Minister, Thiru Govindaswami is making serious efforts to bring the barren and forest lands under the plough. Newspapers all over India praise our achievements made since March 6, 1967 for the betterment of the people. Foreign visitors also shower wholehearted praises on us. But Congressmen hardly praise our achievements!

One of the speakers said that his hopes were fulfilled because he saw in me an elder brother, a scholar and a minister. But my heart's desire will be fulfilled only when the agriculturist lives a true life, when the weaver leads a care-free life, and when the worker is free from the pangs of hunger.

* Now it has been made free for all

4

The weavers want enough supply of yarn from me. It is Delhi that determines the price of mill yarn. All I can do is to write to Delhi about this problem. I want you to realise this point. Let no one think that I own a yarn depot and I distribute yarn from it.

The people in general and the D. M. K. workers in particular should realise what powers are vested in the Centre and in the State respectively.

If you ask me to lift a thing at a height of 4 feet in your house, I can do so. If it is at a height of 6 feet, I cannot take it. Similarly I can serve you only with the limited powers vested in me.

Now a sum of 25 crores and 120 crores of rupees are needed for Tuticorin and Salem respectively. But our total annual income is 200 crores only. Government employees' salaries and the expenditure on education have to be met only from this. But the Centre has an annual income of 3000 crores.

The Centre gets revenue not only from the beedi you smoke. Whenever you buy cement for building houses or travel by train or buy a postcard or cover, remember that the profit goes to the Centre.

What are the powers of the state? Only land-tax is worth mentioning. So there is a world of difference between the Centre and the State so far as their respective powers and revenues are concerned. In order to remove this difference the Centre should function in co-operation with the states. Otherwise necessary powers should be relegated to the States and the Centre should pave the way for the progress of the country.

Public address delivered
at Ramakrishnarajupet near
Thiruthani on 26—7—'67.

"Agriculture is the best of all labours in the world though troubles me. The whole world trails behind the plough".

— *The Kural* (1031)

24. The Silent Revolution

1

It is a matter of regret that our country in which seventy per cent of the people are said to be engaged in agriculture is to go abroad begging for food. This condition is the result of our spending several crores of rupees on big industrial projects and neglecting agriculture for the past twenty years. Let us not forget that agriculture is the backbone of our country.

So far a sum of Rs. 2000 crores of rupees has been spent on food imports alone. If we had spent 1000 crores of rupees on agriculture (and even if 500 crores of rupees of it had been wasted), we could have solved our problems.

The A. D. T. 27 variety will be cultivated in more than 6 lakhs of acres in Thanjavur District. The whole of India is watching with keen interest this big project—this silent revolution.

I completely rely on Thanjavur District for food. Whenever Kerala asks for food from us or whenever Andhra asks how long they are to supply Nellore rice to us or whenever the Centre

asks how many tons of rice we can supply to the Central Pool, my only answer to all of them is, "Please wait till October".

The farmers of North Arcot District who do not have any perennial source of water supply depend on well irrigation for cultivating large areas of lands. I greatly admire their hard work and industry. Instead of giving monetary aid to the farmers, it will be better if we render them help in kind.

It was pointed out that, if Cauvery water was taken from Veeranam Lake to Madras, food production in Thanjavur District and in some parts of Chidambaram will be adversely affected. I wish to assure you that agriculture will not in anyway be affected by this measure.

Tamil Nadu is quite ready to supply rice to Kerala, provided that Kerala, on her part, is willing to give us her river water which goes to waste by emptying into the sea. So far as the supply of rice by Tamil Nadu to Kerala in return for her water is concerned, the Engineers of both the States will arrive at an amicable settlement. The Chief Ministers of Southern States are eager to utilise all the natural resources for our common good. But it is only the officials who raise objections to such a settlement.

2

The ancient feudalism is slowly dying out. People have begun to realize the danger of owning lands in plenty. The distinction between the landlord and the tenants will disappear in the next ten years and we are going to see the sight of agriculture graduates driving tractors in the fields.

The chief objective of the D. M. K. is to remove the gulf between the landlord and the tenant. The landlords should treat the tillers of the soil with dignity and decency. Only then can the tenants engage themselves whole-heartedly in food production !

Extracts from the speech delivered at the
Agriculture Symposium held at
Mannargudi on 29-7-'67

"The maiden Earth will laugh at the sight of those who plead poverty and lead an idle life".

—*The Kural (1040)*.

25. What is the Cost of Freedom?

1

I have been longing for the past twenty years to take part in the Independence Day Celebrations. Many people know that in 1947 when our country won independence, I wrote against the official policy of the High Command of my party. How severely did I incur the wrath of my party then!

You may wonder why I did not participate in the celebrations then. If I had participated then, I could have done so, only as an ordinary man. After becoming the Chief Minister, I participate in this function with immense joy and pride and feel happy that my cherished dreams are being fulfilled.

Revered Thiru Ma. Po. Se ! I feel very glad to participate in this celebration under your distinguished chairmanship. Thiru M Sivagnana Gramani worked hard for the cause of freedom even in those days and bears the marks of sacrifice still on him. Although there are people who have made rare sacrifices like Thiru M. P. Sivagnana Gramani, it should be said to

his credit that never once did he try to cash in on his sacrifices. This has to be borne in mind by those who explain the hidden truth and significance of freedom.

Just as the proverbial coconut tree yields sweet juice without excepting anything in return, so also the freedom fighters achieved great things and enabled us to hold our heads high. It is to such a selfless band of people that you have paid your tributes just now. The D.M.K. has never hesitated and will never hesitate to honour such freedom-fighters. They have won for us immortal freedom.

Ruling party and its leadership may change from time to time; laws may be altered or amended; political policies may be deleted or new ones introduced. But in the history of the world the story of our winning freedom is a story which deserves to be written in letters of gold.

We should honour freedom not only by words but also by our deeds; not only on this day but also on all days of the year; not only individually but also collectively.

2

Who commanded Chidambaranar to draw the *Chekku* (country oil press)? Who was it that ordered Thiruppur Kumaran and said

“Keep the flag tight flying aloft. You will be lathicharged. Blood will gush out of your head. Life will ebb out. Even then, don't let the flag fall from your hands”. They were all inspired by a strange feeling which can be experienced only by freedom fighters. We should imbibe such a sacred spirit and should take a heroic pledge to safeguard our hard-won freedom.

Safeguarding freedom is harder than winning it. Even safeguarding freedom is not difficult. What is really difficult is to see that the fruits of freedom are equally enjoyed by one and all.

When China and Pakistan committed aggression on our borders, we have shown to the whole world that we could rout them with heroic determination.

August 15, 1947 was our first Independence Day. It was a day of deliverance that marked the end of our long slavery. But August 15, 1967 is a stock-taking day. It is a day of careful heart-searching when we should calculate the gains derived from our freedom, the price we offered for that, the services we rendered and the services that we are going to render in future.

3

Twenty years have elapsed since we became independent. We have proudly proclaimed to the world that we are ruling ourselves. In spite of our having conducted four General Elections and having executed three Five Year Plans, if poverty, scarcity, illiteracy, inadequacy and untouchability are still rampant in our country will not the outside world, which sympathised with us during British rule, laugh and mock at us now?

The advanced countries will certainly ask us, "Formerly you were under the heels of Britain. Twenty years have passed since the British rule came to an end. How is it that these things have not been eliminated yet!"

I would have been highly delighted if we could celebrate this function at least for a day in the year, sinking all our petty differences. I was having a talk with Rajaji just before coming here. He told me, "At least on this day, the whole Nation could have been united in celebrating this function, forgetting party differences". Thiru Sanjeevi Reddi, former Chief Minister of Andhra and the present Speaker of the Lok Sabha, who was along with us concurred in our opinion. I could give no reply, for the situation in the country is such.

When the French people celebrate their Independence Day, musicians sing, dancers dance and men and women of Paris are filled with unbounded joy. They celebrate it as a priceless and invaluable day. In all countries of the world Independence Day is celebrated in a similar manner. Now we cannot but compare ourselves with those countries. Under such circumstances, what is the good of our winning Independence?

Was our country a barren desert twenty years ago when we became free? Was not shining gold buried under the earth? Was not the country blessed with irrigational facility and fertility of soil? All natural resources are buried under the earth in our land more than any other country of the world! Does Japan have a bit of iron? Are there enough of agricultural lands in England? If a country has one thing in abundance, it lacks another thing. In this blessed land of ours, Mother Earth conceals all the natural resources in her bowels. The Mother Earth says, "If you dig deep, I shall give you whatever you want."

If we dig a little, we get spring water. Digging a little deeper, we get gypsum. Still deeper we get copper and then gold and finally digging still deeper we get coal which is admired

by the economic experts as 'black diamond'. Our Mother Earth is willing to yield us all this. Even two thousand years ago, the great poet Valluvar hinted at this when he wrote, "The maiden Earth will laugh at the sight of those, who plead poverty and lead an idle life" (1040). The Mother Earth will laugh at us because we hang down our heads in poverty when we have everything in plenty. Thiruvalluvar emphatically says that "The Mother Earth will laugh at us" because he has understood well that the Tamils will not bear even the derisive laughter of a lady.

4

During the Second World War the German planes raided bombs and devastated London and many other cities. Lakhs of Britishers were massacred by the bombs. It was a terrible human slaughter. Even then Mr. Churchill, the then Prime Minister of Britain, raised his heroic voice of protest against Germany. "Whether England is attacked by land or by sea or by air; even if we are driven away from England we will offer stout resistance even from Canada; even if we are driven away from Canada we will fight from wherever we are", said he.

Mr. Churchill addressed a congregation of English people thus: "Even if this generation

is wiped out, the next generation should be ready to continue the war. Therefore, save your children somehow and bring them upon foreign soil, and train them in the tradition of our heroism. As a result they will raise as one man against Germany when they hear, after they have grown up, that their country was devastated by Germany." We understand that on hearing this the English mothers sent their dear children in ships to Canada. What is the position of England now, which was subjected to terrible devastation and ruin ?

German houses were razed to the ground by the dropping of bombs. During the last fifteen years that country has not only rebuilt herself but is also helping war-torn countries everywhere in the world.

A party of twentyone Germans met me the other day and said : " We have discovered a method of arresting the potato-disease. We shall be glad to teach it to your countrymen. We do not want any pay. Show us the potato-growing areas of Ooty. Pray, make arrangements for our lodging there. We seek nothing else". I was surprised to hear their remark.

They said to me with a feeling of pride that there were able to arrest this disease in Tanza-

nia and spoke of the amenities given to them there. Then I told them, "Don't make any distinction between India and Tanzania. We will provide you with similar amenities here."

Japan was razed to the ground in the Second World War. It is not a big country but a group of islands. It is famous for its volcanoes. People in the vicinity of volcanoes live in constant fear of volcanic outburst. Two atom bombs which were more destructive than volcanoes were dropped on two cities. I had occasion to visit those places. Many elderly ladies of those places are still spinsters. I tried to find the reason for this. I was told that when atom bombs were dropped, atomic radiation would have penetrated the wombs of pregnant mothers and affected the children to be born. It was feared that if ladies affected by radiation married, the children to be born would be crippled. Therefore, men refuse to marry the girls from those areas. Japan which endured such untold hardships has made such rapid industrial progress that she is in a position to help other countries now.

I visited a factory in Japan. There I saw gigantic cranes, capable of lifting one thousand tons to five thousand tons of load, being made.

The crane that I saw then was for export to Australia. Students of Geography know how many thousands of miles there are between Japan and Australia.

Here in India we sell rusted iron to old iron shop. They buy such iron from us and make gigantic cranes out of them. Only such lands deserve to be called nations.

Twenty years have passed since we got independence. It is only a political freedom from foregin rule. We have not yet won freedom from illiteracy, poverty, inadequacy and lack of self-sufficiency. Now we have to wage a relentless war against all these.

Speech delivered at the Independence Day
Celebrations in Madras on 15-8-'67.

“Weigh well the strength of the deed, the strength of yours, the strength of the enemy and the strength of both before performing an act.”

—*The Kural (471)*

26. A Plea for People's Support

1

If I, as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, condemn strongly the acts of the Centre, elders will point out that it is not political decency. Spirited young men like Thiru Maran must do such a thing. The Tamil Nadu Congress leaders used to say in Delhi that ‘D. M. K.’ is a party of irresponsible and uneducated men. The present D. M. K. members of Parliament have conclusively proved by their learning, culture, oratorical skill and their conduct that the D. M. K. is the strong-hold of the educated men and scholars. To prove it still further, people like Maran should be sent to Delhi.

We should place the vanguard of brave young men like Thiru Maran in front of the people who talk of sending the army to impose Hindi on Tamil Nadu.

We introduced the rupee-a-measure rice scheme and incurred a loss of Rs. 17 crores since we purchased the second rate quality rice at a higher price. Now we have to purchase

the Kuruvai rice at a higher price since it has been certified as the first rate quality rice. That is why we have to pay a higher price and implement the scheme even by incurring a loss of Rs. 17 crores.

Still I am firmly convinced that only if we reduce the price of food articles, the price of other articles will automatically fall. I have not forgotten that lesson. We shall implement the scheme whatever may be the difficulties and sufferings.

If you think, it is just and proper to supply a measure of rice for one rupee, please cast your vote for Maran. If you want to buy rice at three rupees a measure, please vote for Thiru Ramasamy.

Formerly a sum of forty rupees was given to the family whose hut was gutted. We raised it to Rs. 80. Not being satisfied with that, we decided to construct fire-proof huts. We collected a fund of Rs. 30 lakhs for that purpose.

If you are convinced that it is just and proper on our part to have collected such a big sum begging from door to door and constructed fire-proof houses, please vote for Maran. If you do not vote, I myself will begin to entertain doubts as to whether the rupee-a-measure

scheme and construction of fire-proof houses are just or not. I hope you will not give cause for such a doubt.

Tamil Nadu abounds in barren waste lands which have to be brought under the plough. There are 16 thousand acres of such lands near Tindivanam. I need plenty of money to reclaim such lands but I have to get money only from Delhi. That is why I say that brave young men like Maran should go to Delhi to demand money on our behalf.



Even the wood-cutter, when he is tired, takes rest under the shade of another tree. And that benevolent tree gives him shade, not thinking of him as its future killer. I should at least be as wise as that tree. If the Congressmen do not want such an act it is their villainous pleasure to act otherwise.

The Burma Tamil refugees who are the flesh of our flesh and the blood of our blood have come here. Where do they live? Only on our pavements. What did they bring with them? Nothing but tears as was pointed out by the revolutionary poet Bharathi Dasan. What did they leave behind? All their belongings. Whose responsibility is it to get them back? Certainly it is Delhi's.

Who is bold enough to make a demand on this question? Please give your verdict on November 7 (1967).

Likewise lakhs of our Tamil brethren who gave their all to make Cylon rich and prosperous are going to be repatriated soon. Where is the money to rehabilitate them? It has to come only from Delhi. That is why we are sending Maran to Delhi to demand it.

Here we may say that English and Tamil will be enough to solve the language problem. But Maran should be sent to Delhi to stem the tide of Hindi flood.

Six months ago you answered my call with respect and sympathy. I have no doubt you will not change your respect and sympathy for my call today.

We have always been labouring for your good and welfare. We have done nothing wrong. In order to enthuse us still more, I request you to support Maran.

Extracts from the Parliament Election speech
delivered at Madras on 15-10-'67.

‘The more you learn the more the delight is. Likewise, the more you move with the noble, the more the delight will be.’

—*The Kural* (783)

27. Thirukkural the treasure house of knowledge

It is a victory for Thirukkural that even people who a decade ago were quite ignorant of it, now take pleasure in saying that they have learnt by heart at least ten couplets of Kural. It is a matter of pride and rejoicing that, so far as my knowledge goes, no other work in any language (except the Bible) has been translated into so many languages as Thirukkural.

Thiru Pandurangan reminded what I had said many years ago about the creation of a chair and the appointment of a professor for Thirukkural study and research in our universities. Now arrangements are being made to that effect. I propose to make the announcement when the World Tamil Conference is in session.

We should contemplate and ponder over things that are practicable and acceptable. Lovers of Thirukkural should deeply consider how best and in what ways the ideas contained in Thirukkural could be put into practice. What

others have expressed in piece meal, Thiruvalluvar has expressed in its entirety. To put it more frankly, only after Thiruvalluvar had expressed his ideas (in Tāmil) others began to repeat them.

Being short, Mathialagan and I can only jump up and take a thing at a height. But my good friend Nedunchezian has only to stretch his arm to take the same thing since he is tall. Similarly, there is no point in saying that Thirukkural which was written two thousand years ago does not deal with hydrogen and atom bombs.

We should also bear in mind the times in which Thirukkural was written. When we aim at a comparative study, we should do that in a systematic manner. When Thirukkural was written, no other book comparable to it was produced in any language. Of course, we possess Thirukkural as a unique treasure-house of knowledge.

Speech delivered at Thirukkural Conference in
Madras on 15-10-'67.

"A King should employ such men who choose the right after having weighed both the evil and good in any undertaking"

—*The Kural (511)*

28. The Burning Language Problem

The problems arising out of language are easily capable of kindling the flame of emotions not only between the Centre and the State but also within the state itself. On realising this fact, our state as a whole stands as one man to oppose Hindi.

People like Rajaji, Periar Ramasamy and former General Kariappa have stressed the need for the continuance of English. Nobody can accuse them of being parochial and narrow-minded in politics.

We should have increased the food production, developed industries, beautified our cities and made the villages fit for living. We can discuss the language controversy at any time after achieving these things.

English was never imposed on us. Even our countrymen have conducted a movement for the spread and growth of English in this country. It was we who asked for English and got it.

The benefits of English are enjoyed not only by our country but by several countries of the world. The Government of Tamil Nadu has clarified its stand bearing all this in mind.

It is highly regrettable that the Centre has not realised that the opposition to Hindi from the South comes from the heart. The Government of Tamil Nadu will strive its utmost to see that Hindi is not thrust down the unwilling throats.

The stand of the Centre on the language policy is futile. This is a problem to be tackled by educational experts. Nobody knows why this is handled by the Home Ministry.

All these years English has been the language of administration. It is an illusion to call it a foreign language. If we view in that aspect, we can see traces of foreign influence in our dress, manners and customs. Even among Hindi fanatics we can see some aspects of foreign influence. Therefore, the immediate problem is to abolish poverty which should be out first task. After this is solved, we can discuss the language problem calmly and find a solution.

Speech delivered at the party given by M/s
A. V. Thomas Group of Industries in Madras
on 25-10-'67.

“ Possess firmness of mind in doing a thing. Then you can achieve what you want to achieve. ”

—*The Kural* (666)

29. Falter not Faint not

1

It is the time when feelings of Tamil fill our whole minds.

It is the time when our body and soul mingle with Tamil.

It is the time when we speak of everything with reference to Tamil alone.

It is the time when we compare everything with Tamil.

I think that my address at such a happy time will be a simple address, though not a solemn one.

The sights we had witnessed, the thoughts we had heard and the bubbling feelings we had seen at *Poompuhar* for the last ten days can no more come back at this place with the same enthusiasm and emotion.

The *Poompuhar Conference* was so arranged as to induce the feelings of Tamil fervour in the mind of each and every audience.

We did not think at the beginning that this conference would be arranged so nicely and excellently.

We did not also think that we could convene a conference for a language and people would gather in thousands to hear the wise deliberations attentively for hours and days together. But people have clearly shown to what extent they love Tamil.

When the delegates from Russia, Australia, England, Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia, Mauritius Island and Fiji Islands go back to their countries, they will certainly tell their countrymen about the outburst of zeal of Tamil that they have witnessed here. They will also tell them how the Tamils love their mother tongue more than their dear lives because of their deep peep into it, how they think of it as the highest of all vehicles of pleasures, how they are extremely happy over the greatness of their language and how daring and brave they are to save Tamil from any form of danger coming from any side or from anybody. They will speak of it whenever they have the privilege and opportunity to speak about it.

2

These ten days will be happy and proud days in the lives of those who have attended this conference in different capacities.

You saw great scholars here with their great poetic minds. You listened to the poems sung by them and the speeches delivered by them about Tamil and Tamil Nadu.

You might have heard the sane utterances of the expert commentators and understood the relationship between the ideas stressed in their commentaries and their time sequence indicated.

A day was allotted for women-folk only. You might have heard their pleasing talks given in Tamil.

One day Cheran would have been present on the dais. Cholan would have appeared the other day. Pandian would have come on another day. Ilango Adigal and research grammarians would have arrived on some other days.

When we hear the holy name of *Poompuhar* the very thought sends us into raptures

How magnificently we lived in the past!
How miserably we live at present!

We lived more prosperously in the past !
At present we have wretchedly fallen into the
valley of poverty.

We lived to the admiration of the world in
the past ! At present we have been losing
what we have and Raja of Chettinad comes to
our rescue saying " Don't fear for that. "

3

The milky moonlight shines bright in the
sky. Poetic feelings bubble up in our minds
because the moonlight has flashed on our body.
Though we are ignorant of prosody and poetic
grammar, because of the joy the moonlight has
kindled in us and because of the green and con-
stant memories it has left deeply in our minds,
we aspire to become poets to sing the glory of
Tamil which is the light of our lives.

When we enter the house with these feel-
ings of joy, even the lonely oil lamp placed
there, is slowly losing its flame due to lack of
oil. The flame soon dies out and darkness
prevails inside the house. How much we grieve
to see this gloomy sight !

Moonlight outside. Darkness inside. Out-
burst of emotions outside. Broken heart inside.
The result is mental struggle and lamentation.

We have obtained feelings of pride, as was
produced by the moonlight, from the discourses

we have listened to in the course of ten days. But when we think of the present, our minds become dark just like the lightless house.

4

Shall I congratulate you on the great and grand Tamil you possess? Or shall I express my regret for your inability to find prosperity in life, despite having such a fine language with you?

Shall I feel elated about the niceties of Tamil which has produced the fine great epics? Or shall I feel sorry for the remarks of some people who say: "There is some other language which is even greater than Tamil".

The society of Tamils functions on the basis of Tamil language. Though we have realised this truth, we may not be in a position to find the ways and means to express it so clearly and conclusively. But we have felt it in our heart of hearts that Tamil and the life of Tamils are inseparably linked. That is why if a conference is convened for a language, not only Tamil poets and scholars but also all Tamil people feel proud to participate in it.

The Tamil people themselves are poetry. We find the rhythm of poetry in their speech, the upsurge of Tamil in their breath and the valour of Tamil in their majestic walking.

5

A painter may think of drawing a painting about a park with its birds and flowers. A poet may compose a poem on it.

I am no painter. To tell you the truth I tried in vain to learn the art of painting. Nor am I a fine poet. Though I have the desire to compose poems, I cannot do so for want of time. Yet I shall keep in mind anything that impresses me for long. Therefore, I cannot forget the scenes that I have witnessed here whether my eyes are open or closed.

A miniature *Poompuhar* has been created here. The light of your eyes excels the light of the fluorescent lamps. The extent of its spread is indeed too great. I can never forget this scene. You and I share the same feelings. The grandeur of this conference is so marked and pronounced that it will excel any conference to be conducted in future. You have established a close contact, inseparable affection and remarkable upsurge of Tamil with *Poompuhar*.

6

Tonight begin writing poetry for my sake. It is possible for you because you have abundant feelings of Tamil in your mind. The poets

may say that what you write is not poetry, having in mind the prosody. I won't say so. The basis of poetry is emotions.

To go a step further, your look alone is poetry; your gossip alone is poetry; your clapping of hands alone is poetry; your ovation itself is poetry; here omnipresent sound itself is poetry.

Which poet can sing of such a situation in all its grandeur?

A poet can sing of only the freshly blossomed lotus. Can he sing of the faces of flowers (the faces of people assembled at the conference) that were blossomed all these ten days?

A poet can sing only of the moon. Can he sing of the boundless millions of moons (the people) here? When you yourselves have become poetry, who else can write poetry about you?

Thiru M. G. R., the revolutionary actor said here: "What is beautiful and emotional is poetry." You clapped your hands. I thought why you clapped your hands! M. G. R. is beautiful and feelingful. Therefore he himself is poetry. So you clapped your hands.

As far as I am concerned, the yard-stick of poetry is *emotion*. There may not be rhythm,

there may not be prosody in it (For that I do not say that poetry needs no prosody) But above prosody, the act that is being done along with emotion aesthetic sense, purity and good talent and the very thought responsible for it are all poetry.

7

The poet Bharathidasan asked: "Whether the day would come again when the Tamils ruled Tamil kingdom?" and conveyed the sweet news to us. "The rule of Tamils would come."

Whether the Tamils have come to possess their rule is a matter worthy of elaborate discussion. But one thing you should accept. Tamils have begun to realise themselves. The laudable character of Tamils is neither to humiliate others nor to be humiliated by others.

Tamilagam may be a part of the world. But it cannot be a hunting forest for anybody.

The ancient kings won the wavy seas. Now the research scholars have brought to light that our merchants went on their ships to Mauritius and Fiji Islands to spread the fragrance of Tamil. Our good old stories have informed us of this news long ago.

We were like the sun in the past. Today we are plunged into darkness. Not that the Sun is set but that our eyes are rather dim. I won't say that they are damaged.

We can rise our heads erect and sing like Elango: "Let us praise the Sun! Let us praise the Sun!"

I won't say that to-day *Tamilagam* sleeps forgetting its natural traits. I would rather say that it is in a fainting stage and there is faltering.

We rather falter whether we can do this.

When Cheran invaded the North he did not falter that it was impossible for him.

Even when Cholan won far off lands by his fleet, he did not falter that it was beyond his power.

The Tamil lady who went to the forest to collect millet did not think whether it was possible for her to drive away the tiger with her winnow when the tiger sprang upon her.

First this *Poompuhar* conference will remove our faltering. It is the conference which gives us the fundamental lesson: "Ye Tamils! Don't falter." Add this also to that lesson: "Ye Tamils! Don't faint."

We have tasks in advance before us to carry out each and every day.

Forest should be set right. Fertility should be augmented. Jobs should be provided for the jobless and they should be made skilled in their jobs. Minerals should be dug out. We should take not only ordinary objects but also objects of archaeological excellence from our excavation. The old harbours should be improved.

Thiruvalluvar says that, if we are determined in our action, we can achieve what we think. The Tamils should become mighty people. In addition, they should not falter or faint. If they become mighty, they can achieve all things in the world.

Let us have this lesson of faith. Let us proclaim it to the world.

8

To achieve that strong frame of mind we must derive inspiration from *Kannagi* the famous heroine of *Cilapathikaram*, which is one of the good old Tamil epics.

Shedding tears and taking her anklet in her hand, she rushes to the court of Pandyan to demand justice from the king. She makes the guard inform the king about her arrival. She then gets into the court and addresses the king valourously : "O, the wise and learned king!" Her address is challenging because she has the firmness of mind.

She was a pitiable woman after losing her husband. She did not grieve over the death of her husband nor did she long to live for some more days. She was the chaste and godly woman of the prosperous Chola Kingdom. She fought for justice.

She was extremely furious after her husband's death and took the valourous oath to remove the baseless blemish that befell her husband. How is it that we have not derived the valourous feelings of that chaste and godly Kannagi.

The statue unveiling ceremony of Kannagi on the beach points out to us this exemplary lesson.

Let us derive her inspiration and upsurge.

We can give the world only this rare treasure of knowledge. It is the undiminishing wealth in spite of our giving.

Please proclaim to the whole world what invaluable things and unforgettable scenes you have seen here in the course of ten days. Depart as holy messengers of this gospel and bring honour and prosperity to Tamil Nadu. I wish you all success.

Valedictory address delivered at the Poompuhar
Conference held in Madras
on 10-1-'68

“You meet with joy, with pleasant thought you part.
Such is the learned scholar’s wondrous art!”

—*The Kural* (394)

30. The Value of Symposium

1

Generally I am not connected with research and particularly with research in Tamil language and literature. Therefore, I regret my inability to offer you scholars who have assembled in this symposium, any new suggestions either to be accepted or to be rejected by you.

It cannot be expected that either in a symposium or in a seminar final decisions can be arrived at and they all should be accepted. The symposium rejects the very formation of such an idea.

The task of a symposium is to collect and to codify ideas. Scholars should place before other scholars what they have learnt. Then they should find to what extent their ideas are similar and to what extent they differ. Thus they should pave the way for further discussion to arrive at mutual conclusions for ideas about which their opinions are divided considerably. Finally the ideas thus evolved should be placed compassionately before people who expect better benefits from symposiums like this.

I have no doubt that this symposium has been conducted with such a noble aim. I believe the findings of the symposium will be a source of inspiration to millions of people.

2

Tamil should safeguard its power, the quality of its purity and its research value. People are interested even in this aspect.

The reports placed and the ideas sponsored before this symposium will certainly induce the people to think on new lines. I think that they are of the highest order to influence one to find out the truth on higher planes. To that extent, I think, this symposium has gained a great victory.

Common people like me opine that Tamil has its own fertility, richness, flexibility and permeating power in different fields. We have not created this great language nor have we been safeguarding it. People who lived many centuries before us have left it as a language which needs no marked reformation or perfection because of its fertility, richness and flexibility.

We are the inheritors of a rich heritage. We are the inheritors of a powerful and virile language which is noted for its great literatures.

The research scholars are not attempting to find a new strength or to devise a new grammar for it or to improve its richness. All their efforts are directed towards investigating its antiquity to determine its age and towards making it a blossomed language fit to express not only the ideas of our people but also those of the people of the world so as to be useful for a wise exchange of ideas among different countries.

To have in mind these noble aims, we shall do great good to Tamil people who think that their language should not degenerate or deteriorate though some people have hostile feelings against it-be they our own people or others. I believe the deliberations of this symposium will be an eye opener to the future symposiums and will give us better benefits.

Because Tamil is ancient, a danger arises. There is room for some people to introduce certain contrary ideas, to raise some doubts, to say some suitable things and to make some irrelevant remarks as well. Such is the case with ancient castles and fortresses of the world, ancient ideas and systems.

3

The task of the research workers then lies in their investigation to point out clearly which is ancient and which is introduced later on. By saying so, it does not mean, that I construe

that all things introduced in the middle ages are harmful. At the same time you need not construe as if I think that there is benefit from the things thus introduced.

There may be many good things ; there can be a few harmful things. The task of the research workers should then be like the swearing made in the court, "There is nothing but truth." so that they can discover the truth.

Truth never comes to our hand so easily ; it has the power of slipping. For this many research workers are needed and many years are required. Therefore, my thanks are due to the scholars of various countries who have gathered here to discuss their researches.

The conclusion arrived at by these great scholars is this : "The ancient Tamil language is not in any way inferior to the modern languages which have been enriched by various researches."

Another conclusion of the research scholars is that Tamil is not only an ancient language but also a language equivalent to all modern languages. They have also discovered that it is possible in Tamil to express new and fresh concepts. How can we establish this truth ? We can achieve this by investigating different concepts and by accepting them thus investigated.

Not only the abstract ideas of man but also the scientific ideas can be expressed and explained through this language. There are people here and in foreign countries who do not know this truth. How are we going to reveal this truth to them? We can do this by ceaseless and constant efforts and by accepting the good ideas coming from any quarter in order to put them into practice. This symposium has accepted this truth as its aim.

4

A notion prevails among the people that this symposium stands far off and apart from them. The people think that they have the right to express their grievance about this condition. I do not want to conceal it because it is unnecessary. We should offer our explanation to the people. We should explain to them that there is a difference between a conference meeting and a symposium discussion. But the sentiment of the people is too deep, incessant and intimate!

They feel sorry for their inability to meet and converse with the foreigners who have been conducting research in Tamil language by addressing them thus : "Sir, please come."

You just imagine for a moment if people in their respective native places say : "We talked and moved with the delegates of France,

Poland, Hungary and Austria " what a fine feeling they will get! Therefore, we made arrangements for another function (Poompuhar function) for them to listen to the singing of poems by poets, to hear Tamil talks, to enjoy various entertainments and music. Lakhs of people saw and enjoyed them. Similarly the scholars of various countries will go back to their countries with pleasant memories of this conference which was remarkable for its great zeal and enthusiasm evinced by Tamil people.

5

Mr. M. S. Gadrey (Poona) has made an announcement here with regard to the formation of the World Tamil Research Institute. I read its rules and regulations. It is said in it that conferring titles is one of its aims.

Please remember one thing. You need not go to the business of conferring titles. Please give up that attitude. Now the condition is such that people may say that one has 'purchased' one's title.

Let this Institute be like the Academy of France. I assure you that Tamil Nadu Government will grant financial assistance as far as possible to the World Tamil Research Institute.

Please abandon the idea of conferring titles and dedicate yourselves to the ceaseless, constructive and useful services like the French Academy.

Suppose a person who is of the view that “Tamil has no literatures of its own and they are taken from foreign languages” or “Thirukkural has not appeared in Tamil. It is the translation of *Sukra Needi*” Under such conditions can a person who submits a thesis to oppose those ideas, obtain the title from the institute?

The remark I made about Thirukkural has been talked of by some people for a long time. It is indeed a fruitless talk.

I say in all sincerity—please abandon the idea of conferring titles.

Special address delivered at the Centenary
Hall of Madras University on the final
day of the World Tamil Research
Symposium on 10—1—'68

“Guard self restraint as a treasure. No other source of good is so great to man as that valuable treasure.”

—*The Kural (122)*

31. The Heroic Prayer Day

1

I am offering my heroic prayer and paying my respects here to the students and other people who had sacrificed their lives in the Anti-Hindi Agitation launched in 1965. Of course, offering such heroic prayer is a Tamil Tradition. Therefore, today, Tamil Nadu is conducting this Prayer Day.

Though it is a Tamil tradition, the people in the North should clearly know that for the first time the ministers are participating in this day.

We had achieved this great thing, the day before yesterday in the Assembly. We have been anxiously agitating for this thing since 1938. We have announced that here after there is no need for Hindi in Tamil Nadu.

When I read out the resolution in the Assembly, the day before yesterday, that hereafter we would not stick to the three language formula, thoughts of the past bubbled and stormed up in my mind.

I recalled to mind the scene in which we had wandered as orphan boys. We alone can feel that joy because it is like the sweet son of a sterile mother, a rare treasure in the hands of a blind man and the cherished state in which our sweet dreams have come true. It is the result of our valorous victory, the result of 30 years' sacrifice made against Hindi Domination.

2

After assuming charge, I was delighted three times.

I was happy when all party people accepted the naming of Madras State as Tamil Nadu and when we raised the slogan unanimously, 'Long live Tamil Nadu!' It is a melody that I had not heard in the 58 years of my life. It is an unseen sight and the undropped sweet honey in my ears.

I was glad for the second time when the Self-respect Marriage Bill was passed. I feared if people would condemn it on grounds of morality. But when the bill was passed, my joy knew no bounds.

I felt joy for the third time when I announced, the day before yesterday, that hereafter Hindi would be abolished.

3

Dear Congressmen ! You may topple me if you want, at your liberty. But I say in all certainty that in Tamil Nadu none has the daring courage to reopen the Hindi classes which I have closed because of the firm stand of Tamil People.

We consider power as a correct means to carry out correct things. We do not want to be ministers for ever.

Thiru Karuthiruman asked me at the subject committee meeting of the Assembly "What resolution are you going to bring in ?"

I replied, "I am bringing in a resolution to tender my resignation."

He remarked : "Be serious. Don't say it laughingly."

Even when the time comes for me to relinquish power, I shall say it with the same laughter and not with sobs.

What new status have I gained after becoming a minister ? What new profit have I derived from assuming power ?

I shall not feel shy because I have not disassociated myself from people as some people have done.

People of Tamil Nadu should be fed sufficiently. Unemployment should be removed. Industries should be created everywhere.

Please let us rule until we achieve these things. We do not want to be mere Honourable Ministers!

I must be a wandering skylark. Today I am a caged parrot. Even the parrot is not worried when it is let out of the cage. Shall I, as a rational being, care for my release from power ?

Condensed from the speech delivered
at the Heroic Prayer Day Meeting
held in Napier Park, Madras
on 25-1-68.

"Freedom from obliquity of speech is rectitude, if there be freedom from bias of mind."

—*The Kural* (119)

32. Press and Democracy

There are certain accepted facts which need to be interpreted and re-interpreted from time to time. Everyone has accepted and none has doubted the necessity for a free press and for freedom of speech and expression. It is significant that the Union Home Minister, the Union Information Minister and all those connected with the Government participate in the centenary of a newspaper which shows they have all realised that, unless there is freedom of press, there cannot be proper functioning of democracy.

Even twenty years after the advent of freedom, many problems still remain unsolved. We are getting more and more complicated issues to discuss, and unless there are newspapers to give various points of view on delicate subjects at issue, no Government worth the name can get at the real public opinion which is very difficult to gauge. The public gives forth its opinion whenever it is in a particular mood—real or created, more often created than real. The newspapers are expected not merely to mirror public opinion but to classify, codify and present it in a scientific manner so that the issues can be well understood and all the

controversies discussed on a plane higher than what it is to-day.

If you want the issues to be settled calmly, decently and constitutionally, the newspapers should come to our aid, educate public opinion and educate also those who legislate on these matters. I am quite confident that newspapers of the eminence of *The Mail* are fulfilling the mission of nurturing public opinion and guiding the Government when intricate issues are being discussed. I hope they will do it in a more vigorous manner in future.

The press and democracy are twined together and, worthily, the Press is called the Fourth Estate. If that Estate is to perform its functions well, the newspaper readers should come forward to purchase the papers more often. Out of 50 million odd readers of newspapers in Asia 45 million come from Japan. India comes next with only 6 million odd readers. In a country known for its ancient heritage and known as the biggest democracy in the world, if the number of readers is woefully small, then the impact of the Press on public opinion will be very slender and meagre. Therefore, there is every necessity for expansion of the circulation of all newspapers.

Speech delivered at the Centenary Celebrations
of THE MAIL, Madras on 15-2-68.

"Where spreads fertility unfailing, where resides a band
Of virtuous men, and those of ample wealth, call
that a land".

—*The Kural* (731)

33. Our cherished Goals

1

Your Excellency! This Industrial Fair has been arranged so excellently that it is remarkable for its vigour and variety, quantity and quality. This has been made possible because of your able guidance and unstinted support.

It is rather our good fortune that you are our Governor. Sir, you were born and brought up on the Punjab soil. When it was a composite state and even when it was divided, you have taken excellent part in the Government in different capacities to promote the welfare of the people. You have been an able Finance Minister. You have evinced keen interest in agriculture. You have participated in the Round Table Conferences which determined the fate of India and you have put forth your valuable ideas. You have rendered remarkable public services from different angles and in different capacities. There is not even a single function in which you have not participated in the course of a week.

Sir! You visit the rural parts of Tamil Nadu, meet the tillers of the soil and know their problems.

Not that you are engaged in the field of agriculture only but that you are equally interested in industrial sector also.

Your Excellency! I am rather ashamed to tell you that I have not visited this exhibition to that extent as you have done to derive benefit.

You have also talked about Tamil Nadu though you spoke generally about the country.

2

What do we lack in Tamil Nadu? All resources are abundant here. But the pity is that day-to-day discoveries made in science are not introduced adequately both in agriculture and industry which is indeed a glaring defect.

In certain countries petrol only is available. They will be lacking in other resources.

In some country coal alone is available. Iron will not be available.

If there are resources, ports will not be available to export commodities. Good climatic changes will be wanting.

In this land all are available in plenty. We need not expect anything more from nature.

The geographical experts have described this country (India) as a sub-continent because

of its varied climatic changes, changing weather conditions and marked variations in seasons.

Tamil Nadu has put up its stall in this exhibition in order to show to the world its abundant resources. It is a sober but a steady attempt to show systematically the contemplated development which we want to achieve. No doubt there is development.

I said, "There is development." But is it adequate? No. It is not. Compared to the available resources, the development is not what it ought to be.

One of the barriers and the strong reason for it, is the amazing growth of population. The population increases day by day. It grows tremendously fast and that without our knowledge! The net result is that the standard of the healthy life of the individual man is diminishing.

When I mention 'population growth' first I recall to mind Kerala. Even in Tamil Nadu it is too great. We are forced to find ways and means for their livelihood even outside the state. Not only that. Countries like Burma, Ceylon and Thailand have been liberated from the foreign yoke. The Tamils who have settled there for a pretty long period and who have

laboured hard for the progress of those countries are on the verge of emigration. We have no alternative except to take them back. It is also our duty to rehabilitate those stateless and penniless refugees as farmers, plantation workers, petty merchants and business experts. Of course we have plans with us for their rehabilitation.

This industrial fair has been arranged in order to help and guide us in this direction. It will also assist us to foster our good will, aspirations and dreams to link with the foreign technical knowledge

3

I assure you that, if all things go well and if we act according to our plans, within ten years or even earlier we can compete with the developed countries of the world on the two fronts of industry and agriculture.

We have plans in abundance. If there are no interferences and if we do not create obstacles and factions among ourselves, we can proudly march towards the goal of victory.

If we try hard without party politics but taking into consideration the economic progress of the country, we can certainly achieve the stage when we can compete with the advanced

countries of the world. Therefore, we have made the advanced countries take part in this fair.

Let us appreciate and applaud the countries which have participated in this fair. Let us know their technical secrets. Let us forget our differences and make use of those secrets for the benefit and the prosperity of our country.

Nothing is impossible if the whole country is engaged heart and soul in the task of reviving and rebuilding our country.

We can make our country a land of gold if our aspirations and the progress of the participating countries in the fair are synchronised so as to provide the much wanted facilities and opportunities. Then we can walk proudly towards the land of prosperity and freedom. If fertility increases, we can compete with the developed countries of the world in order to help the underdeveloped countries to march towards progress.

Adequate and nutritious food for people, good dress, convenient house and high customs and traditions-these are our cherished goals. It

is the virtuous path which all the philosophers of the world have uttered. Our thanks are due to those countries which help us to dedicate ourselves to these cherished goals.

Address delivered at the Tamil Nadu
Day Function Organised in the World
Exhibition at Madras on 22-2-68.

“ Possess firmness of mind in doing a planned thing. You will achieve what you want to achieve ”

—*The Kural* (666)

34. The Call from Yale University

1

Tamil is not defective in any way. It has already attained considerable growth. All the defect is that we have not raised ourselves to the standard of Tamil. We possess a soft and strong classical language called Tamil.

If students engage themselves in vocations after their college studies with Tamil fervour, certainly Tamil will achieve a higher status.

Only after Tamil-minded people have become engineers, English words like ‘the high roads’ find Tamil equivalent. Otherwise they will have been transcribed.

Can Tamil be the medium of instruction? At the outset introduction of Tamil will give us some bewilderment. Once we are accustomed to it, everything will be easy for us.

I accept that English should not be neglected. But I disagree with those who opine that one cannot have a knowledge of English if it is not the medium of instruction.

If one takes English as a special subject, one can become proficient in it.

Can one achieve the beautiful style of English by studying mathematics alone! Or can one gain proficiency in English by taking geography alone. No.

As a result of our good old habit, we think that mere informative knowledge can promote the knowledge of language.

I studied all my subjects in English. But I have some knowledge of Tamil and Tamil fervour because I grew along with the period, when the growth of Tamil was fostered with enthusiasm and zeal.

I accept that the zeal for Tamil should not be a cause for the decline of the study of English. It is my duty to explain to people like Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar that such a sorry condition will not arise.

Today they appeal to me in the assembly "Don't give up English." But 20 or 30 years ago study of English was considered as anti-national act. As a result some people developed even a hatred against English. Even now some people speak with such a feeling.

2

The new Government is making vigorous efforts to make Tamil the medium of instruction. It will achieve success in that task.

After having made Tamil the medium of instruction, we shall certainly establish that the standard of English in Tamil Nadu is the highest in the whole of the Indian sub-continent. Then only it can bring remarkable glory to us.

To-day the world is fast changing towards the goal of unity. We can conveniently travel from one part of the world to the other. Diffusion of ideas is possible from one place to another.

We are marching even without our knowledge towards the "one world ideal" put forth by Prof. Wendell Willkie. Therefore, we can establish the world contact through English only.

Now in our country which language has acquired such a high status as to be able to replace English?

The Tamil language only has that fertility and capability to replace English in Parliament and in courts of law. I do not say this because I am a Tamilian. People who have realised the greatness of Tamil will accept it.

When I studied at Pachaiyappa's College Messrs. Chinnathambi Pillai of Mathematics Department, Sarma of Philosophy Department, Narayanasamy of Economic Department and Rajeswaran of Politics Department had been

the successive principals. Now Mr. Shanmuganathan of Chemistry Department is the principal. This disproves the argument that only those who are proficient in English can administer well. As the next phase, if the Head of the Department of Tamil becomes the principal, it goes to indicate that the traditions of Pachaiyappa's College are growing remarkably.

The family of Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar is a Tamil family. His father Annamalai Chettiar started the *Tamil Isai Movement*. Therefore, he spoke in English just to show that he would not give up English in spite of his love for Tamil.

Here my friends referred to my visit to America. They mentioned that it was a prosperous country. In spite of its prosperity, economic crisis has set in there. However I am glad for having got the opportunity to stay in Yale University and to discuss topics of academic interest with the students there.

When I gathered some particulars about Yale University I came to know that there was some meaning and appropriateness in inviting me.

This university was once a college struggling for its survival. Loving letters were despatched

to different parts of the world, requesting donations for the college.

Yale was then the governor of Madras. On receipt of the letter, he could not send money immediately. Instead he made arrangements to send three bales of cotton, some pictures and books and asked the authorities there to put them to auction. The money thus obtained from the auction was utilised for the growth of the college. Soon it expanded into a university. Since, Yale, the governor of Madras provided the things first in compliance with their request, the authorities named it after Yale. Though the American Government invited me and though Yale University extended the invitation to me, I take it as if the gifts sent from Madras invited me.

Condensed from the speech delivered in Madras
on the occasion of the 120-th Anniversary
of Pachaiyappa's Charities on 22-3-68

"Disease, its cause, what may abate the ill;
Let leech examine these, then use his skill."

—*The Kural* (948)

35. A Call to Doctors

1

I am really happy to participate in the prize distribution function of your college which is remarkable for its fame and glory not only in India but also abroad for the last 132 years. Here the proud recipients of prizes, no doubt, will be a source of inspiration to and set an example for others to receive the same next year.

This college stands first throughout India and has won the unanimous appreciation of all people. Because of its long line of learned professors, the standard and the strength of the college are highly praised. There are experts in each and every special department to investigate the baffling nature of things in order to bring to light their hidden secrets.

I understand from the report read out here that the ratio of men and women students in the college is three to one. I think that a woman student can do the work of three men students. Perhaps it may be the significance of the ratio.

Warmth and compassion are essential for medical field. This feeling should spread through out the society.

Though people engaged in this field cannot earn much, they achieve a higher degree of greatness than those in other fields. Nothing can be a greater source of joy to them than the smile that wriggles in their slips when the struggling patient himself says, "Oh, Doctor! You have saved me. You have saved me." Doctors serve society more than other people in other walks of life.

Our country is in the grip of scarcity and deficiency. It is not a land of plenty and prosperity. People say that no diseases dare come if they have clean food and good ventilation. In our country 70% of the people are suffering for want of accommodation and ventilation. 80% of people experience the woes of undetectable diseases.

It is rather difficult to serve in the medical field in our country where poverty and ignorance are predominant. Yet, we cannot forget that our friends serving in the medical field have taken it as a selfless social service.

In our country we have one doctor for every 58,000 people. We have not yet reached that stage to engage two doctors for one lakh people.

You must serve sincerely to alleviate the sufferings of crores of diseased people so that they can lead a happy life with their regained vigour and energy. You must excel in all fields as great social workers.

2

I am ready to offer my help to this college. However, people say that one should tell the truth to doctors and lawyers. Just like the weakness of our body, there is also weakness in the finance department. As far as the medical department is concerned, we shall not show any hesitation in offering our help. No doubt, people in the medical field are dedicated and devoted people.

Students of Professional and Arts Colleges have got good opportunities which their parents could not have got in their days. "Let the world experience the joy that I have derived." We stick to this philosophy. Your parents have sent you here in the hope that you will derive the joy which they had not derived in their lives. We have such a rich heritage noted for its sacrifice.

Even when population is fast growing in our country, we compete with other countries in all

fields. Perhaps we may be wanting in material wealth. On that account we are not inferior to any country of the world in any way in intellectual wealth. Our medical experts exemplify this point clearly.

I am indeed happy to know that medical students are good both at studies and games. Games promote not only the health of the body but also purify the mind. Therefore, with good health and sound knowledge move with and serve in society in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

Speech delivered in Madras Medical
College on 23—3—1968 at the
prize distribution function.

"Save praise alone that soars on high,
Nought lives in earth that shall not die"

—*The Kural* (233).

36. I shall bring glory to our Land

1

I pay my regards to you for the farewell function you have arranged here in connection with my foreign tour. Going abroad was once difficult. Now it is easy.

We cannot derive the entire benefit from the visit of one or two persons who give us the benefit of the experience and knowledge they have gained in the foreign tour. But if all strive unitedly to put into practice those things, the country will have the entire benefit from it.

Thiru Manickavelar, the Upper House Chairman remarked in his address that I should return to our motherland well and America is a highly luxurious and influential country.

As a man over 59, I shall not get attracted to the glamour which I am going to witness in America.

In the course of his address my friend Ma. Po. See said. "India and America have the prosperity to exchange some things." Accordingly I shall tell the American people about the

cultural excellence of India and Tamil Nadu and other remarkable features of our country.

2

When I drew up the programme for my tour, I asked for some particulars from the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi regarding the foreign policy of India because the D. M. K. supports it.

On the basis of the particulars provided, I shall explain to them our foreign policy in order to increase the good will and the glory of India.

One cannot achieve greatness by degrading India. As I am wakeful in many matters, I shall be careful and considerate in explaining the conditions of India in America.

I shall not involve myself in talks either to point out the demerits of the party ruling at the Centre or to indicate the merits of our party.

I shall explain to them our common problems even those which are beneficial to India.

America is a mighty empire, which is far advanced in wealth and in all fields. I shall not get attracted to that economic prosperity.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, I shall try to indicate to them how our ancestors had

established commercial contact with the Far East countries and how we are miserably backward now.

The Americans know history well. On that basis I shall ask for their help. Therefore, I shall explain to them the progress that India has made in recent years.

If we do so, we can explain to them in what way it should have been done to achieve greater progress and thereby we can receive the contemplated aid from them. My Congress friends need not fear that I shall leave these things unsaid.

Speech made at the farewell function
got up on the eve of Anna's
American tour in Madras
on 15-4-1968.

“ Who know not with the world in harmony to dwell,
May many things have learned, but nothing well.”

—*The Kural (140)*

37. The Link Language

Two percent of the people speaking English are spread out throughout the country. But forty percent of the people of India who speak Hindi reside in Hindi speaking states only

When literacy develops in India, the English speaking people also will increase in number. Now the literates are twenty percent. There is every possibility of its rising to 40% or 100%

English will not destroy regional languages. To cite an example, the official language in Tamil Nadu is Tamil and not English. Similarly if English continues as the link language, the regional languages of other states also will grow well. English will be used as a link language between states and outside world.

An argument is raised that English will be useful only for world contact and it will not be useful for contact between states. I should like to give you a Tamil proverb as answer for this.

| “ What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well.”

The imposition of Hindi on the people of Tamil Nadu will be a permanent disadvantage to non-Hindi speaking people whereas it will be a permanent advantage to the Hindi-speaking people.

English alone can be a link language. To remove the mental bitterness in this problem the Hindi-speaking people should accept this stand.

The Hindi-speaking states do not implement the three language formula. Only after knowing that we could not compel them to implement it, we abandoned the three language formula in our state.

Condensed from the speech delivered at
the meeting held in the Indian
Embassy, Washington
on 28-4-1968

“ All the acquired wealth of the worthy is for the
sake of benevolence ”

—*The Kural (212)*

38. Cordial Relations between India and America

One of your big jobs in the United States, apart from learning and preparing yourselves for service, is to give a ‘true character image’ of India. This image must be a true one which reflects to Americans, India’s successes and failures, her hopes and disappointments, her ancient culture and her strivings to bring a better life to the people of India.

It is as important for Americans to have this correct image of India as it is for Indians to have similarly a correct image of America.

The United States is not the movie image of gun-toting cowboys who wind up shooting themselves when they cannot find anyone else to shoot. America is a country with a soul, a country which has brought better life to its citizens and used its resources to help mankind.

The correct mutual impressions are vitally necessary for India and the United States so that they can grow in friendship and understanding and co-operation.

Reply to the welcome given by the Indian Students’
Association at Manhattan, Kansas on 2-5-68.

" Nothing is difficult for those who, before they act, discuss thoroughly all aspects of the matter with well-chosen friends."

—*The Kurat* (462)

39. The need for Social Service

1

Some people accord welcome to those who have become ministers. Some others welcome ministers whoever they may be. But I believe that you have welcomed us as people who are interested in social welfare and progress.

Our relationship now shines with a new lustre. But I do not say that it has been strengthened.

In the course of his speech the Secretary said that their services could be utilised at any stage and at all times. We, who have recently come to power are thinking of, how far we can succeed in serving society and how far our new position will keep us to do so.

Government alone cannot ensure social progress. Social workers should co-operate in this task. It is not enough if a few ministers sitting in Fort St. George enact laws. A large body of people outside should propagate the schemes of the Government and engage in constructive tasks.

Your services should be utilised for the good of the society. Your intellectual powers should be utilised for the good of the country. I am giving serious thought to it. You can think of how best you can serve the country and in what position you can serve taking into consideration your natural inclination, aptitude and capacity for work. You can offer to do social service on Sundays when you are completely free.

2

Society need not be under the control of a single individual. Nor is it not necessary that everybody should take orders from a single individual. Each and every person can and should think and give suggestions.

You do not belong to any political party. But still you can bring the achievements of the Government to the notice of the public by distributing the publicity materials of the Government. Please serve as a link between the Government and the people.

We have often organised *Poranis* (agitation brigades) and *Peranis* (mammoth brigades). Now we have to translate our ideals into action. Therefore, we should organise *Seeranis* (Prosperity brigades) to promote agriculture.

Speech delivered at the Friends' Association
in Madras on 8-5-1968.

“The wealth of the wise and benevolent man is
like the full water tanks of the city.”

—*The Kural* (215)

40. An Appeal to the Industrial Magnates

1

We assumed charge of Government in Tamil Nadu in the 1967 election because of the massive support of people like you who live here and in Tamil Nadu. We have attained this status within three years. Though some of us feel happy about it, we should think of how far our country has advanced in these three years.

We should not see which party has grown and which party leader has risen in stature in these three years. It is essential on our part to think how far our country has developed.

How far has Japan progressed in these two years? How far has Hongong developed? How far has America advanced? Thus we should compare the development of these countries with one another in these three years? While we do so, it is not correct on our part to refute that we have not advanced or our country

has not registered progress. However it is dangerous to think that we have advanced very far.

In our country we have not achieved appreciable progress in these three years.

We have all resources for development. We have natural resources, human industry, physical labour and talent. Still they are uncut diamonds. Why can't we achieve fertility if the resources are properly utilised? The question is how best we can utilise these resources.

2

I see your rich life here. The question then arises how our people in foreign countries alone are well off. Just as you are interested in your trade and progress, though you are far off from your country, so also you must be interested in the progress and welfare of your own country.

You have good facilities because you live in advanced countries. Since you are in the centre of new countries, new thoughts and products are within easy access to you. You see the impact of progress directly whereas we see it in newspapers only—that too belatedly.

I am of the opinion that opportunities should be created by people of new knowledge like you, for the progress of our country and for the use of the people.

Comparatively speaking, why do our people in foreign lands alone lead a life of excellence? Why is the condition in India just the reverse? I have to think for myself.

You progress by your talent when you live in America, Japan and Hongong. Why can't the same people progress in our country when they settle in India? I am really surprised to think of this contrasting condition.

Though you are far off, I request you to pay your attention to the progress of our motherland on proper lines in due course.

Though you have come here to engage yourselves in trade, I am highly pleased to note that you have formed the Tamil Cultural Society here for the unity of Tamil people. The term Tamil Nadu connotes Tamizhagam, Andhra, Kerala and Karnataka. *Cilapathikaram* is one of the greatest historical epics of Tamil Nadu and its author Ilango belonged to Chera Kingdom (now Kerala). Therefore, I would like to say that all should join this society to promote

unity. I convey my congratulations to the society and its organisers. This is a good organisation and it is engaging itself in a worthy task.

I believe that you will foster not only the Tamil Culture but also strive hard to promote the progress of our country. All my friends here should help these enterprising people. I pray that all the honest efforts they undertake should achieve success.

3

Indians in far-off lands have gained victories in different fields. Therefore, there can be no obstacle to them to gain the same victories in our country. When they return to their motherland they should utilise their capital and technical know-how for the advancement of India.

A good atmosphere prevails in Tamil Nadu. The wages of workers are low. Opportunities for economic growth are abundant.

I do accept that there is restriction on Tamil Nadu Government in issuing licence. The foreign exchange is the responsibility of the Centre. This is the reason for the restriction. However if schemes are fair and just we can bargain with the Centre on good grounds

Because our Government is non-Congress Government, we can implement many more things. I have cordial relations with the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. I believe that many Indian people here will send their proposals to me for various industrial schemes. Then only I can discuss them with the Centre and get their permission.

4

It is but natural that Governments change in a democratic country. It is no miracle.

Perhaps it may be a miracle to people who were in power for twenty years. It may be an amazement to them because they were accustomed to ruling for a long time.

Indian people were rather afraid that "One party domination is causing obstacle to the progress of the country." The results of the last general elections have generated the faith among our people that true democracy can prevail in India.

Reply to the welcome given by the Tamil Cultural
Society and the Indian Chamber of Commerce
at Hongkong on 11-5-1968.

"Listen to good things It will bring you
great dignity."

The Kural (416).

41. My Impressions of Foreign Tour

1

There was a time when the members of the opposition used to say sarcastically that the D. M. K. members were country frogs because they did not go abroad. But many people belonging to the D. M. K. have returned after their foreign tour. Now Asaithambi is travelling in European countries.

Our Arangannal has visited Japan. Navalar Nedunsezhian has been abroad. His brother Chelian has accompanied me to the Far East Countries. He had been to America before me.

Thiru Muthu M. P. has visited various countries of the world. Salem Rajaram and Thiru K. Manoharan M. P. have paid visits to foreign countries.

Why I say all this is to stress that such foreign tours are neither a wonder nor an achievement, impossible of attainment for anybody. I say this in ~~reply~~ reply to those who referred to us

as 'country frogs'. The Khazhagamites have arranged this function to welcome me after my return from the foreign tour because of their love and affection towards me. Particularly my brothers in the ministry will find pride and dignity in whatever I do. It is rather their habit. That is why they have arranged this grand function for me.

2

It is a fact that I have seen skyscrapers in foreign countries. But I have also realized that I can see blossomed and happy faces only in Tamil Nadu.

It is a fact that I have seen affluent countries. But I have realised that I should come back to Tamil Nadu if I want to see compassionate and sympathetic people.

I have returned here, after seeing the countries advanced in industry and other fields. I have not returned with a depressed feeling whether we can achieve that development. Nor have I returned with feelings of amazement. On the contrary I have returned with confidence that we can also obtain the same development here.

My friend M. P. Sivagnanam remarked that the Opposition Party people had told something about my tour. They feared whether I would

express antagonistic ideas against India in my world tour. Some people even wished it! But I spoke about India quite contrary to their wish and fear. I did not speak either for joke or in pretension or for 'diplomacy'. I told them the truth which I felt in my heart.

The press reporters in America asked me with a twinkle in their eyes, "How does Indira Gandhi rule the country?" I understood well the inner meaning of their question. I spoke accordingly. They expected that I would remark that Indira Gandhi was unfit for anything because of my party affiliation.

But I replied: "If we want to guage the capable rule of a person, we must take into account the circumstances under which he or she assumed charge of Government so that we can decide the failure and success respectively. She took charge of Government when the Third Five Year Plan was completed and when there was economic stagnation to draw up the fourth plan. As far as possible she rules ably."

Before we confirm the success or the failure of a rule, we must take into account the circumstances prior to one's assuming charge. Why I said this is the Opposition Party people who want to assess my rule should take similar things into consideration.

3

“What have you achieved in one year?”

I understand that the Opposition Party Members asked this question.

I could have even asked this similar question in America “What has Indira Gandhi’s Government achieved? Nothing...”

If I had spoken in that manner it would have spoiled my character; it would have changed my very nature; it would have sunk the glory of my country.

But I explained to them what I felt in my mind with all courtesy and politeness and without undermining the glory of our country.

I think that such a high culture should come not only to Tamil Nadu but also to the whole Indian sub-continent. I believe that such a refined culture should come not only to the D.M.K but also to all parties particularly, to the party which was in power for a long time. Then only democracy can spread shedding its luminous rays. Then only Tamil Nadu and Tamil people and India can achieve glory.

4

I was travelling in the plane with my circling thoughts: “There may be unacquainted people in the countries which I visit. How

will they approach me ? How shall I explain things to them ? ”

It was 4 a. m. The plane landed in Tehran. It is the airport of Saudi Arabia. It was announced that the plane would halt there for fifteen minutes. We were inside the plane because we thought that nobody would have come there to see us. But after some time the aerodrome authorities informed us that several people were waiting outside to see us.

When we went outside, we were surprised to see fifty or sixty Tamils waiting for us with their wives, children and gifts. They spoke beautiful Tamil.

They said : “ Tonight we knew about your coming through the radio. We are working here in the oil refineries.”

When they took leave they stressed one thing : “ Don’t yield.”

I asked : “ To what ? ”

They replied : “ The decision you took on language problem is correct. Don’t yield however hard Delhi pressed you.”

I was highly pleased with their Tamil fervour.

It was 6 or 7 a. m. Our plane reached Rome. We expected there D’ Souza to welcome

us because we informed him only about our visit. Thiru Souza served in Layola College at Madras and now he is the secretary of Pope. But fifty or sixty Tamil Youths came there to welcome us. When I saw them I asked : “ When did you come here ? For what ? ”

They said : “ We hail from Tirunelveli and Ramnad. We are Catholics. We have come here to study in the Theological College.”

At last when they were about to leave they remarked : “ Don’t yield on the language problem.”

I thought that my shadow followed me everywhere.

In Paris I was the guest of Thiru Adi Seshaiya who is the chairman of the educational and cultural section of the U. N. O.

At last he also stressed : “ I think there won’t be any change in your language policy. People here believe that you will be firm in your language policy whoever brings pressure on you.”

I say this to you generally but particularly to Thiru Sivagnanam who is always thinking of Tamil.

In whatever nook and corner of the world the Tamilian may be, he is with the same Tamil

feeling and urge that we find here. I saw that stainless Tamil feeling in Saudi Arabia, Rome and America and in other countries.

I have returned with greater determination that we shall never leave Tamil feeling to be destroyed nor can it be destroyed of its own accord whoever may try for it and however strong and at whatever height of glory they may be.

5

I saw the beaches of various countries. Col-our pictures of beaches like Port Dorica have been published. But they are not as beautiful as our Marina Beach.

In such a naturally beautiful Marina, poverty dances whereas in the beaches of foreign countries abundant fertility reigns supreme. Natural beauty but insufficiency here. Lack of natural beauty but sufficiency there. Why this contrast?

There is a country without gold. There only the riches are in abundance.

The countries which lack iron export iron goods.

The country which lacks medicinal herbs manufactures medicines.

We should carefully think over problems like this to find solutions so that we can promote the affluence of our country.

It is not that a country's progress evolves out of a particular kind of politics alone. In our country socialism is talked of too much by our leaders. But in fact the so-called sincere friends of socialism are capitalists! I say this not as an accusation but as a fact supported by sufficient statistics.

It is not that whether a country's progress depends on socialism or capitalism. It is that each and every one should have a burning desire and a high determination to promote the progress of one's country.

Hon. Minister Thiru Muthusamy remarked one thing in his address: "Oh, Anna! Point out the ways and means for bringing about the progress of our country".

The past American President Kennedy once remarked: "It is not what your country is going to give you. It is what you should give to your country". You should think on these lines.

Similarly we should have this firm resolve: "What are we going to do for our country?"

Then only we can achieve the amazing development that Japan has achieved in the last fifteen years.

Determination in the minds of the people, faith in labour and firm hold on time sense-these are the fundamental reasons for the progress of a country.

Please don't mistake me for this remark. I have often seen in our country that people who gather in groups of three or four engage themselves in idle talk. I do not see the people in group in Japan either in market place or in street ends. Such is not the case in America. They are ever busy to increase production by their hard labour and never-ceasing activity. They relax themselves in recreation of various kinds-music concert and dance performance-from 5 p. m. to 11 p. m.

They do not take drink too much. I saw there people drinking liquor. I have also seen our people here.

There they take drink. Here drink takes the habitual drunkards.

At dinners held in various places, people engage themselves in talking about the problems of the world for one or two hours with a quarter of a cup of liquor. Now and then they

wet their lips with liquor. They drink to have some excited feeling. But our habit is entirely different! We drink as much as possible so that we lose our wits.

According to my wish, fruit juice was supplied to me at dinners. They drink one fourth of the liquor for one hour. But as soon as the juice was supplied I was drinking it. They were giving it again and again.

My friend Arcot Rajesh told me not to do so. Then only I learnt that habit.

In spite of my drinking the fruit juice I have returned with more determination not to relax prohibition. A gentle woman in America asked me: "What is the harm in drinking?" I replied to her convincingly: "I can derive the same feeling without drink which you try to get by drinking."

She did not pass any reply. However she went on drinking.

People in far-off lands gain vigour in evening recreations and work like bees in the morning. As a result the nation's production increases on a large scale.

6

Japan has secured the fourth-place in the field of development, next to America, Soviet Russia and England.

When I went to Japan they were exporting their finished ship to America. They were exporting iron goods to Australia.

I was struck with wonder when I saw the amazing growth of Japan in agriculture and industry.

I expressed this idea clearly at the gathering of students and professors held in Kansas, America, "I am not surprised at the progress of America because America is a bigger country than India and it has more natural resources than India".

Our Ma. Po. See. used to say that Tamizhagam was remarkable for its sea trade even before five thousand years and it created literatures even before three thousand years. What does this imply? It implies that Tamizhagam has been a country rich in natural resources for generations together. Today it is reduced and tired because all her natural resources have been exploited.

But America is not such a country. It has its fertile lands for the past two hundred or three hundred years.

Our country Tamil Nadu is just like the good old Avvai (the ancient Tamil woman poet) Though it is old, there is no decay in its dignity and excellence.

America is bigger in size than our country. But it has only one fourth of our population.

When the British left us, the population was 40 crores. Now it has grown to 55 crores. In a moment the population grows to 58 crores! Such being the case, we should compare India with Japan instead of America with India.

Japan is rocked by volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. One day I was sleeping in my bed. Slight earth tremor might have happened because I was pushed to the other side of the cot. When I enquired the hotel keeper about this happening, he said: "This is a common occurrence here. You need not fear"

Such a country which is at the mercy of natural calamities has progressed remarkably today because of the peoples' firm determination and their unshakable faith in labour. Let us emulate these good qualities to promote the progress of the country.

I should like to tell you that I shall try my best not only to promote the prosperity of Tamil Nadu but also I shall give my suggestions to promote the prosperity of India with the experiences that I had gained by this world tour.

Reply given to the welcome accorded
by the D. M. K. after his return from
the world tour in the Marina Beach,
Madras on 12-5-68.

“ Cherish great men and make them your own.
It is the rarest gift known .”

—*The Kural* (443).

42. Undue Regard for Politicians

1

People labour hard in our country. But they do not derive the desired benefit out of it because there is no security for labour in society. One of the vital reasons for this is that we depend on human labour alone. We should link it with mechanical labour on the basis of science as people do in foreign countries. Then only we can derive the entire benefit from labour.

With regard to demand for more powers to Municipalities I should like to say that a separate committee has been appointed to investigate this problem. The recommendations made by the committee will be duly considered and suitable legal changes will be brought about accordingly.

Municipalities can augment their revenue by keeping their cities clean and by making arrangements for the appointment of temple guides to explain the historic significance of our temples which will, no doubt, attract tourists.

2

If our country should advance in industry and economy, due regard and priority should be given to industry and industrial magnates, education and educational experts, medicine and medical experts, engineering and engineering experts. To that extent a change should be brought about in social thought and aim.

Undue regard and priority are given to politics and politicians in our country. It should somehow be reduced. Because we give undue regard for mere politicians, there is no regard for development in other fields. Perhaps it might have been proper when we gave priority to politicians twenty years ago. But such a situation should change hereafter. Equal respect should be given to people in all walks of life just as we respect politicians.

A country's progress is judged by the growth achieved in fields like education, industry, economics and local administration. The press has to play its part in this field. The data regarding the experts in science and engineering should be collected and published and a vital link should be established between the experts and the public.

Reply given to the welcome accorded by
Kancheepuram Municipality
on 14-5-1968.

"The wise know everything beforehand.
The unwise are not so."

— *The Kural* (427)

43. Problems are born with us

1

My friends who spoke here said that I had earned a name and fame for our state by my foreign tour.

To seek fame wherever it may be, is not contrary to Tamil culture. To achieve fame even crossing the wavy seas has been our age-old custom. That is why the immortal Thiruvalluvar has said in his immortal couplet: "Give and live a life of fame. No other profit is so great to the soul as that (The Kural 231).

Why has Thiruvalluvar linked giving with fame? There is laudable reason for it.

The greatness of fame lies in giving only. Giving means: "Part with what you have and what you can."

Some may think that the glory one gains is proportionate to what one gives but it is not so. That is why Thiruvalluvar says that one should earn fame that can be earned by giving what can be given.

You may ask what to give. We may give what people want and what we can. We can earn fame by giving our time, thought, energy, intellect and labour. I do not earn fame by this method in the countries that I have visited.

There would be meaning and purpose in my foreign tour if I had undertaken it after solving all our problems and after providing all amenities for our people.

Unless we solve our problems and so long as we are at the receiving end with anxiety-stricken face and with a begging bowl in foreign countries we cannot achieve fame.

The unfortunate poor people will exhibit their inadequacy either knowingly or unknowingly by naming their children after precious ornaments and stones such as gold (Ponni, Than-gam) jade (Maragatham) and diamond (Vairam). We have such a magnanimity with us!

You have felicitated me out of this magnanimity and out of your affection and love as if I have earned fame.

It is a fact that foreigners regard and respect us because they have realised our ancient glory and greatness. They really wonder at our

exceptional tolerance and forbearance with which we face our problems. They congratulate us on our amazing tolerating ability.

Not only that. They congratulate us much more on our ability, patience and sobriety with which we conduct our administration in spite of our myriad problems. Particularly they have expressed their heart-felt congratulations to the administrative excellence of Madras.

The foreigners point out some stray incidents happening here under certain circumstances which cause unrest and say that our people lack experience in democracy and so problems like the clash between the workers and the students arise.

2

Even in America where democracy has developed and where amenities are abundant such problems arise.

When I was in America the news came that the hostel of Columbia University was closed because the post graduate students were up in revolt.

There are vast differences between students and teachers in America.

Are any amenities lacking there? No. They are available in plenty there.

There are engineers. There is no unemployment. There are doctors. They do not look like patients. In spite of such affluent conditions, why is America engulfed in chaos and confusion?

It is not due to lack of training nor is it due to lack of amenities. But it is due to the present day atmosphere which has created a condition in which one believes in agitation for obtaining any thing.

Some ten or fifteen years ago people did not lose their temper quickly as they do now. Now anger arises for all problems. Even people who would never be irritated before twenty or twenty five years, now get phenomenally irritated at ordinary problems. They feel annoyed. Nay! They agitate.

The increasing population throughout the world including our country has certainly created this mental heat. This is the fundamental reason for all turmoil. The sensation and discontent ejected out of it have made the people get irritated and resort to revolt.

When I went to Paris from Rome, I found there hundreds of cars running one by one in six rows. I asked the people in my car why they

were following such a course. They said that they were searching for a place to park their cars.

There are problems even in foreign countries. As soon as cars are bought, the Government issues licences to them only after ascertaining whether there is parking place for them. The conveyance facilities have multiplied to such an alarming extent there. Other facilities also are abundant there. But do they feel content?

When I was in Paris I saw a folding size cycle in my car. I asked them for what they were keeping it. They replied that they could go to places with the cycle where cars could not go.

When I was in New York, I saw a notice in the newspapers given by the Mayor. According to the notice he had bought one thousand cycles to give training in cycling for many people because the number of cars had exceeded the limit. It was mentioned in the notice that he had been engaging himself in that effort in order to minimise traffic congestion.

3

Even when amenities are limitless, anxieties and problems arise. On that account I do not say that our country needs no amenities and

facilities. Even in Kansas University I stressed this point. "Though we have problems in our country because of poverty, you cannot avoid them in your country also which is noted for its affluence."

"In our country we are pondering over ways and means to augment the resources whereas in your country you are thinking of how to conserve the resources and augment them further."

Therefore, problems are born along with men. The more they arise the greater they multiply. I have returned with the hope and trust that we can devise more ways and means to solve our problems.

There is physical labour in our country. We describe Madras as beautiful. Yet we see loaded carts being pulled by men instead of by bullocks in the hot sun. In foreign countries human labour is minimised and industrial production has been accelerated, thanks to scientific inventions.

Here we have toiling people. If their labour is properly used for augmenting production, the country can derive greater benefits. We are not in a position to do so. It is a general loss to the country. I cannot but feel sorry for such a state of affairs!

The fertility of the American soil is just like the fertility of our soil. The working capacity of the American labourer is not superior to that of an Indian labourer. They cultivate one crop only. When I said: "We even cultivate two or three crops," they were surprised.

We cannot achieve the development of America as quickly as possible. However, according to our climate, conditions and other factors and by following the remarkable American methods we can reap rich benefits.

Though America is a country larger than India, the population is considerably low. The production is sufficient enough for sharing. Here the increase of population is more than production. Therefore, problems raise their heads now and then. Each and every one of us should try to control population by family planning.

Bearing this vital point in mind, if we try to find solutions for problems, no doubt we can achieve success and the life of prosperity will blossom in our country.

Reply given to the welcome accorded by the secretariat staff in Madras on 5-6-68

“As each man’s special aptitude is known,
Bid each man make that special work his own.”

—*The Kural* (518)

44. Let us Labour Hard

I

We cannot forget this evening function being held to day for a pretty long time. We have gathered here in order to express our gratitude and convey our felicitations to teachers who have engaged themselves in a noble profession.

Donations in cash and kind worth three lakhs of rupees have been given for the development of educational institutions. The Central Minister Thiru Jagjivan Ram said: “This is a good example for others.”

If any man or woman engages himself or herself wholeheartedly and with true loyalty in any task-however great it may be-they can achieve success in it. There can be no greater ideal than education to seek the aid of society.

Jesus Christ said: “Ask, and it shall be given you...knock, and it shall be opened unto you.” (St. Math. 19:19).

But we should select suitable door to knock at. Not only that. There should be

gentleness in our knocking. The Tamil Nadu teachers are experts in knocking at suitable door at appropriate moment.

In ancient Tamil Nadu there was least difficulty in knocking at the door. During that time the door of a great philanthropist was ever open. People described him in literature as one whose long door was always open and whose words were most welcoming. It is Tamil custom and culture. It has been always useful to those who have engaged themselves in public service.

Aspirations will always grow in a society which is fast developing. But in our independent country even the fundamental need is not fulfilled. Once there was a time when people belonging to certain strata of society were unable to study. They had been secluded from studies.

Fortunately such a time had gone. Hereafter it will never come back.

In Tamil Nadu social revolution has begun. The method of suppression that had been in vogue for centuries has faded away.

Now all can read. Even the son of a lord who is fed with a silver spoon and even the pet son of a poor man who tastes his gruel from his

mud pot can read. It does not matter whoever they may be. In such a thing there is no difference at all from man to man.

Of course there is a difference between our ideals and their execution. On that account it is not necessary that we should give up our defining our laudable ideal. The ideal should be grand and great. It is our duty to see that the very ideal is not destroyed when we march towards it.

2

The efforts of Tamil Nadu Government alone are not responsible for the development of educational facilities in Tamil Nadu. The Government alone cannot carry out that task completely.

Countless philanthropic-minded people have contributed generously for creating educational institutions from primary school to colleges. Because of the efforts of these great philanthropists, temples of learning have sprung up in Tamil Nadu

I studied in Pachaiyappa's College which had been started by such a philanthropic-minded person.

The Government codifies and regularises the educational institutions set up by individual

great men. I say assuredly that, if there were no individual philanthropists, endowments and Christian institutions, educational development could not have taken place to this extent. We witnessed here people having ascended the dais and having donated two lakhs with a smiling face.

His Excellency our Governor will not usually be so enthusiastic in fully packed public functions like this as he is today. In the midst of the huge crowd of people at this meeting he seems to be highly pleased.

This is the culture of Tamil Nadu and this function clearly shows that Tamil Nadu will not hesitate to contribute munificently to any noble cause. The teachers are responsible for all this excellence.

The cause which the teachers are serving is noble indeed. They are labouring very hard and vigourously in a most difficult task with the bearest minimum salary. They are the people who mould the future generations of the country.

Some may write that ministers only create the future. But when we are not certain about our own future how can we then create the future generations?

3

The teachers should be contented and peaceful when they retire. I greatly aspire to see such a state of affairs.

When he is old after retirement, a teacher will be sitting in the verandha of his house. Boat like cars will be passing on the roads. His grand son will rush to him and say: "Oh, Grand father! In the first car the Governor goes. The Collector follows him in the second car." He will say: "That is right. They are all my students."

What more greatness can the teacher get than this?

It a teacher had spent his thirty years in business would he not have amassed wealth and raised his status?

The teachers have realised the greatness of their profession. But they have not enjoyed it. However they devote their full time to their profession.

I respect and revere the teaching community who have engaged themselves in such a great task. I express my heartfelt regards to them.

I am really sorry to know that the educated youngsters do not choose this profession. The day when they refuse to serve as teachers will really be an evil day.

The Central Minister mentioned that there are two kinds of schools. He provided food for my thought. Certainly I shall think over it.

The standard of education given either in private school or in public school should be raised. Teachers should find ways and means to conduct training camps during summer for the exchange of new ideas and they should go to school with fresh spirit and thinking after the training.

At this juncture I should like to make another suggestion. Two or three teachers should be selected and they should be made to travel all parts of the country. I shall bear half of the expenses from the State Government. Let the Centre bear the other half. To be fair, the Centre should meet the three fourths of the expenses. I should meet one fourth of it. I say half in the hope, that we can be equal with the Centre at least even in this giving affair.

There is no use saying verbally that India is one country and it cannot be separated. Mere writing history books will carry no meaning. National unity cannot be created by merely reading about it.

Teachers should see with their own eyes the extent of our country stretching across the extreme ends of the North. We should make

them see directly how we are safeguarding the integration which is interwoven with the background of our country for centuries in spite of our multiplicity of languages, religions and cultures. No doubt such an experience will help us a great deal to foster the integration of our country. The teachers will give their lessons with a fresh feeling because they have witnessed directly how the Panjabis live, what is in Rajasthan and what is the greatness of Maharashtra

4

We need not worry about the unrest prevailing among our students. It is not a problem peculiar to India alone. When I was in America the Columbia University was closed for unrest among students.

Our country is not a matured country whereas America has reached the zenith in democracy, education, wealth and power. Why such an appalling condition prevails there? What is the reason for this provocation or tension among the students?

Certain strata of society yet await development. Their expectations are great. But time passes on?

The feeling that the leaders do not guide them properly have created a frustrated attitude among the students. This attitude is found in

all parts of the world. The condition prevailing here is far better than that we find in other parts of the world.

Today a threatening condition prevails in America as though no politician can live without the fear of the bullet. Fortunately such a condition does not prevail here.

The dust sedimented in society should be cleaned by gentle beating. We should remould and reshape society. Though we do not have wealth, let us make our country the best in the world by our hard labour. The teachers who serve society for generations together have great part in this task.

Speech made at the social and project meeting
of High Schools in Madras on 12—6—'68.

“ Labour will produce wealth; idleness
will bring poverty. ”

—*The Kural* (616)

45. What Japan has to teach us

1

Cultural organisations have a vital role to play in forging relationships between the countries of the world. They form the permanent centre of world relationship. I am indeed happy that this organisation exists to promote cultural relationships between India and Japan.

There has been a strong link between Japan and India for a long time. Japan has been in the vanguard of progress in the economic and other fields among the countries of the East. But cultural relationships last longer than political and economic relationships. The Japanese are very fond of their culture.

I have been to Japan twice during the last five years. I witnessed greater industrial progress during my second visit. The Japanese work with vigour and enthusiasm in factories. They enjoy cultural shows by night with the same vigour and enthusiasm. It is doubtful whether we can come across such people anywhere else in the world who indulge in work and enjoyment with the same vigour.

A new problem has arisen on account of the industrialisation of the world. We see that man has lost his stature in the industrially advanced countries.

Accumulation of wealth should not be the sole aim of man. But the Japanese participate in industry, agriculture and art with equal vigour.

I witnessed certain functions while I was in Japan. They reflected eastern culture in its entirety and grandeur.

We cannot match the Japanese in economic progress. But no one can beat us in cultural fertility.

Although we have been subject to famine for a very long time, we have somehow preserved and developed the soul of our culture. The whole world praises the excellence of Indian art and culture. That is why I want cultural ties between India and Japan to be strengthened.

I cannot talk of strengthening economic and political ties between the countries. For in those fields the Centre has greater authority than the States. I can speak only of cultural ties.

Japan and India should indulge in cooperative endeavour in the field of culture. Japan

has registered spectacular progress in the field of drama and cinema. Such cooperative endeavours will meet with success because they combine the talents of the Japanese with the cultural fertility of India. It may not be profitable but cultural ties will be fostered. Similarly a large number of cultural delegates from one country should visit the other country.

Both the countries are alike in showing attachment to family life, in making friends and in behaving like decent human beings.

Japan strives hard in the competition to become the second best country in the world. It works with all its soul and vigour to achieve this thing.

In the midst of abject poverty and threatening earthquakes and without any natural resources worth mentioning, Japan's progress in the industrial sector appears a question mark to the world. But to us Indians Japan is not a question mark but a mark of exclamation.

We should follow Japan in agriculture. American method is not suited to us. In America they use modern giant machinery to cultivate huge farms of several thousands of acres. But in Japan they have small forms of three or five or ten acres.

We should experiment with the Japanese methods of farming here. Coimbatore is suitable for such experiments. The agriculturists of Coimbatore are proud of their farms on which they themselves work.

There are some people in other districts who do not even know where their lands are situated. They will think of their lands only when they collect the yield. There are even some people in Madras who settle their accounts with their lessees while sitting in the cosmopolitan club itself. But the Japanese live close to their lands.

During both my visits, I visited Japanese villages. A Japanese farmer's daughter has married a Tamilian. I visited that farm. They live close to their lands. Thus Japan has progressed in industry, agriculture, culture and other fields.

2

I witnessed a drama there. It was enacted by a small band. It rained heavily in a scene. The stage was flooded with water. The audience felt as if they were drenched in rain water. In the very next scene, which followed in a minute, there was no trace of rain. We saw only blue skies and fully-blossomed flowers. How was this change brought about on the stage?

When I was witnessing the play, I felt sad that I had not brought one of our artistes with me. Our artistes should visit Japan and learn modern techniques from them in the fields of drama and cinema. To promote cultural ties, the Japanese ambassador should arrange for the translation of Tamil literatures in the Japanese language.

Tamil Nadu was not what it is today. In the past Tamil Nadu was a land of prosperity. It was blessed with precious wealth. It was in the golden period of Tamil Nadu that learned Tamil scholars received state honours. The Indo-Japanese Cultural Association should take steps to enable the Japanese to read of the golden past of Tamil Nadu in their own language. Similarly Japanese literatures should be translated into Tamil.

The soul of a country is reflected in its culture. Neither economic progress nor political progress is of permanent value. In this manner the cultural ties between India and Japan should grow and develop to yield lasting results. I wish the association all success in its achievements in this venture.

Speech delivered on 16-7-1968 in reply to the felicitations offered to him by the Indo-Japanese Association in Madras on his return from Japan,

'Search out, to no one favour show with heart that justice loves
Consult, then act, this is the rule that right approves.'

—*The Kural* (541)

46. A strong Plea for more Powers

1

What is the duty of a State Government today? It has to discharge many duties like providing food and employment for people, establishing industrial peace and looking after health and education.

But what is the duty of the Centre? The Centre calls the State Ministers once a month and asks how things are going on in each and every state. There is nothing more than this *darbar* talk.

Only the State Government identifies with the people in their joys and sorrows.

The Centre's concern for the people is not so deep as that of the State Government. The Provincial Government meets the grievances of the people face to face.

Thiru Namboodri Pad and not Thiru Jagjivan Ram has to answer the people if there is no food in ration shops in Kerala.

I take the privilege of mentioning the name of Jagjivan Ram because of our high regard for him. No doubt he equally respects us.

When the strike of the Railway Firemen took place who was deeply worried? Namboodri Pad and I.

But when the Ministers at Delhi met us they asked with a casual attitude, "What about the Firemen's strike? Did it fizzle out?"

We were greatly affected by the strike. If that strike had continued for four more days, Thiru Namboodri Pad would have rushed to a Madras hotel for his food!

What happens when powers are concentrated in one place more than they are required? The answer is this.

Recently I contacted the Food Ministry at Delhi through phone. As my audibility on the Phone was poor, I asked my friends to speak. Since Thiru Jagjivan Ram was not in station, the Deputy Minister Shinday spoke.

We tried to tell him that we had to incur a heavy loss because the release order for sugar at Kallakuruchi Mill had not yet been received from Delhi. It took fifteen minutes for him to catch the name of Kallakuruchi. I cannot find fault with him for his inability to catch the very name.

There is sugar mill in Tamil Nadu. But its controlling power is in the hands of the Centre.

We should rather blame the people who paved the way for such sharing of powers between the State and the Centre.

2

We say that powers should not be concentrated in Delhi because the Centre is unable to pay more attention to other matters of great importance since it meddles even in small matters from Kallakuruchi Sugar Mill to the Katpadi Small Scale Industry.

In the course of his address Thiru Nambodri Pad asked if the people at the Centre had solved the Kashmir Problem when there was a strong Centre.

I too expressed this idea in a humourous vein to the Delhi Ministers. "You could have even purchased a country if you had spared half of the amount that you spent on Kashmir."

Therefore, it is wrong to think that a strong Centre only can solve problems.

Our fear then is, that if they hesitate to grant state autonomy, they will be losers in vital matters like defence because of the burden of too much powers.

Today education is the responsibility of the state. The constitution clearly defines it. But, recently, the Central Education Minister has

framed some Educational Policy and drawn up some Educational Programme and he has instructed the states to follow them.

Having defined that the responsibility of education rests with the state, a Central Minister comes forward to overpower the state.

It is the duty of a responsible daughter-in-law to obey implicitly her mother-in-law. On that account is it just and fair if we say that she should obey all mothers-in-law in the locality.

Industry comes under the purview of the state. But we have no power to enter into an agreement with foreign countries to establish industries in our state. Nor do we have the facilities to purchase machinery from foreign lands.

Industrial undertaking is a state subject. But issuing licence is under the control of the Centre. It is so ingeniously defined that we cannot demand it.

Transport is also a state subject. Which transport? Only the bus and lorry transport.

Navy, airways and maintenance of harbour are under the control of the Centre.

The theory of state autonomy was born in order to change such supervisory powers.

State autonomy is only a political demand born out of necessity. It is not the demand of a political party.

3

Some people say that the Centre must be strong. For what must it be strong? Against whom should that strength be used? We should think over this matter a little.

Of course strength is necessary for an individual man, for an organisation, for the State Government and above all for the Centre.

We are talking of it without first understanding ourselves and then without explaining it to others for what and against whom that strength should be used.

If strength is needed for the Centre against the Chinese aggression we are ready to gather strength without any hesitation.

If strength is required for the Centre to repress the Pakistani invasion we are certainly bound to mobilise it.

On the contrary, if it is used for intimidating Assam, for making Tamil Nadu struggle hard, for creating confusion in Kerala and for destroying our thoughts gradually, then it must be our duty to reduce that atrocious strength

little by little by our combined might and collective power.

The Centre was strong in the Gupta Empire. It was also strong in the Mogul and the British Empires. But where are those empires now? I really feel sorry to compare the existing empire with those fallen empires!

When those emperors tried to seek more strength for their empires at every time, decline set in. Historians know this fact well.

In history we cannot find a mighty central rule, comparable to that of Aurengzeb. What was the fate of that empire?

All our anxiety is why the people at the Centre want to bear a burden which they can hardly bear.

If it is said that the total strength of the states is the strength of the Centre, then there is sane argument and good politics in it. And it is capable of fulfilment.

If it is argued that the Centre should have all rights and powers and that states should be satisfied with feeble powers, then it cannot be a sane and sound argument.

4

If powers are concentrated in the Centre, it will not add new strength to it. On the contrary it will weaken the states.

If we have faith that they are capable of bearing all powers we can entrust the same to them.

Can the Congressmen tell us frankly how many All-India leaders are there in the Congress like Nehru the most accepted, revered and influential man throughout India ?

Perhaps such a question may incur the wrath and displeasure of the Congressmen. But I cannot refrain from telling the truth.

Can they tell us who, after Nehru, is capable of ruling the whole of India and who can create that robust faith in foreign countries ? If any name is mentioned, even some of the Congress leaders are not ready to believe it.

Though it was wrong on the part of Nehru to ask for more powers, people were ready to give the powers to him in the hope that he could bear them.

How can more powers be entrusted to people who are already overburdened with powers ?

The strength of power should be determined according to the strength of activity. It should not be considered as money safely deposited in a bank.

Let us think of powers other than defence. Let the states take the powers which are

necessary for them. Then let the Centre take the rest of the powers given by the States willingly.

I have suggested to the Administrative Reforms Committee to form a separate committee to scrutinise the present constitution critically for re-allocation of powers between the Centre and the States, the latter to have more powers. If such a committee is not appointed, the Tamil Arasu Khazhagam may appoint a committee. All categories of people like legal experts, retired Judges, Student representatives, representatives of workers and industrial magnates can find a place in the committee.

The committee should critically analyse not only the constitution but also they should go to other states to gather their opinions with regard to sharing of powers. Finally an elaborate report should be prepared in order to arrive at important conclusions.

Speech made at the symposium on State Autonomy held at the State Conference of T. A. K. in Madras on 20-7-1968.

“Resolve is counsel's end. If resolutions halt
In weak delays, still unfulfilled, 'tis grievous fault”

—*The Kural* (671)

47. Act without Fear or Favour

1

The Public will say that, if the pumps and wells in their houses go dry, the officers are unable to set them right though they discharge so many functions.

The officers may wonder if it is really impossible for them to set them right. Their perplexity should not turn to anger. They should comfort them by saying that their grievances will be carefully looked into. They should explain to the people the reasons for their grievances and why they cannot be remedied. The officers should conduct themselves in such a way that they comfort the people who approach them for help.

The officers should find out the reasons for the complaints made by the people so that they can be remedied.

The District and Taluk Officers have more difficulties than their counter-parts in Madras Fort. Never before did people come to see the officers in such large numbers as they do now.

The people approach the officers with great faith and more enthusiasm that their grievances will be remedied. The officers should allot time for it. We should consider how best we could implement this method.

The Collectors would attend the *Jama-bandhi* once or twice a year in those times.

Six sheep and seven chicken would be required for the Collector's visit to a village which clearly showed the state of affairs in those days. Now the condition is entirely different.

The Collectors achieve more things now by their village visits to solve the peoples' problems then and there than they did by *Jama-bandhi* previously. I express my gratitude to such officers for their pains-taking efforts.

People feared to approach officers in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this century the officers are meant for doing good to people by establishing an enthusiastic and affectionate contact with them. This condition is a characteristic feature of this century. The officers should act in accordance with this new attitude.

2

The officers should treat the peoples' representatives who approach them for a dialogue respectfully. Likewise I should like to announce

this matter to the public and their representatives. You may approach the officers freely with a sense of duty and respectability for public causes like erecting school buildings and providing housing and medical facilities for the poor. The M. L. A.'s and M. P.'s enjoy this privilege of approaching officials.

It is not proper on the part of the people if they approach the officers for job obligation, transfer and other concessions. They should try to reduce them to the minimum. I have no courage to say that you must completely abandon them because we cannot change human nature very easily.

Elections are being held in democracy to provide opportunities for different parties to come to power. The officers may feel embarrassed about this condition. The sudden change in rule has resulted after the twenty-year rule of a party. I shall not think that your twenty-year old habits will either suddenly change or completely disappear.

Certainly there will not be any compulsion that you must do all that we say. You may carry on the administration without fear that something or other may happen if you do not act according to the direction of the ruling party.

I have instructed my party men a great deal about this matter. When they approach you for public causes you can do them favour. If it is for their personal affairs listen to them but you need not be either anxious or worried about that. If they compel you further don't hesitate to inform me about it.

My party men will never do so. I shall certainly advise them not to interfere in administration.

3

Here the Chief Secretary spoke in English. Next I speak in Tamil in order to emphasise that all the proceedings in Tamil Nadu should be conducted in Tamil.

When people come to represent their grievances they will speak in Tamil only. The officers should use Tamil to know and investigate their grievances.

People will be satisfied if you speak in Tamil only. The way in which you hear their grievances removes their mental grievance.

On this fine and happy occasion when Tamil is made the official language, we should use Tamil in all departments quickly.

By this remark you need not think that English will be completely removed. The

Administrative Officers Conference of three states is going to be held at Ooty. We can speak there in English.

“You (officers) speak good and beautiful Tamil. You are also good at English. You should speak Tamil freely among people. You should devise efficient ways and means to remove the grievances of people.

Address delivered at the symposium on
general administration held in Madras
on 9-8-68

“Who would succeed must thus begin; first let him ask
The thoughts of them who thoroughly know the task.”

—*The Kural* (677).

48. National Integration

1

I am extremely happy to know that the present day students are provided with many facilities. When we studied, education was possible only for a few upper class people. Those who spent money in thousands had received the wealth of learning. Now the condition has entirely changed.

In a country where literacy is not high, if the education department functions in order to benefit a few people only, then it is quite contrary to democracy and justice.

Education is one of the fundamental needs which should be given to all, irrespective of caste, creed and economic disparity.

Having realised this fact, the Government acts accordingly. We cannot achieve any progress in the field of education unless and until non-governmental institutions engage themselves in educational tasks like this.

We spend one third of the Government revenue on education. Yet we cannot fulfil the educational needs.

It is a matter for gratification that the need and zeal for education are growing day by day. However it throws upon us a great responsibility. The private institutions should come forward to share that responsibility.

The Rajasthan Youth Organisation has introduced a new system called book-bank. Such an idea has occurred in their minds because many of the Rajasthan people have engaged themselves in banking business.

Banking is one of the principles of economics. Bank is useful for the rotation of money throughout society instead of accumulating in one place.

The rupee was round in shape because it should rotate throughout society. Now it is a square.

Just as blood circulates throughout the body for our health, so also the circulation of money throughout society gives vigour to it.

2

Reference was made here to national integration. Today there is more talk about integration than what is necessary.

First we should try to know what national integration is.

In fact if this country really believes in integration, there is no need for a national integration movement.

It is meaningless to speak of integration when we are united and integrated.

We are a country trying to be integrated. We should accept this fact explicitly.

Integration will not take place immediately in a country like India which is noted for its multiplicity of languages, cultures, ways of life and thoughts. We should strive hard for a pretty long time to achieve it.

National integration will not take place either by imposing a language or a culture. The feeling of integration should spurt out spontaneously.

When opportunities are provided for mutual contact between different sections of people like teachers and students and for free exchange of ideas to achieve ideological unity, integration will certainly come about. It cannot be achieved in a very short period as some overzealots think.

Today why has the Rajasthan Youth Organisation come forward to help the poor students of Tamil Nadu ?

The poor is poor wherever he is-be he in Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh or Bengal or in Tamil Nadu. The thought "To help the poor is to help the country" has now blossomed. This is real national integration.

National integration cannot be forced by merely convening conferences or delivering speeches or conducting symposiums.

National integration can evolve only as a result of the prolonged and protracted services of people who desire to work for the good of mankind. It cannot evolve by politicians like me.

Speech made at the Rajasthan Youth Organisation, Madras on 10-8-68 while distributing free books from the book bank

"Man's fitting work is known but by success achieved ;
In midst the plan revealed brings ruin ne'er to be retrieved'

—*The Kural* (663)

49. The great Historical Events

1

I feel proud like you to see this historical event in which I participate after so many days.

Though I was deprived of the opportunity to speak before you for a few months, I am extremely happy today because I am going to speak what I want to speak.

When I decided to participate in this function, doctors as well as my friends imposed a restriction on me that I should not speak-even that too for a long time-as it is injurious to my health.

I replied immediately if any harm happens to my body by my utterance, there is no use of having this body and asked them to accede to my request. Such an opportunity comes once in one's life. It does not come many times.

It is not just on our part to think of people holding opposite views at this grand and gala function.

We have achieved what we wanted to achieve. We have received what we wanted to

receive. It is our duty to express our gratitude to those who supported us to achieve this remarkable thing.

Congress rule was here. If the Congress Government at Delhi had already carried out this resolution it would have been nice and excellent. Some semi-learned people thought that the Centre would not accept this resolution because the D. M. K. rules here. I understand that even learned men told the Centre they should not accept the demand.

When I talked to the Prime Minister about this matter she expressed her willingness at the very outset.

As it was very difficult for them to pronounce *zha*, we changed the name *Tami-zhagam* to *Tamil Nadu*. They accepted immediately the basic aim of our demand except the verbal change for the sake of phonetics.

2

Certain events take place only because of certain people. *Mamallapuram* came into being only after *Mamallan*. It is not that before his time there were no sculptors or kings interested in sculpture or materials needed for sculpture.

According to the law of history they had been created only after *Mamallan*. I think that

there has been a similar historical law here that the name change called Tamil Nadu should take place only after the Government conducted by Athithanar, Ma. Po. See and we in unison had been formed.

Since Tamil people had been accustomed to giving causal names to sweets, savouries, villages, colonies, occupations and books, it is not fitting and proper on our part to call our state Madras State and so we have replaced it by Tamil Nadu.

We convey our thanks to those who strove hard to rename Madras State Tamil Nadu. We shall pay our homage to Sankaralinganar on this historic occasion. I convey also my thanks to the Congress friends and the Central Ministry. Our task does not end with this.

3

In a way I am proud. In these two years we have done things of historic importance in our regime.

Even if the Congress comes to power, they have no courage to meddle in the things that we have achieved.

Certain laws have a life of five years and certain others a life of ten years. After that they could be changed. But, whichever party

comes to power in Tamil Nadu hereafter-be it Congress-it is impossible for them to alter the resolution which has changed the name of Madras State into Tamil Nadu. It is a thing of great historical importance. It is neither written in sand nor on rock. It is inscribed in the hearts of Tamil people. Events like this are said to be historical events.

Governing the people only is not rule. It is also governing the mind. Today's function is an example of it.

A change has been made in the time-honoured marriage system. The self-respect marriage bill has been given legal sanction. It is an historical event.

First we argued that Hindi might be an optional subject and it could not be a compulsory one. When we assumed charge of Government, we enacted a law to do away with Hindi.

Indeed these three historical events are proud events in our lives when we think of them either individually or at party level. When we think that we have played a proud role in it, there is great joy naturally.

The future programme of work is clear and definite. Tamils should live as Tamils. They should sing the glory of Tamil. They should

lead a Tamil way of life. They should take others along with them.

The integration of India should follow the path shown by Tamil Nadu. It is not integration if Tamil Nadu goes along the path of India. All other states should follow it. Then only it means that we are for integration.

This auspicious day is not only a day in which we obtained the name of Tamil Nadu but also it is a day which will lead us to other activities of excellence. We should obtain a political change within the limit of the Indian Republic and under the purview of the constitution in which all powers for bringing about the progress of Tamil Nadu must be made available to us.

The first speech made by Anna in Madras on 2-12-68 after his cancer operation in New York. When he began addressing the audience with his salutation as dear president in his characteristic manner he received a thunderous clapping which lasted for many more minutes and all shed tears of joy to hear his melodious voice after a lapse of two months. This shows clearly how lovingly and affectionately people loved and adored Anna.

"Who swells the revenues, spreads plenty o'er the land,
Seeks out what hinders progress, his the workman's hand."

—*The Kural* (512)

50. The Raffle Scheme

1

We had our own doubt when we decided to begin this raffle scheme now being conducted by Tamil Nadu Government. It is proving more successful than we expected in our state since people are keenly interested in it.

The Director of the scheme requested me to advise the recipients of the first and the second prizes how they should spend the money.

First I convey my congratulations to the prize winners. They should use the money to raise the status of their family. But for this scheme they could not have got this large amount. It is better on their part to invest it in industrial schemes for its further augmentation than to waste it in luxurious marriages and festivals.

Kerala, Haryana and West Bengal have undertaken this scheme. The Maharastra State has even decided to send a higher official here to know the working of this scheme. Further some states have made arrangements to launch this scheme. In Tamil Nadu only some

people oppose this scheme stoutly. This raffle scheme has attracted them to such an extent! It rather irritates them. That is why they express their condemnation.

They say that it is gambling. People stand in long queues before the toddy shops now opened newly in other states. Why do these people fail to condemn it? Instead they criticise our benevolent raffle scheme. This clearly shows not their purity of mind but their feelings of jealousy.

People in different walks of life approached me individually at different times and asked me to open the toddy shops again to earn more revenue. I refused to be a victim to such an act!

2

The critics of this scheme did not express even a word of appreciation for my firm stand on prohibition. Now they dare condemn the raffle scheme. They follow a policy of opposing everything that the ruling D. M. K. party ventures to do.

The critics say that even Rajaji has opposed the scheme. I have great regard for Rajaji. What he says in this regard applies not only to Tamil Nadu but also to the whole country. If

all states accept the advice of that great man and stop the raffle scheme, we are ready to stop it here in the next minute. It is neither integrity nor good politics to oppose things being carried on here with the best of intentions.

It is said that those who did not get prizes for their raffle tickets raise such opposition as a result of their disappointment. I have no such disappointment. We have rather made it a rule that Ministers should not buy raffle tickets.

The critics of the raffle scheme do not find fault with the methods that we have evolved for the draw. Let them have the satisfaction that they too stand the chance of winning the prizes in any one of the future draws, perhaps next time itself.

3

As far as the finance department of Tamil Nadu Government is concerned, the amenities to be provided for people and the amount to be spent for the same are growing rapidly.

We cannot tax people any more. As a middle class man I know well that the taxes levied already are a great burden and woe to people. It is not social justice to levy taxes without augmenting the amenities. Major part of the revenue that we get from taxes and the

finance that we receive from the Centre for the implementation of projects go to departments of irrigation and electricity. The rest is not sufficient to spend on education and health.

If there are health Centres, they are situated in ill-ventilated buildings. If there are doctors, nurses are wanting. If we can find both of them, we are unable to give them sufficient salary.

The money received from the Raffle Scheme can be best utilised for augmenting facilities like hospitals and schools for promoting the welfare of the teachers and for raising the standard of life of nurses. This is a noble aim. Some people say that they are not enamoured of prizes and they are willing to give one rupee to Annadurai Government. I am part of this Government. I rule today. Somebody may rule to-morrow. But the Government is constant.

I request you to buy raffle tickets in the hope that the money you give goes to a noble cause. Whether you get prize or not is immaterial.

4

My cine-field friends say that there is a decline in their revenue because of this raffle scheme. But when we turn the pages of newspapers we come across advertisements there

announcing the 11th and 12th week running of cine pictures. Their statement is contrary and it lacks truth.

In Malaysia, where the raffle scheme is conducted, art flourishes. Raffle tickets are being sold there even before the cine theatres. In New York where weekly draws are held, a play has been going on for six years. Neither the raffle scheme ruins the cinema nor does the cinema spoil the raffle scheme. It is merely a matter of one's attitude. I shall not hesitate to comfort them if they substantiate their stand with facts and figures. But the fact is that the cine income does not decline.

Some newspapers report that some people have become insolvent because of their purchase of raffle tickets.

When some people become *laciars* their report is misleading. When a good music performance is going on, if four or five people cough, the tempo of the performance will not be spoiled. The report of the newspapers is just like this.

None expects that people should buy raffle tickets beyond their financial status and purchasing power. Nor do the Government desire or request the buyers to do so. It is wrong on their part if they resort to such practice.

The critics of the raffle scheme do not find fault with its functioning. The agents are selected by draws in order to do away with malpractice and complaints.

I express my thanks on my behalf and on behalf of the Government to people like Thiru Chandra Reddy, the retired Chief Justice, who have helped us a great deal to uphold the noble cause of this raffle scheme. I pay my grateful respects and regards to my friends, lovers and all who have helped us generously in making the scheme a success.

Speech delivered in Madras on 9—12—68 during
the second draw of the Raffle Scheme

“When way is clear, prompt let your action be;
When not, watch till some open path you see.”

—*The Kural* (673).

51. The Meritorious Services of the Justice Party

1

I congratulate my friends for having brought out this useful and informative souvenir.

The laudable things achieved, the rational ideas propagated and the social reforms carried out in the period of Justice Party Rule will find an honoured place in history.

The one drawback of Tamil Nadu is the failure on our part to write authentic history, gathering reliable materials. I am glad to know that this souvenir has been prepared in such a way as to rectify the drawback I referred to.

If the fifty-year history of the Justice Party is written, it will clearly reveal to us the political history of this province (Madras).

When I engaged myself in politics and when I started the D. M. K. some people blamed me that I was a justicite.

Once Thiru C. Subramanian remarked in the Tamil Nadu Assembly, "Whatever it may be you are a justicite."

I asked Thiru C. Subramaniam then and there "Why don't you remove Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar the justicite who adorns the treasury bench now from your party?"

In spite of itself being an article of food, salt adds taste to other articles of food. Just like this simile used by Rajaji, the culture of the Justice Party is reflected today in many parties.

2

The youngsters of today should remember under what critical conditions, the Justice Party began to render service in 1917. By such remembrance we come to understand how we can overcome the difficulties that we face in achieving success.

There was a dangerous charge against the Justice Party as if it rendered antagonistic service against the Brahmin community whose people occupied high posts, owned newspapers and above all they were praised for their foremost intellectual acumen. The Justice Party has rendered service for fifty years.

The Justice Party was not antagonistic towards Brahmins as a class. The Justice Party People demanded social justice. The upper strata people got irritated at this demand and described it as an attempt to destroy Brahmins. They accused that the Justice Party people were the supporters of the Whites and the enemies of *Swaraj*.

Swaraj should come gradually. If it came suddenly the political power would go to a certain section of the upper strata people. Social justice should be established in such a way that all classes of people should receive the benefit. Such was the demand of the Justice Party.

The Justice Party has ruled this province for seventeen years. It means that the people had accepted the policies put forward by them.

The Justice Party leaders were people noted for their sobriety. They were highly interested in the slow but steady progress of the state. They even proved it by their action.

Another charge levelled against that party was that it was a rich man's party. Since 1917, for about thirty years, landlords were in the forefront in the political parties of the Indian sub-continent.

In those days people like T. A. V. Nathan and Sunday Observer Balasubramanian who came from poor families were the propagandists of the Justice Party. We should not fail to bear this point in mind.

I told you that in 1917 landlords were in the forefront in the political parties of India. If any people refute it, I request them to read the history of the Congress written by Pattabi Sitaramaiya.

Take the Present Central Government. The Minister Karan Singh is a Maharaja. The Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh is a small Raja. It will be interesting to know the particulars of other Ministers. Such being the case, the people who blame that the Justice Party started in 1917 was a party of Zamindars, are unable to free themselves from the same charge.

In those days people would talk of how much the Justice Party leaders wasted their wealth for the sake of the party. There were a large number of rich men in the party who spent their money for the sake of the party.

3

In the course of his address, Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar remarked that there was diarchy in the period of Justice Party Rule. The same diarchy still continues.

The Centre has strong powers with it. The state has all powers which provoke the opposition of the people ! If there is scarcity of food and if there are soaring prices, the people will blame the state. But the Centre is responsible for it because it prepares and presents the deficit budget which is the basis of its economy. For that it has the power to print currencies. The responsibility of consoling the people who suffer as a result of such measures falls on the State Government.

The most important task of the present decade is to equalise the powers between the Centre and the States. The powers should be shared accordingly. The Justice Party should appoint a separate committee to this effect to investigate how this sharing of powers can be done and how the constitution should be amended to achieve this objective. After their investigation if they give a report on it in the next conference they will render a great service to the world on political basis.

The D. M. K. alone does not point out that the Constitution should be amended to share the powers between the Centre and the States.

The Andhra Chief Minister has expressed it explicitly when he asks what is the need for

having a Health Department and a Health Minister, an Education Department and an Education Minister at the Centre ?

Because there are no schools to inspect, the Centre opens schools in different states. The Andhra Chief Minister has asked openly whether it is necessary.

Therefore, I request that the Justice party should investigate all these things carefully and submit a report next year.

Is the Justice Party alive or dead ? The report should help the people who pose the above question to know that it has done a great service in this direction.

Speech delivered at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Justice Party held in Madras on 30—12—1968 while releasing the Golden Jubilee Souvenir.

Anna's Epigrams

A

A writer can never become popular by merely stirring the feelings of the readers.

Accumulation of wealth should not be the sole aim of man.

Advocates are not all-knowing.

Adulteration of economic principles is a crime for which the present and future generations have to pay.

Age commands veneration.

Aggrandisement never pays.

All parties are for the country.

Anger is the result of frustration.

An administration cannot be established by mere appreciation alone.

Announcement is not achievement.

Anything is possible and every thing depends upon the circumstances.

As a politician I am a class by myself.

B

Bear and forbear
 But a wish is one thing and facts are another.
 Buying books is different from borrowing books.

C

Coexistence is the code today.
 Compassion, clarity and courage.
 Compulsion always breeds opposition.
 Cooperation is between equals not as between
 barons and beggars.
 Convention is only a practice and not a law.
 Correct us if we are erroneous ;
 convince us if you have got solid facts.
 Culture is constant.

D

Defections are common occurrences.
 Democracy believes in human dignity.
 Democracy can flourish if more people appear to
 promote the cause of public service.
 Democracy cannot succeed unless good guidance
 is given for the conduct of good things.
 Democracy is a domestic lamp.
 Democracy is a long drawn case.
 Democracy only is safe, secure and humanistic.
 Determination ever ; deviation never.
 Dictatorship is a wild fire.
 Difference of opinion is bound to occur among
 us since we have accepted democracy.
 Difficulty is bound to occur in politics.
 Divinity is nothing but humanity in perfection.
 Duty, dignity and discipline.

E

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

Either wealth or fertility should be consumed by people.

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

F

Fear threatens us, scarcity menaces us, hatred drives us

Forget and forgive (After Churchill)

G

Gandhi represents an era in our country.

Governments change in a democracy. It is no miracle.

Governing the people only is not rule. It is also governing the mind.

H

Have the heart to bear anything.

I

I believe in the purity of my heart in order to make others accept my views.

I find God in the smile of the poor.

I must be a wandering skylark; I am a caged parrot.

I rarely speak in English, but English is not rare to me.

I respect and honour equally all political parties.

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

1

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

In this country it is dangerous to be known as a scholar.

Intention can never fulfil expectations.

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

It is our misfortune that, instead of discussing fundamental democratic ideas and ideals, we are rather discussing persons and personalities

It is not enough if democracy is a form of government only. Every man must have a feeling of democracy in his mind.

J

Judges should be above party affiliations.

Justice only is permanent and not judgment.

L

Laws are after all corrective and preventive.

Learning is the permanent wealth of a country.

Let virtue be your guide.

Let wisdom be your weapon

Local bodies are the foundation of democracy.

M

Many lofty philosophical tenets are like a run-down clock.

Morals are eternal.

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

N

Nobody should forget the land of his birth.
 No language can equal one's mother tongue in
 dignity and status.
 No other gift can be expected from me except
 the people's praise.

O

Of course there are here no loaves and fishes to
 fight for.
 Opinions may differ. It is but natural in a demo-
 cracy.
 Opposites cannot coexist for long.
 Our literature, art and architecture are fine speci-
 mens of human intelligence.

P

Passion is such a mighty force.
 Politics does not attract many scholars and
 learned man.
 Politics is different from party politics.
 Politics is not the other man's job; it is every
 body's problem.
 Politics is the art of educating and correcting
 people through ideas.
 Prejudice is a disease.
 Procurement is a dire necessity.

R

Regional imbalances will retard national inte-
 gration.
 Rendering service in the intellectual field is diffi-
 cult indeed. But there is joy only in such a
 service.

S

Safeguarding freedom is harder than winning freedom.

Sharpen not your knife but your intellect.

Shielding vested interests is not a virtue.

Society cannot function without merchants.

Sweat is transformed into money that is paid in the form of taxes.

Sympathy is more useful to a disease than mere medicine.

Systematization is art.

T

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

The actor is part and parcel of human society.

The ballot is the symbol of trust.

The basis of poetry is emotions.

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

The elementary education is the basis of all education.

The executive and the judiciary are two different entities.

The extent of our desire excels the extent of our achievement.

The frustrated masses are the most dangerous element in any political system.

The good will thrive.

The habit of drinking spoils not only ways of life but also the principles of life.

The language problem is not a mathematical problem.

T

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

The notable characteristic of education is to canalise and sublimate emotion.

The period of stay at the university is a period of chivalrous spirit in the long journey of your life.

The rise and fall of a society is in the hands of teachers.

The society of Tamils functions on the basis of language.

The soul of a country is reflected in its culture

The task of social reform has many obstacles to overcome.

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

The truth is not that I live for you but I owe my position to you.

The two natural qualities of women are clarity and compassion.

The verdict of the people is the verdict of God.

The voters are wiser than what the politicians thought to be.

There can be no greater ideal than education to seek the aid of society.

There is a mountain of task before us.

There is neither logic nor politics in their argument.

There is no politics whatsoever in the prosperity brigade.

There is nothing greater than love in the world.

T

This is the age of the common man.

This is the age of enquiry, not inquisition.

To help the poor is to help the country.

Today the calendar and clock have become my masters.

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

Tradition has almost become a forgotten thing.

U

Unless there are two persons or parties there is no relationship.

V

Violence is uncontrolled emotion.

W

War is a negation of human values.

We consider power a correct means to carry out correct things.

We do not demand political justice. We demand only economic justice.

We will know the truth only, when we examine a thing at close quarters.

What was murmur has now become a thunder.

When we rise to talk of problems we ourselves become problems.

Wisdom is manifested in action.

Y

You admonished us, people admired us.

You must use us as windows and glasses to see the public.

OCCASION-WISE CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECHES

<i>Title</i>	<i>Tamil Speeches translated</i>	<i>* Tamil Speeches retranslated</i>	<i>English Speeches</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Assembly Speeches ...	16	...	...	16
2. Convocation Addresses ...	1	...	1	2
3. Felicitation Addresses ...	23	...	...	23
4. Inaugural and Presidential Addresses ...	27	4	...	31
5. Occasional Speeches ...	45	3	4	52
6. Radio Talks ...	3	...	1	4
	<hr/> 115	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 128

* Tamil translation of English speeches has been rendered into English again for lack of text for original.

SUBJECT-WISE CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECHES

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Adm.</i>	<i>Agri.</i>	<i>Bio.</i>	<i>Demo.</i>	<i>Eco.</i>	<i>Edu.</i>	<i>His.</i>	<i>Indu.</i>	<i>LL.</i>	<i>Law.</i>	<i>Medi.</i>	<i>Politi.</i>	<i>Reli.</i>	<i>SS.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
AS	1	2	...	1	3	...	...	1	...	5	...	3	...	...	16
CA	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
FA	...	...	21	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	23
IPA	...	2	...	5	1	4	3	1	4	1	...	3	3	4	31
OS	3	1	...	1	4	4	7	4	5	2	2	17	1	1	52
RT	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
	5	5	22	7	8	11	12	6	9	8	2	24	4	5	128

Expansion for contraction: *Adm.* - Administration, *Agri.* - Agriculture, *Bio.* - Biography, *Demo.* - Democracy, *Eco.* - Economics, *Edu.* - Education, *His.* - History, *Indu.* - Industry, *LL.* - Language and Literature, *Medi.* - Medicine, *Politi.* - Politics, *Reli.* - Religion, *SS.* - Social Service, *AS* - Assembly Speeches, *CA* - Convocation Addresses, *FA* - Felicitation Addresses, *IPA* - Inaugural and Presidential Addresses, *OS* - Occasional Speeches, *RT* - Radio Talks.

Works on Anna

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—A. Maraimalayan, Vanathi Pathippagam,
Madras-17

7. பேரறிஞர் அண்ணாவும், பெருந்தலைவர் பெரியாரும்
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—M. Adhiyaman, Peace Foundation,
Bangalore-1

Anna's Select Works

TAMIL

ESSAYS :

1. ஆரிய மாயை (The Fantasy of Arianism)
2. உலகப் பெரியார் காந்தி (Gandhi, the World Renown)
3. கம்பரசம் (The Juice of Kambaramayanam)
4. பணத்தோட்டம் (A Treatise on Money)
5. ரோமாபுரி ராணிகள் (The Queens of Rome)
6. ஜமீன் இனாம் ஒழிப்பு (Abolition of Zamin Inam)
All these books have been published by Dravida Pannai, Trichi-2.
7. கடவுள் தண்டிப்பார் (God will Punish)
—Parimalam Pathippagam, Madras-34.
8. புராண மதங்கள் (Puranic Religions)
—Valluvar Pannai, Madras-2
9. தேவ லீலைகள் (The Lust Deeds of Gods)
— Kalai Manram, Madras-1.

LETTERS :

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

NOVELS :

1. கலிங்கராணி (The Queen of Kalinga)
—Dravida Pannai, Trichi-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. ஓரிருவு (One Night—Social Play)
2. காதல் ஜோதி (Kathal Jothi - Social Play)
—Paari Nilayam, Madras-2.
3. சந்திரோதயம் (Chandrodayam—Social Play)
4. சந்திரமோகன் (Chandramohan - Historical Play)
5. நீதிதேவன் மயக்கம் (The Dilemma of the God of Justic-Literary Play)
6. வேலைக்காரி (The Servant-maid-Social Play)
7. அண்ணாவின் நாடகங்கள் (Anna's Plays)
Parimalam Pathippagam, Madras-34.

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)
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—Appar Book Stall, Thanjavur.
2. அண்ணாவின் சொற்செல்வம்
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Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
3. ஏ தாழ்ந்த தமிழகமே (O The Down-trodden
Tamil Nadu)
Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
4. தமிழரின் மறுமலர்ச்சி (The Renaissance of Tamils)
— Paari Nilayam, Madras-1.
5. தீ பரவட்டும் (Let the Flame Spread)
—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2
6. நாம் (We) —Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.
7. நிலையும் நினைப்பும் (Status and Thought)
—Dravida Pannai, Tiruchi-2.

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2. Flame and Fury
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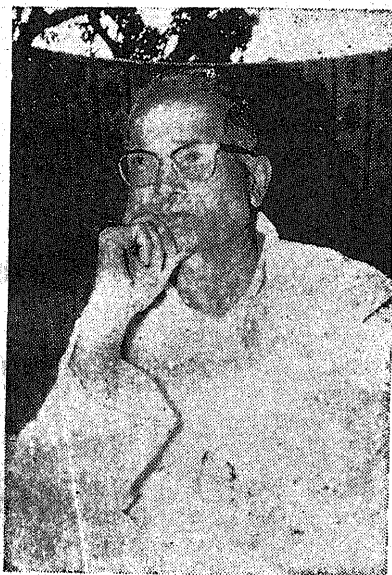


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