

A

CONFERENCE

ADDRESS

OF

Dr.

KALAINAR



TRUMPET IN DAWN

Valampuri John

பேராசிரியர். தி.வ. மெய்கண்டார் அவர்களின்
அன்பளிப்பு

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Mu. KARUNANIDHI

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PREFACE

Next year by this time Tamils here as well as in the lands where they have settled and inherited the common heritage of those "Pastures anew" would be celebrating the completion of half a century of one of the greatest of our men after Periyar E. V. R. and Arignar Anna.

A lean but not emaciated, slightly bent at the back-start, flowing ears—a distinct mark of his political diplomacy, shade glasses, cherubic face, slightly wrinkled with sweet smile—a plumb genial individual Dr. Kalaighar Karunanidhi has become a legend even in his life time.

For two decades at least Arignar Anna was our unchallenged leader. With indomitable courage and intellectual resilience his was a graceful governance of men and matters. In and out of office his supermacy was undisputed. He was a Ceasar in his Roman Capital - a democratic Ceasar. It was at the zenith of his glory but still when he was coming to his full he was snatched away from our midst so unceremoniously. Some of his parliamentary speeches were classic and historic. Even when the North was preparing to remove the scales blurring its vision of one of the greatest Dravidian and see him in his full he fell to the cruel hands of death.

To day even adversaries who are interested in the shadow of public men rather than sunlight concede gracefully the chistled out place for Dr. Kalaighnar Karunanidhi in the Indian history. His was not a crowning of the fairy tales. He made his way to the peak where he prevails today. As in the past he is still the focal point of political controversies. An unmindful Northern press after its cold indifference of his person for decades has now started a calculated slander on his activities and achievements. Sometimes it is 'Blitz' some other time 'Link' or 'Caravan' but it is always a few vested interests of the North under the mask of socialism who tarnish his image.

In the South the uncharitable press could be excused because their play boy editors are always experts in miscalculations. Despite their scathing attacks and merciless criticisms Kalaighnar stands head and shoulder above his contemporaries in politics. While a few professional politicians believe in the up-start press he has reposed his confidence on the public. This small booklet is the first of a series of works to commemorate his 50th birth anniversary. If at all this my rendering of one of his historic speeches into English has any aim - it is this - He can't be confined any longer within the modest limits of his Tamil home land.

In choosing this speech for translation from the vast ocean of his 'thinking alouds' fertility of thought, flow of words, felicity of expression, flowery turns of phrases and fecundity of construction have been my guiding principles. I have taken one of the recent speeches in the Mannai conference where he has come out in his full.

His speeches are not mere verbal exercises. They are calculated-balanced masterful expositions of his profound thoughts. It is always a Herculean task to bring out the light and heat one finds in his Tamil speeches into English.

The grace of a Dante, the grandeur of a Milton, the revolutionary fervour of a Shelley, the romantic streaks of a Keats, the philosophic dispositions of a Bacon, the pathetic portrayals of a Hardy, the mental aberrations of a Marcus Aurelius, the masterful analysis of an Edmund Burke, the unction of a Bernard Shaw and the universality of a Shakespeare are found in a characteristic combination in most of his speeches.

You may call this hero-worship. Call it! I am the least concerned. I proclaim at the pitch of my voice that I am ashamed of a land dotted with unsung heroes and unhonoured greatmen.

A householder who does not praise the lustre of the candle when still it is burnt is a blind man. So also a generation which does not honour a greatman even when he is alive is a generation lost in the deserts of dead habits.

‘ Personality cult ’ is always an imposition from the above; but ‘ hero-worship ’ is an emanation from the below. I do stand for the second. I do prefer hero-worship to personality cult.

A generation needs an image. A century needs a historic turn. A long, straneous march needs a classic banner and catchy slogan. The stormy night needs a starry sky. Even the still-shed dew-drops need the gentle kiss of the breeze. The cool dawn needs the voice of the trumpet. Yes, he is the trumpet of our dawn; the hope of our generation; the solace of our forlorn and forsaken; the glory of our race and the gratification of our millions.

He speaks for the common man; the man in the street-the rickshaw puller, the slum dweller-the thrown outs, the beggars and the worthless and the worn-outs in our poor judgement.

Even when he rides in the crest of his glory he never sends his head soaring into clouds. He is one of the very few greatmen in history who

always remember the paths they treaded. His rise to the pedestal where he prevails gracefully is not a magic wand's merciful tale. It is a tale of tears. His is not the sudden shooting up. His is an inch by inch evolutionary emergence. His is not the destiny shaped in the cradle. His is the history written in calvary. He has shouldered his cross with patience and perseverance. If I do not sing the praise of such a man from the house tops my life on earth would certainly be a tale told by an idiot sound and fury signifying nothing.

Plato envisaged a state where philosophers would be statesmen. After the philosopher statesman concept the era of poet - statesman, orator - statesman has dawned upon this planet.

In the century past Winston Churchill, Disreli, Nehru and Lester Pearson have been leaders with magnificent oratorical acumen.

In the Tamil Kingdom around which the dizzy dreams of our hoary past revolve around many were Writer - Kings. Even in the Great Vijayanagar Empire Krishna Deva Rayer was a Writer - King.

In the European continent Emperor Napoleon has been immortalised not only because of his political achievements but also because of his

literary contribution. His romantic letters to his lover Josephine are of a highly literary value.

The world has seen a writer - politician or an orator - politician or the combination of two. But the world will always cherish the memory of Dr. Kalaingar Karunanidhi as a writer - orator - poet - politician. Yet, I am wrong. He can't be bottled ; much less labelled. He is a politician ; poet ; a journalist ; a writer ; an actor and what not ! As Wordsworth said ' He is the finest flower of history.'

This is not a strict word-to-word translation. This is only an attempt to bring out his refined thoughts. I have made the diction so simple so that it could reach even the beginner.

As this preface goes to press I read in "Murasoli" that this year on his 49th birth anniversary a grand programme of redeeming sights for 10 lakhs of poor blind is to be launched.

My young but tired eyelids are moistened with till-shed tears.

My thanks are due to Kavignar Karunanandam and Murasoli Selvam the prime movers of all my literary ventures.

Madras.

3—6—1972

VALAMPURI JOHN.

Respectable President,

Dr. Navalar, Members of the cabinet
and friends.

“Yesterday and today in this historic city of Mannai the 5th D. M. K. Conference of Tanjore District has been held with elation and earnestness, effulgence and enthusiasm and it is to close tonight with plays that preach and proclaim our ideals and achievements. Our leaders, Hon'ble Ministers, members of the State Assembly and that of the Parliament have explained to you at length in which of the ways this conference surpasses all other district conferences.

In the hoary past Thiruvavoor was known for its tremendous Temple Car, Thiruvadamaruthoor for its splendid streets and Mannargudi for its formidable fortress. Hereafter we have to add that Mannargudi is also known for its mammoth conferences. It is no exaggeration.

My beloved friend Thiru Anbil Dharmalingam as well as the Worshipful Mayor and Madurai District Party Secretary Thiru Muthu have explained here to some extent the healthy competitions ensuing between our District conferences.

Recently a conference was convened at Rajapalayam. Next to it in the great historic city of Kancheepuram which bestowed on us our beloved elder brother Arignar Anna who was the shaper of our destiny and writer of our history the Chingleput District Conference was held. Now Mannargudi follows Kancheepuram and the 5th Tanjore District conference has almost been adumbrated in the annals of our party history as one of the greatest events of recent times. Many of the District Conferences are to follow this memorable Mannai Conference. Our Dr. Navalar who addressed the surging mass of our men and women yesterday and our beloved Perasiriyar who delivered one of the finest speeches this morning have catalogued carefully the splendid laurels and special features of Tanjore District.

Agriculture Minister my companion Thiru Mannai Narayanasamy said in the course of his speech that Tanjore District brought forth myself, Navalar and Perasiriyar. Is that all? I hope you all know that our party treasurer and revolutionary actor M. G. R. also was brought up from his 5th year in Kudanthai city which happens to be in this Tanjore District.

So I consider that this conference is a fitting occasion to admire and adulate him on the

conferment of Union President's Best Actor Award for the year 1972. Beloved brother M. G. R., remember that unmindful of a few delphic oracles and their petty chatter-boxes who gnash their teeth and curse themselves on the honour bestowed on your person the vast masses of our men and women are all praise for you.

In the yesterday Conference Periyar Ramasamy who once shaped us into what we are at present unveiled the portrait of our Arignar Anna. He compared and contrasted D. K. and D. M. K. and the Autonomy Plea D. M. K. espouses on political plane and why DK's approaches for autonomy are stiff and sordid.

In the sacred soil of sacrificial flames :

This sacred soil where we hold our conference brought forth our brother Pattukottai Alagirisamy who treaded this soil later with the name - Thunderclap Alagirisamy. It is only from this land his elegant roarings reached the nook and corner of the land of Tamils.

Mayavaram Natarasan, Nagai Mani, Moovallur grand woman Ramamirtham Ammayar, Thiruvavoor Thangarasu, Kudanthai Neelamegam and Actor K. R. R. are also born only in this district.

It is needless on my part to emphasize that it is the district which has braved the onslaughts and atrocities for the growth of D. K ; D. M. K. and Self - Respect Movement.

In whose memory this pandal has been dedicated? In whose memory this rostrum where we all have been seated has been built up? with eyes full of tears you look at the bold letters - Student Sarangapani Rostrum. In the year 1965 when the Anti - Hindi Agitation broke out Thiru Baktavatsalam told the students that he would not talk but his guns - that too machine guns would talk once and for all. 8 heroic Tamils immolated themselves. Among those revolutionaries whose love for Tamil is unknown and unheard in the great history of Tamils Student Sarangapani also was one.

So in the soil where sacrificial flames have lived and enlightened millions of our people we conduct this conference. My beloved friend Mannai Narayanasamy asked me that I should congratulate him at least in this conference. Congratulation is not something that is granted on one's asking for it. It is only to shower praises even without his asking for it we are here. It does not matter even if my friend Anbil Dharmalingam gets angry on me I declare that this Mannargudi conference - though a district

conference it has equalled some of the state conferences we had previously. That does not mean all other district conferences are insignificant.

Earnestness and enthusiasm, heroism and hilarity, service and sacrifice that have been reaped in the former conferences has gone a long way in making this conference a grand success.

It is wrong to think that this conference is held in an unknown, obscure corner of Mannargudi. It is held throughout the city. Wearing festive look the flood of lights, the admirable arches with Anna's sayings in attractive colour, fluttering flags and sky - reaching slogans have turned Mannargudi into a great festive town. Young and the old, men and women and even small children are agog with gaiety. We are thrilled to see this vast ocean of humanity. Is this a district conference or state conference or the strong - laid foundation for the coming state conference?

D. M. K. - an exceptional political force :

It was acclaimed once that the conference held at Thiruvavoor was a splendid performance. When our Anna was alive Madurai Muthu conducted a state conference at Thirupparankuntram. Even after we had many conferences at state level.

These conferences are barometers where we could see the developments of our party - stage by stage - step by step.

You all know I announced in the Rajapalayam conference that we had a grand collection of Rs. 1 lakh and 40 thousands including donations. In the Kancheepuram conference collections including donation soard to Rs. 1 lakh and 50 thousands. Beloved Mannai and friends, I make this announcement with contentment and happiness that here we have a collection Rs. 3 lakhs.

I know there are people who conduct conferences spending their money lavishly to hire a few hundred people. It is in a marked contrast people attend our conferences paying from their pockets. As Thiru T. K. Sreenivasan pinpointed here this large attendance of people makes it crystal clear that D. M. K. in power has grown more than what it was in opposition.

It is but a simple political calculus when an opposition party turns into a party in power it would lose its hold on the people. That is what our friends who have joined our fold shattering the shackles that tied them down to serfdom in the erstwhile Congress Empire gave expression to. But they themselves accepted against the usual

political calculation D. M. K. has emerged dear and near to the people and that too in a larger degree only when it has become a party in power.

Resolutions towards Revolutions :

We have passed more or less 30 resolutions in this conference. There have been explanatory speeches from proposers as well as secondors of those resolutions. Starting with condolence resolutions to the memory of His Eminence Ismail Shahib, K. R. R. and many other martyrs of this district many of the constructive resolutions also have been passed. Among the resolutions we have passed one condemns the inhuman atrocities American Imperialism perpetrates on the innocent, peace-loving Vietnames. Certain resolutions underlining the needs of this district and certain others congratulating this government on its progressive principles, policies and programmes have been passed. Some of the resolutions speak of the new changes that ought to be introduced in the conduct of elections. With electoral reform they also emphasize on the government taking over the election expenses so that corruption in election could be eradicated once and for all. When Thiru Madavan and myself were with Thirumathi Indira Gandhi in New Delhi she also expressed this very same opinion on electoral

reforms. I am happy Thirumathi Indira Gandhi also holds this opinion. When we pass resolutions here certain incorrigible political diehards would frown their face and shake their frame, I know. They may ask will not the central government know these things unless you pass resolutions. Though the centre has got upon the idea of electoral reforms it is only to enthuse them and activise their working, we pass these resolutions. Another resolution with socialist shade and progressive tinge points out that ceiling for individual property should be fixed on national level; individual immovable property should have a ceiling limit of Rs. 5 lakhs and the total property should not exceed the value of Rs. 10 lakhs. Even if this limit of Rs. 10 lakhs is further reduced I will be the happiest of all. If anybody comes forward and proclaims that D. M. K. spoke of 5 lakhs and 10 lakhs we would like to make it 2 or 3 lakhs we will be the first to welcome their statement.

Not only that - commercial concerns and business organisations having property to the value of more than Rs. 5 crores should be nationalised, we have passed another resolution.

Cauvery at whose mercy ?

We have passed resolutions on the greatest problem that challenges the farmers of this district in their very face and one of the most ticklish among the baffling and perplexing problems of our state - cauvery water dispute. I came to know someone from the Ruling Congress rostrum has asked us to withdraw the case and settle the matter on a table. It is not enough if someone from the Ruling Congress speaks of this burning problem out of their mercy and magnanimity. I plead that the Prime Minister herself should take a special interest in this regard and avert the impending danger to tens and thousands of agriculturists in this state. It is not the problem of a particular party. That was why all party leaders have been consulted and it was only on their weighty suggestions the High Court has been approached. Even if they want the case filed by the Tanjore agriculturists be withdrawn there is always a method and way of approach.

Yesterday our Education Minister Dr. Navalar in his explanatory speech exposed the behaviour of a motivated microscopic minority of teachers despite the numerous helps rendered to them even without their asking for them. He catalogued some 30 steps that have been taken

towards their betterment. What they place as demands today have already been accepted by us. It is only the delay and difficulty in implementing them has been augmented beyond proportions. Meanwhile certain people inordinately desire to cash out of the impatience of a few teachers; What all they want is 'name' - that only because of them the matter was settled aright. I join with Dr. Navalar in congratulating the vast legions of teachers who have not fallen a prey to the mischievous propaganda of a few vested interests.

It does not mean that this government would be helplessly looking at violent demonstrations. It does not mean that they are free to burn the copies of educational rules. If government servants and teachers indulge in violence this government will not refrain from taking further action.

D. M. K. has not been started so that a few of us could be ministers and legislators. This movement was heralded with the great aim of reforming the society. It is to put an end to the evils springing from the racial, religious, social and economic exploitation of one section on the other this movement was started. Even if God is the prime cause of these inequalities, abject poverty and abysmal ignorance let him be removed, said our movement.

Periyar and Anna

Periyar E. V. R. would tell what all to be done and Arignar Anna would do them all methodically and meticulously. There would be heat in what Periyar says. But in Anna's words one could always find sweet. That is the essential difference, between D. K. and D. M. K. Even yesterday Periyar explained to you all that we in the D. M. K. believes in the dictum - One God, One Race. It is not today ; even when we were in the army of Periyar in his film, ' Servant - maid ' Arignar Anna gave expression to this adage and Periyar was all praise for that film.

But now we are not concerned with the question of God, religion, and definitely the least interested we are in the squabble of the supremacy of religions. It is to bring to the light the common man who flounders in the primitive darkness, to push him up who has crest - fallen into the social quagmire - it is to place him front who has been relegated to the oblivion a great social revolution is needed.

It is in the great historic pilgrimage of fulfilling those revolutionary promises our government has taken up Self-Respect Marriage, introduction of Tamil in temples and abolition of hereditary institution of priesthood in temples.

The government has passed orders so that the tradition of having a Harijan in the temple trustee board has now got the sanction of the law. In the midst of all these progressive steps towards a socialist society certain political wizards talk as if they are not in the know out of these developments. Whenever Thiru C. Subramaniam comes to the city of Madras he conducts examinations ; because his questioning is such-whether you would co-operate with the centre or not that is what he asks. We answered humbly even for your victory in Krishnagiri we co-operated and why not with the centre.

“ Quit India ” and Quit Poverty ” :

When the same C. Subramaniam came to Tanjore he asked as if so pertinently whether we would fight poverty out or fight for state autonomy. Perhaps he takes himself for Mahatma Gandhi. “ Quit India ” said he. “Quit Poverty” said C. S. whether the slogan is right or not. I am not interested in the semantic’s hair splitting. But let him tell plainly in which of the centre’s plans and policies envisaged for the eradication of poverty D. M. K. denied a helping hand and asked for autonomy. Perhaps he is right we are in the way of implementing the three language formula—the formula through which

Hindi is being imposed on us slowly but steadily.

More than a lakh of agricultural labourers in the Tanjore district were in the tip - toe expectation for 20 long years that their dwellings would be legally granted to them. But bitter disappointment awaited them. Today we have wiped away their tears. Beggar Relief Fund has been raised to remove the inhuman blot fallen on beggars. For slum dwellers in Madras on a grand plan of Rs. 40 crores we are constructing houses. Does this all mean that we are not interested in fighting poverty out ?

I say if C. S. has ever the faintest idea of national integration let him not speak of his three language formula. The blood we shed and the youngmen we sacrificed at the altar of Hindi are enough and more.

Whoever he may be, whatever may be the strength of his army of men we are the least concerned. Hindi has no place in the land of Tamils. Even a wiseman like Thiru Chavan has spoken that only because of Indira Gandhi we came to power here in the land of Tamils. What a gross miscalculation !

Today in the Coimbatore conference they have passed an important resolution. I have

received a copy of the resolution passed. It has been passed at the time when we have passed more than 30 resolutions for the betterment of the downtrodden—to get more powers and to render more and more benefits to the people.

“D. M. K. should dispense with the state autonomy plea that would weaken the fabric of Indian unity”—thus speaks the resolution.

I accept in all humility we in the D. M. K. would like to weaken the Indian unity if they would accept Jaya Prakash Narayan, Rajaji, Acharya Bhave and Mo. Po. Si. also are aiming at wrecking this Indian Union.

D. M. K. may leave the fort but will not the demand for state autonomy. I swear upon Arignar Anna and declare we would fight for state autonomy till our last breath.”

