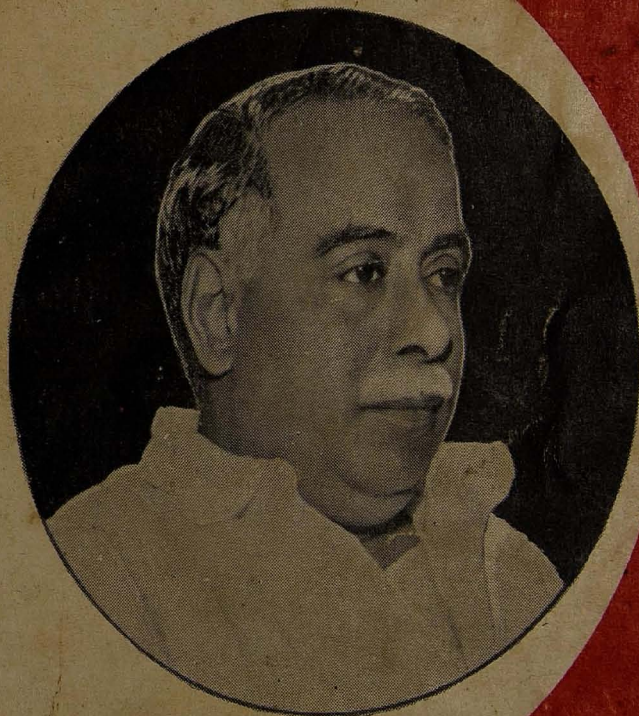


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| ★ தயாரித்த ஆடைகள்       | ★ தேன்                       |
| ★ நாட்டுச் செக்கெண்ணெய் | ★ வெல்லம்                    |
| ★ சோப்பு                | ★ சர்க்கரை                   |
| ★ கைக்குத்தலரிசி        | ★ பாத்திர வார்ப்படங்கள்      |
| ★ மண்பாண்டங்கள்         | ★ பிரம்பு மூங்கில் பொருள்கள் |

ஆகிய அன்றாடத் தேவைகளை உற்பத்தி செய்து கதர் கிராமத் தொழில்  
விற்பனை நிலையங்களில் விற்பனை செய்கின்றது.



உங்களது அன்றாடத் தேவைகட்கு ஏற்றவை  
கதரும் கிராமத் தொழில் பொருள்களும்.

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வெளியீடு :

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சென்னை - 4

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Chief Minister of Madras

On his 60th Birthday

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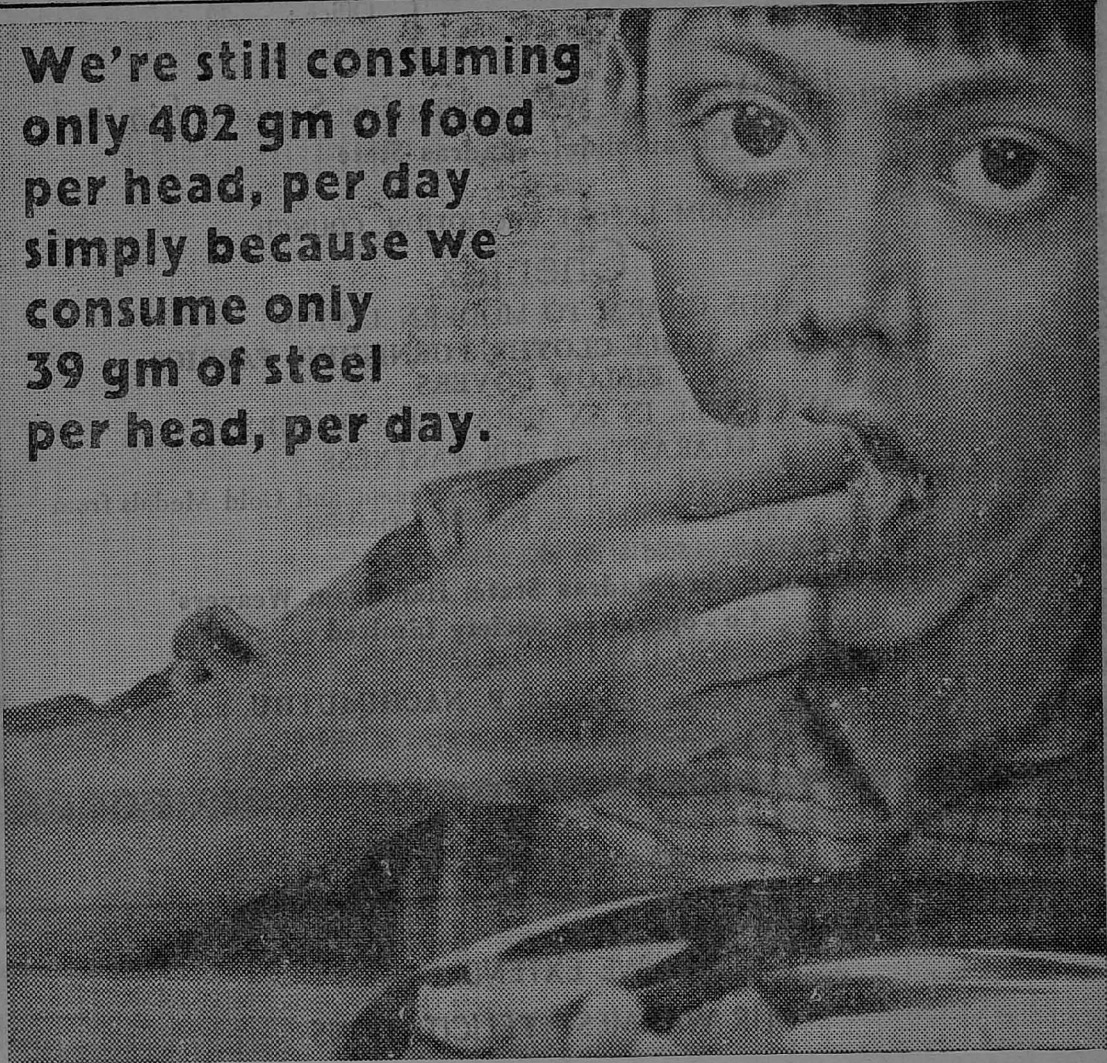
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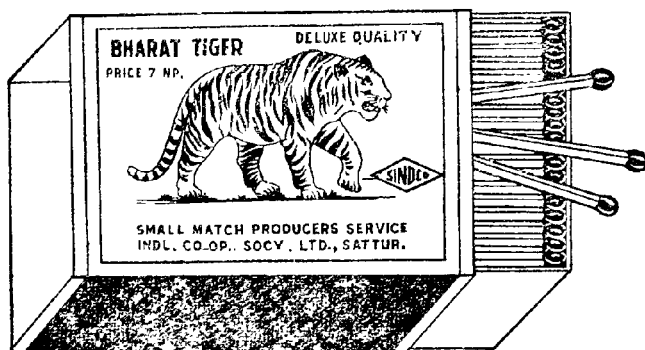
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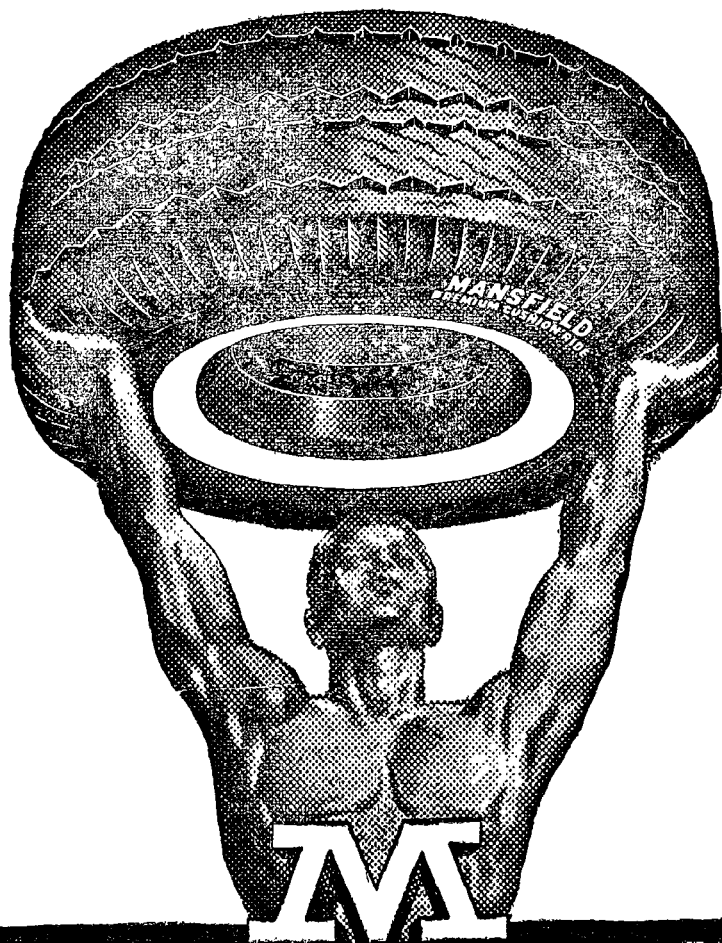
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TATA MERCEDES — BENZ VEHICLES

# லாலா

## நறுமண சமையல் பொடிகள்

- ★ கைபடாதது !
- ★ கலப்படமில்லாதது !
- ★ சுவையானது !
- ★ சுலபமாக சமையல் செய்ய உதவுவது !

உலகெங்கும் உபயோகப்படுத்தப்படும் சமையல் பொடிகள் இந்தியாவின் மிகப் பெரிய ஏற்றுமதியாளர்களால் தயாரிக்கப் பட்டவை.

சூப்பர் மார்க்கெட்டுகளிலும் கூட்டுறவுப் பண்டகசாலைகளிலும் மற்ற கடைகளிலும் விற்பனை செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

**பொடிகள் :** மிளகாய்த்தூள், தனியா தூள், சீரகத்தூள், மஞ்சள் தூள், வெந்தயத்தூள், மிளகுத்தூள், கடுகுத்தூள், சாம்பார்ப் பொடி, ரசப் பொடி, மசாலாப் பொடி, கரம் மசாலாப் பொடி, இட்லி மிளகாய்ப் பொடி, பருப்புப்பொடி.

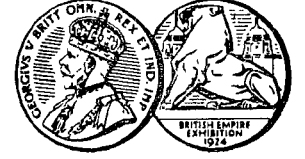
**முழுப் பொருள்கள் :** மிளகு, சீரகம், வெந்தயம், கடுகு, ஏலக்காய், லவங்கம், லவங்கப் பட்டை, குங்குமப்பூ, அப்பளம், காப்பிப்பொடி.



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தமிழக அரசு  
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60வது பிறந்த தின நாளில்  
எங்கள் இதயங்களிந்த வாழ்த்துக்கள்

வாழ்க பல்லாண்டு! வளர்க! வாழ்க!



திண்டுக்கல் கூட்டுறவு அடமான வங்கி,  
வரையறுக்கப்பட்டது. பதிவு எண் 116.

திண்டுக்கல்

விவசாயப் பெருங்குடி மக்களுக்கு ஓர் நற்செய்தி!

நிலவளம் பெருக்கிட நீண்ட காலக் கடன் பெற  
வங்கியை நாடுங்கள்; வளம் பெற்று வாழுங்கள்.

M. R. கிருஷ்ணஸ்வாமி ரெட்டியார்  
தலைவர்



‘ ஆகா றளவிட்ட தாயினும் கேடில்லை  
போகா றகலாக் கடை’

—குறள்

உங்கள் மகன் உயர் கல்விக்காக  
உங்கள் மகள் திருமணத்திற்காக  
உங்களுக்கென சொந்த வீடு கட்டுவதற்காக  
உங்கள் ஓய்வுகால வாழ்விற்காக

இன்றே

வளரும் மாதச் சேமிப்புத் திட்டத்தில்  
சேர்ந்து பயனடையுங்கள்.

சிறு சேமிப்பு நிறுவனம்  
சென்னை - 9

கூட்டுறவே நாட்டுயர்வு

ஐக்கியமே ஜெயம்

உத்தமபாளையம் கூட்டுறவு நில அடமான வங்கி  
(வரையறுக்கப்பட்டது)

உத்தமபாளையம், மதுரை மாவட்டம்

தோற்றம் : 8—7—1930

குறைந்த வட்டி

நீடித்த வாயிதா

அடியிற்கண்ட காரியங்களுக்கு விவசாயப் பெருமக்களுக்குக் கடன்கள் கொடுத்து  
உதவி செய்து வருகிறோம்.

டிராக்டர், அதன் உபகரணங்கள் வாங்க, எலக்டிரிக் மோட்டார் பம்பு செட்டு வாங்க,  
ஆயில் மோட்டார், பம்பு வாங்க, புதுக்கிணறு வெட்டி கட்டவும், பழைய கிணற்றை  
ஆழப்படுத்தவும், அகலப்படுத்தவும், கிணறு வெட்டவும் மற்ற இதர அபிவிருத்தி  
காரியங்களுக்கும்

எங்கள் வங்கியில் கடன் பெற்று, உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கிப் பயனடைவதுடன் நாட்டின்  
உணவுப் பற்றாக்குறைையைப் போக்க உதவி செய்யுங்கள்.

மற்ற விவரங்கள் நேரில் கேட்டுத் தெரிந்து கொள்ளக் கோறுகிறோம்.

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**P. NATCHADALINGAM**

*Secretary*

The  
**ANNA**  
Sixtieth Birthday  
Souvenir

*Edited & Published*

*BY*

**A. P. Janarthanam, M.L.C.**



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8. Thiru C. N. Annadurai.  
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9. Anna— our beloved leader.

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*Ellai Velan*

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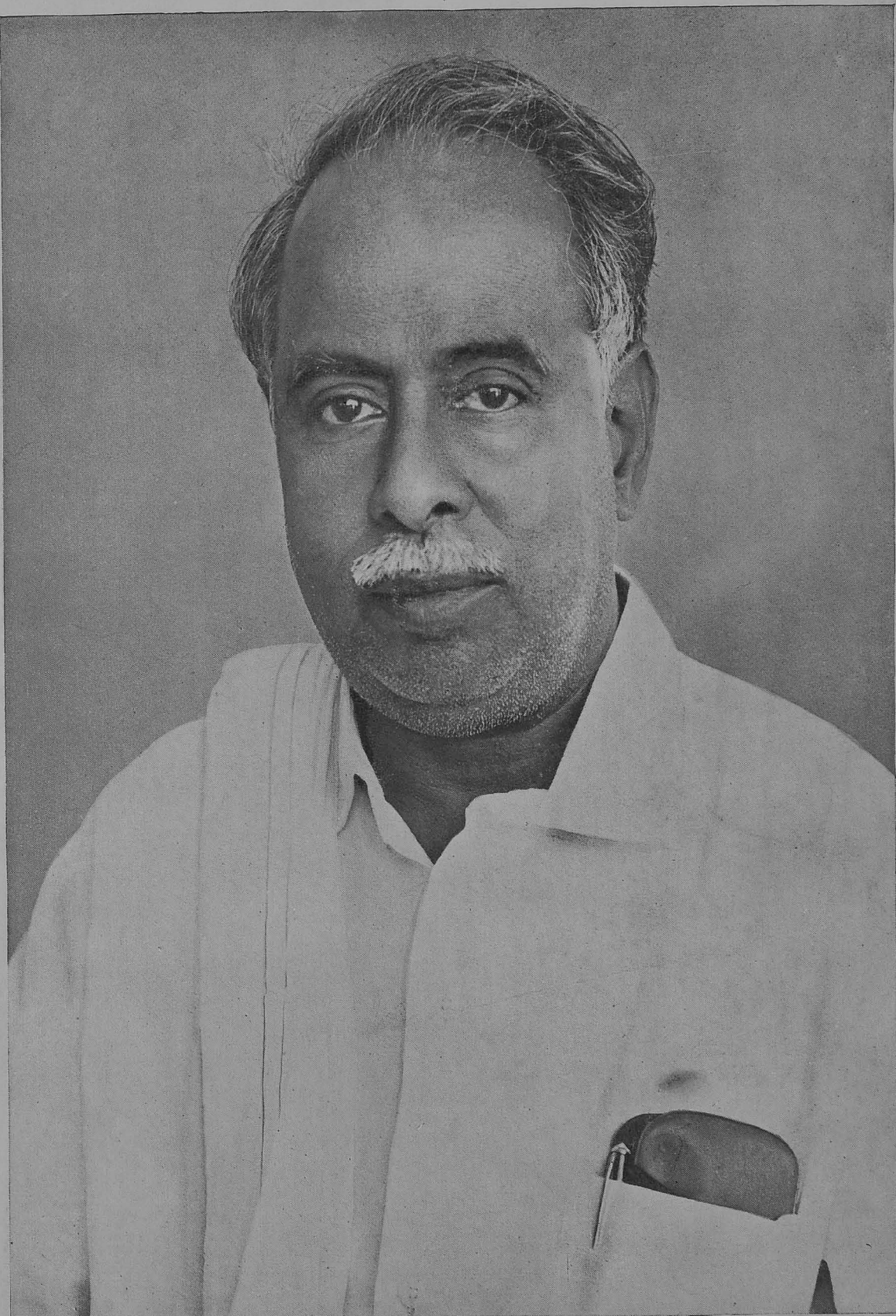
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21. Annadurai at Sixty—an assessment.  
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**C. D. Natarajan,**  
Secretary, The Legislative Assembly.
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**S. Gajendran,**  
Senior Personal Assistant to Chief Minister Anna.
31. Ode on 'Arignar Anna'.  
**G. Maria Joseph Xavier,**  
Lecturer in English. S. N. College, Madurai,  
Madras State.



## MILESTONES :

### Thiru C. N. Annadurai - Chief Minister of Madras State (India)

Born on September 15, 1909 ; As a student of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, participated in the literary activities of the college, as Secretary of the College Union and the Economics Union ; After Graduation (M.A. Economics) worked as English Assistant in Govindu Naicker School, one of the affiliated Schools of the Pachaiyappa's Charities, for nearly one year, and later, took part in Labour Union activities.

Edited 'Bala Bharathi' and later 'Nava Yuvan', Tamil Weeklies published in Madras ; Served as Sub-Editor 'Justice', English Daily of the South Indian Liberal Federation, under the aegis of the Raja Saheb of Bobbili, the then Chief Minister of Madras ; Was on the editorial staff of 'Viduthalai', Tamil Daily, Erode and Madras, and 'Kudi Arasu', Tamil Weekly, Erode, published by Periyar E.V. Ramasami, Founder of the Self-Respect Movement ; Organiser for Tamil Nad Justice Party and General Secretary, Dravidian Federation ; Founded and edited 'Dravida Nadu', Tamil Weekly, Kancheepuram.

Founder and General Secretary of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam ; Edited 'Malaimani', Tamil Daily founded by Thiru. T. M. Parthasarathy on August 10, 1949 to expose the cause of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam ; Founder and Editor, 'Nam Nadu', Tamil Daily, Madras, till 24th April 1955 ; 'Kanchi' Tamil Weekly, Kancheepuram ; 'Home Rule', English Weekly, Madras, till 1st March 1967 and 'Homeland', English Weekly, Kancheepuram and Madras.

Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1957 - 62, Member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-67 ; Elected to the Lok Sabha from the Madras South Parliamentary Constituency in February 1967 and subsequently, elected to the Madras Legislative Council from the Madras Local Authorities Constituency in April 1968.

Toured Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Hon Kong, Cambodia and Japan in 1965 ; Assumed the office of Chief Minister on 6th March 1967, as head of the first non-Congress Government in Madras State, formed after independence.

Toured America, Japan and Singapore in May, 1968. Journalist ; playwright and author of several works in English and Tamil ; noted for his fluency and alliterations ; foremost speaker in Tamil and English ; Charismatic Leader in South India.

## INTRODUCTION

I have been an admirer of Anna's speeches and writings from 1937. I vividly remember the days I toured along with Periyar and Anna to many places, the stiff opposition we encountered, the numerous little experiences that strengthened our family ties, the ups and downs of political fortunes, the great parting in 1949 and the re-union in 1967, the passing away of many comrades in the meanwhile and so on and so forth.

The self-respect movement under the dynamic leadership of Periyar fights the old order and the D.M.K., under the sober leadership of Anna fights the vested interests in politics. I consider that the Justice Party, the Self-respect Movement, the Dravida Kazhagam, and the D.M.K. all have one goal, that is, the striving for the upliftment of the fallen race. Sir Theagaraya, Dr. T. M. Nair, Dr. C. Natesan, the Raja of Panagal, the Raja of Bobbili, Sir P.T. Rajan, Mr. P. Balasubramaniam, Com. K.V. Alagirisami, Poet Bharathidasan, Periyar Ramasamy, and Anna are great heroes who will go down in history as the Saviours of a downtrodden people.

Anna, with his amiable disposition, tact, sobriety, statesmanship, brotherly feelings for the party associates, compassion even for his enemies has, with great magnanimity endeared himself to one and all. He is admired even by his political opponents. He stands for stability, order and progress in the South. He may be claimed by all India. He is at any rate a great goodwill ambassador in the world; the possibilities are endless.

I am, however, writing this with great strain and sorrow : I am myself in bed with high temperature ; Mr. V.K.C. Natarajan, a great tower of strength to me, has expired under tragic circumstances ; my revered leader is awaiting operation in a New York hospital. We all hope and wish that he will soon be back with us in good health How eager I was to present this Souvenir to Anna personally on his 60th birthday, which surely he would have appreciated and relished !

I followed Periyar for 25 years, from 1935 to 1960 ; I have now come to follow Anna for many years to come. His sober and mature leadership there is none who will not desire and hence my desire, too.

Long Live Anna !

Madras - 7

14th Sept., '68.

*SP. Janariganan*

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## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Rashtrapati Bhavan,  
New Delhi,  
30th July, 1968.

The President sends his best wishes for the success of the souvenir which you propose to publish to commemorate the 60th birthday of Shri C. N. Annadurai.

*V. Phadke*

Dy. Secretary to the  
President of India.



**V. V. GIRI**

Vice-President.

NEW DELHI,

Camp : BERHAMPUR,

2nd AUGUST, 1968.

*I am glad to know that you are bringing out a Souvenir on the occasion of the Sixtieth Birthday Celebrations of Thiru C. N. Annadurai. I wish the publication all success.*

*V. V. Giri.*

**N. SANJIVA REDDY**

Speaker, Lok Sabha.

20, Akbar Road,

New Delhi,

August 21, 1968.

*Thank you for your letter of the 6th inst. Within a short period of eighteen months, Sri C. N. Annadurai has proved himself to be an able administrator. Let us all wish him long life.*

*N. Sanjiva Reddy.*

**UJJAL SINGH**

Governor of Madras.

Raj Bhavan,  
Madras-22.

24th July, 1968.

*I offer my warmest congratulations to  
Thiru C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of  
Madras, on the occasion of his 60th birthday  
and wish him many happy returns of the day.*

Ujjal Singh

**V. R. Nedunchezhiyan**

Minister for Education and Industries.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
MADRAS-9.

14th September, 1968

*I am extremely happy to know that a Souvenir in  
English is being produced on the occasion of the sixtieth  
birthday of our beloved Chief Minister, Arignar Anna. I  
hope and trust that this souvenir will contain information  
about the laudable qualities of our Chief Minister. I congratulate  
all those concerned in this commendable effort. I  
wish the venture all success.*

V. R. Nedunchezhiyan

M. KARUNANIDHI

Minister for Public Works,

FORT ST. GEORGE,

MADRAS 9.

13th September, '68

*I am happy that a Souvenir is being produced for the occasion of our Anna's Sixtieth Birthday Celebrations. He is the greatest leader of the Tamil people and he has proved himself to be one of the greatest statesmen also after assuming office. The welfare of Tamil people has always been the prime motive in all his activities in all these years. In the years to come Anna's leadership will confer greater benefits on Tamil people. I wish him a long healthy life so that he may continue to serve for the good of our society.*

*M. Karunanidhi.*

**K. A. MATHIALAGAN**

Minister for Food and Revenue.

Fort St. George,  
Madras-9.

12th September, 1968.

I am glad my friend Chiru A. P. Janarthanam, M. L. C. is bringing out a Souvenir on the 60th Birthday of our beloved Anna. I wish the venture all success.

*Long live ANNA!*

*K. A. Mathialagan.*

**A. GOVINDASAMY**

MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE,

Fort St George,  
Madras-9.

12—9—'68

It is the great good fortune of Tamilnad to have Per Arignar Anna to be at the helm of affairs of this State today. We feel proud and extremely happy that our great Anna whom we have followed and will ever follow through thick and thin has come to occupy this exalted position through the esteemed love of the people of this State. The high qualities of his head and heart have made him the most beloved son of Tamizhagam. On this great occasion of Anna's Sixtieth Birthday, I join with the millions of Tamilians and other countrymen in heartily wishing him a long and healthy life to enable him to realise his lofty vision of raising the standard of life of the people.

*A. Govindasamy.*

**Dr. SATHIAVANI MUTHU**

Minister for Harijan Welfare  
and Information.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
Madras 9.

*Anna is a great Ambassador of goodwill and guides the destinies of the great Tamil race as an affectionate elder brother. He serves the humanity with unsurpassed passion and devotion and his goal is the whole of mankind living in peace, freedom, prosperity and happiness.*

*Let him live many more years of physical strength and mental vigour for the sake of Tamilnad and the larger cause of the well-being of humanity.*

*Sathiavani Muthu.*

**M. MUTHUSWAMY**

Minister for  
Local Administration.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
MADRAS-9.  
15—9—1968

I am happy to learn that Thiru. A. P. Janardhanam, M.L.C. is bringing out a Souvenir to Commemorate the 60th birthday of our beloved leader and Chief Minister Anna. I wish the endeavour every success.

At the time when the whole of Tamilnad and the world as well is eagerly awaiting his able guidance and affectionate lead in social as well as political affairs I can only join the many who wish him long life and many happy returns.

Not only this great part of India but the whole world is today focussing its attention on our Anna to see him as an administrator, a social reformer, a statesman, and above all as a citizen of the world.

*M. Muthuswamy*

HUMAYUN KABIR

54, Ganesh Chandra Avenue,  
Calcutta 19.

September 5, 1968.

*I am very glad to send a message for your Souvenir as I have a great admiration for Thiru C. N. Annadurai as a litterateur, a statesman and a fine human being.*

*Humayun Kabir.*

**M. R. MASANI**

*Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)*

Tughlak Road,  
New Delhi.

2nd August, 1968.

*I am in receipt of your letter of 29th July, 1968. I am glad to know that a souvenir is being produced on the occasion of the Sixtieth Birthday of Mr. C. N. Annadurai. I send you my greetings and best wishes on the happy occasion.*

*M. R. Masani.*

**S. N. DWIVEDY**

*Leader,  
P. S. P. in Parliament.*

21, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi.

5th August, 1968.

I join with hundreds of our countrymen who would be paying tributes to Sri C. N. Annadurai on his sixtieth birthday. Sri Annadurai has shown remarkable capacity of organisation, sagacity and leadership and has a very promising future. His stewardship of the administration of Madras, as a non-congress State, has brought him admiration from all sections. We all wish him long life and hope that he would not confine his activities only to Madras and Tamilians, but would so broaden his activities as to play a leading role in shaping the destinies of mother India.

*S. N. Dwivedy.*

**S. G. RUDIN**

*Faculty of Oriental Studies,  
University of Leningrad.*

September 1, '68.

To my greatest regret, your letter reached me only now as I was on my leave and out of town during the latter half of July and in August. Evidently it is too late now to send an article for the Arignar Anna volume. Thus I am obliged to confine myself to expressing my great admiration for Arignar Anna. I am proud of having several times met and spoken to him and of having been presented by him with Dr. Ilakkuvanar's translation of Tholkappiyam at the "பூம்புகார்". Let me close this letter by wishing Arignar Anna and his colleagues further success in their work and struggle for the benefit of the people of Tamil Nad.

*S. G. Rudin*

**T. SEN**  
Education Minister  
INDIA

NEW DELHI,  
31st July, 1968

*It is no surprise that Thiru C. N. Annadurai has carved for himself an important place in Tamil Nad and India. A brilliant student, an able teacher, a prolific writer, a great orator, a keen Parliamentarian and an efficient administrator he has lent colour and distinction in every field of human activity. But the secret of his success lies in his self-abnegation and complete identification with the common man.*

*On the happy occasion of his sixtieth birthday, I send my greetings and best wishes to Thiru Annadurai and pray for his life in the service of the country.*

*T. Sen.*



**JAGJIVAN RAM**

*Minister of  
Food, Agriculture, Community  
Development, Co-operation,  
Government of India.*

*NEW DELHI,  
August 24, 1968.*

I am glad to learn that the Anna Sixtieth Birthday Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Thiru C. N. Annadurai.

Thiru Annadurai, popularly known in Tamilnad as 'Anna', is a man of the masses. A scholar, journalist, writer and orator, Thiru Annadurai has also proved that as an astute politician and an able administrator, he has few rivals. By his devotion to the poor and the exploited, Thiru Annadurai has risen to his present eminent position from a very humble beginning. He has always risen above Party and State considerations to meet the needs of the country. He wants to create a social order in which the accident of birth, i.e. caste will not be the main determinant of the position of an individual in society. He stands for total annihilation of caste.

I wish Thiru Annadurai many more years in the service of the nation.

*Jagjivan Ram.*

**P. GOVINDA MENON**

*Law Minister, India.*

NEW DELHI-11 ,  
1st August, 1968.

*I am glad to learn that it is proposed to issue a quality souvenir in English on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Shri C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras.*

*Shri Annadurai had a remarkably varied experience in public life and I note that he is one of the few prominent men in public life who are connected with literature also. The stamp of his personality is there today on the administration of Tamilnadu. I wish for him a long life of usefulness to our country.*

*P. Govinda Menon.*

**Ram Subhag Singh**

Minister of Parliamentary Affairs  
and Communications,  
India.

NEW DELHI,  
6th August, 1968.

*I have your letter of the 29th July and am glad to know that it is proposed to celebrate the 60th birthday of Shri C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras, on the 15th September, 1968, when the Anna Sixtieth Birthday Souvenir will be presented to him.*

*Shri Annadurai occupies an important place in the political scene of our country. Founder of Drauida Munnetra Kazhagam, Shri Annadurai has been associated with many Dailies and Weeklies of Tamil language. He has ample experience of the legislatures and have toured extensively.*

*On his 60th Birthday, I send my best wishes to Shri Annadurai.*

*Ram Subhag Singh.*

**K. K. SHAH**

Minister,  
Information & Broadcasting,  
India.

New Delhi,  
5th August, 1968.

*Please convey my warmest felicitations and best wishes for many happy returns to Thiru C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras. I am sending this Greeting as a friend who prizes his friendship.*

*K. K. Shah.*

**K. L. RAO**

Minister for Irrigation & Power,  
India.

NEW DELHI,  
19th August, 1968.

It is impossible to compress into a brief message all the tributes which one would like to pay to Thiru C.N. Annadurai, the veteran journalist, captivating orator, astute politician and affectionate "ANNA". I offer him the warmest greetings and wish him many happy returns of the day.

*K. L. Rao.*

**J. L. HATHI**

*Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation,  
Government of India.*

NEW DELHI,  
8th August, 1968

I am glad to know that a Souvenir is being brought out to mark the sixtieth birthday of Thiru C. N. Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras. Even as a Member of the Rajya Sabha, he had demonstrated his political acumen and his ability to maintain dignity in debate even when very controversial issues were involved. During the short period he has been Chief Minister, Annadurai has proved himself to be a practical administrator and a dynamic leader. Under his able stewardship, developmental activities in the State have received considerable impetus. He has followed with great vigour social and economic policies for the benefit and welfare of the masses. By the sincerity of his approach and the success that he has achieved in solving some of the difficult problems facing Madras, Anna has endeared himself to the masses. I am confident that he would continue to serve our Motherland for years to come.

I wish him many Happy Returns.

*J. L. Hathi.*

**S. N. SINHA**

*Minister for Health, Family Planning &  
Urban Development, India.*

New Delhi,  
August 13, 1968

I am glad to learn that a special souvenir is being produced to mark the sixtieth birthday of Thiru Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras.

Thiru Annadurai is a charming personality and a person with an open mind. I am particularly charmed of his capacity to adapt himself to various situations and his flexibility in dealing with problems. Thiru Annadurai has qualities of outstanding leadership and I am sure that this illustrious son of Madras will blaze a trail of glory and accomplishment worth emulation by his followers.

*S. N. Sinha*

**FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED**

*Minister of Industrial Development & Company Affairs,  
Government of India.*

New Delhi,  
8th August, 1968.

*It is a matter of great pleasure to know that a quality souvenir is being produced on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Thiru C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras.*

*I send my good wishes to Thiru Annadurai on this occasion.*

*Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed*

**M. S. Gurupadaswamy**

*Minister of State,  
Food, Agriculture, Community  
Development and Co-operation, India.*

NEW DELHI,  
5th August 1968.

Perspectives on political problems will vary with parties. A nation can be said to have reached political maturity only when it accepts the fact of these multiple perspectives without rushing to the dangerous verdict that differences of opinion are signs of divisive, weakening, centrifugal tendencies. The Greatest single factor contributing to appraisal here is the self-evident genuineness themselves on particular programmes but who are all equally concerned with the progress and prosperity of the nation.

In Thiru C. N. Annadurai we have one of the most authentic personalities of the new India that emerged after the last General Election. The measure of his greatness is the respect and affection spontaneously accorded to him by those who differ from him sometime radically in their political affiliations.

Anna's warm, kindly personality makes all those who come into contact with him his devoted friends. His scholarship is massive ; but unlike most scholars, he can communicate his knowledge and wisdom in terms which are intelligible to the average man. He is one of the most eloquent of men ; but his polemic is not aggressive ; he is a patient listener and prefers persuasion to controversy.

I send him my heartiest felicitations on his sixtieth birthday and hope that his warm, kindly presence may abide with us for many more years.

*M. S. Gurupadaswamy.*

**D. GOPAL REDDI**

*Governor, Uttar Pradesh.*

Governor's Camp,  
Uttar Pradesh,  
Raj Bhavan,  
Lucknow,

16th August, 1968.

I am glad friends and admirers of Thiru ANNADURAI are celebrating his 60th birthday in an appropriate manner and a Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion. On 15th September he completes 59. This year it can be 60th birthday and next 15th September it will be his Shastiabdipoorty. It is generally celebrated in South India.

ANNADURAI began his career as a journalist and as a literary figure. As a powerful speaker, he rallied round him all the younger elements. He is the only non-Congress Chief Minister in India to-day, or at any time after independence, who, by his own right as the leader of a single party, is at the head of Government. He has come to this exalted position through literature and through social reforms. He has experience of both Parliament and the local Assembly. He has travelled widely and knows the world. He has also suffered for his ideas and was behind prison bars several times. He is a self-made man and basically he is a good friend and a gentleman. He represents the new ideology in society for breaking away many tyrannical things which have crept in society and religion, creating invidious distinctions. He has become the loudest champion of the ancient culture of South India. I offer my hearty felicitations and warm greetings to him on the happy occasion.

*D. Gopal Reddi.*

August 30, 1968

I am glad to hear of the proposal to release a Souvenir on the occasion of the Sixtieth Birthday of Anna—our Chief Minister. He is one of our top leaders of the people. It is fortunate that under his stewardship, we are having a stable Ministry here unlike in some other States where political stability is fluctuating. As Leader of the House in the Legislative Council he is maintaining highly the good traditions of parliamentary practice. His eloquence and debating skill with the necessary dose of humour is effective and enlivening. I heartily wish him long life and continued service to the Motherland.

*M. A. Manickavelu.*

**R. Venkataraman**

Member,  
PLANNING COMMISSION.

New Delhi,  
September 5, 1968.

On the happy occasion of the Sixtieth Birthday of Sri C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister, Madras, I offer my warmest felicitations and good wishes for a long and happy career of dedicated service to Tamilnadu and our people.

*R. Venkataraman.*



**V. P. NAICK**

*Chief Minister, Maharashtra.*

Sachivalaya,  
Bombay-32 BR.

September 6, 1968

I am glad to know that a spacial souvenir is being brought out on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Shri C.N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras, which falls on September 15, 1968. A journalist and author of several works in English and Tamil, Shri Annadurai, by dint of perseverance and hard work, has risen to the position of the Chief Minister of Madras, which is one of the leading States in India.

May God grant him health and strength to serve the country for many more years to come.

*V. P. Naik.*

**Veerendra Patil**

*Chief Minister, Mysore.*

“ VIDHANA SOUDHA ”

BANGALORE-1.

23rd August, 1968

*I am glad that Shri A. P. Janardhanam is bringing out a Souvenir in English on the occasion of the 60th birthday celebrations of the Madras Chief Minister Shri C. N. Annadurai. I wish the undertaking all success.*

*Veerendra Patil*

**E. M. S. NAMBUDIRIPAD**

*Chief Minister, Kerala.*

TRIVANDRUM,

September 10 1968.

I have great pleasure to present my warm tributes to Shri C. N Annadurai on the occasion of his 60th birthday on 15th Sept., 1968. It is needless for me to enumerate his qualities which have endeared him to millions of common people not only in Tamilnad but in other parts of the country too.

It has been lately reported that he is leaving for America for a surgical operation. We all wish that he may recover speedily and come back to us with increased vigour and health.

*E. M. S. Nambudiripad.*

**K. VINAYAKAM**

MADRAS,

11—9—1968.

I have known Mr. C. N. Annadurai popularly known as “Perarignar Anna”, our Chief Minister, from the days of College Education, since we were associates and contemporaries in Pachaiyappa’s College, Madras.

He is a sober type of politician of the highest order. He is an erudite scholar of high stature. He is an adept in the art of public speaking and he can hypnotise any kind of audience with his inimitable powers of oratory. He is a versatile genius and a dynamite of energy.

He is a stupendous monument of common sense.

May the almighty bestow on him long life and splendid health, so that he may live long to serve this country.

*K. Vinayakam.*

**N. C. CHATTERJEE**

*Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)*

P-514, Rana Basanta Roy Road,

CULCUTTA-29,

August 12, 1968

Thiru Annadurai is well-known not only in Madras but also in the whole of India.

With regard to the Language question, he has taken a stand which is appreciated by many people of Bengal and other areas. In the problem of national integration Thiru Anna gave a correct lead to the D. M. K. Party and generally to Madras and India.

May he live long to serve the Nation.

*N. C. Chatterjee.*

**FRANK ANTHONY**

*Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)*

NEW DELHI,

20th August, 1968.

I have known Mr. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras for some time. I met him when he was a Member of Parliament. Since his becoming the Chief Minister, I have had occasion to meet him several times. I have been particularly impressed by his pragmatic approach to problems and the understanding and clear-headed way in which he addressed himself to matters which I have discussed with him.

*Frank Anthony*

INDULAL YAGNIK  
Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)

63, Western Court,  
New Delhi.  
26th August, 1968.

I am very happy to know that you are publishing an English Souvenir on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Shri Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras.

I have not been privileged to know Mr. Annadurai personally, but from what I have learnt about him and his work as Chief Minister of Madras, I have nothing but praise and respect for him. I know that some opposition parties, especially the Congress, have been trying to pick up agitation against him but I see that they have not got much success.

I wish long life and many happy returns on Shri Annadurai's birthday and I hope that he will continue whether in or out of office to serve the interests of the poor and lowly not only in Madras but in neighbourly parts of India.

*Indulal Yagnik.*

**J. M. IMAM**

Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)

31, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi-1  
7th August, 1968.

Shri Anna has become a familiar name not only in Tamil Nad but throughout India. Anna means elder brother and as an elder brother he is giving a right lead to the country by his selflessness, noble example and by giving a new orientation to democracy.

Thiru C. N. Annadurai was an outstanding journalist and a brilliant orator and he was the leader of Tamil Nad even before he became the Chief Minister of Madras. It is not the office that makes a man great but it is his personal character, selflessness, statsemanship and desire to render sincere service to his country that make him great. Shri Annadurai is endowed with all these virtues. Madras is regarded as being the best administered State and it has the smallest Ministry in the country which has contributed to a sound administration and which is characterised by the absence of desire for lust or for personal advancement.

At present the activities of D. M. K. are confined to Tamil Nad but its influence is being felt by the adjoining States. It may be that all Southern States may, very soon, have a common ideology, common cause and come closer to each other for the solution of their common problems, and Thiru Anna's lead and wisdom will be very valuable.

I congratulate Shri Annadurai on his attaining the 60th Birthday. May he live long to serve the country and enhance its glory!

*J. M. Imam,*

**BAL RAJ MADHOK**

Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)

25, Feroz Shah Road,  
New Delhi,

10th August, 1968.

Thanks for your letter. I am happy to know that you are bringing out a Souvenir on the 60th birthday of Sri C. N. Annadurai. I wish you every success in this project.

I had the privilege of coming in touch with Sri Annadurai during Pakistani invasion of India in September, 1965. I was deeply impressed by his burning patriotism and clear thinking about Indo-Pakistan relations. I have been watching his activities and progress with interest and admiration.

In a vast and varied country like India, regional interests, regional parties and regional leadership are bound to play an ever-increasing role in national politics. But care needs to be taken that regional thinking does not transcend the thinking in national terms. I am sure that under the leadership of Sri Annadurai, the D. M. K. party will grow from strength to strength and Tamil Nad will become one of the most progressive States of the Country. I wish Sri Annadurai many happy returns of the day.

*Bal Raj Madhok.*

**T. Lakshmikantamma**  
Member of Parliament,  
(Lok Sabha)

82, North Avenue,  
New Delhi-1  
August 14, 1968.

I am glad that a souvenir is being brought out in a befitting manner to celebrate the Sixtieth Birthday of Sri Annadurai. Anna and myself were students of the same College. As a student I had occasion to hear his speech "Flames of Fury" full of emotion. He is outstanding as an orator. His simplicity and honesty have enshrined him in the hearts of his people. I have all appreciation for the Gandhian Spirit in which he is implementing prohibition in his State.

May God bless him with good health and long life.

*T. Lakshmikantamma.*

**Dr. B. NATARAJAN**  
*Dy. Director-General,  
National Council of  
Applied Economic Research*

11, Indraprastha Estate,  
Parisila Bhawan,  
New Delhi-1.  
8th July, 1968.

I am very happy to learn that you are bringing out a quality souvenir on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Arignar Anna. I greatly admire the qualities of head and heart of Tamil Nad's inimitable leader and I send this as my loving tribute to his long years of unremitting service to the people.

*B. Natarajan.*

## P. MARUTHAI PILLAI

A good Journalist, Author, Powerful Speaker, Publisher and Politician - these are what we find in our Hon'ble Thiru C. N. Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras, a generous and soft-hearted "Anna".

He is a rare example of a few self-made man.

Calm and quite in his approach to problems, he is firm in his convictions and steadfast in actions. He is sworn to the uplift of the common man.

Madras state which is already reputed to be one of the best administered States in India is again fortunate in having Thiru Anna at the helm of affairs, and Tamilnad looks forward with hope and enthusiasm under his dynamic leadership.

On the occasion of the Sixtieth Birthday of our "Anna", I wish him many happy returns of the day, and many more years of useful service to Tamilnad in particular and India in general.

*P. Maruthai Pillai*



**K. HANUMANTHAIYA**

*Chairman, Government of India,  
Administrative Reforms Commission.*

NEW DELHI,  
13th July, 1968.

Anna has proved to be a phenomena. I cannot restrict his role to mere political leadership. His influence has no doubt permeated politics, but it has gone deeper down into the fabric of our society. He began as the unrelenting champion of the oppressed and the suppressed in the name of religion, caste and superstition. It was a great battle that he fought, to begin with under the leadership of Periyár Ramasamy Naicker, subsequently by himself with his own party.

The D. M. K. has the high distinction of defeating the most stable part of the Congress organisation. To found a party and achieve victory for it in so short a time is a magnificent achievement with no parallel.

Annadurai having been defeated in General Election in 1962 came to Parliament as a Member of the Rajya Sabha. This defeat in a way drove him to Delhi, the centre of political and administrative activities in India. As they say, "He came, he saw and he conquered". In this case, he conquered the ideology of his own party. D. M. K. whose ideology was division of the Dravidian part of the country, from the rest of India, was persuaded by Anna to give up that ideology. To change habits and ideologies practised over the years requires considerable courage. Here is an instance of Anna's courage not only serving India but also elevating him to the high office he now holds with prospects opened up without limitations.

I am happy that the sixtieth birthday of Shri Annadurai is being celebrated. I wish him long life, prosperity and happiness.

*K. Hanumanthaiya.*

I am glad to know that you intend publishing a Souvenir in English in connection with the sixtieth birthday of Mr. C. N. Annadurai, Chief Minister to the Government of Madras.

He assumed the office of Chief Minister at a critical stage in the history of India, nay, the history of the world itself. Student indiscipline had become the fashion of the day throughout the world. Taking advantage of this situation, Labour, especially the extreme section, has been creating problems to many of the Governments. In the circumstances, maintenance of law and order is absolutely essential for a Government worth its name, however unpleasant its execution may be.

As peace and tranquility are essential for the progress of any country, Government must maintain law and order without fear or favour of any individual or party. I may say that Mr. C. N. Annadurai as Chief Minister has not only realised the need for it but also his responsibility for the same.

Obstacles are put in his way by interested parties. He was to overcome them by giving a free hand to the police to deal with the miscreants to whichever party they may belong.

Tamil Nad looks up to Mr. Annadurai for affording every citizen absolute freedom from fear of any sort in pursuing his lawful avocation.

In this difficult job, which may be thankless but all the same essential, I wish Mr. Annadurai every success.

*P. T. Rajan*

I have not had the opportunity of knowing Shri Annadurai for long as I met him only last year and that too once. But his personality, especially his modesty, did cast a lasting impression on my mind. It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the Sixtieth Birthday Celebration of a person who through his incessant hard labour, great ability and heavy sacrifices has risen high in the esteem of millions of his countrymen. He has successfully headed the first non-Congress Government in Madras — the biggest Southern State in India.

No doubt, very much like our other national leaders he too has fought for the country's independence but what distinguishes him most is the sincere effort which he made to give the country the true meaning of democracy after its independence. For over a decade he opposed and faced boldly the Congress Government through peaceful democratic means and ultimately freed Madras State of its clutches.

As the first Chief Minister of a non-Congress Government in Madras Shri Annadurai's achievements have been none too small. His Ministry has stood the test of time and remained firm like a rock in the midst of severe storms caused by the Congress throughout the country to which several non-Congress State Governments succumbed.

I join my fellow countrymen in paying my sincere tributes to this true son of our nation on this auspicious occasion of his sixtieth birthday. May he live long to serve the cause of the people and may his achievements bring glory to the nation and give its people long cherished prosperity and true democracy.

*Vijayaraje Scindia.*

M. BHAKTAVATSALAM

"MALLIKA"  
15, WARREN ROAD,  
MADRAS - 4.  
16-8-'68

I am glad to hear from you about your proposal to bring out a quality Souvenir in English in connection with the sixtieth birthday of the Chief Minister, Thiru. Annathurai's career is indeed an interesting one. He has fine qualities of leadership and has remarkable talents. He is amicable not only with his own colleagues but also others who come into contact with him and go with a pleasant impression.

I wish your project every success.

*M. Bhaktavatsalam*

P. MEDAPPA

*Retd. Chief Justice, Mysore.*

"SAN - SUSI"  
16, Cunningham Road,  
Bangalore - 1.  
17th June, 1968.

I am in receipt of your letter, and thank you for the same, but much as I desire to take this opportunity to send my meade of praise and approval to Mr. Annadurai for his yeoman service in the cause of the common people and the country, I regret my inability to utilise this opportunity.

Wishing the very best to Anna, and the cause he stands for.

*P. Medappa*

Judges, both by temperament and by the complexion of their office, are far removed from the dust and controversy of politics. This is rightly so, for an independent and detached Judiciary is an essential pillar of the Democratic structure. But, this does not mean that Judges have to live in an Ivory Tower of abstraction, without keenly, though objectively, studying men and affairs; on the contrary, the deeper and wider their knowledge of men and affairs, the more significant is the contribution that Judges can make to Judicial Administration.

This being my perspective, I can say very little concerning **Thiru Aringar Annadurai**, as the leader of the D. M. K. party, or the Chief Minister of Tamil Nad. But, I can unreservedly express my admiration, for his concern for the common man, for his egalitarian outlook, and his passion to contribute to the welfare of the people of this State further a deep love for the Tamil language and the wealth of its literature, is another bond of sympathy between us. **Thiru Annaduari** has also crusaded, all his life, against the shackles that threaten to disrupt our society into minute, warring fragments. I hope that Providence will grant him long life, energy and good health, to serve the people of this State.

*M. Ananthanarayanan.*

I deem it a great pleasure and privilege to pay my humble tribute on behalf of the teaching profession to the Hon. Thiru C. N. Annadurai, on the happy occasion of his sixtieth birthday, for he has indeed been the greatest friend of teachers. I shall recount here just three incidents that took place in the Madras Legislative Council since his becoming the Chief Minister, to bear me out.

When full fee concessions to the children of N. G. O.'s at the P. U. C. were announced, the usual practice of extending it to teachers was just pointed out, when the Chief Minister spontaneously agreed to it saying that his Government was "not only responsible but responsive".

During question time, when he was asked if the Government would order that teacher couples should not be separated, he readily agreed that it was not the policy of the Government to interfere in their conjugal felicity.

Perhaps the most historic occasion was when a Non-official Resolution was moved praying that the Teachers' Pension Scheme be extended to all retired teachers, including those that had retired prior to April 1955. He cut the discussion short by declaring that it was a reasonable request which he would accept without any time being wasted over discussing it. The incident was unprecedented, so that even the Leader of the Opposition hailed it as historic.

His heart is full of sympathy and consideration to teachers, he realises their plight, understands their complex problems in a flash, and comes forward most readily to their succour, that teachers find in him a trusted friend and benefactor.

May he live long !

*M. Rajah Iyer.*

ANNA is a rare phenomenon. It is difficult to recall to one's mind from recent history in Tamil Nadu a person comparable to him in such versatility. A born orator, he was a popular speaker in his student days and is now the rage of the masses ; he is an effective writer as evidenced by his writings in the papers he edited or contributed to ; an actor in his own inimitable way ; and a politician with a rare gift of leadership by persuasion. His contribution to Tamil Nadu cannot be easily assessed now but he has definitely made men of his generation realise the suppleness and vigour of Tamil language and its inexhaustible wisdom.

It is no mean achievement to secede from a party captained by a leader of longstanding and to nurse and develop a new party to such a height that within a decade it was able to wrest power from an all India party of the calibre of the Indian National Congress. To evoke such an admiration and love from millions of people in Tamil Nadu as his name does he should be capable of extra-ordinary combination of affability, wisdom and leadership.

His triple code of conduct, namely - Duty, Dignity, and Discipline is an epitome of political wisdom. His interested but unemotional approach to problems has earned for him a reputation for stability and sanity which are hallmarks of statesmanship.

May his triple code flourish. May he live long amidst us to serve as an outstanding example of democratic leadership.

*G. R. Damodaran*

Malcolm S. ADISESHIAH  
*Deputy Director-General*  
*Unesco, Paris*

## Unesco's Struggle for Cultural Understanding

### MR. ANNADURAI IN UNESCO ●

Paris is the cultural capital of Europe. Unesco is the world storehouse of culture. This year, which celebrates Mr. Annadurai's sixtieth year, saw his first visit outside of his country, India and his homeland Tamilnad, to Paris and Unesco. Mr. Annadurai visited Unesco House, examined its modern art and architecture and had memorable exchanges on wide-ranging cultural issues with the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Maheu and other Unesco members. He stood at the top of the Eiffel Tower and surveyed the life and preoccupations of this great cultural city. He spent a morning at the Louvre absorbing the display of the world's cultural heritage. He walked around the palace and beautifully laid gardens at Versailles which are a standing record of the continuing struggle of man to see and know himself. He sat entranced at a French musical play portraying the life of the great artist Goya. He walked the great Renault factory seeing for himself both its impressive production effort and its human side in the life of its thousands of men and women. He gave all of us who met him in Paris two gifts. He showed us the film of Tamil cultural panorama and pageant taken on the occasion of the World Tamil Conference, which helped people in Unesco and Paris to glimpse the greatness and profundity of Tamil culture. He left behind a lasting impression of his humanity, which is an outflow of the historic culture he represents.

And so to mark his sixtieth birthday, and commemorate the encounter of the great cultures represented by Unesco, France and himself, I shall describe something of Unesco's war for cultural understanding.

Unesco is the science of the human spirit—the dogma of humanism.

Unesco is the art of the impossible—acting not only to achieve impossible ends, but also—and more seriously through impossible means.

I am going to tread today on one facet of this very vast and very dangerous terrain: international misunderstanding.

I should not hide from you that I do not speak in the spirit of philosophical or scientific inquiry. I am a representative, and therefore a partisan, a Unescan. And being a Unescan means many things.

### THE UNESCO MANDATE ESTABLISHED ●

It is true that the Organization for which I speak is like a league of scholars, linking, through its basic aims and purposes, and in concrete endeavours on their behalf in 122 Member States, educators, scientists, cultural workers and communication professionals of as many nationalities. It is also an Organization of which governments are the sole members, a great bureaucracy with its own civil service, intergovernmental organs, budgets, resolutions and reports; an adviser to



statesmen and governments, an instrument and a framework for international co-operation. But most of all, it is a set of principles, a symbol, a declaration, a resolve.

Unesco, like the United Nations itself, was created at a threshold of human history, a moment in time which the Organization was designed to perpetuate, even as circumstances and conjunctures changed, to sustain through concrete action toward a common goal, in fair weather and foul.

The preamble to Unesco's Constitution expresses that moment better than I can. Many of its phrases, twenty-one years after it was adopted, seem still to deepen with the years, to inspire renewed resolve, meditation, hope and despair, they plunge so directly into the heart of the matter.

"...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed";

"...ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war";

"...the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races".

#### THE PRE-UNESCO WORLD ORDER ●

In the pre-Unesco days—seemingly distant, but only a little over two decades ago—nations and peoples were thought to be divided between those endowed with intelligence and those born mediocre, those with the right to wealth, leisure and education and those born to work for a pittance, in poverty and illiteracy. These were the days when it was held as a given and uncontrovertible truth that some

nations and peoples were called by divine right to be rulers and carry the burdens of the ruling class, and that others were destined by Providence to be ruled and to enjoy the benefits of a subject people; that there were superior and inferior races, civilized and barbarian peoples; and all this was based on the doctrine that there was a hierarchy of cultures in the very nature of things, that there were higher and lower cultures. Education was a luxury reserved for those born with the riches to afford it, a privilege limited to those with the necessary aptitude and intelligence, a facility reserved for the superior race, with its superior culture, to which some selected members of the inferior race, with its inferior culture, might graciously be admitted, once assimilated to the others through some curious process of osmosis.

Was it the economic and social conditions prevalent at that time which explained, if they did not justify, this dominant doctrine and accepted attitude? Or was it the doctrine and attitude that justified the conditions? In any case, one fitted into the other and each was authoritatively expounded as part of the order of the universe in which we lived.

Until twenty years ago, much of the world was a terrifying spectacle of ignorance, poverty and disease, of vicious circles leading to the degradation of the individual human spirit and of human society, implacable as the punishments of legendary emperors, immutable as the visions which have come down to us from the ancient poets. In our country (India), more than 90 per cent of the population was illiterate; only slightly more than 10 per cent of the children were in primary schools; the economy was frozen in the act of collapse. Average life expectancy was 19; average annual income around 40 Rupees. Handicrafts and small industries were fast disappearing; the mass of unemployed and under-employed landless agricultural labourers was reaching staggering proportions. And quinquennial famines stalked the land.

The great parliamentary speeches which mark British history were taught to every Indian schoolboy of my generation as examples of moral and rhetorical excellence. (We recited them with what we thought was great eloquence; they must have emerged as an awful sing-song.) And what did it mean to us, knowing the misery of our land and its people, when we came upon passages like the following from Macaulay's defence of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General facing parliamentary impeachment:

"The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy," we chanted faithfully. "He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body and is weak even to helplessness. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee." On we went to the height of our peroration: "Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges."

Laughable as Macaulay's views are today, I recall the shock that went through my system when I came upon this passage as a boy, as one of those to be committed to memory. Almost fifty years later, I could remember it word by word. And it was not Macaulay alone, but passage after passage of the most sober, liberal and judicious thinkers of that time. A liberal thinker had written "Indians are generally dissembling, treacherous, mendacious, cowardly, unfeeling and disgustingly unclean." A distinguished historian had concluded: "Hindus are strong in intellect and confessedly weak in morals. We as a race are far superior to them in force of character. We are there in India because as a nation, we speak the truth and never take bribes."

## THE UNESCO IDEA—FIGHTING THE EFFECTS OF THE PRE-UNESCO ORDER ●

This then was the doctrine and its world order that had been established and was dominant in all five continents, with some islands of relative purity and small but imperishable movements of protest, when Unesco was created, according to the preamble of its charter, to assure "the wide diffusion of culture" by promoting "the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men", and by eradicating the propagation, "through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."

This then was the background which makes it so easy to understand the enthusiasm and goodwill, the desire for mutual understanding and appreciation with which Unesco's General Conference, bringing together all the Member States from the same five continents in Delhi in 1956, launched itself to consolidate a new world order through the major, ten-year concerted effort which came to be called, in our shorthand, the East-West Major Project. The full title of this significant programme was the Major Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. And how could such an effort fail, if all our Member States so wished and willed it? It was the very heart of the Organization, the *raison d'être* of its existence.

I have spoken of Unesco as a symbol, a monument. So too was this decision by the sovereign body of our Organization. It was itself a great symbol of the countless struggles for equality and independence and brotherhood. It was itself a monument to the silent and intractable lost causes which had persistently refused to lose, and which had stubbornly gathered impetus over decades and at the cost of untold sacrifice. It was itself a kind of victory of the idea of Man.

But Unesco must be more than a symbol, even if merely to remain one. The ten years

decided by the General Conference for launching its first action on this doctrine of Man have passed. For me, there was no programme, no effort undertaken in those ten years that was more central to the destiny of the Organization than this Project, on more awful contest and struggle that would decide the future of Man, than this concrete attempt to achieve cultural understanding.

What have we done ?

What have we accomplished in this period ?

The dominant characteristic of the programme was that it was carried out by 59 Member States of Europe and the Americas and 28 Member States of Asia, with 34 African Member States joining in its last five years.

The first task was to carry out the function of promotion of and liaison between Member States' activities. This was discharged by the Bulletin of the Major Project, called *Orient-Occident*, which had an average readership of ten thousand for each issue. Fifty-two issues in three languages were published in the ten years.

One hundred Asian literary works, from India, China, Japan, Iran and the Arab States, were translated into English and French during the ten-year period. The average readership for these works, which falls between the higher readership of novels and pocketbook editions and the lower readership of specialized reference books mainly available in libraries, was about 4,000. The total readership over the ten-year period can therefore be estimated at as much as 400,000, if not more.

Some 20 international cultural meetings, colloquia and other conferences were held in which more than 30,000 participants and observers took part as well as a number of large audiences. Moreover, most of the participants were professors, authors and artists who often communicated their

experience of the colloquia to large numbers through their teachings or writings.

As a result of the project, some 40 geography textbooks in 15 countries were revised, or are being revised with a view to removing some of the sources of friction between countries. These textbooks were circulated to experts from different countries who sent their comments to their publishers. Although textbook revision moves slowly, it can be estimated that, in the long run, this process will reach more people than any other aspect of the programme, and at an age when they are most open to new ideas and impressions.

Further, teaching of international understanding and extra-curricular activities presenting other cultures were intensified in more than 475 associated schools and teacher-training institutions, and perhaps some 500,000 teachers and students were involved during this ten-year period. In addition, 20 posters and photographs were prepared, illustrating daily life in different countries, for distribution in schools. As a rough estimate, it can be said that some one and a half million children have seen these charts.

More than 25,000 leaders of youth organizations were directly engaged in cultural exchanges and study, and more than 5,000 adult education leaders. Through other out-of-school activities, perhaps another 200,000 persons have been involved, through the Project, in the understanding of other cultures.

Two hundred recorded programmes on Oriental, classic and folk music, Asian poetry and cultures were broadcast over 200 broadcasting stations in 125 countries. The number of persons who actually heard any particular broadcast is difficult to estimate. In the light of the average number of listeners to different kinds of programmes and the reactions to some of the most successful broadcasts within the East-West Major Project, however, it can be estimated that some of them reached 20,000,000 listeners.

Two hundred and fifty articles on Asian cultures have been distributed in 150 countries and have reached several hundred thousand persons, with some articles reaching well over a million people.

Lastly, some 120 fellowships for high-level scholars to study eastern cultures were awarded, and two associated institutes in India and Japan were established, involving the work of some 100 specialists who were responsible for 15 publications on Asian cross-cultural research.

All of these programmes were devoted not only to spreading awareness of traditional Asian values, like tolerance, politeness, non-violence, simplicity, adherence to truth, intellectual openness and curiosity, but also, and most of all, to stressing that there is no geographic or cultural or regional monopoly of good and evil, to bringing home to as many human beings as possible that the so-called East-West dialectic, involving the confrontation of two great cultural entities, is based on false and non-existing stereotypes. No culture has built-in virtues and vices : there are wise and foolish Chinese and ugly and beautiful Indians, just as there are fun-loving and serious-minded Burmese.

This is what we have done, but what have we accomplished ?

#### THE PRE-UNESCO ORDER STILL LIVES AND RETURNS ●

In ten years, Unesco helped people to acquire "a deeper mutual understanding of (Asian) cultures" and used effective "methods of combating ignorance and prejudice" about Asia—says the General Conference. Has Unesco really begun this double task—to promote understanding and combat misunderstanding ? Whom has it helped and influenced ? What are these effective methods it has used ?

I think it is only right that we ask ourselves these searching and somewhat sceptical questions. Because ignorance, prejudice and mis-

understanding not only still exist as a live force ; they also have formidable means and methods at their disposal. Just look at our customs, our literature and our laws in the five continents. Casteism, racism, regionalism, linguism are still rampant everywhere making for distortions and misunderstandings between peoples and cultures.

But you may say, perhaps, that I exaggerate the importance of cultural understanding and appreciation in the present world situation, torn by conflicts and outbursts of violence, menaced by inequalities. You may say, perhaps that priorities must be set, that first of all we must deal with the burning world issues of our time and devote all our efforts and resources to them before we tackle an age old problem that no civilization has yet dealt with satisfactorily. You may say there will be time, when peace is guaranteed by political arrangements, when poverty is conquered by economic co-operation, to come down to the complex, painstaking task of understanding one another. Yet is there not a curious interaction between the concepts held of other cultures and these very issues, and indeed all international relations ? Does not our idea of man affect almost all our efforts to respond to the two most burning issues of our time, development and peace ?

Let us consider, first, the problem of development. Unesco's General Conference in 1966, concluded that "despite the encouraging results achieved through the sustained and common efforts of the developing and developed countries, the great majority of the developing countries have not yet attained independent growth and that the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries is still widening and creating great social, political economic tensions." Unesco holds that inequalities in development constitute an inequity and are a danger to world peace, and appeals to the developed countries to double the flow of funds to the developing areas.

And is there not a profound and tragic relationship between underdevelopment and the horrifying conflicts, the crises and devastating wars, the humiliations of man by man which even now are bringing our world to the edge of the precipice in Europe and the Americas, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia ?

You will ask me . But what can Unesco do about this ?

We live in a world which spends more than 15 times as much on defence as it does on helping the developing countries to overcome the very causes of the coming conflagration.

We live in a world in which the arsenals, the fortresses of a few countries cost more per year than the total national income of all the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in which hundreds of millions of school children and parents, adults and youth, read daily newspapers and listen to radios which speak of " kill ratios", of debts "which must be repaid by blood", of " the need for vigilance at the frontiers ", of " sacred war " and " pre-emptive strikes" of inferior races and peoples and nations.

#### THE ART OF THE IMPOSSIBLE ●

Can the Unesco do anything about this, with its pitiful resources and its impossible mandate enshrined in its Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ? Can Unesco learn the art of the impossible ?

I do not know. But if Unesco, and the Madras-State Unesco Committee cannot, what other agency could ? And before we speak of resources, we must look further into objectives and methods.

First of all, should we not learn from the experience of the Major Project, both fruitful and disappointing as it was, that there are differences between the audience for our work and the public we are trying to reach, that the world of public opinion cannot be reached

urgently enough, and with enough concentrated impact, through the world of scholarships. That the more than 20,000,000 people we succeeded in reaching are those who did not need to be convinced, while the billions we did not reach ignorant " of each other's ways and lives " were those most in need of the message which all our Member States and our Constitution itself has asked us to convey ?

Secondly, is it not time that we went beyond the neutral dissemination of information to the active support of a position? The promotion of a doctrine approved by the governments of the world ? Is it not time to recognize that the message which Unesco has to offer to the world is something which no scholarship, however erudite, no science, however precise, can give to the human heart ?

And are we ready now, after twenty years, not only to encourage positive manifestations, sponsor translations, publicize achievements, facilitate exchanges, but also to confront the very doctrine which the Organization was created to fight against ? Is it not time to struggle against misunderstanding in the same way we work to eliminate illiteracy and racism as an injustice to be stamped out, not a scandal to be covered up ?

You will say, to attack is dangerous. Unesco must conciliate, not divide . It must smooth over differences, not accentuate them. I agree. And on this I want no misunderstanding. Unesco must conciliate; Unesco must harmonize; Unesco must provide the synthesis. But before accomplishing these ultimate objectives and in order to achieve them, it must do something more.

History has taught us that it is by fighting against injustice that we define human rights. Does it not have another lesson in store: that it is only by recognizing our failure to see one another as human beings, that we will come to know what is man ?

Is it not by recognizing and by fighting against the distrust and scorn and ignorance among ourselves, the humiliation of humiliating others, that the science of the human spirit will grow and flourish? And is it not through this art of the impossible, that we will come at long last to construct the defences of peace, not in one nation or continent, not for one race or culture or religion - for these are only defences,transitory and penetrable as any other-

but founded in the intellectual and moral solidarity of all mankind?

Together we can answer these questions. Unesco can answer. Tamilnad can act. The time has come to begin.

Such could be our tribute to Thiru C. N. Annadurai on his sixtieth birthday.



on

## THE UNIVERSITIES

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

-Anna.



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## The Versatility of C.N.A.

It would seem to be a basic feature of human nature to retain 'a special affection for the initiator of a series of a pleasant things. Thus, no visit to a foreign country one learns to love ever gives quite so much pleasure as the first. The first great cathedral or temple one sees always retains a grandeur that ones visited later never seem to match. The first orchestral concert one attends is remembered as the most exciting and pleasing of all.

The same is true of the first book one reads in a language other than one's own. It is this which provides a number of reasons why I am pleased to be invited to join in this volume of tributes to Arignar Anna, the distinguished Chief Minister of Madras. For it happens that the first book I ever read in Tamil—apart from such things as school readers, which fall into quite a different category—was his drama *ஓர் இரவு*. (Ore Iravu)

Before this, I had quite naturally heard much about the glories of ancient Tamil literature and had read such of the classics as were available in translation—notably the three major translations of Dr. G. U. Pope *குறள்*, (Kural) *நாலடியார்* (Naladiyar) and *திருவாசகம்*, (Thiruvachagam). But a good part of the appeal of Tamil lies in the fact that it is one of the few languages with a literary tradition of two thousand years or more that has continued right up to the present day. From the start,

therefore, I was eager to know whether contemporary literature had anything worthwhile to offer. C.N.A.'s *ஓர் இரவு* (Ore Iravu) was enough to suggest that it had.

I see no reason to revise my initial impression that this is a good play. Many excellent plays get off to a slow start as a result of the difficulty experienced by the dramatist in presenting the setting and motivation for the main part of the action. By a skilful succession of short (superficially unrelated) scenes to present the setting and dominant atmosphere of play, C. N. A. here holds our attention right from the start. The pace is then maintained throughout by means of dialogue in a very modern idiom.

It is not easy in a discussion of modern Tamil writing to draw a clear line between theatre and cinema. Indeed a somewhat different version of *ஓர் இரவு* (Ore Iravu) made a by no means unsuccessful film. Because of the "box office" demands in India that the action of a film should be regularly interrupted by song-and-dance routines, few Indian films (with the notable exceptions of the work of Satyajit Ray) are found entirely satisfying aesthetically by foreign audiences. This, however should not be allowed to blind us to the literary merits of certain scripts when written by a master of dialogue. Such a case is the script of *வேலைக்காரி* (Velaikkari) which, with the songs conveniently relegated to an appendix,

reads as a straight play with many of the qualities of *ஓர் இரவு* (Ore Iravu). Indeed on one point, namely the realism of its dialogue, it might be held to be superior.

வேலைக்காரி (Velaikkari) is, of course, a film-play with a message; and indeed Mr. Annadurai has the reputation of always using his considerable literary talents for the purpose of making political or social "propaganda". The controversy about the nature of literature—with one side claiming that it must have a social content and the other arguing the case for "art for art's sake"—is both an old one and one that will always be with us. Without taking a stand on this, one can note that Mr. Annadurai's literary creations are of two sorts (though with no clear line drawable between them). Some of his stories, for instance, make good reading because of the way in which they present fascinating characters or situations, and not by virtue of an important "message". An example of this is *நாடோடி* (Nadodi) (published in the collection of stories *வாழ்க்கைப் புயல்* (Vazhkai Puyal in 1948). This has a lot in common with the author's theatre-and-film-plays, in that it is almost entirely made up of dialogue—dialogue moreover, of a very colloquial style. But as a good short story must, it depicts the personality of the few involved in the action of the story by short, telling phrases.

A novel, by way of contrast, can, and indeed must, fill in more detail, both through narrative and dialogue. It demands a different sort of skill and a different kind of technique. And here is yet another literary technique of which C. N. A. has shown his mastery. The author's own awareness of his control of this medium is apparent in the opening chapters of *ரங்கோன் ராதா* (Rangoon Radha), where by implication the outcome of the story is stated almost at the beginning of the book. In spite of this the reader is still curious to know how the action will develop to reach this conclusion.

It is inevitable, with narrative having an importance in a novel that it clearly does not

have in a play or even in a short story, that the language of this book should be more formal than that of the other writings so far mentioned in this essay. Stylistically it stands mid-way between the colloquial Tamil of the plays and stories, and the language of Mr. Annadurai's non-fictional compositions. And, however much one may like and admire his work in the field of prose-fiction and drama, there can be no doubt that his main claim to have made a significant contribution to the development of Tamil prose style lies in his powerful oratory. There is no need to stress his originality in this, and the importance of his public-speaking as a model for others is clear from the large number of admiring imitators. But it is interesting to note that this eloquence that has given him so many followers is to be seen in Mr. Annadurai's novels also—even in conversational passages, which nevertheless still manage to read like authentic conversations. There is an example in the first chapter of *ரங்கோன் ராதா* (Rangoon Radha).

"நீ அடிக்கடி, உன் இலட்சிய மங்கையைத் தான் எனக்குக் காட்டி இருக்கிறாயே, வயது இருபது இருக்கவேண்டும் என்பாய், ஒரு வயது ஏறத் தாழ் இருக்கும் ராதாவுக்கு, அடக்கம் இருக்க வேண்டும், ஆனால் அசடாக இருக்கக் கூடாது. அழகு இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால் ஆளை மயக்கும் நோக்கம் இருக்கக்கூடாது. படிப்பு இருக்க வேண்டும், ஆனால் படாடோபம் இருக்கக்கூடாது. சகஜமாகப் பழக வேண்டும், ஆனால் சந்து பொந்து திரியும் கபாவம் கூடாது, என்று கூறுவாயே, கவனமிருக்கிறதல்லவா?"

Though not undeserving of the word "eloquent", this passage is nevertheless a good way from the magnificent, complex and intricately constructed sentences that are the hall-mark of an Annadurai speech. To hear him speak in public is an essential part of the education of anyone who is interested in understanding something about modern Tamil and in learning what the Tamil language is capable of. It is impossible to have any acquaintance with Tamil and Tamil Nad for long without being aware of this.



But what many of us who had been taught by our Tamil friends to appreciate the linguistic talents of Arignar Anna were not aware of, was his quite extraordinary mastery of English. Then came the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, at the concluding session of which we were privileged to hear the Chief Minister speak in English. After this no delegate to the conference could fail to understand how he has gained such a following through his speeches in his mother tongue. For this was a great performance, mingling humour with sentiment, wit with profundity in a way that no native speaker of English present on the occasion could have surpassed, or even equalled. Nor should the technical mastery displayed make us forget either the moderation of the views expressed or the sincerity with which they were put forward. There was no sign of the "extremist" that C.N.A. used occasionally to be reputed to be.

One aspect of his supposed "extremism" that one occasionally hears talk of is the way in which he reputedly never uses a borrowed word when writing or when speaking in public in Tamil. Any page of his works of fiction or drama will show this to be untrue; for C.N.A. is no pedant. Thus one frequently finds such words and phrases as : பால்ய சிநேகிதம் (வாழ்க்கைப் புயல். 1952, p. 41); ஜோசியர், ஜாக்கி, ரவுண்டு, பிளேஸ் (ஓர் இரவு, 1954, p. 5); கலா சேஷத்திரம் (ரங்கோன் ராதா, 1955, p. 237) etc., etc. The essential feature of C.N.A.'s Tamil style, in fact, is his use of words and constructions that are *appropriate for the context and for the occasion*. If dialogue is to be realistic, it must contain grammatical forms and vocabulary items (whatever their source) that are

actually used by speakers of Tamil in normal everyday conversation. Moreover, certain words might be acceptable in the narrative parts of a work of fiction that can have no place in the fully formal style appropriate to a public address. Anyone with a sense of occasion must accept that nowadays a formal speech before an audience demands the use of what, for want of a better description, one must call "pure" Tamil. It is part of the greatness of C.N.A. as a creative user of Tamil that he has appreciated this, whilst at the same time acknowledging that there are contexts where this formal style would be entirely inappropriate.

The versatility that these few pages have attempted to hint at is of a sort that most of us can only admire and envy. Yet they are only part of the story, for the history of the present government of Madras State has shown that, in addition to all of this, Mr. Annadurai is an outstanding administrator and statesman. To achieve this standing and at the same time to make a contribution to one's literature (and C.N.A.'s speeches, as well as his more obviously "literary" endeavours, are an important contribution to Tamil literature) is very rare. There have, it is true, been examples in Britain of Prime Ministers making a name for themselves as writers too (one thinks of Benjamin Disraeli and Winston Churchill among others) and there is the very special case of Jawaharlal Nehru in India. But such men are few and most commonly have mastered but one language.

One therefore finds pleasure in joining in this offering of congratulations and good wishes to Arignar Anna on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

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## Where are the Resources ?

Where are the resources? A most pertinent question. Where can we find them when the country is in the grip of a recession and inflation both operating at the same time; when government revenues are lagging behind government expenditures threatening a budget deficit of the order of Rs. 300 to 400 crores; when foreign aid is on a diminishing scale of promise; when the State Governments are playing a free hand with fiscal resources, abolishing various sources of revenue but not curtailing expenditure; when public enterprises are piling losses upon losses; when corporate saving is eroded by recession and incomes of the middle classes by a run-away inflation; where then are the resources? Obviously, the conventional sources—taxation, borrowing, etc., are drying up. We have perforce to look for unconventional sources of mobilisation in the circumstances.

What are these unconventional sources of revenue that we can think of? Can we not raise additional funds from the existing sources themselves through effective administration? Can we levy a steeply progressive tax on wealth? Can bank nationalisation help? Is there more of the “fat of land” to draw upon? Are the professionals and the self employed, the doctors, the lawyers and traders, who have had a good time of the growth process, contributing their due share? If labour is the source of all wealth, how can we profitably harness the large under-employed and un-employed manpower going

to waste in rural areas for productive purposes? It is to questions like these that we have to address ourselves when we think of augmenting our resources.

### Not by expropriation

In a developing nation augmenting the supply of goods and services would necessitate expansion of productive capacity. Here, capital formation plays a decisive role. But as has been said often, a country is poor, because it is poor. The mass of people are living at or below the minimum of subsistence necessary for working efficiency. Where is it that they can tighten their belts and save and accumulate capital? This overall picture of a low saving ratio can, however, be misleading. Belts can be tightened where the bellies, are bulging. Consumption can be restrained where there is conspicuous consumption. Under the impact of large public investments, private wealth swells and the U-Sector grows. If one is thinking in terms of confiscation of property without compensation, resources would become available within the country. Even so, the pre-existing surplus would be small compared with the accumulation required for a development heave. Expropriation of the expropriators” is in itself no answer; and democracy has no place for it either.

A poor country however can add to its resources for investment by drawing on the savings of other countries. Foreign saving has historically played a significant part in

financing economic development of many countries. Domestic resources cannot be a perfect substitute for foreign capital. The types of machinery and equipment required for capital formation in a developing country are of necessity to be imported. They cannot be produced at home at any price. In countries with low export earnings, the capacity to import is restricted. In such circumstances, foreign capital naturally assumes importance. All the same, a developing country with the goal of self-sustained growth cannot afford to depend on foreign resources for long. Sooner or later, a considerable part of its resources get mortgaged to transfer payments for servicing its foreign loans; and even its political future is eventually threatened. Already about one-fourth of India's exports are preexempted thus. *It is time we proceed with plans for resources mobilisation, on the basis that our foreign aid requirements should be marginal. Bounds of Deficit Financing.*

Another way of finding resources for investment is through deficit financing. This has its limitations because of the deleterious consequences to the economy it entails. It often generates hyper inflationary forces and revolutionary situations. If deficit finance is employed to allocate the right amount of quick yielding, capital saving investment to consumption good sector, especially agriculture, it would be safe enough. The surplus of wage goods thus produced would support the large schemes of long gestation and high capital intensity. But seldom does the operation stop here. The temptation to indulge in deficit financing beyond the bounds of prudence is great. Countries like USSR have gone through a long period of hyper inflationary pressure during their early stages of socialistic construction. But the political constraint of democracy was not there.

*In the ultimate analysis therefore, it is effective generation, mobilisation and*

*canalising of domestic saving that can sustain economic growth in a developing country.* It is in this background that a realistic assessment of domestic resources assumes significance.

#### DOMESTIC RESOURCES

Supply of domestic resources is comprised of (i) public saving and (ii) private saving. The most important, of course, is the private saving - voluntary savings by private economic units like companies, cooperatives and households. Public sector resources are in a sense collective compulsory savings. This, however, is distinct from forced saving through inflation. Important among the public sector resources are the saving of the government sector, effected out of the tax revenue channeled into the exchequer, the retained surplus of the public enterprises and the funds transferred from private sector through contribution to provident fund, pension fund, etc.

The role of Government in a developing country does not merely stop with generating saving out of its resources. It has also to play an important part through its policies in helping the generation of saving in the private sector, in effectively mobilising the savings created and in channelling these resources into productive investment.

The history of developing countries has shown that of the different forms of domestic saving, private saving has played a prominent role. Government saving has accounted for only 15 to 20 per cent of the total supply of saving in India. In some years government saving has been even negative.

The low level of government saving in the country has been the result of increased consumption on the part of Government and the absence of a corresponding rise in public revenues. In a developing country with poor infrastructure, the claims on the

government's resources are rather high, not only for developing the public utilities, but also for industrial development, for creation of institutions to provide finance for private industries, as also for establishment of financial intermediaries to mobilise private saving. In recent years, defence services have also laid an increasing claim. Also, investments undertaken by the Government in fulfilment of its social objectives have been much in excess of its capacity to find the wherewithal from within.

#### INDIAN TAX EFFORT

Even so, the proportion of national income channelled into the public exchequer in recent years has been of a comparable magnitude with advanced countries. In 1965—66, it was estimated that around 15 per cent of the national income has been collected as tax revenue by both the Central and State Governments. If one considers the fact that roughly half of the national income is shared by 80 per cent of the population and consequently the effective tax base of income is constricted, it will be seen that the Indian tax effort is at least as high, if not, higher, than that in other countries.

This does not mean, however, that the growth in tax revenue in the country has kept pace with the growth in aggregate product. It has not. A large proportion of the increment in income that accrues to certain individuals and classes escapes the tax net effectively. Also, tax evasion is practised on a large scale among certain groups. Since taxation constitutes an important source of revenue to the government, the tax policy has to be suitably framed, and implemented, if mobilisation of resources is to be effectively organised. *The ultimate principle of tax policy should be to get an automatic rise in tax revenue with development rather than through increased taxation.*

#### LEVY MORE DIRECT TAXES

A substantial part of the tax revenue—about 75 per cent comes out of indirect taxes. The role of the direct taxes has not been quite significant so far; but with increased development activity the direct taxes have to assume a greater role. The rise in income that follows economic development, the increased monetisation of the economy, the creation of new income earning entities, and improved public administration should help in raising more revenue through direct taxes. *In India where the distribution of income is askew, direct taxes have to expand to meet the ends of social justice, as well.*

The leading item of direct tax has been the tax on incomes of individuals and corporations. Other forms of direct taxes have not been thus far significant from the view point of revenue raising. The possible ways of increasing revenue here would be through an extension of the coverage and changes in the rate structure. For extension of coverage, the probable candidates that would suggest themselves are the large and middle class farmers, retail traders and the professionals like lawyers and doctors. As development proceeds, a substantial part of the incremental income accrues to these groups of persons, and if the tax policy can be effectively implemented to reach them mobilisation of resources could be better accomplished. But the snag is that it is precisely in these cases that it is difficult to collect tax revenue. It is difficult to identify and define the taxable income, as also to check evasion.

Often it is pointed out in discussions on taxation that in India agriculture and allied activities which contribute roughly 45 to 50 per cent of the aggregate national product do not bear any appreciable burden of the direct taxes, and that it is precisely from this sector that an attempt should be made to collect more revenue. But in such attempts at location of possible tax sources, there lurks a

Great deal of misunderstanding concealed behind an attitude of "stop thief" shouting. To talk in terms of sectors, rural and urban, and put them on a par has little meaning when it is seen that agriculture has been a depressed industry for decades in the country and the income in agriculture is shared by over 70 per cent of the population. Nor is it correct to say that the agricultural sector does not bear any burden. Land revenue had been the traditional milch cow of the State until recent times, and the peasant has carried more than his share of the tax load for long. Plantations already bear the burden of direct taxes and in States where agricultural income-tax is in vogue such incomes are also brought within the tax net. This, however, is not to deny the existence of the U-Sector in agriculture, although even here it is nothing compared with the great fortunes that the nouveau rich have built up in industry and trade as a result of the development process. Great fortunes in land have been broken up by the abolition of Zamindari and the imposition of ceilings on land. However, the middle and higher income groups in agriculture can bear relatively larger burden of taxation, than now. But then the problem arises as to the identification of the sources, as also the estimation of the tax base. If these could be satisfactorily solved, agricultural income may constitute a worthwhile source for extension of the tax base.

As it is, the burden of direct taxes on most of the agricultural incomes is not significant. Agricultural income tax is in existence only in a few States, and even there not quite effective. The incidence of land revenue is not high either, ranging perhaps from 3 to 5 per cent of income. A few states have recently abolished land revenue. Others have granted liberal concessions.

When one considers the intersectoral inequalities between agriculture and industry, as also the interclass inequities between the rural and urban population, one cannot lightly endorse the fashionable view, "Tax the Farmer more". The bulk of the farming popu-

lation is at or below the subsistence level, and ability to pay stands in the way of enlargement of the rural tax base by direct taxation.

One way suggested for tapping more resources from agriculture is through a system of graduated land tax with surcharges on large holdings. As tracts of land, however, differ in physical, chemical and biological properties mere size of acreage gives little idea of taxable capacity.

The potential output could be measured by detailed probing into the productivity of land; and that is going back to the system of survey and settlement. Even then it does not indicate the market value of the crop yield. On the same price of land commercial crops yield much more than cereal crops.

A tax on agricultural wealth could indeed be thought of where there has been significant increases in land values. But then it is to be in the context of a universal tax on all land including the urban land values.

Another levy that may be suggested is the betterment tax on lands that have benefited from the process of development. But then this too has been tried and given up.

The argument that a levy on farmers by increasing their monetary liability may act as a spur to increase their productivity, if true, can apply to any form of taxation, not merely agricultural. On the other hand, the argument trotted out for taxation of non-agricultural income is often the other way about, particularly in relation to marginal rates of income.

Another as yet not fully tapped potential source for increased tax revenue, even with existing tax rates, is professional income and income of the traders. It is an open secret that the incidence of tax avoidance is rather high in

this class, although no estimate of the amount involved can be given. It is here that the imagination and ingenuity of the tax administrator has to have a full play in devising ways of reaching this class, plugging evasion and garnering more revenue. A presumptive basis of assessment could be conceived of with the help of a few external indicators like ownership of houses, cars, etc.

The corporate sector has often been held out as the likely candidate for tapping increased resources. But the increased mobilisation from this sector should not be at the cost of resources required by them for investment. In a country where the industrial base needs to be strengthened, and that too within a short period, and where the capital market is not active, retained surpluses by corporations play a pivotal role in corporate investment. Higher taxes on such incomes would only erode the profits that can be ploughed back by such corporations.

Corporate saving needs to be encouraged from the long term viewpoint in the country's development. The crucial factors are the tax rates on corporate incomes, the dividend policy and the tax and other incentives offered by the Government. With the process of development these corporations are likely to depend to an increasing extent on the resources generated in other sectors. It is all the same necessary to encourage large plough back of profits in this sector. The tax rates have to be suitably rationalised and incentives offered with a view encouraging investment in this sector. A relevant point here would be the extent to which the distribution of profits by such companies should be allowed. Much would depend on the persons to whom the dividends accrue and their saving habits. The extent to which the corporations would be able to attract funds from the private sector would also be dependent on the magnitude of dividend distribution. It is not possible to prescribe any strict procedure, but the dividend policy has to be suitably evolved in the light of the existing circumstances. Cor-

porate investment also needs to be encouraged through offer of incentives as tax reliefs, liberal amortization allowances, tax holidays, etc.

Apart from the extension of the coverage and the improvement in the tax base, the rate structure of the tax also is significant in improving tax revenues. The crucial factor here is the extent of progression that could be achieved. In our country with large inequalities a highly progressive income taxation is undoubtedly necessary from the point of view of social justice. The higher the income and wealth owned by a person the higher should be his contribution to the exchequer. But when the tax base itself is eroded, even steeply progressive taxation cannot be of much help. The tax rate should not be so high as to retard further incentives for accumulation. Empirical studies elsewhere have established that at the marginal tax limit of 60 per cent, no serious disincentive to accumulation occurs. Of course, this ceiling may differ from people to people depending on sociological and psychological factors. Even so, where this is expected there is a presumption in favour of reducing tax rates in the interest of increased revenue yields. Otherwise, evasion would start on a large scale.

Large scale evasion that is often credited (or debited) with Indian taxation can perhaps be due to the high rates that are levied. Estimates of tax evasion in the country have ranged from a low of Rs. 50 crores to a high of Rs. 2,000 crores. Mr. G. S. Sahota in his analysis of the Indian tax structure has pointed out that the elasticity built into the income tax structure is such that 1 per cent increase in income of the tax payers should lead to a 1.82 per cent increase in tax yields, whereas the realized increase in yields was only around 0.6 per cent. The real extent of evasion is anybody's guess, but that there exists evasion on a large scale is indisputable. One of the factors that could control evasion is an improvement in administrative efficiency. In

fact this could even be termed as additional tax measure. There exist two views in this matter. One view holds that with the lowering of the tax rates, government could perhaps not only collect the present revenue, but even improve the collection, as the ingenuity of the people now turned to finding out ways of evasion may then be employed in a productive fashion. There is, however, another school which holds that once evasion has become a habit, it will persist no matter how low you reduce the rates. But if the experience of countries like USA and Japan are any guide at all, a lowering of supra marginal rates (above 60 per cent) is productive of larger tax yields.

The prevailing system of investigation into tax evasion is rather complex and often the penalties meted out are relatively moderate. If evasion of tax is to be effectively ended, a much more severe deterrent system has to be adopted. The scheme of voluntary disclosure tried in 1951 and again in 1965, has only met with moderate success. While this may be a helpful tool to be taken advantage of from time to time, there is imminent need for reforming the tax system so as to impose heavy penalties on continued concealment of incomes. The 'publicity principle' adopted in Sweden and a few other countries may be tried in India. This way, the list of tax payers, assessable income and tax paid will be public documents. Following the Italian procedure we may even publish official assessment as well as declared income. Publicity may also be given to the discovery of tax frauds and the names of tax offenders disclosed giving details of the punishment meted out. Prosecution of tax offenders has to be vigorously pursued and criminal prosecution along with higher monetary penalties may be resorted to in cases of

wilful evasion. It may be mentioned here that in U.S.A. penalty for wilful evasion carries a fine of \$ 10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 5 years, or both.

The suggestion made by Prof. Kaldor for a comprehensive direct tax return embracing income tax, net wealth tax, expenditure tax, and gift and inheritance taxes bears mention in this connection. Such a return would have served the purpose as a self-checking device on the transactions of a single tax-payer. To-day in India although a tax payer may file returns separately for some of these taxes that are in vogue, there is no method by which these could be put together and cross-checked. The feasibility of introducing a comprehensive return under the Indian conditions needs to be thoroughly examined. In the initial stages this could perhaps be attempted in select income groups and tax authorities could get only the information return from assesseees and compute tax liability themselves. The burden on administration would no doubt increase, but it would be worth the trouble. There is also an urgent need for simplifying the tax procedures.

A moderately progressive income tax along with a low tax rate on net worth at higher levels of income may also be thought of in this context. The realised capital gains could also be brought within the tax net with, of course, necessary concessions. Taxation of wealth along with income would induce people holding large tracts of land and liquid assets like gold, cash, etc., to put them to productive use. And the information on wealth may be used in properly assessing a person's income tax liability. The tax can also be made mildly progressive to satisfy equity considerations.

## Anna's U. S. Tour

DR. M. S. UDAYAMURTHI  
*University of Minnesota, U. S. A.*

April 19, 1968. It was Friday night 7-30. The place is New York, 64th Street, India House.

The high walled reception Hall of India House is decorated with chandliers and beautiful lights ; Ambassadors from various countries are standing ; students, UN officials, University Professors, American and Indian women in their lovely attire of sarees !

"India House has not seen a huge crowd like this so far," says an embassy official, "except for the one when Mrs. Gandhi visited."

We wonder what special event has attracted so many people ? Who is the great leader honoured so ?

There is a short stalky person standing there, with a broad smile and his white moustasche widening along the smile. He is talking to Ceylon's Ambassador Amara Singhe waving his finger. He is shaking hands and smiling to the on-pouring invitees. What a crowd !

The honoured leader is no other than Mr. C. N. Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras, the great orator, thinker and writer of Madras.

"Anna" is a magic word wherever Tamils live ; for they know him so much ; love him so much. There is a wave of warmth, unusual pride and a charged atmosphere ; the feeling

of kith and kin filling the hall ; people are smiling broadly and cameras are flashing incessantly.

No doubt the word Anna is Magic. If not, will people come all the way from 400 miles and more just to see him and talk to him ?

Anna represents a new generation. "I understood him some twenty years before. But I am glad that atleast to day's politics and the world are begining to understand him," says one Tamil student to another in the reception hall.

Anna is not a person belonging to a single party. He is the leader of all Tamils. His contribution to Tamil literature, to Tamil journalism, to the world of drama, to politics, and to the social reformation of Tamilnad is enormous. His influence along with Periyar directly and indirectly shaped an awakening and a self respecting Tamil nation. How can the Tamil people forget him whether they are in New York or New Zealand ?

Standing in the reception Hall I close my eyes for a moment. The pomp and show disappears. New York disappears. The chandliers and the wine glass in my hand all disappear.

\* \* \* \*

The place is Kumbakonam. One of the town parks. People gathered to hear Anna speak. Time is running as 9, 9-30, and



10 o'clock in the night. It began to rain. Anna arrives at 10-30 p.m. late. People are still standing there, some with their umbrellas open and many without it, getting fully drenched.

Anna speaks. "Fold your umbrellas, please. Let us all drench together." What a magic in those words! People have folded up their umbrellas and are all hearing his speech so late in the night irrespective of the rain!

**Another Scene :** Anna was released from Saidapet Jail after being kept in a single room, along with a private pot in the prison cell smelling all over. After release, people have gathered in unprecedented numbers in Marina to hear him talk. "People accuse me of saying that I have strengthened the party without inculcating discipline in my followers. Won't you all please stand up for a minute and sit down calmly proving you are disciplined." Anna raises his fore-finger. What a magic that fore-finger has! People rise up just like a sea wave and calmly sit back! We feel an electric pulse going 'through and through' our body.

The New York reception had more pomp and attraction. But at Kumbakonam, it was all simplicity bonded together. The Marina meeting had the most impressive numbers. But as far as love, affection and regard are concerned Kumbakonam was in no way inferior to the Marina.

**Anna's trip to U. S. showed him in 3 different ways :** Language, dress and food. Anna had difficulty all the time to fit himself in the two - legged hose called suit and the tight fitting leathers called shoes and quite often perplexed with the bland, unspicy American meat and vegetables. But as for the language he was its master.

Usually people who are good at Tamil are not all equally eloquent in expressing their thoughts in English. Anna is an exception. Once he spoke in the Rajya Saba so eloquently that people began to discuss his speech instead of the president's address! It happened in 1962. Probably that was a

prepared speech. But here in the U. S. his English answers came extempore and his expressions came with the same fluidity and alliteration, that American correspondents wondered where he learned his English.

For a question on family planning, "Will Madras legalise abortion?" "Abortion? We abhor abortion!" Anna said.

Another time there was a remark about a correspondent misrepresenting facts about India. Anna remarked, "Who are these correspondents? They correspond with their papers. That is why you see in news columns "our own correspondent" and so on: Remember he is not your correspondent! They correspond to reflect their own paper."

Another time at the Washington reception Anna expressed his thoughts in his own humorous way. "I want you all to write to me your suggestions and ideas as to how best we can improve our country. But don't write that the Americans have skyscrapers and Ford Motor plant. We can't have them. Write to me all applicable things. Even in this rich country I saw four chairs for five teachers and four chairs with three legs!"

He always looked things from the other man's point of view. And whenever people wanted to stand with him and take photos, he asked the photographers to take a few pictures. He was invited for functions at several places. Though some of them were inconvenient, he always thought how great the event would be for the other people and thus accommodated.

There was not a little bit of haughtiness or arrogance of power about him. There was no air. To tell the truth, he felt shy to be a visiting dignitary watched and photographed all the time. He wished he had come as a common man. In interpersonal relations, he was just a *friend* and simplicity personified.

Quite often he was concerned at the leisurely way he was discussing things on Platonic level at Yale University while work would have been accumulating at Madras. He was a little relieved when some of his colleagues talked to him by long distance

telephones.

Was his American trip a success?

Certainly, yes.

He saw many things. He heard from many people and he developed many new useful contacts, the fruits of which could be gauged only in the long run.

It is said of Vivekananda that he came to the United States not to spread Hinduism in America but to awaken Indians by talking from America. In the same way Anna's achievement, apart from his governmental contacts and project helps, was mainly to echo his ideas about States' rights, decentralisation, and the postponing of the language issue for another 25 years from the United States to win the acceptance and appreciation back home.

Anna is known as a *thinker* and as an *orator*. Another facet of his quality began to express itself out ever since he went to Delhi as an M.P. That is *diplomacy*. He has proved himself as a diplomat of the first order, since he assumed the Chief Ministership in Madras. As Valluvar said, why should one bite an unripe fruit when a fully ripe sweet one is available? That seems to be Anna's personal policy. He never offended even the opposition.

When the foreign correspondents worried about Vietnam, asked him how he viewed American Vietnam policy, he answered, "Vietnam? We don't express strong opinions about such friendly countries like the U. S." The Foreign correspondents roared into laughter to hear such a diplomatic answer.

His repartee was classic. A student asked him, "Once your party opposed congress on separation....."

"Why, even St. Paul opposed Jesus!"

"What do you think of the student unrest taking shape in Madras State?"

"Student unrest is all over. In Columbia University some of your students locked their dean for a day in a room! What do you say for that?"

In Sangam period poets like Avvaiyar, Kapilar and Aniladu Munrilar lived. At one

time we had great kings like Karikalan Senguttuvan and Boothapandiyan. In medieval period we had great religious teachers like Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manivasagar.

Likewise today we have historic men amongst us, great leaders to guide us. We are fortunate to have Periyar, Rajaji, Kamaraj and Annadurai with us today. The one good thing we can do is to realise the greatness of our leaders and to help them guide the country.

In the United States the party rivalry is there just for six months before the elections. Afterwards the party labels disappear and everyone works together in the interests of the country. Unusually in India opposition continues as opposition even after elections, trying to pull down the ruling party. No doubt election is a way to do good to the country, but there are other paths through which good can be done. If opposition thinks that it is only through election one can serve the country, and to win the election one has to distract the ruling party, it is a mistake.

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We usually spoil our great leaders by hero-worshipping. Our great leaders spoil themselves by being in power for too long a period. Anna is aware of these *shortcomings* in Madras. When he was praised, he once said, "You should not praise me. It is the teacher and the scientist who are more important than a politician". About being in power too long he said, "Congress lost the elections because it was in power too long. You (Americans) have a good system of eight year period for a President. If you are in power for longer time, power gets into your head."

Many of his educated admirers are wondering whether Annadurai has made compromises with his ideals. Any leader who compromises with his ideals and changes his goals never finds a place in history. Anna knows history.

In the New York reception an American Professor from Columbia University greeted

him saying "Mr. Annadurai ! Welcome to the United States. You represent a new generation. You are a controversial figure. Don't give a damn about what others say. Ask them to go to hell. I wish you all success in your venture." Is there a better thing to say to him now?

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on Democracy. ~~RIGHT CANT~~

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

—ANNA

# Good Education

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N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU

*Chief Educational Adviser, Govt. of Madras.*

*Director of collegiate Education, Libraries and Adult Education.*

Education is the birth-right of every human-being. It is not the claim of an over-enthusiastic educationist. It is something that Nations have accepted in principle. It is enshrined in what is called the Declaration of Human Rights.

2. Out of evil cometh good. The terrible tragedies and sufferings of the last war forced the leaders of countries to think of certain fundamental issues and enunciate broad principles to ensure a society in which peace, justice and fairplay will prevail. It is the conscience of humanity that spoke out in the form of the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations. This Declaration includes many rights. One of them is the unqualified right for education. Why is education a fundamental human right?

3. Education is the means by which one, born in the form of a human-being, is enabled to realise the full life of a human-being in the modern age. It is the means of the full development of the individual. It is the means of social change. It could be the means of promoting peace and harmony between peoples.

4. Every human child is born with a variety of latent talents. These await to be drawn out and developed fully. Many are also the dormant skills in every child. They have to be developed as well as the intellec-

tual talents. Education is the means we have evolved to help us in this process of drawing out the talents and developing the skills.

5. The child has a body, mind and a spirit. All these three are integrated and interdependent. Every one of them needs attention and care and nurture for growth and refinement. The harmonious development of all the three should be one of the major aims of good education.

6. These talents and skills can grow to fullness only if nurtured properly. We should start nurturing them early enough. Delay in beginning the education of the child may affect the extent of its development. The younger we catch the child, the better is our success in educating it. The child is ready for organised informal education even at the completion of the age of three. A normal child in our society is ready for organised formal education, when it is five years old. Schooling should start at least by then and not be delayed any longer.

7. The child will have to grow, no doubt, into an harmoniously developed individual. Education should help to develop his physique and his intellect and to sublimate his spirit. But the role of the individual does not end there. He has many other roles to play in this world. One of his roles is to be an efficient worker. The days of the

classes that could sit back at leisure and live comfortably on the earnings of the forefathers are fast disappearing. What does this mean to an educationist? It means that education should help the child to grow not only into a fine personality but also into an efficient worker of one kind or another. He has to be a worker—whether an intellectual worker or a manual worker.

8. We have to take note, at this stage, of the trend that what were once considered as purely manual operations are becoming less and less and so require increasing use of the intellect. This narrowing of the gap between the kinds of occupations have to modify our practices in our educational institutions.

9. Good education should therefore provide, in addition to ensuring the proper atmosphere, environment, facilities and opportunities for the all-round growth of the child, plenty of scope for learning the right attitude towards work and developing certain fundamental habits like seriousness of purpose, devotion to duty, concentration on the task on hand, perseverance and vigilance which are essential contributory factors of high productivity. Skills in handling tools of various kinds should also be learnt fairly well in schools though perfection in them could really be achieved later on in actual work situations.

10. Man is a social animal. Human-beings normally live in society. With the exception of one in a million that may run away from society and hide himself in a cave or in a remote corner of a deep forest, all of us live our lives with neighbours. We should therefore learn to live for and belong to society. Civilisation is the art of living in harmony with fellow citizens. Education has a responsibility to teach the child and the youth - the future citizens-this fine art of living in harmony in society. Recognition of the principle that all human-beings are equal in dignity is the foundation

of harmony in modern society. Consideration for others should stem from this.

11. Sound education should enable one to understand not only the small or big society in which one spends most of his time, but also the larger human society, from which one cannot live in isolation in this modern age of fast travel and almost instantaneous communications.

12. Good education should enable the child to enjoy the normal life of a child. Education should not over-burden the child with undue preparation for its future. The cares and anxieties of the future adult life should not be injected prematurely into the life of the child.

13. While some beginning, for preparation for the adult life, could be legitimately made at the primary and upper primary stage of education, over-emphasis on it will distort the normal development of the child. The extent and intensity of preparation for life may gradually be increased from grade to grade. But none should expect or design a system to make early teenagers as proficient and responsible as late teenagers; much less can we expect from them the standard of the adult.

14. To sum up, education is the means by which every individual attains his or her full stature. This is a fundamental Human Right solemnly proclaimed by the United Nations two decades back. It is the responsibility of *all* of us to ensure this right to *all*. To fulfil its function properly, Good Education should take note of the different stages in one's life and be so designed as to enable the child to enjoy the life of a child and the adolescent to enjoy the life of an adolescent. In addition, it should enable everyone to grow up to be a good individual, a good worker and a good citizen, in the broadest sense of the terms.

15. Good education of such great value can come only as the result of a carefully

planned, concerted effort of the taught and the produced teachers, over a length of time. It cannot be over-night. The imaginative and dynamic leadership of administrators, the understanding co-operation of managements and, most important of all, the earnest and

enthusiatic support and co-operation of the parents are no less important than the concerted efforts of the teachers and the taught. May we hope and trust that these will be forthcoming in an abundant measure.

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## THE CRUSADE

**You may come face to face with the unpleasant sight of practices widely differing from the principles inculcated in you. You may find self-seekers enthroned and the patient worker decried. Tyranny of all sorts may stare at you and every step you take may be a struggle. I admit that the environment is such that even people with robust optimism will be discouraged and forced to take to the path of ease and comfort.**

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

—ANNA

DR. MUTHU CHIDAMBARAM  
*University of Saskatchewan,  
Canada.*

## The D. M. K. From A Movement to an Organisation

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The D. M. K. has reached a crucial stage in the development of the organization when the ministry was sworn in office on March 6. Most realistically Mr. Annadurai expressed a feeling that power had come to them "a little too soon". But the people have decided that the party is "mature" enough to take over the administration. One could guess his mixed feeling when he quoted Rajaji to the effect, "Annadurai, don't be afraid. Go ahead. I am here". (The Hindu Weekly Review, March 6, 1967.)

For the D. M. K., the month of March 1967 is the end as well as the beginning of an era. The D.M.K. as a movement has come to an end and it has begun the life cycle of an organization. This sudden transition is bound to make an extraordinary demand on the top leaders as on the hard-core and file of the party. How long it is going to take for the party to skip over any kind of adolescent awkwardness and achieve maturity depends primarily on the ingenuity and creative imagination of the leaders. Maturity is a function of self-criticism, a counterpart of responsibility.

This self-criticism and re-evaluation, to be pragmatic, must be based on the leadership realization of distinction between a movement and an organization. Once this distinction is made, the required change in the style and pattern of leadership, rank and file relationship and goal orientation will be obvious.

What is an asset in a movement is a liability in an organisation and *vice versa*.

Charismatic leadership, missionary zeal, emotional involvement, adventurism, optimism, passion for the promised land—paternal—maternal—fraternal bondage are the characteristics of a movement. At this stage the movement is equated to a family; each movement in the history has had its vocabulary and terms of endearment to address one another within the group and the D. M. K. is not an exception in this respect. All these characteristics are necessary for a movement.

When a movement becomes an organization, these characteristics cannot be abandoned overnight and, in fact, some of them are vital during the transition. But, they are not sufficient, for the survival of the organization in the long run the underlying force in the relation between the leader and the follower is partly pathological and partly dependency in a movement. They are reinforced by real or assumed external threat. But basically they are negative forces; diminishing return is bound to operate in this area by mere passage of time, even when such a threat continues to be real.

On the other hand, an organization requires different style of leadership, goal orientation, policy formulation, rank and file relationship and adaptation to environment. Whether Mr. Annadurai is a charismatic leader or not depends on the perception of his colleagues and followers. But ultimately it is going to be his responsibility to build an effective and efficient organization based on functional relationship.

**Anna**

## **—The Founder - Father of the D. M. K.**

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**S. Madhavan .**

*Minister for Law and Co-operation,  
Govt. of Madras.*

At the time of the General Election in 1967, when the political sky of India was dark with clouds of scepticism about the future of democracy owing to the monopolistic domination of the Congress Party in power for nearly two decades, there appeared a silver lining in the sky with the emergence of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras, ready to take over the reins of Government as a result of the resounding victory it had obtained at the polls. Many in the world were watching with concern the one Party domination in the Indian political scene. They were in despair, as there was no prospect of any other single political party being capable of forming alternative Governments in the State or in the Centre. They thought that the political soil of India was not suitable for the healthy growth of the plant of democracy. To all of them, it was a matter of joy that Tamil Nad showed the way to the rest of India in the matter of future development of democracy. Tamil Nad attained this great credit solely because of Arignar Anna.

The birth of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam as a party of social reform and its

subsequent growth as a political party is a significant Chapter in the history of Tamil Nad and of India. It was Anna who planted the sapling of the D.M.K. Party two decades ago, and he tended it during the last twenty years with all care and caution, and that plant has now grown into a mighty tree. The phenomenal growth of the Party during the comparatively short period of two decades was entirely due to the dynamism of the unique leadership of "ANNA", who attracted the youth of Tamil Nad by his progressive views expressed in persuasive eloquence that go direct to the hearts of the people who are made to realise their past heritage with full of promise for a glorious future. The present-day ills of the social set-up are clearly set out by him and the youth is prodded to set aright those ills. The evils arising out of casteism and communalism and economic imbalances are vividly portrayed in his speeches and writings. As a result, the people who were slowly drifting away from their moorings, were awakened from their slumber and slothfulness and made to realise the greatness of their language, culture and civilization. The common man, who was lying low, rose up



with a sense of pride in his heritage and began to walk with raised head conscious of his capacity to contribute to the composite culture and growth of India.

Slowly, the common man in Tamil Nad realised that the fruit of attainment of Independence from foreign rule is not substitution of one kind of domination by another, but it is self-realisation of one's genius and giving full scope for its development and growth. He realised that the beauty of Indian culture lies not in plain uniformity but in colourful diversity, that the melody of Indian culture consists not in the monotony of a single note but in the harmony of different notes. Only if one appreciates this renaissance in the thinking of the people of Tamil Nad, he can understand the significance of the political change that was brought by the General Election in 1967. Anna is the founder-father of this renaissance.

In March 1967, when Anna assumed office as Chief Minister of Tamil Nad, people greatly rejoiced that event. Workers and farmers, village and urban population, women with babes in their arms, thronged at the corridors of the Secretariat to catch a glimpse of their beloved leader "Anna" who had ascended to power by earning their affection and goodwill. Anna entered the office of the Chief Ministership as a fish takes to water. That venerable and responsible office sits lightly on his shoulders. His high attainments in the knowledge of Economics and Politics, of English and Tamil, made him the ideal Chief Minister. Nearly two decades after Independence, Tamil Nad is fortunate to have a Chief Minister who knows not only the aspirations of the people but also the ways and means of achieving them.

The deceptive three - language formula has been exposed by Anna by taking a firm policy on language issue. With English as a compulsory subject both in the North and the South in the Three-language Formula, there is hardly any necessity for making Hindi also

compulsory. Thus, the introduction of Hindi was futile. This dubious policy was declared as the panacea for the language controversy. Realising that the Three-language Formula is thus deceptive in its nature, dubious in its content and futile in its application, Anna unequivocally declared through the Legislature that Tamil Nad supported only the Two-language formula, namely, the mother tongue and English. Though this declaration has political and cultural aspects, it is also a necessary administrative reform in the educational field, as the huge waste over the Hindi teaching staff under the Three-language Formula was removed once and for all. With our experience during this short period, we are able to realise that the Central leaders belonging to the Congress Party have not yet imbibed the federal spirit of the Indian Constitution. They attempt to have the economic power concentrated in their hands and the States are made helpless in formulating and pursuing their own plans for the economic prosperity of the respective regions. These shackles have to be removed before ever the States could make progress without waiting for the grants and subsidies the Centre may choose to give to the States. As a keen student of politics, Anna feels that in the federal structure of India, the States should be given their due share of power and responsibility as envisaged in the Constitution. He is sore that at present the Centre dominates the States and it is the result of the rule by the Congress Party, both at the Centre as well as in the States continuously for about two decades. I am sure that Anna will succeed in establishing a truly federal political structure in India, as enshrined in our Constitution.

More than a political leader and administrator, Anna is predominantly a humanist. Though he is the founder-father of the D.M.K. movement, he is far above that party. He views the several problems, both political and economic, with the broad outlook of a world leader. And, during his short visit to America a few months ago, at

the invitation of the Yale University, he has impressed the Americans with his political and cultural refinement.

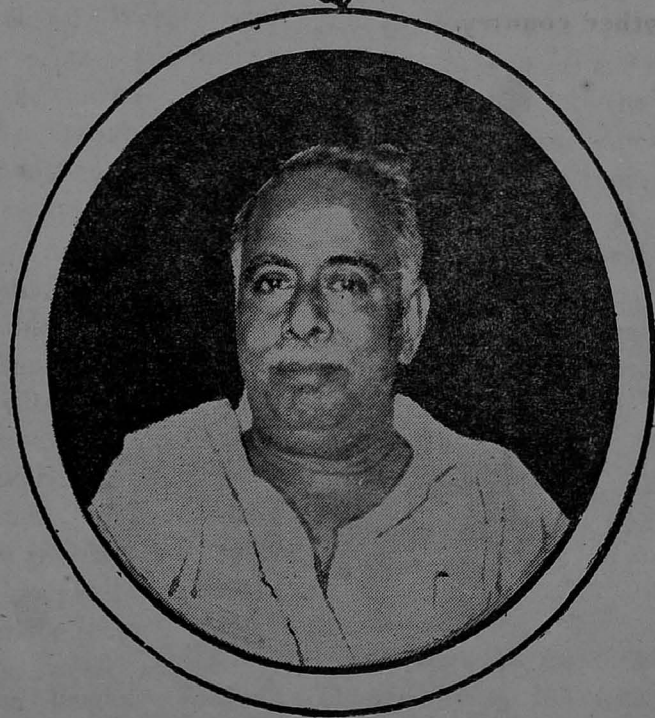
• But for certain obsessions and inhibitions that vitiate the Indian politics, Anna would

be a pre-eminent All India leader whom the world would listen with ardent adoration. The day is not far off when his political sagacity and statesmanship would be availed of not only by India but the world at large.

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

—ANNA.



**Dr. S. Chandrasekhar**

*Minister of State for Health, Family Planning and Urban Development.*

I consider it a privilege to have been asked to contribute an article for a souvenir in connection with the 60th birthday celebrations of Thiru C. N. Annadurai. A publication of this type is a fitting tribute to a leader who is a distinguished and pioneering social reformer, orator, writer and organiser of a mass movement. A compendium of articles will help the people to understand the different facets of Thiru Annadurai's life, which is a South Indian success story.

I first met Thiru Annadurai some twelve years ago when we both addressed a vast student audience at Pachiappa's College in Madras. The subject was "The Need to Promote Inter-caste Marriages as a Step Towards National Integration." I am one of those who believe very strongly in the need for inter-caste and inter-regional marriages as a right step towards the emotional integration of our country. I was pleasantly surprised and very impressed with Thiru Annadurai's views that evening. He spoke eloquently in liquid, limpid Tamil on the need to eliminate caste distinctions and to eschew communalism in our political life. He moved and swayed the audience. As I sat listening to him that evening, he seemed a rare combination of Periyar and the late Satyamurthi. From then on I have looked upon Annadurai as a distinguished and pioneering social reformer.

He is against caste and communal prejudices but he is no fanatic. He is against irrational superstitions and meaningless rituals but he is not a bigot. And when he was returned to power, Thiru Annadurai did not forget the ideals he had placed before the people in earlier days. He promptly brought forth measures to encourage inter-caste marriages and provide legal sanction to the "reform marriages."

"Anna", as Thiru Annadurai is affectionately called, carved a political career for himself from his student days. He was an active debator as a student, and he used the College Debating Society to crystalise his ideals and cultivate his political talents. This experience in the impressionable period of his life has marked him as a distinguished speaker with craftsmanship over his words — a craftsmanship which has earned him the title 'Alliteration Annadurai.'

The next occasion when I came across Thiru Annadurai was when he was elected to the Rajya Sabha. It was during the sessions of the Rajya Sabha that I really got to know him. We both, as Members of the Rajya Sabha from Madras, had opportunities to discuss politics—I as a Congressman and he as a D.M.K. Member. We often met in the library after the question hour and discussed the pros and cons of various moves by various political

groups. When Thiru Annadurai was elected to the Rajya Sabha, many North Indian Members of Parliament wondered whether he spoke English, knowing as they did that he was a great champion and exponent of the Tamil language. But they were very pleasantly surprised when they learned that Thiru Annadurai was an M.A. of the University of Madras and could speak fluently and effectively in the English language. This endeared him to all those who did not know Tamil. Thus as a Member of the Rajya Sabha he left an imprint on the nation's capital of his political sagacity and debating ability.

After I became a Minister and Thiru Annadurai became the Chief Minister of Madras, I had many opportunities to get together with him officially to promote the Government of India's Health and Family Planning Programmes. Madras, under the

Congress Administration, did an excellent, pioneering job in Family Planning. Fortunately for all of us, Thiru Annadurai has always been a champion of the cause of planned parenthood and the ideal of the small family. As Chief Minister of Madras he has carried on the great work of promoting family planning. Here his talents as a writer, an actor, a film play-wright and an eloquent speaker have all been of great use in promoting the ideal of the small family. The work of Madras State in this matter has been distinguished.

I have every hope that under Thiru Annadurai's stewardship the Family Planning Programme and other welfare schemes will light up the homes of the people of Tamilnad. I wish him many more years of useful work in the cause of Tamilnad and India, whether in Government or in the opposition.

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### on religion

**Our religion has degenerated into rituals, our society which was once classless and casteless has degenerated into watertight compartments of caste and creed, and, all the while, we have kept either silent or have been supplying defence to superstition and orthodoxy by offering liberal interpretations in a scholarly way.**

—ANNA

# ANNA - OUR BELOVED LEADER

**Prof. K. Anbazhagan, M. P.**

Anna is a household name in Tamilnadu. Well known as the Leader of the South, he is considered to be the most able Chief Minister of our leading State in India. Even in the North of India many politicians recognise him as an able and talented statesman who has brought a party to its present position of importance. His success has been noticed in the Western and the Eastern countries who watch the progress of our nation.

Anna is a pioneer in the various fields of reform in the public life of Tamilnadu.

He is an ardent advocate of social reforms and is a powerful propagandist of rationalism. Anna has been acknowledged as the morning star of Renaissance in Tamil language and literature. He is a good dramatist and some of his plays have been accepted and filmed. The dialogues and the excellent speeches assigned to each character have won the admiration of the public in educating and reforming them in the political, economic, social, cultural and religious fields. It has been an accepted fact that in public speaking, debate or oratory he has won the unique honour of holding the first rank in Tamilnadu. Even in the legislature he has been noted for his high standard of discussion and has won a unique name of being the leader of the Party.

As a speaker, writer, policy maker, party organiser and as an actor or dramatist he has no parallel in Tamilnadu. He has surpassed

in excellence even his own leaders in the various fields.

Anna, whose name and memory has been cherished highly in Tamilnadu, has all the characteristics and good qualities of his predecessors in the party. He has inherited all the great qualities and talents of the leaders of Justice Party who guided the destiny of Tamilnadu many years ago. From Sir P. T. Chettiar, Anna has learned his spirit of service; from Panagal, his great statesmanship; from Dr. T. M. Nayar, his great power of argument; from Dr. A. Ramasamy Mudaliar, his oratory, the art of persuasive eloquence; from Dr. Sir R. K. Shanmugam Chetty, his economic calibre; from Thiru-Vi-Ka, his sweet language and from Periyar E. V. Ramasamy, his great toil and hard work, the will power and the bull-dog tenacity of purpose to achieve his object.

As a dramatist of social reforms he can be compared to Bernard Shaw and the great Norwegian dramatist Ibsen. Even great writers like Kalki Krishnamurthy have approved of this. Veteran politicians and thinkers like Thiru-Vi-Ka have agreed that he was the undisputed leader and reformer of the Tamil Youth Movement.

Even after ascending the chief ministerial *Gadi* of Tamilnadu he believes in the policy of enforcing prohibition as an ardent follower of the Gandhian ideology. He would not scrap it although there is the deficit

finance for the State. Even great leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan have paid him ample tributes for his pro-prohibition policy. There are many such instances to quote when we write about Anna.

His name and fame are interconnected with the destiny of Tamilnadu. He has become the symbol and the true representative of Tamilnadu glorifying her past and her modern growth with her great history, language, literature and culture. Even leaders who are politically in the opposite camps have taken notice of his great achievements and have confirmed that in his regime the history of Tamilnadu has taken a definite turn towards a prosperous and memorable era.

People of Tamilnadu have come to the conclusion that undoubtedly Anna is the sole guardian who could guide their destinies for a bright and happy future promising peace, prosperity and plenty for the posterity.

For the vast teeming and toiling millions of Tamilnadu his name and services have made himself very dear and near to their hearts and no one can explain this mystery of the great magic charm and influence that he has over the masses.

The open secret of his success can be traced to his inborn tenderness, compassion, sympathy and benevolence to the poor and suffering people. His thoughts and words come from the very bottom of his heart and

when he expresses his sympathy for the poor they are genuine. He is one with the poor and suffering people of Tamilnadu and identifies himself with the poverty-stricken and needy people, in his thought, word and deed. To cite the oft-quoted saying, "Kindness is the language the deaf can hear and the dumb understand". And this kindness Anna has in abundance and that is the secret of his success with the masses.

As Hedley has said, "Kindness has the effect of balm; it soothes suffering, softens pride; dissipates selfishness and exercises bad temper." Anna is the embodiment of all these great qualities.

After having been in close intimacy and contact with him for many long years and having watched him with deep admiration and full of appreciation, if I can think and say anything to myself I am only reminded of the following few lines from Henry Drummond:

"I wonder why it is that  
We are not kinder than we are?  
How easily it is done!  
How instantly it acts!  
How infallibly it is remembered!  
How superabundantly it pays  
itself back!"

Anna belongs to each and all-and-all and each belong to him.

Long live our beloved ANNA!

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**When a great ideal is distorted, a doctrine debased, a creed kept as a caricature to suit one's purpose, taste and need, it evokes the most scathing contempt from friends and foes alike.**

—ANNA

# UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

**Dr. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam**

Political independence has brought in its train several problems and in our infancy of nationalism, we have begun to experiment with things that have run so well so long. Universities have not been free from that impact and we hear now and again that the autonomy of the universities is being encroached, Damocle's sword is hanging over them, Universities are becoming political-minded and are losing their academic freedom, that there has been gradual lowering down of standards and so on.

Madras University was founded along with Calcutta and Bombay as one of the Presidency Universities in 1857. We went on merrily and about the time of Shastiabdurthi, Mysore broke off from the parent Madras and founded a separate University in 1916. Hyderabad soon followed with the Oosmania University in 1918. The Andhras agitated for a separate Telugu University and one was established in Waltair in 1926. Annamalai University was established in 1929 as a new venture of unitary residential University. Travancore soon followed the other states of Mysore and Hyderabad and established a University of its own in Trivandrum in 1937. In 1954, the agitation for a separate University for the ceded districts of Andhra Pradesh saw the establishment of a University at Tirupathi on the very tempting offer of the resources of the Tirumalai-Thirupathi Devasthanam.

All the Universities in the South have thus stemmed out of the Madras University and they all bear in their working and organisation the impress of the parent Madras University. The Acts constituting them largely follow the pattern of the Madras University Act as amended in the 1920s by Sir A. P. Patro, the then Education Minister in the Diarchic administration of the Montford Reforms, when education, including University Education, became a transferred subject to the state. Though a right and beneficial move, this in itself set a draw-back to University Education in that the Indian Educational Service was gradually abolished and the Government Colleges and the inspectorate came under the guidance of Provincial servicemen who have not seen education abroad. Our enlightened politicians began to feel a political pride in their supposed self-sufficiency of local education for higher development of knowledge and research. The low emoluments of the State pay-scale failed to attract the right type of brilliant men needed to guide higher education and set the stage for deterioration in the teaching and aim of Collegiate and University Education.

A free Academic atmosphere and administration in accordance with British traditions prevailed in Indian Universities during the British period, manned largely as



they were by men who came from British Universities.

The three important functionaries to-day in the Indian Universities are (i) The Chancellor (ii) The Pro-Chancellor and (iii) The Vice-Chancellor. The Acts relating to the Universities are still largely modelled on the Acts of the British period.

The autonomy of the Universities was maintained and safe-guarded to a good extent in the British regime.

The Governor in the pre-independence days was the administrative head of the state and as *ex-officio* Chancellor exercised administrative powers in *his individual capacity* over the University in the State. Sir A. P. Patro's Act in 1920 continued that status under Montford Reforms. He introduced a new functionary, the Pro-chancellor, the Minister for Education for the time-being, being *ex-officio* Pro-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor was made a full-time salaried officer, elected by the Senate. The Senate was to vote and recommend three persons to the Chancellor who appointed one of them as the Vice-Chancellor. It had happened so far that either the only candidate who was nominated by the Senate, there being no other nominations for the elections or the candidate who obtained the largest number of votes was nominated as the Vice-Chancellor as having the greatest confidence of the Senate which is under the Act "the supreme governing body of the University."

With the coming-in of independence, the administrative set-up provided in the Constitution for the States and the amendments to the local University Acts have been designed to give a greater control of the Universities to Ministries.

*Chancellor*: The Governor of the State who had administrative powers was replaced by the Constitution by a Governor who was merely a constitutional head acting on the advice of the Ministers. Though this is a change in the political field of administration of the State, the University Acts being basic-

ally the Acts of pre-independence period, it may be assumed that the Governor as *ex-officio* Chancellor has not lost administrative power over the Universities. But the Governors who were appointed under the new Constitution came to regard themselves as constitutional heads even in relation to the universities and acted on the advice of the Education Minister or the Cabinet. The writer had occasion to discuss this matter with a former Governor of Madras, the late Maharaja of Bhavanagar who however felt that as his predecessor, Sir Archibald Nye had started the convention of consulting the ministry, he could not well follow a different procedure. The Chancellor had thus lost his initiative and guidance which were in effect surrendered to the ministry. We perhaps have not lost much, knowing as we do now, that the Governorship often became a consolation prize to degraded chief ministers in elections or to some leading political worker who could not be found a seat in the legislature or the cabinet.

The actions and orders of the Chacellor, acting on the advice of a party minister take a political twist. Appointments and noninations to the University bodies were often based on political considerations, not in the educational interests of the University or of University education in general. It had been used in Madras to create an opposition to the administration when the Senate (the University) and the minister (the Pro-Chancellor) disagreed on their policies. The appointments of Vice-Chancellors were often the prize for political workers who could not be absorbed otherwise or to put a gag on a powerful organiser and leader of an opposing political party as in the case of the appointment of the late Acharya Narendra Dev to Benares University whose resignation for reasons of health was not even acceptable to the Centre but who preferred to advise and grant him long leave. The writer is aware of the resentment caused in him who made no secret that politics was his first charge and education came next to him.

This political trend was noticeably seen in newer universities where the power of nominating Vice-Chancellors was given to the Governor Chancellor. The Chancellor and the minister being both of the same political creed, the Chancellor's nomination was in effect of the party in power. It was again a political prize.

Fortunately Madras was saved from this catastrophe until recently since the Vice-Chancellor was elected by the Senate and was responsible to it. He had to reflect the views of the Senate in a large measure in the administration of the University. He could well resist any ministerial in-roads and directives.

Mr. Bhakthavathsalam, the last Congress Chief Minister as one of his last acts amended the University Act and introduced the "Delhi Model" of appointment of Vice Chancellors to the Madras University. The autonomy of the University has been taken down the road fathoms long by this amendment. A committee of three persons, two nominated by the University, respectively by the Syndicate and the Senate, the third by Government, recommends a panel of three names to the Chancellor. The Chancellor is expected to nominate one of them.

The autonomy of the University is thus encroached and endangered by

1. The Chancellor regarding himself as the constitutional head acting on the advice of his ministers, even in regard to University which is an autonomous body.

2. The Pro-Chancellor being the Minister for education, party interests are served.

3. In the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor who in effect is a Government nominee. The Vice-Chancellor feels bound, often to implement the mandates from the party or the party-minister. Political policies and ideologies pervade and vitiate academic considerations on their merit.

The nominations are generally intended to support the administration. But where the Vice-Chancellor is not a party man, the nominations are so made as to serve as oppo-

sition parties either in the Chief executive body, the Syndicate, or in the "Supreme governing body" of the University, the Senate.

Remedies suggested are :

1. The Chancellor should be empowered to act in his *individual* capacity and not as Governor acting on the advice of the ministry. Or, some system of election should be devised as in British and other foreign universities.

The Andhra Government, in the first Act constituting the Shri Venkateswara University at Tirupathi in keeping with the above view, made the Chief Justice of the State the Chancellor of the University. But very quickly, when the ministers found that they lost their hold on the University administration, amended the Act reverting to the Governor as Chancellor. This is a clear indication of how ministries want to have a grip on the Universities.

2. The Pro-Chancellor need not necessarily be the Minister for Education. It is suggested that a Judge of the High Court of the State may be elected amongst themselves or by the Senate of the Syndicate once in three years.

The Annamalai University has a member of the founder's family as the Pro-Chancellor. He exercises considerable powers of nomination of the Vice-Chancellor, members to the Syndicate and the Senate and as Chairman of the Staff Selection Board. Much of the discontent in the University amongst the staff and the students stem largely from these powers of the Pro-Chancellor. The University bodies are over-tilted with Pro-Chancellor's men. The Staff members do not feel the freedom to vote for the men of their choice; the Syndicate and the Senate constituted as they are largely with the men of the Pro-Chancellor's choice, inclusive of the Deans and other staff of the University; the Vice-Chancellor is sometimes placed in an embarrassing position in carrying out his responsible duties in the manner of his own judgement. An Amendment Act Committee of the University had submitted its report years

ago. No action has been taken on those recommendations.

*The Vice-Chancellor :* The best method to maintain the freedom and autonomy of the university is to give the choice of election to the Senates.

The Senate may often return one who has served on the Syndicate and the Senate for some years and is conversant with the problems and aspirations of the University or an educationist of standing and repute.

The Delhi Model showed its weakness in its very first functioning in the Andhra University. A very embarrassing situation arose when the Chancellor (Shri Sachar) could not accept the recommendations of the committee and the committee refused to reconsider its decision, for a second panel. The committee may in effect dictate its choice by recommending one acceptable and two non-acceptable names or as they are dubbed one "strong" name and two "dummy names". This method is often adopted in the panel submitted by the Pro-Chancellor for the Annamalai University. The Chancellors in such cases must direct that the three names to be submitted should represent men of more or less equal eminence.

If, however the committee of three men is to be continued for the choice of the Vice-Chancellor, it is suggested that the three names recommended by the Committee should be referred to the Senate to record their order of preference through voting. It will indicate to the Chancellor the degree of confidence and trust the Senate has on the three names of the panel.

### **The University Grants Commission and the Union Ministry of Education:**

The University Grants Commission though primarily intended to assess the grants to be given to the Universities according to its needs and developmental plans, has

also gradually encroached upon the freedom of the Universities to frame their own courses and develop along independent lines. The Commissions and the Union Ministry's efforts to bring uniformity in University education are steps backward for the real advancement of knowledge and learning and for development of new fields of study etc.

Each institution should be encouraged to aim at excellence of its own kind, for its own ends, to be itself at its best, rather than imitate others. This is the only way the nation as a whole can achieve greatness in education.

Universities shall have ultimately the responsibility to bear the power of balancing conflicting ideologies, help to maintain political stability of the country and advance its economic development. The country will claim and need the experience of University men. In this scientific age, the nation's wars will be fought in the scientific and technological laboratories.

God forbid, but if ever the failure of democracy in India leads to military coup and dictatorship, as in the neighbouring countries of Egypt and Pakistan, to balance the evil influence on the Universities of such dictatorship as was witnessed in the extreme during the dictatorship of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy and is being witnessed in communist regimes, the academic freedom of the Universities should be nurtured, safeguarded and cultured at all costs. The legislators should think a hundred times before seeking to interfere from a political motive with the constitutional autonomous working of the Universities. The country should set its face against the amateurish and changing ideas of the ministries causing upheavels on the normal work and constitution of the Universities.

# PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL DEMOCRACY

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K. SANTHANAM

This Souvenir is being issued to celebrate the 60th Birth-day of Sri Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras to whom I extend my cordial felicitations. I wonder, however, whether many of his admirers realise the unique service he has rendered to the cause of Parliamentary democracy in India.

The two major forms of democracy are (1) the Parliamentary system of responsible Government of the British type and (2) the Presidential system of powers existing in the U. S. A. Other forms of democracy are more or less the combinations of these two in various ways.

The Constituent Assembly of India chose the parliamentary form of democracy partly because its leaders were more fully acquainted with it than with the presidential system. But that was not the sole reason. Parliamentary democracy is flexible and is capable of serving the needs of a developing country more easily than the other system. But a major condition for the success of parliamentary democracy is the existence of two main parties in the legislature. Unfortunately, India started with a single party system at the Centre and in the States opposed by a multiplicity of small groups. In the absence of effective opposition, the parliamentary system becomes virtually a single party

dictatorship. That this dictatorship may for a time be beneficial has been proved by the history of India during the first decade of her independence. But all dictatorships whether open or clothed in democratic garbs inevitably become unresponsive and corrupt.

In a presidential form, a two-party system is not so essential. The executive and legislative powers are separated. The legislature controls budget and legislation but a President who does not want new laws or add taxation can run the administration in any way he likes. Even though politics in U. S. A. has been dominated by two great parties, the President's own party has often been divided in its support to him and there have been many occasions when the President has been denied the laws and funds he asked for. On other occasions, part of the opposition has come to his rescue against the dissidents of his own party. By and large, it is true to say that legislation in U. S. A. is not strictly a party affair but depends upon supporters in both parties. The same is true of the budget also. But there is a major weakness in presidential democracy. It is possible for the President and the legislature to be at loggerheads and as both are elected for a fixed term, things may stagnate

or deteriorate during a whole term. In the case of a developing country, this may prove to be a serious handicap. Still, if India has to accustom herself permanently to a multi-party system at the Centre and in the States, she will have to change over to the presidential type, some time or other unless democracy itself is replaced by some form of dictatorship.

By installing the two-party system in the State of Madras, its Chief Minister has given a new hope to the future of parliamentary democracy in India. It may be said that the D. M. K. party of which he is the Chief is only a State party and unless the two-party system prevails at the Centre and in most of the other States, its existence in Madras alone will not save parliamentary democracy. This is to forget the dynamic nature of politics. Indian political parties have suffered from over-centralisation and so they have functioned on what the Communists 'call the principle of democratic centralism'. In other words, power flows mainly from the top to the bottom while the lower levels of the party have little say in its policies and programmes. This is not a suitable form of party organisation for a country with a federal constitution. It is essential that at the State level, and I would suggest, even at the constituency level, the local workers should have more or less complete autonomy and the local units should be federated into a State unit and the State units should be federated into federal unit. Persuasion and co-ordination should replace the present practice of Central

decision and direction. It is not easy to expect the present centralised parties to voluntarily decentralise themselves. I feel therefore that if parliamentary democracy is to function effectively in this country, autonomous state parties should first gain power in the States and then by a process of voluntary association become federal parties. It is a matter of great disappointment to me that even the Swatantra party should have quickly converted itself into a centralised organisation. But I hope it is not too late for it to decentralise itself. The D. M. K. in Madras can exercise a powerful influence in this direction by seeking alliances with other autonomous State parties for work in Parliament. This alliance should be strictly confined to matters concerning parliament and Government of India and the allied parties should be absolutely free with reference to State affairs.

It is only such a reconstruction of the party system in India culminating into major federal parties with State branches which are autonomous in State affairs that can give stability and permanency to parliamentary democracy in this country. In view of its other merits, I would like to give it a trial for another 10 or 15 years for such regrouping and reconstruction of the party system. If, at the end, the two-party system does not emerge both at the Centre and most of the States, there will be no alternative but to scrap it in favour of presidential democracy or submit to forces working towards dictatorship.

## ANNA'S ERA OF TAMILIAN RENAISSANCE

*S. M. BALASUBRAHMANYAM*

*Head of Maya's Language School, Madras*

Anna's emergence in the public marks an epoch in the history of Tamil literature, for it is chiefly his eloquence that has awakened the masses from slumber to see literature as a vital record of what men have seen in life, what they have experienced of it, what they have thought and felt about those aspects of it which have the most immediate and enduring interest for all of us.

Rising from the horizon of Periyar Ramasami, Anna has awakened the people of Tamilnad by shedding the rays of the age-old Tamil culture on the masses through rational criticism of the non-Tamil ideas and manners which have crept into Tamil literature by a slow process caused by the non-Tamil rulers, however, not without incurring the displeasure of a section of the people whose thinking has already been influenced by foreign stuff.

The people of the Indus Valley civilization are found to have essential similarity with the Dravidian races and culture of South India and the Aryan migrations are supposed to have taken place about a thousand years after the Indus valley period. Naturally, Anna wanted to get back what was lost and this led him to fight for Dravidanad, but with a good foresight and a nobler heart he has now given up the demand in the larger interest of the country, although, I may say, he continues to fight against the causes that prompted him the demand.

Thus, both from the political and the social points of view, the modern development of Tamilians opens an era which can be rightly called the Anna-era : a sort of renaissance in literature and a sort of revolution in politics have doubtless provided our society a turning point. As swaraj was the basis of growth of the Congress party, I may say, language forms the basis of growth of the DMK.

In 1937, when Rajaji was the Chief Minister of Madras, Hindi was made compulsory, and Anna, for his retaliatory measures, was sent to prison. Prison in 1937; Parliament in 1967! Neither in the prison, nor in the parliament Anna has failed to voice the opposition to Hindi. In 1938 Rajaji headed the Government as a protagonist of Hindi; in 1968 Anna heads the Government as the same old antagonist of Hindi, ironically, however, also with Rajaji in full appreciation of the danger that Hindi poses to the cultural progress of the age-old Tamil!

Language belongs exclusively to the people. It permeates into all strata of human nature and puts them together in a unique, mysterious way. 'It is an intellectual art and as the French opigram hits the mark—art is life seen through a temperament. It is with the critic or the interpreter, therefore, that we have first to do.'

As natural as the air we breathe, language is just as vital a medium which provides

human experience the soil for growth and development. It speaks for a civilization, the greatness of a people, the trends in politics through ages; and from Aristotle to Anna, it has been the chief agent of influence capturing and captivating the minds of millions.

Even as man finds his thoughts recorded in the language he speaks, language finds itself recorded in literature shaped out of man's personality, his ceaseless efforts to exist and to co-exist, his tastes and distastes, his vigorous creative intellect and political strength. Language seems to have a living in man and man an endless business with language!

It wouldn't be wrong if I say that Anna has done this business with a brilliant reciprocal effect; for who can deny that he has carved out a place for himself in the affairs of the people around him by a soft but sure use of the language that is his mother-tongue, the age-honoured Tamil? Who can deny that, on the other hand, the language itself has found in him a true guardian and a bold reformer, to protect and to promote its interest?

The activities of a people's civilization is in its ideas and manners; unfortunately, these ideas and manners sometimes get mixed up with others or confine themselves to a narrow group and for want of popular ventilation, go into oblivion and even disappear leaving, perhaps, here and there, a few traces of their splendour. To reconstruct a nation is to recreate the spirit of its public life, warm up the frozen excellence, or say, awaken the native ideas and manners in the popular medium.

Anna has doubtless superbly effected this awakening—a signal service to the language and its literature at the time it needed one. But for his entry and perspective, I would even say that in a decade or so Tamil would have become another Sanskrit! For a language to live and to grow and benefit the people who handle it, scholars alone do not suffice; they only water the plant, sometimes too much; the sun-shine that is much needed

comes from the people, and personalities like Anna are often necessary to tap the ideas and manners embedded in it and popularise them.

‘Only two or three centuries ago, English was spoken by so few a people that none could dream of its ever becoming a world language...it would be unreasonable to suppose as is sometimes done, that the cause of the enormous propagation of the English is to be sought in its intrinsic merits. When two languages compete, the victory does not fall to the most perfect language as such nor is always the nation whose culture is superior that makes the nation of inferior culture adopt its language... thus a great many social problems are involved in the general question of rivalry of languages... *\*political ascendancy would probably be found in most cases to have been the most powerful influence*’.—Otto Jespersen in his ‘Growth and Structure of the English Language’.

Anna's ascendancy to the seat of administration is a welcome change chiefly for the good of the language and literature of the Tamils. It will not any longer remain at the Bhajana or Purana level but will at any rate see the light of science, law, music, commerce, army, administration, and whatever concerns the life of man. I cannot but point out here that unlike his predecessors who are also Tamilians of no less importance, Anna aims at and provides for the absolute development of the language and literature in the purely Dravidian pattern avoiding unnecessary and injurious mixing. As shown by Otto Jespersen, it is the political influence that matters much for the growth of a language, and since Anna is at the wheel of administration, there is ample scope for Tamil to achieve its goal, to win back its age-honoured glory.

Anna's outright removal of Hindi from the curriculum, closure of the N.C.C. whose words of command are in Hindi, institution of the Tamil names all over, introduction of the Tamil medium in all Government colleges are a few instances of his daring approach to

\* Italicised by the author of this article.

the problem of providing an unencumbered and absolutely independent status for Tamil. As if to add colour to the grand occasion of his 60th birth-day, Madras constitutionally changes into *Tamilnadu* (தமிழ்நாடு) — a fitting souvenir so excellently synchronising with the celebration; a record event marking the Golden Age of Anna or say, Anna's Era of Tamilian Renaissance.

Anna's early writings like *Kamba Rasam* (கம்பரசம்) and *Arya Mayai* (ஆரிய மாயை) expose the elements which have overshadowed the ideas and manners of the Dravidian civilization. These and many others like *Thamizharin Marumalarchi* (தமிழரின் மறு மலர்ச்சி) and *Eh Thazhnta Thamizhagamay* (ஏ தாழ்ந்த தமிழகமே) speak volumes for the awakening of the masses. The public platform, the picture house, and the printing press all have helped Anna unmask the vulgarity and the vindictiveness of the dubbed-in pattern considered as disadvantageous to the natural growth of the native culture and this has hence made and fixed in itself the worth of a literature.

Literature is our ancestral property to which we look for guidance, for the tradition worthy its name. We, the people of a superb literature and sound tradition, cannot, therefore, accept any form of literature as a way of life. It is for this reason that Anna desires literature to be classified and chosen. Even as early as 1943 Anna questioned the value of *Ramayanam* and *Periya Puranam* as proud additions to Tamil literature. He argued with scholars like Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai and S. Somasundara Bharatiar and wanted to keep such works off the people's track lest the people should forget their own splendour. Thus he kindled in the people the fire necessary to light the renaissance, made them rid of their foreign ideas and manners and awakened in them a true and pure love for Tamil and its original literature.

The unity of a literature consists, on the one hand, in the persistence of a language which remains, from first to last, intelligible; and, on the other hand, in the continuity of

written works representing the progress of a people in all walks of life handed down from generation to generation: Tamil, notwithstanding its persistence, has not been handed to us in all its fullness or fairness, and an era has now dawned upon it with the appearance of Anna from whose hands the coming generation will probably receive a better stock.

Tamil, as the chief of all Dravidian languages, has indeed grown out of great traditions and practices of the people backed by the Tamilian rulers and enriched by the scholars of high intellectual faculty, and has, no doubt, survived the vagaries of time. Nevertheless, the progress has always suffered some cheque or interference from very early times.

The earliest Aryan migration put into the veins of Dravidian culture some of its ideas and manners and hence the first mixing. Kalapira's invasion in the early 3rd century A. D. caused the closure of the last Sangam; a little later entered the Pallavas during whose period Prakrit was the official language. Kanchi was their capital city where free and extensive study of the Sanskritic languages was encouraged. This continued almost in full strength upto the 7th century A. D. and during this period, Tamil did not progress.

In 470 A. D. there was a Dravidian Sangam founded by Vajrananthi, a Jaina saint, and that was only a Tamil Sangam which is supposed to have brought out *Pazhamozhi* (பழமொழி), *Sirupanchamulam* (சிறுபஞ்சமூலம்), and *Elathi* (ஏலாதி). And then, about 400 years of Chola's rule weakened in the 13th century. At this time, the Pandiyas became strong and re-established their kingdom in Madurai. But since there were frequent changes in the rulers, even this period could not provide for the improvement of the language and its literature beyond producing some religious works.

Again, in the 14th century the two sons of Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandiyan fell out over their rights to rule and Veerapandiyan, later known as Jadavarman, with the help of Malik Kaphoor captured the throne;



then came Muhammed Bin Tukluk and for about half a century continued the Muslim rule ; in the later half of the 14th century the representatives of the King of Vijayanagara ruled the whole of Tamilnad. Works on Saivasinddhanta and those like *Villiputhur-azhvar Bharatham* (வில்லிபுத்தூராழ்வார் பாரதம்), however, appeared in this century.

The 15th century was entirely non-Tamilian and Tamil found no place in the administration, nor did the administration encourage it among the people. This period, too, produced only works like *Thiruppugazh* (திருப்புகழ்) and *Kandharalangaram* (கந்தரலங்காரம்) as if to keep alive the language in the literature of Bhakthi. Almost for 3 centuries, from 1300 to 1600, the life of the Tamils was subject to the influence of the rulers of Vijayanagaram. From 1600 to 1800 the Muslim rulers and the Maharashtrian Shivaji wielded power and no significant improvement was possible. After Tippu Sultan's fall in 1799, the English came to rule and Tamil remained almost stagnant.

The later 19th century and the early 20th century are, however, quite significant in the history of Tamil literature. Subrahmanya Bharathi changed the old order and in his works we find not merely the old form of Bhakthi but the fiercest national spirit and the highest human love and sympathy. In Maraimalai Adigal, Tamil found a savant working for its purity but this spirit remained just at the scholars' level, and it is Anna who bridged the gap between the Tamil of such Aristos and that of the bourgeois.

Bharathi Dasan is an important name in the period of Anna. His works and contributions to 'Dravida Nadu', a Tamil Weekly edited by Anna, proved a successful auxiliary to the awakening of the masses and Anna

recognised his worth as a renaissance poet in token of which he presented him with a purse of some decent amount collected from the public which helped him bring out his own journal. Thus Anna has been encouraging everyone and everything that paved way to Tamilian renaissance.

How effectively the period of Anna has caused the awakening of the masses is so well seen in the actual sacrifice of martyrs like Sankaralinganar, who, in the very words of Anna, died inch by inch for changing the name of Madras into *Tamilnadu* and Chinnasamy, Sivalingam, and Ranganathan, who burnt themselves to death opposing the wanton imposition of Hindi ! Again, take any Tamil News Daily or journal of the pre-Anna period and compare one column of its Tamil with that of almost any to-day, you will find the difference and the difference, of course, marks the awakening ! Presided over by the Hon'ble President of India, attended by myriads of delegates from countries far and near, and watched by millions and millions, took place at Madras the Second World Tamil Conference on 2-1-1968—a historical day, the grandeur of which is epical. The one that can forget the day, of course, also can forget Anna !

—an impossibility !

As it is hardly possible to exaggerate or overestimate the greatness of this literature of ours, so it is with the greatness of Anna who has successfully inculcated in the youth an enthusiasm and in the grown-up an appreciation for whatever is Tamil. This new period of Anna which Tamil literature has so sprightly entered will soon certainly witness a reappearance of the past glory and of an accepted discipline of the Sangam Age. Long live Anna !

# DELHI - MADRAS

**Prof M. Ruthnaswamy**

‘Delhi dur ast’. Delhi is far away, is a saying that comes to us from Moghul times. Even then Governors of the Subas of the Moghul Empire found it difficult to communicate with the Central Government or the *Padhshah* to get their suggestions in regard to local administration accepted, to get help for it, financial or military. Either the letters were not replied to, or it took months to get any reply, or the reply was ‘live on your own’. That seems to be the history of the relations between the Central Government and the Local Governments in India ever since. Even under the British rule although the Government was unitary, it was the same story—the Supreme Government at Calcutta was chary of giving any financial help to the provinces and the provincial governors had often to appeal to the Secretary of State for India in London who was the overlord of them all to make the Government of India comply. Sometimes the provincial governments kicked over the traces as when Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, protested against the first income-tax introduced about 100 years ago by Mr. Wilson, the first Finance Member of the Government of India because it would interfere with the financial resources of Madras. Now under the more federal system under which we live, the difficulties of the States are greater. Under the Constitution of India, the subjects of administration are divided between the Central Government and the State Governments and the State Governments’ sources of revenue are defined and limited while the sources of revenue of the

Central Government are relatively unlimited. Therefore, financial help is given by the Central Government out of the proceeds of the income and excise taxes collected by the Central Government and fixed by a periodical Finance Commission.

As a practical way of settling disputes between the State Governments and the Centre, committees and councils have been set up which meet from time to time to discuss them. One of them is the National Development Council, the latest of whose meeting was held at New Delhi in the first week of July, attended by Chief Ministers of States. Amongst the questions discussed at this meeting of the National Development Council was that of the basis on which grants of the Central Government to the State Governments should be made. The present basis is that 70 per cent of the grants should be in proportion to the population of the State and the other 30 per cent according to the economic backwardness of the people; the strategic position of the State and the continuance of the schemes already in progress and, lastly, the capacity of the State to bear additional taxation to meet the growing needs of development. The Madras Chief Minister pleaded for the percentage based on population to be increased to 80 per cent. Another controversial point raised by the Chief Minister of Kerala was his objection to centrally-sponsored scheme for development as these placed the State Governments in embarrassing position as they have to provide supplementary financial helps like the free

grant of land and other administrative facilities.

Whether any decisions were reached on these points at this meeting of the National Development Council, the newspapers did not report. But on the need for maximum financial subvention from the Central Government to the States there can be no doubt. There are constitutional and political reasons for this assistance. Under the Constitution, the States' sources of revenue are strictly limited and in fact, are inelastic while those of the Central Govt. are relatively unlimited and capable of expansion like income-tax and excise. And some States have still further restricted their resources of revenue by the self-denying ordinance of Prohibition which they have imposed on themselves. Some States like Maharashtra and Mysore have put an end to this denial and want to increase revenues from State excise. Others like Madras wish to continue this renunciation of a fruitful source of revenue. Those States that are still addicted to Prohibition have an additional claim to special assistance from the Central Government - that is, if as the Central Govt. wishes the States to continue Prohibition especially as long as the present Finance Minister is in office.

In other respects also the Central Government is called upon by its political and constitutional obligations to look upon the problems and their solution of State Governments with sympathetic understanding and even generosity, that is the condition by

which they can help the country to become united and strong. That is the condition on which a large state like India can be governed. Long ago Edmund Burk became the political teacher of England and all English speaking countries admit that a large State with the Ottoman empire of its time could be governed only "with a loose rein". That is the condition on which India with an area of 1 million square miles and a population of 550 millions divided by 14 regional languages and hundreds of customs and in different stages of culture and civilization can be governed. The states of India cannot be managed on a uniform pattern. Hence the vanity and hopelessness of imposing a single and uniform pattern of education on all the States as is the ambition of the present Minister for Education of the Government of India. Hence the impropriety of imposing the three language formula on all and sundry States. Education is a State subject according to the Constitution and the autonomy of States in regard to education as in regard to other subjects allotted to them as their primary and principal concern should be allowed. Let the Government of India strengthen its fences for the protection and promotion of the tasks allotted to it by the Constitution—Defence, Foreign Affairs, Trade (international and internal). With supplementary aids and grants to State governments and then all will be well in the relations between States and the Central government.



## MY BELOVED ANNA

K. N. MUDALIYAR

*Advocate-General, Madras*

I have known Thiru Annadurai since July 1930. In those years, I used to see him from a distance. By about 1932, we started taking keen interest in the activities of Pachiyappa's College Union and Debating Societies. We came closer and closer as the years passed by. Thiru Annadurai and I passed the B. A. Hons. Degree Examination in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

He started taking increasingly active part in the affairs of the Justice Party during the mid-thirties. During the later thirties, I actually lost touch with him temporarily. By about the mid-forties, I established my personal contact and friendship with him. During the later forties, I appeared for him in a case or two and since fifties I have been his legal counsellor, both for him and the party he led.

I am happy to say I have built my friendship with him over a period of 38 years almost continuously. In fact I have heard him saying before his dear and near relations in the wake of his revered "thotha's" death, his friendship with me is of the longest duration. Friendship is a sentiment which the heart alone knows. A deep abiding friendship is the very summit of human affection which evokes cordial exhilaration. Emerson says: "Our intellectual and active powers increase with our affection." I have had many hours and days and months when I have partaken of his affection with the result that our intellectual discussions on certain national and international questions were enlivened from time to time. Affection and friendship

with him are indivisible. One cannot develop friendship with him by spending a long number of hours or days. He tries and tests your friendship in his inimitable manner. Friendship with him is never a new-fangled development. It is built step by step and brick by brick and when he takes you as a friend, he grapples you to his soul with hoops of steel and defends you against the whole world.

He is an excellent judge of men. This singular trait or ability has enabled him to choose most of his lieutenants for the advancement of his party's work and for the accomplishment of his governmental administration. He can combine a quality of mildness or even meekness with a steel like resoluteness in stemming certain unhealthy or unseemly developments which fall within the compass of his stewardship.

He has got the enviable quality of forgiveness. I am not certain that he forgets things, but his quality of forgiving is known to many erring members in the past and there are many inside and outside the party who have received a good measure of his virtue of his forgiveness.

He is a great thinker. During my meetings, I have been considerably impressed by the logical steps of his thought processes and it is amazing to see his clear vision projected into the future and he would expound the likely or future consequences of any proposed or projected move for action in politics. He has the capacity to make the common masses of people think about the problems of the

common man. It was Montesque who said - "In a free State it is not a matter of supreme consequence whether men think as a rule rightly or wrongly; the most important thing is that they think....without thought, popular government is a delusion; and if popular government forces men to think, it needs no other defence....". By making men think by reason of his speeches he is the greatest defender of popular government.

He is essentially self-reliant. In fact, his career illustrates it beyond any shadow of doubt. He is his own star. He believed in his own thought. He believed also that what is true in his private heart is true for all men. He spoke his latent conviction and it became the universal philosophy for his followers in this State. He once admitted that he was never subjected to the tyranny of either of the clock or the date.

His satire is incisive and penetrating and his invective is scorching; his repartee is devastating. His speeches both inside and outside the legislative forums are illustrative of these qualities as a public speaker. His debating skill is unmatched in the recent past and certainly never surpassed. His speeches in the Rajya Sabha have established his reputation as a great public speaker in the English language.

In personal meetings where no outsider is present, his wit and humour are scintillating. When one seeks guidance from him, his wisdom combined with his humility flows out. I have had occasions to burst into peals of laughter when he employed his wit to lighten the situations, however seemingly they were grave and solemn.

He has another extraordinary virtue which is rarely discovered in this country. He has an abundant sense of appreciation of the very good points of his political opponents. I have known him paying generous tribute to the good qualities found in the political opponents. He has not even an

iota of either personal ranquor, or illwill or hatred. In fact, he displays biblical spirit when he loves his political opponents.

He expects whole-hearted loyalty from his friends and followers. A mask or pretence of it, however cleverly camouflaged, is pierced through and laid bare by him. His innate talent for discovering true loyalty is remarkable. It is my rich experience that the more I gave of my personal loyalty, the more and more I have been fortunate enough to receive his loyalty in return in an ever-increasing measure. Loyalty to him is a never-forgotten memory with him.

In discussing the various aspects of any new problem which needs solution or guidelines from him, I am bound to say that he would test each premise of the problem with a tremendous concentration and in the ultimate analysis either the solution or guidelines, obviously clear and categorical, would be given by him.

He has his unfailing and unerring touch with the pulse of his audiences. He can attune and modulate his speeches to the moods of his vast gatherings. He never believes in perorations as a culmination of his splendid orations. So often, he ends his speeches when the masses of his audiences are avid for hearing him more and more. The huge concourse of people gathered to hear him never taste satiety while hearing him.

When he took office he summed up the philosophy of his life in the following words of Somerset Maugham, quoting Fray Luis de Leon,—“The beauty of life, he says, is nothing but this that each should act in conformity with his nature and business”. I have no doubt that he has been living the spirit of his summation.

I offer my heartfelt felicitations on his entering the sixtieth year. I wish him many many happy returns of the day.



# PROMOTION OF HANDICRAFTS

**T. A. S. Balakrishnan**

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Over a period of years the Government of India has bestowed some thought and attention to the Development of Handicrafts in this country. As a result of these efforts, some training centres have been set up and some production centres have come into being. Some of these are doing very good work. They are creating new designs based on our traditional designs and related to modern needs, without sacrificing the classical dignity and grace that goes with the traditional designs. It is, however, a matter of sad fact that this development has not really touched all the centres of traditional arts and crafts. There is an acute and crying need for a new policy in regard to handicrafts.

2. A view was held sometime ago, that setting up training centres and training artisans in such traditional crafts will give the necessary impetus to the handicrafts and will help us to get art-charged products from the trainees. It was in the furtherance of this view that a large number of training centres have been set up. In Madras State, there have been production and training centres for the manufacture of brass icons, for the manufacture of art metal work, and the manufacture of temple cars to cite a few instances. In these fields, we still have a few 'master craftsmen' left, who learnt the art in the traditional way and who are the current

repositories of these stores of knowledge. What happens in such training institutions is, a dozen pupils are picked up and trained over a period of one or two or three years. A few such courses have so far been pushed through. An adequate number of artisans is not being trained. Some of the artisans who were trained in these arts do not stick to them. They migrate to other professions and the products made by these people are small in number; and they really do not attract sizable markets.

3. The basic need, therefore, is not only to create artisans but ensure a steady market for the products that have been produced by these artisans. The trained artisans should have the confidence that what they produce or products in their particular branch of work will have a ready market at reasonable prices. There should be a place where they could get a reasonable wage which will cover their cost of material and their labour and give them a small surplus, for further investment in the same field. Now, in order to do this, we should have an effective marketing organisation. At the moment, there are about 20 Emporia in the Madras State, with a turnover of little less than Rs. 60 lakhs. This is a good effort. Out of this 60 lakhs, on any reasonable computation about 30 to 35 lakhs would be distributed as artisans' wages. Now what we

have to do is to treble or quadruple this kind of out-put.

4. If we could have an organisation which has substantial working capital, then we could give long term orders to these artisans. We could take decisions, in regard to the designs and quality of workmanship. We could specify standards and say that 5 pieces per month would be accepted, over a period of 3 years. This kind of order could enable the artisans to plan his creative work, over a period of 2 to 3 years. He will be assured of a reasonable wage, as long as he delivers the goods. He can buy raw materials in reasonable bulk, well in advance of his needs; and in the cheapest market. This kind of steady order from Emporia is a necessity for the development of the craftsmen. By such an arrangement he could be saved the need to hawk his wares in the market place, and lacking customers, sell it for distress price. What now happens is, that those in charge of purchase of these Emporia, would insist upon his doing novel and cheap articles which they can sell easily. The craftsman who prepares the designs and executes work with high artistic merit, does not get sufficient encouragement and cannot risk his meagre capital in the present situation.

5. The present policy in regard to handicrafts purchase and sale, has also an unfortunate effect on the export market. The buyer in the export market is sophisticated; the kind of shoddy goods that find a rapid sale in moffusil branches of Indian Emporia, can never attract the foreign buyer. The foreign buyer has another disadvantage. Unless the turnover is large, the overhead cost of the kind he has to spend in coming to India for selecting goods and freighting them abroad, will make the transactions uneconomical for him. For instance, there is an artisan in Madras who does elephants and horses in mirror-work, based on clay as material. He charges about Rs. 150 for each piece, which is about 8 to 10 inches high. He has a limited capacity. He can turn out, say, 10 or 12 a month. Now this kind of article will have a tremendous sale in Switzerland or

Sweden. Now in order to make a transaction with a seller in Switzerland or Sweden, we would need to give a 500 or 600 pieces or perhaps, 2000 or 3000 pieces. Now there should be an Emporia, that should be capable of assisting the foreign buyer who seeks to give an order of this size and getting the needs executed in a limited time, in this country. In the case of art-charged articles, it is not possible to have these goods done quickly or in quantity. If we give an advance and other facilities to make mirror-work-horses or elephants we may probably be able to increase this particular craftsman's production from 10 to 30 or utmost 50 in the month. For such articles, we should keep a stock. We should order 3000 or 4000, have inspectors to testify to the quality of the work and keep up the turnover and offer the entire lot to the foreign buyer periodically. Such an operation alone, can boost exports. Now in order to do this, what we need is, an Emporium with more working capital and a more imaginative marketing policy. This could be arranged and we could store goods in the Emporium to the extent of a crore or two. A large number of visiting businessmen dealing in handicrafts could come here periodically and if the quality is really good, they would easily lift this kind of material in no time.

6. The view may be put forward that this may meet with some losses. Our estimate as to what the foreign buyer needs, may go wrong; and after collecting goods worth Rs. 10 or 20 lakhs, we may find ourselves saddled with unsaleable material. This is of course, a risk. However, those who have been in the field of handicrafts, will realise that the risk is rather remote. Professional handicraftsmen can easily separate the good material from the bad or the indifferent and this is true of all professional handicraftsmen all over the world. When we take a hundred articles and place these before them, most of the professional handicraftsmen all over the world, would easily choose the artistic ones and there would be almost unanimous opinion in this choice. There are competent handi-

craftsmen in this country, who can easily locate these items and even if there is a loss in a few deals, we can certainly make it up by over-charging in a few other deals of art-charged works. India's art work is relatively cheap and prices are steady in a number of instances. The best among our art-charged work, is the best in the world. But a large number of shabby and inferior items are also

marketed indiscriminately. Unless we take such a step and stabilise the prices, give long term orders and stock handicrafts over a period of time for large scale buyers, the plight of the craftsmen in this country would continue to be miserable; he will be at the mercy of exploiters and subject to fits of distress sales.



### THE AVERAGE MAN

**“ He seems incredible but represents two thirds of mankind. He lives in a hut. He cannot read or write. His energy is sapped by disease. He labours up to 15 hours a day. He works on land he does not own. He and his family are usually hungry. He dies young. But he still has hopes for his children - that they will be strong and healthy; will be able to read and write; will know individual freedom in a peaceful world! This is the world's Average Man.”**

—ANNA



## — THE SOUL FORCE OF THE SOUTH

*Panmozhipulavar*

K. APPADURAI

If India is the Soul of the East, the South is the Soul of India. C. N. Annadurai, for decades enthroned in the hearts of the millions of the Tamil World and the harbinger of the destinies of the nation of the future, and happily the leader and Chief Minister of the present in Tamilakam, is the Soul Force of the South and the Rising Sun of the East, orientating a new Renaissance for Tamilakam and the South, a new Nationalism for India and a new message of Light and Hope and Peace for the World of the Future; for he is the bearer of a message from the ancient world to the world of tomorrow — the Cosmopolitan message of the illustrious Tiruvalluvar of old.

Arijnar Anna, sage Anna, as C. N. A., is lovingly known among the Tamilians, is a scion of Kanchi, the golden city of the Ancients, the intellectual Capital of Asia and the great ancient emporium and meeting place of ideas North and South, East and West in the early centuries of the Christian era. Waves of the two kinds of Buddhism, Hinayana and Mahayana, of Saivism and Vaishnavism spread from this great Centre of Indian Culture northwards to the other great intellectual marts of India like the Vallabhi, Nalanda and the Vikramasila Universities of India and eastwards to the ancient nations of Southeast Asia like Burma, Thailand, Combodia and the territory of the great Ghams over what is now Vietnam, not to speak of the great Island Empires that range

from Malaysia Eastwards up to the Philippines and the Moluccas.

The tiny seed of the everspreading Banyan tree is heir to the agelong generations of the great Banyan family and is also the epitome of the future of the great Banyan tree and its end'less generations to come. This is equally true of C. N. A. who represents the agelong evolution of the traditional values of life of the South enshrined in the pages of the Tirukkural and the Tamil classics, as also the aspirations of Tamil India, regarding the India and the World of the Future.

The party of which this Wizard of the South is the Founder and far more than Founder, the D. M. K., is the young shoot of the great Dravidian movement of the South, itself deriving its source from the first great political party in South India, the South Indian Liberal Federation, known popularly as the Justice Party. Though a party of princes and lords in its build-up, it had the great good fortune to lead the South ahead of other parts of India in the modern ways of democracy and in the various remarkable projects for the uplift of the people and various progressive acts and institutions. This was because it had also the rare boon of having amid its leaders great intellectual giants like Dr. T. M. Nair and Dr. C. R. Reddy, great leaders of the people like Dr. C. Natesan and Sir P. T. Thyagaraya and efficient administrators like the Rajah of

Panagal, Sir A. D. Petro and Dr. Subbarayan. Periyar E. V. R., the grand old leader of the South and C. N. A., his young but illustrious lieutenant rescued the party from the princes and lords and converted it into a party of the masses, wedded to social regeneration, economic freedom and the intellectual uplift of the down-todden sections of the people. The D. M. K. which started as the youths' sections of the earlier party soon developed into a full-blooded allround national body of the South under the inspired leadership of C. N. A. Entering the polls so late as 1957, it has within the short period of a decade, become a power to reckon within India outside the Congress. It bids fair to draw the forward elements of the South and North and has, doubtless, a mighty future in the coming history of the resurgent Indian nation.

Coming ages are sure to consider the political history of India in the latter half of the 20th Century as the epoch specially of C. N. A.

The political statesmanship of C. N. A., great as it is, is, however, only a fraction of the great part he has had in the life of the South. The first half of the Twentieth Century is remarkable for the great wave of renaissance that has rejuvenated every aspect of the life of the people and every aspect of its art and culture. Poetry and Literature, Music and Drama and the modern field of Cine art, have all received a new life and a new effervescence of growth during this period. Each of these fields has had its distinguished savants responsible for this new spirit, but C. N. A. has been the one dynamic cultural force that inspired every field and revolutionised each and all of them. He has the unique fortune of being a great writer, a great dramatist and actor, a great journalist and a great leader of the people into the bargain. But his own intrinsic part in the several fields is but a nucleus in his ever-throbbing dynamic influence on these fields - his entry into each and every field has witnessed an efflorescence of art among the youth of the country - new writing, new

acting, new forms of poetry and story shot out from among the people due to his national inspiration.

The influence of C. N. A. and his band of youthful writers and artists is perhaps greatest in the field of the Cinema. Earlier to their entry into the field, the actor led a life of exclusion from social and national life and scarcely won the distinction that he holds in them to-day. This was particularly the case with the comic actor of the day who happened to be a mere man of the hour and the moment and was scarcely thought of or remembered afterwards. The very first comic actor who came into forceful personal contact with the D. M. K. and C. N. A., the great N. S. K., rose to a national status in the South and won a fame and place in the people's mind in the East, paralleled only by the brilliant name of Charlie Chaplin in the West. M. G. Ramachandran, K. R. Ramasamy, S. S. Rajendran and Sivaji Ganesan are the heirs to the rich legacy left behind by N. S. K. and have become names to conjure with in the field of art as well as the national and social life of the people to-day.

C. N. A. himself and many of his distinguished followers and leaders of the D. M. K. are themselves great as cine writers. They have raised the dialogue and conversational style of the Screen to the level of a fine art for the first time in the history of the stage of the South. There are also highly distinguished song writers for the film today, thanks to the impetus given to it by the D. M. K. movement and the Renaissance that it has gathered in its wake.

C. N. A. is not only a great pioneer in art and a great ruler of his people, he is a great statesman that has ranged himself definitely on the side of every freedom movement of the world and every people's leadership of the nations. He is destined to be a great bridge between South and North and East and West, for he stands four-square in the midst of the stormy seas of the world - the great rock being the Rock of Freedom and Equality and Friendship between people and people and nation and nation.

# The Southern Point of View in Indian History and Politics

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A. N. Sattanathan

A North Indian friend of mine, a fine intellectual, remarked to me half humorously soon after the 1967 elections, that the rise of a Dravidian party to power in Tamilnad is in essence the resurgence of Dravidian Imperialism. I asked him whether the Dravidians were ever Imperialistic, and even if they were in some stages of our long history, is it possible to revive such an idea in the present day political context? Our discussion was light-hearted, and we indulged in some verbal acrobatics without any rancour or bitterness. But this conversation set me thinking, and I had to admit that there has always been what one might call a distinct Southern point of view in Indian history—though, not being fully convinced of our ethnic separateness I hesitate to call it a Dravidian point of view—an attitude which in some circumstances may lead to isolationism, and a kind of complex that might be easily misunderstood.

As history has all along been written from the Aryan or North-Indian angle, South-Indian history has had the benefit only of fringe treatment at the hands of foreign and India scholars. But after the discovery of Harappa and Mohanjodaro and the connection between this Indus Valley Civilization and the pre-Aryan South which most historians now concede, Indian history should properly begin with a southern base. Some measure of civilization undoubtedly started here which, though initially vanquished, had the vitality to

survive and even to influence the victors in later years. The researches of archaeologists in recent years support this hypothesis. People will very soon admit that there has never been a pure unalloyed Aryan Civilization or Culture.

Though one may not agree with some scholars that Tamil is the oldest of world languages and is the mother of all languages, there is a growing volume of evidence to support the thesis that civilization in the Indian sub-continent did not begin in the Gangetic Valley, nor even in the Indus Valley and that the pre-historic man stepped out of his cave, on his first march towards civilization, perhaps in the deep south. According to Dr. Sankalia of Poona, even as early as 20,000 to 40,000 years ago, men in South India began building crude habitations on river banks, foot hills, and rock shelters, and were engaged in intensive food collecting in specified areas with stone tools, the prototypes of metallic ones, which were soon brought into use. During the period roughly 300 to 800 years before Christ, cities were built, stable kingdoms were flourishing, and the Tamil South was engaged in international and continental trade, and certainly towards the later years of the period produced a diverse and magnificent literature and a grammar—all indicating a social, economic and literary discipline of no mean dimensions and heritage. Sankalia, whom no one will accuse of being pro-

Dravidian or pro-South, whose scholarship commands international respect says in his address before the Second International Tamil Conference.

“Our survey of the existing evidence shows that until about 4,000 years ago the cultural development in South India did not materially differ from that of the rest of India. Then just as a unique civilization grew up in the Indus Valley, taking advantage of the natural factors, in the same way South India chalked out its own lines of development, according to its peculiar environment, viz. castellated hills, looking down red, rocky plains, occasionally interspersed with stretches of rich fertile soil. Nature and man thus effectively combined to give the earliest South Indian Cultures their individuality.”

This individuality has persisted, notwithstanding the slow but steady penetration of Aryan and Sanskritic influence from the 4th or 5th Century B.C. Even the Great Emperor Ashoka stopped short of Tamiland and refers to the Tamil Kings with a friendly respect and did not interfere with them in any way. Tamil polity must have attained a certain stability and strength even before that time, if any value is to be attached to the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. This inscription which is assigned to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. speaks of a confederacy of Tamil states which has been in existence for well over a hundred years at that time. No wonder then that during the Sangam Age (the last Sangam) there was a deep rooted belief in the racial memory, of Tamil penetration of the North upto the Himalayas. This persistent legend, has been immortalized in Silappadikaram. Even if it be a legend, myths have a stranger and stronger influence over people's thoughts and aspirations than ascertained facts. It is an interesting speculation, that if the Ramayana is a semi-mythical version of Aryan penetration of the South, Rama gave the then Tamil Kingdoms a wide berth and kept his itinerary out of them as did Ashoka

in later times ! The prosperity of the Tamil Kingdoms was well known in Valmiki's time and reference to Kapadam the Pandyan capital is in exceedingly flattering terms. It is out of these legends and some historic facts the belief took root that the South was never invaded and conquered by the Aryan North. The Pallavas and Cholas always expanded northward notwithstanding their internal squabbles and found time to extend their sphere of influence, politically, commercially and culturally even beyond the seas. The trans-Indian influences we find in many of the countries of South East Asia are South Indian achievements. It is perhaps these, which suggested to my North Indian friend, the idea of Tamil Imperialism. There undoubtedly has been an imperialistic concept in the Post-Sangam days, but it was not a politically aggressive tradition.

Tamil Imperialism, even if there was one, was defensive as far as its activities in the Indian sub-continent were concerned. Its external manifestations beyond the seas were definitely cultural and commercial,—never territorial. It is needless to go into this matter at length. The boundary of Southern political power was logically along the Narmada, or atleast the river Krishna. The land South of these rivers was known in Sanskrit as the Dakshinapatha. The political imperialism of the Cholas or even of the Pallavas was aimed at extending their sphere of influence upto these rivers, as a measure of safety, not as a measure of territory grabbing.

The Tamils in spite of their being never united for long under a single Kingdom had an individuality cemented by their common language which they carefully preserved. Their secular outlook, tolerance, and capacity to absorb whatever was good in any external influences that affected them are apparent even in the Sangam literature, and these qualities have survived upto the present. These qualities influenced even the Vijayanagar Imperialists and the Maharashtrians who acquired political control over various parts of the land in the later medieval times. The Vijayanagar feudatories who first ruled

as Vice-Roys and then as practically independent kings, became deeply attached to the land of their adoption, and themselves became great patrons of Tamil poetry, music, art and architecture. Such also was the history of the Maharashtra princes of Tanjore. The individuality of the Tamils was so infectious and acceptable, that even outsiders had no difficulty in finding it congenial to live with them.

Tamil secularism arose out of the tribal nature of Dravidian society which in the beginning was free of hierarchical stratification. The tribal division was the inherent development of the natural division of the land into five areas, as climatically suited for hunting, farming, fishing, etc. Though the stratification tended to become rigid due to the absorption of the caste system in subsequent centuries, the bond of common unity and the response to common suggestions amongst the various castes who call themselves Tamizhan or Dravidian in this part of the country, is a feature not apparent in other parts of India. It is this which made the development of the Dravidian movement, and of language chauvinism easier.

It is also noteworthy that even in the centuries before the Christian Era, Jains, Buddhists and Aryan Brahmins began to infiltrate into Tamilnad. They lived a life of peaceful co-existence here, without disturbing the main current of religious, social and economic life. This tolerance and absence of fanatic concert with religion—one's own or others, is seen from the doubts still unsolved about the religion of Valluvar and Ilango. These immortals might have been Jains, Buddhists or even Brahmanic Hindus, and whatever religion they professed they had respect for all religions. Even in later times when Christianity and Islam began spreading in the country the same spirit of secularism and tolerance was shown by the rulers and the people. These foreign religionists were not treated as outsiders, as they are regarded elsewhere, but simply as two more castes in the ever increasing number of castes in the country. It is this spirit of accommodation

which has resulted in all communities living together without communal or religious rioting which is an ugly feature in some other parts of the country. It is this capacity of the Tamizhan to accommodate and rationalize, that saved him from the danger of losing the individuality of his culture—an individuality that can only be recognized with difficulty elsewhere.

It is this individuality and resistance to complete assimilation coupled with the capacity to accommodate outside influences within its own stratified concept of society that has prevented the development of the idea of Bharat Varaha in any convincing manner among the Tamils. The Tamizhan thought only in terms of Tamizhagam and the rest of the world. That Tamilnad was a part of India never struck his fancy, though he shared the Hindu-rituals, beliefs and Gods with the rest of Bharat Varsha. Even Kamban, the greatest epic poet who wrote the story of Rama never treated him as "one of us", whose exploits are a matter of pride, as Valmiki did. To Kamban, he was the prince of Kosala and devotion to him was extended not because he was one of our princes, but because he was a God. Valmiki's Ramayana could be ationalized as patriotic literature, but Kambar's Tamil Classic is nothing but religious literature, which one enjoys and reveres as depicting the exploits of a Godman.

To the people of the Gangetic Valley and its hinterland north of the Vindhya, India is Bharat, and even the Constituent Assembly was persuaded to write this word into the constitution. Aryavārtha and Bharata Khanda are living and endearing concepts to them. The racial memory relates to them the glory that was Hind, the exploits of Rama and Krishna, the Rishis and Munis who sang the Vedic hymns, and who speculated so marvellously on the mysteries of the self and outerself in the Upanishads. The Puranas to them carry the traditions associated with Aryan splendour and power. Aryavārtha and Bharat are strange concepts with which the

average villager in Tamilnad is not familiar. It does not recall to him any glories of his ancestors. The unified India which was the dream of the hymn makers of the Epic age, continues, to be an ideal to fight for, because it was the ideal of all the empire-makers from epic time. To hold all the kingdoms in the extensive Bharat Varsha under one umbrella—the Chakravarthi concept—was the ambition of all the puranic heroes who performed the Rajasuya and the Aswamedha yaga. The ideal animated all Hindu kings from the Mauryas to Harsha, and animated the Great Hindu revivalist Shivaji though he was not born in Aryavarttha proper. The loss of this Hindu kingship to the Muslims, and the subordinate position the Aryan aristocracy occupied during the 5 or 6 centuries of Muslim rule left a canker in their system—a sense of frustration, nourishing at the same time the hope of revivalism under favourable conditions. No wonder, therefore, Indian Nationalism from the close of the 19th century was nourished on the spirit of revivalism of the glory that was Hind and this outspoken Hindu character, not withstanding Ghandiji's eclecticism had its inevitable and unfortunate sequel. The sequel—Partition—was largely responsible for the emphasis on secularism in post-independent India.

To the Tamizhan, as I said before, Bharat Varsha was something the priests said in the mantras, which may have some religious significance of no contemporary interest. The glory that was Hind did not stir him deeply. The Hindu-Muslim problem that is the eternal worry elsewhere surprises him as he has settled it comfortably and has learnt to live with the Muslim as he does with other castemen. Though untouchability

did exist and does exist, the scheduled castes were never treated as sub-humans. He cannot understand the fanaticism aroused by the anti-Cow slaughter movement. The inherited secularism and broad tolerance of the Sangam days still stand by him as pillars of strength, long familiar to him, and not as some modern ideas to be laboriously cultivated on dictation from above.

Leaders of political parties especially from North India should make an effort to understand this Southern point of view. Recognition of this point of view does not necessarily mean conceding that the North is North, and the South is South and the twain shall never meet. They have met all through history, and exchanged aspects of Culture to their mutual benefit. How this point of view has developed should be understood before methods of integration are pressed on various parts of the population in this country. If respect and recognition are offered, the Southerner will be more than willing to give an all-out response. What he resents and would continue to resent is an attitude of condescension and the threat of being submerged by sheer weight of numbers. He would respond to the call of patriotism enthusiastically as he has done in the past if he is convinced that he is fighting for a country fit for heroes, and for a society which assures every one an equal measure of happiness and well-being. It is the task of national leadership to place before the people a political philosophy which will inspire loyalty and a spirit of devotion which some religions alone evoked in the past. The Southern point of view will not stand against national integration if proper measures are taken to arouse emotional response.

## A Second Millenium

**Professor C. D. Rajeswaran**

Thirty-six years ago just when I joined the staff of Pachaiyappa's College, I happened to be one of the judges in a competition. A smartly dressed and in the western style too, there appeared an young man who so impressed all the judges that he knocked away the prize. And the next day I found him in my class which I was taking in politics for the B. A. Honours students. That is young Annadurai and I was happy that he had taken Economics Honours. I expected him to get a first class which he missed. But the two years in the College after I joined I found him knocking away all the prizes in the College. But he was also successful in Inter-collegiate debates held in most of the city colleges.

After he passed out, under the advice of my friend the late Mr. M. Varadarajan who was also my colleague he was recommended and taken as Sub-editor of one of the dailies run by the Rajah Sahib of Bobbili who was then the Chief Minister of the Madras Government. Thus Mr. Annadurai came into politics and got imbibed in the principles of Justice Party and also under the influence of the Self Respect Movement of Periar E.V.R. who had taken over the leadership of the Justice Party in 1937 after the defeat of the Justice Party in the elections.

Mr. Annadurai proved an able lieutenant of E.V. R. during the Anti-Hindi Movement. A good student and a clear thinker Mr. Annadurai was able to develop his thoughts

not only on the social side but also on the political side.

In the forties Mr. Annadurai seemed to have realised that the Tamils in an All India set up may become second class citizens if the consciousness of the people were not roused to the impending danger and also realised that mere social revolution would not put the Tamils into the place which they deserve.

This is the time when the greatness of ancient Tamil Civilisation and Culture should be made known to the people who were quite ignorant of the greatness played by Tamils in the history of this great sub-continent which had been knit into a single country by the British through their administrative and educational policy.

A new renaissance in Tamil Literature and investigation in Tamil history had made the people of Tamilnad to feel that they had a past which was not inferior to people like the Egyptians, Greeks and Assyrians. We owe all this to the revolution started by Periar E. V. R. and his able assistant C. N. A. who was then known as "Thalapathy."

By the time Independence came to this country in a way which very few countries had achieved from foreign domination, C. N. A. realised that a movement which only dealt with social ills of the country is not enough and he branched into as D. M. K. disagreeing with the apostle of Dravidian

Movement, he started the D. M. K. which took a definite political colour and yet waited ten years before he appealed to the electorate in 1957.

From 1957 onwards the leadership of the D. M. K. was ably managed, that step by step people began to realise that atleast in Madras there is a party which is capable of forming an alternative government to the Congress. The astute way in which C. N. A. was leading his followers and the political basis of his party that equality of opportunity alone would usher in true democracy in the country have so convinced the masses that in 1967 the D. M. K. was returned with a fair majority to the Assembly.

The success of C. N. A. lies in the fact that starting as a movement to remove social evils and to make people more rational he had slowly taken the movements to the political arena. Starting with an independent Dravidasthan which originally included the four South Indian States, C. N. A. realised that the unity of the Dravidian States as a whole may not be practical politics ; so he gave up the demand for Dravidasthan while sticking to his opposition to imposing Hindi on the South.

Political opponents attributed that the leaders of the D. M. K. got cold feet and gave up the demand for Dravidasthan. It was not cold feet but true statesmanship and diplomacy that brought about the change in the party plank. He was an intellectual from the beginning, never dogmatic and always willing to think ahead. The seed of greater autonomy for the states was sown when Periar and C. N. A. demanded separte Dravidasthan and now we are finding that most states are clamouring for greater autonomy and the establishment of a true Federal State. As it is, Indian Union is only nominally federal and

it is more closely assembling a unitary state. Then the contribution of the D. M. K. is the new idea which has taken root in other parts also. Who knows the idea of Andhra and Mysore coming closer in the future may not be attributed to the Dravidian movement of Periar E. V. Ramaswamy ? This movement may in course of time lead to a sub-federation of the South and that would certainly be an achievement which will enable the Southern States to become more affluent both in the industrial and agricultural field. In all these developments one can see the contribution of C. N. A. as a politician.

Further the greatness of C. N. A. lies in the fact that his party is not torn by internal discord and quarrel among the leaders and also due to the fact that having had no experience of any kind in the past, the ministry as a whole had functioned in a way to get the appreciation of outside world.

The administrative ability shown by all the ministers have to be admired and the way the Chief had guided them and in the way the Chief had knit them into a single-minded unit show the genius that he is.

Born not well-to-do, striving hard throughout his life as a poor journalist, then branching as the Editor of an independent weekly, *Dravida Nadu*, then entering the field of drama and authorship in writing like Bernardshaw with a political emphasis exposing all the social evils, C. N. A. had proved to the world that his period would mark a definite era, may I say, the Nair - Theagaraya Era followed by E. V. R. Era and now Anna Era. This period may take us the Tamils to a glorious future which may shine as bright as the Pallava and Chola periods had done and establish a second millenium in the History of the Tamils.



## “Aringar Anna - the Statesman”

*Ellai Velan*

Poet Rabindranath Tagore once wrote that “the history of India has been the history of a struggle between the mechanical spirit of conformity in Social Organisation and the creative spirit of man which seeks freedom and love in self-expression.”

In the history of an idea a hero often represents the ideal of his race. Anna stands as the champion of the creative spirit of man seeking freedom and love in self-expression. His mission as the Chief Minister has been like that of a benign hostess to provide proper comfort and accommodation to all her guests whose habits and requirements differ widely from one another. In this noble task of catering to the diverse needs of the citizens of the state over whose destinies he presides as the Chief Minister, it has been his constant endeavour to be magnanimous, pleasurably searching for points to satisfy even those persons who refuse to be satisfied.

Anna is always a practical thinker who takes into consideration the true realities of a situation and his decisions are therefore sound and steady. His decision to effectively make Tamil the medium of Instruction in higher Education is a pointer to this fact. I would like to call this a historic decision. Of course only a start has been made but it is the “start” that is going to change the face of Education for the better.

Poet Tagore has rightly said that “The fact is, for *learning*, a foreign language cannot be the right medium. This is a truism, except in our own country, where it

sounds a dangerous heresy. So far as my experience of teaching goes, a good proportion of Indian pupils are deficient in the power to learning languages. They find it barely possible to matriculate with an insufficient understanding of the English language, while in the higher stages disaster is inevitable. There are other reasons why English cannot be mastered by a large majority of Indian boys. First of all, to accommodate this language in their minds is, for most of them, a feat. Also, very few have the means of getting anything like a proper grounding in English at the hands of a competent teacher. The sons of the poor certainly have not. I know what the counter-argument will be. “You want to give higher education through Indian languages, but where are the text-books?” I am aware that there are none. But unless higher education is given in our own languages, how are text-books to come into existence?”

(Faith of a Poet - Selections from Rabindranath Tagore - Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan - Page 32 - para 2.)

The ideas of Tagore on the medium of instruction for Higher Education clearly supports Anna's action.

Dr. G. U. Pope said long time ago that “Let the Tamils cease to be ashamed of their Tamil.”

Dr. Vinsulo wrote; “It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and in both dialects with its borrowed

treasures, more copious than Latin. In its fullness and power, it more resembles English and German than any other living language."

Dr. Percival pointed out that "Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind. The sequence of things, of thought and action and its results, is always maintained inviolate."

We have such a wonderful language as our mother tongue. Our heritage is really great. Hence is it not a crime on our part to have done nothing effectively so far, to make it the medium of higher Education? We have so far not only done anything substantial in this sphere but were also questioning the few attempts that were made to make it the medium of instruction in Colleges.

Many were arguing that they will enter the water only after learning to swim forgetting the fact that swimming is an operation

that can take place only in water. Anna knows full-well that only when a person gets into water he can learn to swim.

Anna's correct decision to give the rightful place to Tamil in Higher Education is itself enough to place him in the rank of World Statesmen, not to mention the many other things he has done.

Probably, years after, when Tamil will be one of the accepted languages of the World like the Russian and German, posterity cannot but recall to its mind, the noble and bold act of Anna in taking a courageous decision to make Tamil the medium of instruction in Colleges.

Anna is not a fanatic. He wants English also to have its place but not at the cost of the mother tongue. Coming generations will be grateful to him for the right stand he took at the right time and after all what else is statesmanship but to take the right decision at the right time?



# *Political Philosophy of the Tamils during the Sangam Age (1000 B. C. - 200 A. D.)*

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The history of the ancient Tamils is still unknown to the world. So when we say that the ancient Tamils were having a Political Philosophy of their own to rule over their land, the statesmen and politicians hesitate to believe. It is said that "the Western races were not only destined for world supremacy but also for unique pre-eminence in the Philosophies of Politics." But it is contrary to the truth. There were Eastern races who were pre-eminent in political philosophy. The Tamil race was one among them.

The Tamils of the Sangam age had the political philosophy of their own and that Philosophy was most democratic in nature.

Tholkaappiyam, Thirukkural and Sangam Literature are the sources from which the Political philosophy of the ancient Tamils came to be known to us.

Tholkaappiyam which belongs to the Seventh Century B. C. is looked upon as a grammatical work. It is not only a grammar but also a history of the Tamil Language, Literature and people. Tholkaappiyar is the first historian of the world, if history is the re-enactment of the past. The name *Tholkaappiyam* means that which preserves the past. So it is clear that the author of

Tholkaappiyam had his monumental work named as such as he planned to preserve the traditions of the past concerning Language, Literature and people. The whole history of the Tamils who lived around about 700 B. C. could be easily written having Tholkaappiyam as our source.

Thirukkural is more known to the world outside Tamil Nadu than Tholkaappiyam. But it is not studied as a work of political Philosophy. So its author, Thiruvalluvar is not given the place what the Greek Philosophers have got.

The Sangam Literature is the collections of poems numbering about 2400 which survived the destruction of nature. About 480 poets are the authors of these poems which serve as sources of the history of the Ancient Tamil Nadu and throw much light upon the philosophy of the ancient Tamils.

Thousands of years ago the Tamils were well settled in life having a civilization and culture of a high order. They lived in their own country and were ruled by their own great kings.

Tholkaappiyam deals with the kings and people, wars and state-crafts, philosophy and

politics, and professions and avocations in the chapter, Puraththinai.

It is said that a king has five kinds of duties to the people and the state. They are :

1. Resisting the foreign invasion.
2. Maintaining peace and order.
3. Patronising poets and philosophers.
4. Punishing the wicked.
5. Protecting the good.

The king appears to be a limited monarch controlled by the poet-cum-ministers, and the assembly of greatmen (verse 76-Porul). There was abdication and renunciations of the king when occasion arised. The king was not despotic and cruel, but was benevolent and sympathetic. The Tamil kings of the Tholkaappiyar age appear to be philosophers and scholars as Plato desired.

The Political life of the people was confined to the King's service only. All the citizens were expected to fight for their king and country when occasion arose.

The Kings and warriors were forbidden to have their wives with them in the war - camps. So it was enjoined that the separation from wife on behalf of the king's service was limited to the period of one year (verse 189-Porul).

Among the seven divisions of Puraththinai all but the last two deal with war. The course of the war is found to be systematized to such an extent as to appear to be an art of life. It was methodically arranged with many stages which appeared to be followed one after another.

The aims for invading a country and for fighting an enemy were very lofty. When the country was threatened with war by a king who wanted either to exhibit his might or to expand his territory, Tholkaappiyam says :

Vanji (Invasion) is aimed at marching in advance to frighten and conquer the king who is greedy to occupy the land of others (Puraththinai - verse 62).

Thumbai (Fighting) is the greatness of destroying a king who comes to fight having the object of exhibiting his might (Puraththinai - verse 70).

When the land of the enemy was to be invaded the invading king was bound to inform his invasion to the people of the country to be invaded, so that they could be prepared to resist the invasion and to make arrangements for protecting the women-folk, children, weaklings, cows and cow-like seers (Puranaanuru - 9).

The king was expected to rule his country not for the sake of power and authority; but for the benefit of the people. He was valued as the life of the people. Neither paddy nor water, they thought, was necessary to prolong the life of the people (Puranaanuru 186). It was the duty of the king to help the people for leading a virtuous life (Puranaanuru 132). If there was no rain and if the people suffered from any calamity, the king was blamed and so he was always in a fearful mood. The profession of ruling a country, he thought, was full of troubles and was not of worships. (Silappathikaaram - Vanji 100-104). It was emphasised that the success of the government depended upon the virtuous rule only and not upon the possession of four great armies. (Puranaanuru 55). Further it was believed if the king protected the people well without doing any harm to them the people would have a long life of youthful nature without having grey hair (Puranaanuru 191). Thiruvalluvar lived in such a country where the king was the embodiment of justice. The divine right theory was unknown to the Tamils of that period. The king was considered as one among them. The just ruler was worshipped as a god. There was good relation between the ruler and the ruled. So Thiruvalluvar was able to write such a political treatise as Thirukkural which won the praise of all who read it. He deserves to be called as the first political scientist of the South-east. At the time of Thiruvalluvar the South was a country of monarchical states. The government that then existed was neither oligarchy nor democracy. Yet there were village republics. The Kings did not interfere in the day to day administrations. The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar was to

make the king more democratic. He ordained the king to rule the people in accordance with their will. He made a dictum that "The world will follow the king who rules the land in obedience to the will of the people".

He is the first political philosopher who did not make difference between the ruler and the ruled. Whatever he says to the ruler is made applicable to the ruled. It is to be inferred that Thiruvalluvar might have envisaged a time in which people would become the rulers of the land. The ruler and the ruled would become interchangeable as found in now-days because of elections which determine the ruler. Thiruvalluvar laid the foundation for true democracy and paved the way for the government of the people, for the people.

Though he divided his work into parts such as Aram (Justice), Porul (Capital) and Inbam (Pleasure), it could be rearranged into Family, Nation and State as modern political works are divided.

He had not defined the forms of Government but defined the good and just government. Whoever may be the ruler, to whichever party they may belong, his political philosophy will lead the nation to prosperity and

happiness. What else we want? What else is the purpose of the government other than the prosperity and happiness of the people? "Democracy as reinterpreted in the twentieth century is seen to be more than a political formula, more than a system of government more than a social order. It is a search for a way of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of men can be harmonized and co-ordinated with the least possible coercion, and it is the belief that such a way of life is the best way for all mankind, the way most in keeping with the nature of man and the nature of the universe".<sup>1</sup>

The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar will lead the nations to this democracy.

A world threatened by war and atomic destructions needs the philosophy of Valluvar now more than ever. His philosophy lays stress on the purity of the heart, word and deed. The success of democracy depends upon such purity. Every one must try to be a philosopher for ruling the country.

"That is a land whose peaceful annals know not famine fierce, nor wasting plague, nor ravage of the foe."<sup>2</sup>



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1. Maxey: Political Philosophies, Page 690.

2. Thirukkural 734: G.U. Pope's translation.

# Annadurai

## At Sixty

### — An Assessment

*Thiruvachakamani*

**K. M. Balasubramaniam**

“C. N. Annadurai”—this name itself sounds like the notes of a soul-swelling Organ. The charm that is the name and the sweetness of its cadence suffuse the air with fragrance. The lovely music of its lilting letters is the mantra of “Open Sesame” to the treasure-hearts of his countless ‘Thambies’ (brothers) in this land. “It comes o’er the ear like the sweet South, that breathes upon the bank of violets, stealing and giving odour.” Pronouncing that name in full is but painting a picture that is Glory. It is a Foreword to a book of First rate genius. It is an eloquent Index to an exalted personage. It sums up the heroic history of the hoary Tamil people. It proclaims the ambitions and propagates the programmes of the present-day Tamils to the modern world. It is at once the sublime symbol and shining spear-head of the opposition of the Tamils to the oppressive onslaughts of the “indigenous aliens in India,” of today.

The members of his Party have a passion for the name ‘Annadurai’. For it is a sound full of magic and music to their ears. In the words of Halleck (Applicable to some other) it is “one of the few, the immortal names, that were not both to die.” “To possess a good cognomen,” says Chamfort, “is a long way on the road of success in life.” And Mr. Annadurai is a good cognomen.

The name Annadurai is more a compound word than a unitary one. It is made up of two equally meaningful components, namely ‘Anna’ and ‘Durai’. ‘Anna’ stands for the universality of his brotherhood. ‘Durai’ indicates his fitness to rule over all. Anna is an affectionate soubriquet that comes pat to the tongues of his Partymen. Durai stands for his dignified role of a Chief Minister. It is very rarely pronounced by his Partymen, out of a strange deference. The name ‘Anna’ is one of the very few names which are most-mouthed in Tamil Nad today. What ‘Bapuji’ of Gandhiji had stood with the Congressmen in the past, that the ‘Anna’ of Annadurai does for his Partymen nowadays. Still there are some of his opponents who are inclined to desperately ask, substituting ‘C. N. A.’ for ‘Caesar’, in the words of Shakespeare as follows :

“Now in the names of all the gods at once,  
Upon what meat does this C. N. A. breed,  
That he is grown so great?”

The Chief Minister of Tamilagam is a man of compelling personality but commendable simplicity. He is the only Chief Minister in India today who is being loved by his family, admired by the Tamils, respected by his cabinet Ministers, adored by his Partymen and remembered by the foreigners alike. Of how many of his counterparts in the other

States could this be said with any truth today? He is the most-discussed Chief Minister both by his Partymen and by his political foes. Even the bitterest-minded Congressmen cannot bring themselves to pour their vials of wrath upon him. There is something in C. N. A. that shuts off and dumbfounds the mouths of the most damning Congress critics. They are willing to wound but afraid to strike. Their hypercritical leader too has many a time absolved the Chief Minister of any involvement or knowledge of untoward incidents created by some of the D. M. K. followers. A record of a rare character has thus been established by C. N. A. today. His unostentatious and affectionate participation in the Birthday celebrations of Congressmen like Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam and Mr. T. Chengalvarayan, at once lays bare to us his heart which is living and lovable and disarms the opponents and endears them to himself.

His very attire, the simplest imaginable, is an eloquent index of the innate simplicity of his soul. He is affable, amiable and even affectionate towards all, despite the inevitable handicaps of his official life. No one today is more popular and powerful than he in our State and yet no one is more simple in his dress, more unassuming in nature, more cordial and polite in behaviour and more affable in his office than our Chief Minister. Lessing's words will admirably apply to him : "The most agreeable of all companions is a simple, frank man, without any high pretensions to an oppressive greatness - one who loves life and understands the use of it ; obliging alike at all hours, above all of a golden temper and steadfast as an anchor."

In spite of all the frantic and ferocious confrontation and campaign of the wounded tigers of the worsted Congressmen under the leadership of a Neo-Napoleon, in spite of the near war of fear, tear, spear and bier of the city busmen-students two months ago, in spite of the aftermath of the August first march of Congressmen, and in spite of Udayarpalayams and Coimbatores, the Chief

Minister is completely self-possessed, self-confident and even self-assertive and withal never once impolite, vituperative or sensitive to pin-pricks. He is standing firm and four-square against all these ceaseless pelting of the pitiless storm. He has never once lost his temper or balance of mind.

Here is a great son of Mother Tamil who always treads the path of Tirukkural.

Couplet 597 literally portrays his present position :

"Although shattered, the men of strong will  
would not yield or quail,  
To brave and withstand shower of arrows  
won't a tusker fail".

An English poet, Eliza Book describes a man of our C. M.'s stature as follows :

"There are some spirits nobly just, unwarped  
by pelf or pride,  
Great in the calm but greater still when  
dashed by adverse tide."

This is yet another piece by the same author :

"But nature, with a matchless hand, sends  
forth her nobly born,  
And laughs the paltry attributes of wealth  
and rank to scorn."

"I know no real worth but that tranquil firmness which seeks dangers by duty and braves them without rashness," says Stanislaus. Above all, it is Rachevoucauld who succinctly sums up Anna thus : "It is only persons of firmness that can have real gentleness."

It is not possible to describe within the short compass of this article all the multi-coloured glories and glamour of this State. C. N. A.'s greatest forte has been, is and ever shall be his powerful tongue. He is a Dravidian Demosthenes whose diadem work as the monarch of mighty orators in Tamilagam is the envy of all. He weilds his tongue in a very able, experienced and effective way. He uses his oratory in Tamil like a sword and his eloquence in English like an arrow. He has built up his party from a scratch in 1949 to its present position of post, power, popularity and pelf, solely through his magic wand of a mighty tongue of

manliness, persuasiveness and with all a brass-type of sonorous music. He has inaugurated a new era of Tamil eloquence, even as Poet Bharati had inaugurated a new era of Tamil poesy. Both are original and wonderful but unorthodox. Tons of thousands of speakers on the modern political platforms are found as so many echoes of C. N. A. reverberating throughout Tamilagam day and night. They all echo and repeat the same droning, dragging, sing-song periods with rhythmically interposed jerks, the refreshing and alliterative epithets and double, and treble negatives and dramatised questions etc. all of which are the hall-mark of the Annadurayan pattern of oratory. People throng to his meetings in thousands and get thrilled and feasted on the felicitous and rhythmic flow of the Ambrosial stream of ornamental Tamil. This novel, original and never-dying contribution of a new style of speech and the luxuriant enrichment of modern Tamil by stories, plays and speeches by C. N. A. have appropriated a golden chapter unto themselves in the glorious annals of Tamilagam and Tamil Letters.

If Anna is an unrivalled orator on the political platform, he is equally peerless as a debator in the Legislature. Almost all the couplets in Tirukkural about the oratorical accomplishments of an ideal Minister in a State would aptly and literally apply to Anna, more than to any other. The following are some of those couplets.

643. "The speech which is of worth which casts  
a spell on friends who heard,  
And that which makes e'en enemies love it,  
is a speech of word."
644. "Do speak the words which suit the nature  
of the men who hear,  
Because than that there's naught of  
righteousness or wealth more dear."
647. "He can well speak convincing words with  
naught of faults or fear,  
Amongst his hostile men can no one  
vanquish that one here."

Mr. Annadurai is an ideal debator who just answers to the description by Valluvar.

645. "Be thou quite sure before thou speak'st  
thine word, that no other word,  
Is there to cut and contradict that word,  
when that's to be heard."
648. "If they could sweetly propound themes with  
all rhetoric best,  
Would all the world quite quickly carry  
out their own behest."

If the words 'Thozhil' and 'Gnalam' found separated by the word 'ketkum' could be placed together, they would read 'Thozhil gnalam' meaning 'the labour world'. And how very appropriate this couplet is to our C. M. will be appreciated by all when we remember that all labour troubles, potential or begun have been avoided or given up by the labourers at the intervention of and the persuasion by him. The textile labour of Coimbatore is an instance in point. The latest news in a Daily says: 'The stalemate over the farm dispute in Dyanapuram village near Tiruvarur, has been settled. Thanks to the intervention of the State Chief Minister, C. N. A.' There are dozens of such labour disputes resolved by his magic word.

In the debates in the Madras Assembly, and in the course of the interesting and sometimes heated question hours, there will be sword-hits and rapier thrusts between the Chief Minister and the veterans in the opposition like Mr. Vinayakam and Mr. Karuthiruman. In all these exchanges and duels, the last word and the subtlest thrust will always and invariably be those of Anna only. The acidity of the debate and acrimony of the question would be at once turned into an innocuous war of wits or enjoyable and funny hits. When the opponents ask for blood, Annadurai would give them bursting laughter. After the reply by him, the very serious pose of the questioner will yield place to smiles and calmness.

The latest example is just typical of the technique of Annadurayan answers in the Assembly.

Here is a 'Hindu' report of 17th August 1968, which says:

"When Mr. Vinayakam asked if the Madras Government would permit Congress-



men burning the copies of the State-budget, if it did not satisfy the people, the Chief Minister said, if the member wanted to indulge in such activities, he was at liberty to do so, but he should keep the match-stick just to the paper and not to anything else." How apparently simple, human and humorous is this reply? And yet what amount of inner meaning and what a kind of rapier-thrust lie hidden therein? So much of subtlety interwoven with such a disarming simplicity!

Annadurai has been in office just for a short period of sixteen months. The bloodless revolution of the ballot-boxes which has enthroned him even against his own wildest expectations may not have been followed by an equally phenomenal revolution in the life of the people. Still, when we take stock of all the solid achievements of the D. M. K. Ministry upto date, we cannot but congratulate it upon its enviable record. Talents are plenty in the Ministry, though experience it may be lacking. C. N. A., like Akbar the great, has chosen his Ministers well. The balance of energy left to help the cabinet and the resultant enthusiasm gained by the interplay of two such unlike personalities as the sobering Nedunchezian and the volcanic Karunanidhi with C. N. A. as the mentor and monitor, in between, are a source of strength to the present D. M. K. Ministry.

The bringing down of prices, which at one time seemed quite impossible as well as the harvest of a bumper crop in this season would alone be enough to endear the ministry to the common people in the land. If, as the Congressmen contend, it is not the Government but the seasonal rains that can be said to be the author of this bumper harvest of crops in this State, then one may be tempted to ask them back who was responsible for the rains? Let our Presiding Deity, Valluvar himself answer it.

559. "If but a king perverted justice, doing  
evil deed,  
 The seasons get perverted and it will not  
rain indeed."

Therefore, if perversion of justice and performance of evil deeds by a ruler would

pervert the seasons of the land and prevent the periodic rainfall therein, according to St. Valluvar, does it not follow logically that if there is no failure of the seasonal rainfall in a State and if there is a consequent bumper harvest, the reason for it all is to be found in the just administration of justice and the righteous deeds of the Government of the State? Incidentally, this couplet gives also a Bill of Acquittal to the D. M. K. Ministry regarding the Congressmen's charges of the absence of law and order in the State under this ministry.

The pre-election promise of a rupee-a-measure, has, however, been heroically carried out, though not through the State. The congress politicians try to make a political capital out of it by persistently asking for its extension to the whole State. If there had been funds enough would they have heistated to do it or waited for so long? Nor would the Centre give the necessary financial aid!

Now, the C. M. is on the horns of a dilemma. If only he would compromise a little, he could get out of this fix with flying colours for his party. Should he prefer to have a temporary party victory and discomfit the congressmen by somehow arranging to extend the 'Rupee-a-measure rice' Scheme throughout the State? Should he prefer to have the soulful satisfaction of achieving a moral and righteous victory of an eternal nature, by not scrapping prohibition in this State? Annadurai is sure about his choice as directed by his inner voice. If he could scrap Prohibition today, he could sell rice to all at the rate of one rupee a measure with the help of the crores of rupees accruing to the treasury. He would be thereby at once fulfilling his election pledges and silencing his opponents at one stroke. But would he do it? No, never. And why? Because, he knows, and knows better, that man does not live by bread alone. So he knows one more too. If man does not live by bread alone, he dies by drinking toddy. So man *can live*

without bread but *cannot live* with toddy. So he chooses to prevent man's death rather than making him live. And his own Gospel, the Kural as well as the Bible support his stand in a chorus.

"What profiteth a man if he gains the whole world but loseth his soul?" asks Jesus.

657. "The extreme poverty of those of noble souls  
indeed  
Is by far better than the wealth obtained thro'  
sinful deed."

656. "Though he should see the sight of his own  
mother's starvation'  
The deed which noble souls reprove, he too  
should always shun."

Thus, Anna has scored an eternal Gandhian victory of his soul at the cost of an ephemeral political victory of his Party. And, therefore he has proved himself to be a pure statesman of the Gandhian pattern rather than a petty politician of party politics. Thus he has made history, a noble chapter in his instance [and he is not the person, as Goldsmith says :

"Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,  
And to party gave up what was meant for  
mankind."

"A disposition to preserve and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman," says Edmund Burke. Measured by this standard, our Chief Minister is undoubtedly a statesman.

The following lines of Alexander Pope are admirably applicable to Annadurai, our Statesman :

"Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,  
In action faithful, and in honour clear;  
Who broke no promise, served no private end,  
Who gain'd no title and who lost no friend;  
Enobled by himself, by all approv'd  
And praised, unenvied by the muse he loved."

C. N. A. is a multi-phased genius. He is an orator in Tamil and English, a writer in Tamil, an actor, an editor and so on. But there are a few other definitions of a genius by others, all of which also do apply to C. N. A.

"Patience is a necessary ingredient of a genius" says Beaconsfield and Anna is the symbol of patience.

"He alone can claim name (genius) who  
writes  
With fancy high, and daring flights."  
says Horace and C.N.A. is just this genius.

"Refined taste forms a good critic; but genius is further necessary to form the poet or the orator" says Blair, and Anna has this flair.

So too are applicable the following quotations :

"The true characteristic of genius—without despising rules, it knows when and how to break them."—*Channing*.

"Of the three requisition of genius, the first is soul, and the second soul, and the third, soul,"—*Whipply*.

A funny but true definition is this :

"When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him."—*Swift*.

And how truer still of C. N. A. today is the following passage of Crabbe !

"Genius! thou gift of heav'n! thou light divine!  
Amid what dangers art thou doom'd to shine!  
Of will the body's weakness check thy force,  
Offdamp thy vigour and impede thy course;  
And trembling nerves compel thee to restrain  
Thy noble efforts, to contend with pain..."

And Annadurai is and has been voted as a good man, by friends and foes alike. He might have been guilty of false judgments and faulty actions now and then. But never once has he been guilty of malafide or wanton injury even to his enemies. It was a magnificently pathetic confession that he made a few days ago that, though both poor and brought up on poverty, he has now earned a name for goodness which he does not propose to stake or lose; and that he means well by all and his mind is altogether free from animosity or antipathy towards any one in the world. There, the soul of Annadurai spoke to the soul of his fellowmen. But for him as the C. M. today, the phase of politics and the pace of administration might have been anybody's guess. His latest feather in the cap is his declaration that he has strictly forbidden his

Partymen to meddle with the day to day administration in the State and to influence the officials by improper means. As a necessary corollary and consequence of this ukase, he has asked all the government servants also not to allow themselves to be influenced and affected by even the politicians of the ruling party not to swerve from the straight path of their duty but to be kind, considerate, and really helpful to the members of the public and in one word "to scorn delights and live laborious days" and lead a life of duty and service, "as ever in the great Task-Master's eye."

The splendid stroke of statesmanship, one tried by Rajaji but afterwards in disuse, is alone sufficient by itself to immortalise and the name of Annadurai in the annals of not only Tamilagam but also in the annals of all India. Has there been a similar record, let alone a better one, either here or elsewhere, either at present or in the past? Surely, Annadurai is a good man in the fullest and best sense of that word. And will not everybody echo and endorse the sentiment with reference to our C.M. too, when Aristotle wrote :

"It is better for a city to be governed by a good man than by good laws."

Now, I must conclude. I have not written one hundredth of what I have got to write and what ought to be written. C.N.A. and myself had been political twins in this State in the nineteen - thirties. We were brothers too; I am senior in politics and elder to him in age by about ten months. I have been enjoying his meteoric rise to the post of C.M. and pinnacle of glory with a brotherly pride and affection. There is no space for me to write about our old political activities and personal relationships. I reserve all these to some other occasion.

Hitler-like in his dynamism, Jinna-like in his sincerity C.N. Annadurai is ruling this State today with Gandhi-like simplicity and goodness. He is the pupil of the eye to his Partymen, a perfect idol of worship to the Tamils and a priceless gem of a gentleman to his opponents. May Annadurai, the good live for long with greater glory and still greater goodness to serve Mankind through the Tamils.



# THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL IN POLITICS

**R. Jameel Ahamed**

The question has often been asked as to what could possibly be the role of the intellectual in politics: indeed, it is the theme of Plato's immortal work: 'The Republic'. Although the question stated thus is very simple, the answer is not quite simple, for it presupposes availability of data regarding both the intellectual and politics, data which at no time could be available and even if available will not be precise; no empirical study of the intellectual has so far been undertaken with the possible exception of the United States of America where such studies are rendered possible by the tremendous resources of an 'affluent society'. Indeed the foremost difficulty is the definition of an intellectual in clear and precise terms. What are the criteria by which the intellectual potential could be evaluated? What exactly is intellect? No convincing answers are available for these very pertinent questions.

The need therefore arises to define the intellectual in precise terms and to delineate his role in politics as comprehensively as it is within the realm of possibility. There arises another question which is collateral—the relativity of the term in relation to the environment concerned. The components of

the environment, the precise nature of the sociological complex, the relative importance of tradition and modernity, the polarisation of status and choice—all these are variables in a vast sociological complex.

An intellectual could be defined as one who consciously and deliberately isolates himself from the mass to attain a degree of objectivity that is not commonly discoverable in the unsophisticated mass, a person who is distinguished by his aloofness but not merely aloofness, one who possessed of a scientific temper as different from the partisan who is obsessed by his own self-chosen images of various perspectives: a relentless pursuit of truth and knowledge for their own sake could be said to be the basis of an intellectual's existence. Isolation from the mass and the humdrum existence then seems to be the basic intellectual quality: indeed it is this which has led to understandable plebian sneers at the intellectual who has built around himself an ivory-tower and has developed certain 'snobbery' which he mistakes for sophistication. Aloofness by itself is no quality of the intellectual, for aloofness creates a barrier and obstructs communication with society which alone could provide the basis for a

meaningful dialogue between the intellectual and the society of which he is a part.

It is the purpose of this article to show that intellectual participation in politics is both necessary and desirable; the intellectual owes a duty to the society of his birth in making a meaningful contribution to the society—values which it ought to live by. To say that such an involvement smacks of partisanship is a species of reasoning which does great injustice to intelligence.

Let us take a few examples and discuss this question of the intellectual's role in politics. The most outstanding example in the contemporary world is that of Bertrand Russell, one of the greatest of Western Philosophers and an intellectual *par excellence*. Eyebrows were raised when the great philosopher stepped down to criticise nuclear madness or to expose the contradictions in the shallow morals of the western society in his thought-provoking work: 'Marriage and Morals'. There is the other example of Prof. Laski of London School, who became the Chairman of the British Labour Party. It is interesting to speculate whether the historically enigmatic personality of Socrates could be characterised as a pragmatic or the ivory-tower one.

Coming nearer home, I could think of atleast three names: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajaji and C. N. Annadurai. If one reads the Autobiography of Nehru one cannot but admit that there were present in him intellectual strains that stand out rather prominently in his most interesting character. In fact if Nehru had not been an intellectual his politics would have taken a different shape; but his intellectualism gave his many faceted personality a certain character and what distinguished him from his more competent contemporaries was his scientific temper and an uncompromising devotion to reason as the arbiter of human destiny. Nehru's rationalism and intense faith in human nature mark him out as a brilliant example of an intellec-

tual participant in politics. In many respects C.N.A. comes very close to Nehru. One discovers in Anna certain basic humanism, perhaps the radical humanism of M.N. Roy. Anna also symbolises the intellectual tradition of which Nehru was the most outstanding manifestation in this country. An objective analysis of the character and personality of Anna would show that he has a scientific attitude and his politics is both eclectic and humanistic. In fact, the charisma that surrounds this colourful leader derives from his capacity to 'sympathise' with the mass. He has no fixed or rigid pigeon holes of ideas. He is flexible and at the same time firm. He is the leader of a mass party and yet could analyse a problem in politics or look through a file with utmost objectivity. These are difficult things to attain. Either a leader becomes a rabble rouser or isolates himself behind the protective screen of intellect. It is difficult to be both an intellectual and a mass leader, for democracy demands certain compromises, which, if made, render it impossible for one to be an unalloyed intellectual. Highest quality of leadership is required to combine mass persuasion with intellectual analysis. This in a large measure Anna has achieved and is shaping himself to be an example of intellectual participant in politics leading to the progress of society.

An intellectual ought to set the norms and standards for society: this he can do better by participation than by isolation. The case of communist in the world is built on the intellectual foundations of Marx: to say that an intellectual should merely be a passive spectator or an analyst is to deny to ourselves the untold benefits that will accrue if the intellectual becomes a participant and plays a dynamic role in society. We are living at a time when the need for intellectual participation in politics has become paramount. Our politics is becoming more and more vulgar and sub-standard: it is easy enough to see that democracy on its infra-manifestation has made inroads into our society putting an end to the niceties of public life.

Politicians are caught in a mesh from which they are unable to extricate themselves. This happens because of intellectual isolationism, a certain defeatism that the intellectual can play no positive role. It is felt that such pessimism is unwarranted; the more the intellectual takes a leading part in politics,

the more our politics would become clean, less vulgar and more decent. Anna's politics would hence be watched, for that would give us an idea as to whether intellectual participation in politics would be in the interest of the society as well as the intellectual.



# MADRAS CITY CORPORATION

## AND THE DUTIES

### OF CITIZENS

**J. A. Ambasankar,**  
*Commissioner, Madras Corporation.*

MADRAS CITY, the metropolis of South India and seat of the State Government, has been endowed by nature with an enchanting rural look characteristic of a garden city. In the course of the past 300 years it has grown from a tiny fishing village into a big city of its present size with two million population. Though it has many features of exceptionable beauty and charm, it lacks the cohesion of more compactly built cities as it has not had the advantage of planned development.

The Corporation of Madras is the oldest Municipal Corporation in the country, having been established as early as 1688. On account of the phenomenal increase in its size and population in recent years due to the large-scale influx from rural parts, the Corporation is faced with multiple problems of complex and diversified nature in almost every branch of its activity, viz., water supply, drainage, transport, street lighting, education, public health and conservancy, maternity and child welfare etc. The Corporation is ever striving and making all efforts to tackle these problems.

The duties of a Municipal Corporation to its citizens and the duties of the citizens

towards the Corporation are aptly summed up in the following reply of the great Poet and Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore to the civic address presented to him by the Calcutta Corporation in 1931. "Let this Corporation make the city of my birth great in the amenities of life, health and sanitation and dignity and self-respect. Let painting, sculpture, music and arts grow under its auspices and make the dwellings of the citizens abodes of joy. Let this city wipe out its blot of illiteracy with all its dirt and uncleanness; let her citizens enjoy plenty, have strength of body and energy of mind, and be inspired with civic spirit born of joy; let her citizens of all races and all sects and communities unite in goodwill and keep her fair name untarnished and her peace undisturbed - this is my prayer."

In consonance with this ideal, the Madras Corporation is trying to keep pace with the rising tempo of expectations and aspirations of its citizens, to fulfil its role in ameliorating the conditions of city life through various welfare schemes and measures and provision of well-thought-out amenities, despite several obstacles and

handicaps, consistent with its financial resources.

Maintenance of roads, sanitation, lighting, drainage and elementary education constitute the major responsibilities of the Corporation. Provision of adequate protected water supply is one of the basic requirements. Ways and means of augmenting the sources with a view to increasing the quantum of daily supply of water are now under active consideration by the Corporation and the State Government. As Madras is located on flat terrain there is no proper gradient and so sewage pumping stations and ejectors have necessarily to be increased. To cope with the present increased quantity of city sewage, comprehensive schemes for improving the underground drainage system of the city are under way. Besides, installation of plants for full treatment of sewage at four different places is contemplated during the Fourth Five Year Plan Period.

There are now over 650 miles of road in the City and the problem of transport has now assumed serious proportions. To deal with the ill-effects of unplanned location of various land uses which conflict with each other and result in confusion, certain long-range plans are under investigation to restore order and mitigate traffic congestion by re-designating various land uses as industrial, commercial and residential areas.

In order to increase the standard of illumination of the city roads, action is being taken in a phased programme for execution of zonal schemes, and provision of high-tension network for the city on a zonal basis.

In respect of education, the Corporation is now running 341 Primary and Upper Primary schools and 28 High Schools spread throughout the city. The Corporation can legitimately take credit for pioneering and sponsoring the Midday Meals Scheme and more recently the scheme of distribution of free supply of notebooks, books etc., to the children studying in Corporation Schools. The latter scheme was inaugurated in 1967 by the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Madras.

Through these beneficial schemes underprivileged children are enabled to stay in schools and continue their studies. The scheme will cover pupils studying upto VIII Standard during the current academic year. Efforts are also made to provide better and adequate accommodation in Corporation Schools. The Corporation now maintains 53 public playgrounds which serve as lungs for the city. There is need for increasing this number.

In the matter of Public Health, adequate preventive measures are undertaken and intensive health education propaganda is carried out especially in slums and all other vulnerable areas to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. 58 Dispensaries and 51 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres are maintained by the Corporation. As general sanitation is closely associated with conservancy work, disposal of rubbish is sought to be placed on a satisfactory basis. The problem of transport continues to be one of the major bottlenecks.

Poor people who constitute a high percentage of the city population either live in slums or under slum conditions without proper amenities. The Corporation is endeavouring to improve the conditions in the slums.

With its slender and inelastic financial resources the Corporation has not been able to carry out substantial improvements in every sphere and a good deal has yet to be done. The Corporation looks forward to providing the city with more and better facilities and services to which the citizens would feel entitled.

The basis of efficient civic administration is 'intelligent citizenship' and it is, therefore, necessary that the citizens evince an intelligent and enlightened interest in civic affairs. The various and varied activities of the Corporation touch the life of a citizen at almost every point in his day-to-day life and therefore have an impact and decisive influence on his life, happiness and the well being of his family. The citizens have to



possess a high degree of civic consciousness and take an abiding and keen interest in municipal affairs and try to understand and appreciate the many problems confronting the municipal administration. They should know its capabilities as well as limitations. It is only with the help and responsive co-operation extended by the citizens that the beauty of the city can be preserved and improved and the health of the city maintained at an optimum standard. They should give their willing co-operation and support by observing the rules of health, sanitation, social and environmental hygiene, proper use of the various amenities provided at huge cost, such as the public fountains, public conveniences, syphons, footpaths, roads, and institutions like schools, dispensaries, child welfare centres, etc. They should be prepared to bear individual and collective

responsibility for the proper use and upkeep of all these amenities and help to prevent misuse or damage to municipal properties. As finance is the bedrock of all human enterprise, the citizen and taxpayer should feel it his duty to make prompt remittances of municipal taxes and other payments due to the Corporation. They should not view the activities of the Corporation with an attitude of indifference or apathy, nor should they feel that the Corporation is an extraneous body and that its activities only deserve to be viewed critically. A popular interest in civic matters should be developed and fostered among the general public so that they have a sense of participation and civic pride and give their voluntary co-operation and support for the development and betterment of the City on sound lines.



# ANNA'S COLLEGE DAYS

**Prof. R. Krishnamurti**

I am very happy to contribute the following article to the souvenir that is being got ready on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Thiru C. N. Annadurai (affectionately known as Arignar Anna), Chief Minister to the Government of Madras.

Thiru C. N. Annadurai joined Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, as a student of the Junior Intermediate Class in June 1928. The College was located in those days in George Town, in a crowded part of the City. A rather shy lad, not yet familiar with the atmosphere of a city College, he began to slowly feel his way. He was a student of the College for five years,—between 1928-1933. The late Mr. K. Chinnathambi Pillai was then the Principal. Little could he have imagined when he admitted this stranger from Kancheepuram that the latter would in the fulness of time make history in South India, and also help substantially in making the history of the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

I was one of the Professors of English to Thiru Annadurai for a period of three years—for the two years of the Intermediate and the first year of the B.A. Honours Course. Those were days when English was having a very important place in the curriculum of studies; and a good knowledge of English (both written and spoken) was a *sine qua non* for a student who looked forward to a great future. I used to insist on every student reading during the first year of his stay at the College at least half a dozen of the great English novels. I also put questions in the class to each student on the novels which he claimed to have read. It was not difficult to find out the students

who were bluffing. Mr. Annadurai has in some of his reminiscential moods referred to me as a dictator to the first year students, and as a friend, philosopher and guide to the second and third year students. I rather believe that the freshmen stood in great awe of me. Young Annadurai faced all my rigorous tests and came out with flying colours. I could always be sure of his giving correct answers and winning my approval. Gradually, he earned my esteem and regard.

Many of the Professors of Mr. Annadurai are no more. There were Mr. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, Mr. P. Subrahmanya Iyah, Mr. V. Tiruvenkataswami, Mr. M. Kandaswamy Mudaliar, Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, Mr. E. S. Anantanarayana Iyer and Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar. Sometimes, when the Professors started talking among themselves about some of the prominent students of the College, the conversation would turn now and then upon Annadurai. The references to him were always of a complimentary nature. One would praise his behaviour, and another would talk about his proficiency in studies. Hard-working and devoted to his studies, he rarely obtruded himself into the notice of his Professors.

As a student, there was something distinct about him. He had a small coterie of followers and admirers, and I believe he used to speak to them with passionate conviction about his views, some of which were then considered to be heterodox. Be it remembered that this was nearly four decades back! But he rarely, if ever, missed a class, and he availed himself of all the facilities which the

class room and the library provided him. He was the ideal student, who did not miss his opportunities, and who would not fritter away his energies. He was a Secretary of the College Union and Secretary of the Economics Association each for one year. It was during his student days that he laid the foundations of that vast store of knowledge which has stood him in good stead in after years. He cultivated in particular the soft speech that turneth away wrath. Except when he is in a controversial or denunciatory mood, when he has to use different literary devices to drive home his point of view, he is invariably courteous and soft spoken.

When Mr. Annadurai joined the B.A. Honours Class after passing the Intermediate Examination, he had already made his mark, and there were very few members of the staff of the College who did not know him personally. As a student of the Economics Honours Class, he won golden opinions from all his Professors. His motto was *labor omnia vincit* (labour overcomes all obstacles).

It soon became apparent at College Association meetings that Mr. Annadurai was making his mark as an effective speaker in English, and a forceful speaker in Tamil. Those were days when people did not set much store by brilliance in Tamil oratory. Mr. Annadurai served long apprenticeship to it and deliberately cultivated it, and it is recognised that he is one of the most convincing and eloquent among the great Tamil speakers of today.

I do not think that as a student Mr. Annadurai was ever sent for by the Principal to his room to explain some mistake or misdemeanour of his. I very vividly remember Mr. Chinnathambi mentioning during the last year of Mr. Annadurai's stay that he was certain that the young man would have a glorious future, and that he would be able "to command the applause of listening Senates," and make earnest efforts to scatter plenty over a smiling land.

In any company in which he found himself, Mr. Annadurai was always *facile princeps* (the acknowledged Chief). The poet has wisely said "The child is father of the man".

Many of the characteristics that his Professors found in the embryonic stage in the student have developed and come out in their fulness in the mature statesman. It was during this period of his life that Mr. Annadurai acquired that quality of leadership which we see in him today. In debate, he is the unrivalled master of parry and thrust. His knowledge of human nature is intimate and thorough, and his is a human approach to every problem he has to face.

I very vividly recall one experience on the occasion of a prize-distribution at the College, and I am sure that Mr. Annadurai has not forgotten it. It was the Commemoration Day for the year, and Mr. Annadurai was one of the prize winners—had, in fact, won the first Prize. The old Pachaiyappa's Hall in George Town, where many durbars and official functions used to be held, was packed to the full. Those were days when the mike had not come into use. It was my privilege that year to read out the names of the prize winners. When his turn came, Mr. Annadurai stepped forward, ascended the platform and received the Prize, while the whole Hall was wildly cheering him. He had already become the idol of the young men of that generation.

It is pleasing to note that Mr. Annadurai has continued to have a warm affection for his *alma mater*. Before he became Chief Minister, he was always ready to accept an invitation from the College authorities to address the students once a year: some-times, it was twice a year. This affection has continued in him. It is a sight to see him keeping an audience of students spell-bound by his eloquence and his convincing way of putting his ideas across. Special mention should be made on this occasion of the inspiring message which he gave when he presided a few months back over a function organised in the College quadrangle by the Trustees to celebrate the completion by the College of 125 years of glorious service.

The Chief Minister of a State has many demands on his time, and it is very difficult for him to spare more than a few minutes for

his old Professors. I am very happy to state that on the two or three occasions when I have met him after he took up his responsible office, he used to remind me of old times, the Professors under whom he had studied, and the happy days he had spent at the College. There was a certain wistfulness about his tone. Is it any surprise that for one, who is weighed down by his official work and has to be in daily touch with different kinds of men and problems of varying complexity, a few

minute's respite is a welcome change !

Pachaiyappa's College has a long and ever-increasing line of *alumni* to her credit. Thiru C. N. Annadurai (Aringar Anna) is among the foremost among them. A devoted son of his great *alma mater*, he has been working up to and drawing inspiration from her. On this auspicious occasion, it is our earnest prayer that his Chief Ministership of Tamil Nad should be the beginning of a long and illustrious career of service to our motherland.

# **ANNA — FROM A DISTANCE**

**G. Swaminathan, M.L.C.**

My admiration for Anna commenced from the year 1942 when I was in the lower forms of a High School in Thanjavur District. My family traditionally belonging to the Justice Party had always a free access to the veteran Justice Party leaders of this District such as Sir A.T. Pannirselvam and Rao Bahadur N.R. Samiappa Mudaliar and many others. Hence from my very early years I had the influence of the Ideology of the Justice Party and was an avowed reader of 'Kudiarasu', 'Viduthalai' and other numerous publications of Periyar E. V. Ramasamy, Mr. Paranjipye, Mr. Singaravelu and others. I had also many times read the "Mirror of the Year" published by Sri A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar which took one back to the glorious days of the Justice Party.

It is no wonder then, under this background that I came to hear of "Anna" in my young days. I vividly remember a conversation I had with my school friends one day, when one of them who was more knowledgeable in politics, mentioned to me of a very fine speaker by name Mr. Annadurai whose oratory was so superb that even Brahmins at

Madras who were quite opposed to the ideologies of the reformist and atheistic movement, used to hear him till the end and even sought after his meetings. Those who can recollect the hostility of Brahmin Community towards the then self-respect movement could understand the tribute that underlined such a statement.

During my High-school and College days I have read almost all his books, both written and reproduction of his speeches. To mention a few, which profoundly influenced me at that time were, 'Varnasramam', 'Nadum Edum', 'Thee Paravattum' (Debate on Ramanam), 'Velaikkari', 'Oriravu', 'Rangoon Ratha' and the numerous articles and speeches that appeared in "Dravida Nadu". During my school days only a very few of our students used to get "Dravida Nadu" and I always made it a point to read the latest copy on Sundays.

From the year 1947 when I was in College at Madras, I had numerous occasions to hear him, and I was always influenced by his masterly oratory and the command he had on

the crowds. Even in those days, he used to collect more audience than any other speaker of Tamilnad. By about the year 1947, his drama "Velaikkari" appeared on the Silver Screen and I do vividly remember having seen it not less than a dozen times.

But after the year 1949, I drifted into a camp which was hostile to the Dravidian Movement and had numerous occasions to hear adverse comments on him and his policies. One of the complaints was that his speeches were shallow and not intellectual. All those who are aware of the method of his public speaking will realise that C.N.A. has a unique way of oratory. He used to take two or three main points and dilate on them from various angles for an hour or more. It is quite contrary to the speeches of some others who use to compress numerous points in their speeches. Only in later years, all these leaders who criticised him understood, that the speeches of Anna comprised of a basic technique and that mass persuasion is likely to occur only if one confines to a few points and hammer them in different words. This is the method which Lenin adumbrated to his followers, who desired to change the views of the people. Our masses are generally poorly educated and a speaker who harps on numerous ideas in a single speech is bound to fail for the simple reason that he will be unintelligible to the hearers. Instinctly knowing the value of choosing a few points and elaborating them, "Anna" was able to make the masses understand his ideology and appreciate them. I consider his method of oratory as a "Science in persuasion" by itself. The numerous speakers in Tamilnad who followed his footsteps and many of them actually not knowing the basis on which his technique was built, also succeeded beyond measure. Actually the band of speakers have persuaded the people of Tamilnad so well that the D.M.K. came into power with such overwhelming majority in the last election.

Another criticism which used to be levelled against Anna was that he will not be a good

leader. This used to be said in the sense, that he, by nature being soft, will not be able to control his own followers and in the long run his grip will loosen on the party machinery. But all these pandits of gloom have now realised that Anna's method of containing the party and its members by friendship, trust and persuasion is the best to organise and build any party. While many senior leaders of Tamilnad who thought that it would be unwise and detrimental to their own supremacy in the party to encourage the followers, Anna consistently adopted an opposite line. He always praised and encouraged his followers and gave them as much opportunity as possible especially to the speakers, to exhibit their talents. The result was, not only they grew in stature and influenced the masses but at the same time the image of their leader "Anna" also grew up in multiple proportions. Actually, only those leaders who failed to trust faced revolt from their followers. To encourage one's followers is a great capacity. It can emanate only from a leader who is sure of his own grounds and knows that however much the disciples may grow, they cannot usurp his position. It also speaks of the moral courage and real capacity of a leader.

Some years back it used to be quite often said that "Anna" cannot be a good administrator. One of the reasons adduced was, especially by an erstwhile follower of his, that he was too shy and timid to meet the eminent leaders of other parties and countries. After his assumption of power in our State and even before, while he was in the Rajya Sabha he had amply proved himself contrary to this accusation. We find him to be at home wherever he is, whether in Delhi or New York. Whomsoever that comes in contact with him has only admiration for him as a man.

I have named this article as Anna From a Distance as I had till now not many opportunities to know him from close quarters. Even though I am sure that I will have many more opportunities hereafter to move with him

closely, as a member of the Legislative Council, I thought it fit to convey my impressions as an on-looker from a distance. To put my impressions in a nutshell, Anna has become a legend to the people of Tamilnad

and only very rarely that leaders of such eminence are born in the history of a country. On this happy occasion let me wish him long life and many more years of useful service to the people of our Country.



# 'A Secure Niche

**M. S. Venkatachalam**

Fresh from the college, after finishing my Post Graduate Course, I was conferred with a rare honour and opportunity by Anna, our endearing leader. He appointed me as the Sub-Editor in his 'to be published English Weekly "Homeland" '.

The first issue of the journal was published in June 1957, but I was at Kancheepuram from January.

My only work was to go through the numerous journals that were subscribed by him, mark important news items and submit them for his perusal.

The job was simple and I, too, felt sometimes that I was not utilised to the utmost ! "Does this job require a post-graduate ?" was the question that arose many a time in my mind ! But, I kept quiet, out of a respectful fear !

The date was fixed for the commencement of the journal and the work was proceeding with splendid rapidity.

"Rambler's Rhythm" Anna wrote within an hour or two.

The article was composed and the matter came to me for proof-reading.

I, who had hitherto read, only his Tamil articles, was astounded by the flow of his English, fineness of the 'style and his mastery over the language.

Before finishing the proof-reading, I had to consult the dictionary more than a dozen

times - not for the spellings, but to find out the meanings of the words and phrases, that were unheard of by me till that date.

"Fleece all to feed the Plan"

"Lord Lux Lashes All"

"Epistles to the Eminent"

"Cinderellas in Ceylon."

These were some of the captions given by him to his articles and I was astounded.

I tried to edit some of his articles in his own way - but in vain. It took more than six months for me, after the publication of the journal, to learn the art of editing.

One night, at the end of 1957, Anna asked me to write an article about the 'Naga Problem'. He gave directions too, pointing out some press reports and editorial views.

With all necessary preparations, I sat erect and scribbled page after page, tore sheets after sheets, sat before the table till dawn, but the article was not complete - and the matter came roughly to only half a page in 'Homeland'. For this, I had to spend more than 6 hours.

Next morning, with hesitation, I showed 'Anna' my first 'production', which I now feel, would have been just like an English composition of a High School boy.

When Anna was reading the article, I was just trembling, pulse-beating should have reached its maximum. I saw before my imaginary eyes that I was dismissed from my



service, for my inability to write even one article - and that after training about a year.

I could see a sunny smile from his face - no criticism, no chiding ! He just asked me to produce the news columns concerned. He sat down to write and I was watching the movement of his pen. Within half an hour, a fine article was ready.

I felt ashamed of my erstwhile complex. He just coolly advised me to read more and more so that I could equip myself. Himself a voracious reader, he wanted me also to be so. How far, I am to his expectations, I do not know.

But, the experience of that day, I can never forget in my life. I was almost moved to tears, when I felt his kindness and affection.

The world has seen him as a superb speaker, and splendid writer, man of mellow wisdom and masterly diplomacy - but this aspect, the humanist touch in his activities cannot be missed by any of his colleagues or followers :

*Anna is the only politician in the whole world, who has introduced a family affinity in the political firmament. The attachment he has to his colleagues, as well as the followers, is a unique feature.*

When anybody is in trouble or tribulation, Anna almost moves to tears - forgets himself - eats nothing - seeks solace in burying himself deeper in books.

In August 1962, Anna was in the Central

Jail, Vellore, - imprisoned for picketing before the Collectorate, Vellore. I also courted imprisonment, along with ten others including R. Dharmalingam, C. V. Rajagopal, M. P. Sarathy, T. K. Ponnuruvelu, R. Sampangi and M. P. Vadivelu.

We were all chatting one evening, when Mr. P. U. Shanmugam brought the news that M. Porchezian of Madurai, had expired in Trichy Jail. It was a rude shock to all of us.

But, the reaction of Anna, even to-day stands fresh in my memory.

A leader of superior calibre, a lieutenant of millions, having his place in every heart and home, was almost moved to tears and was virtually without food for two days.

The same situation arose, when Mr. R. R. Munusamy, M. L. A., who was then our jail mate, was hospitalised because of chest pain. Till the news that he had crossed the danger line reached us, Anna's position was very pitiable.

Such is the affection Anna has for his followers. The followers too are very particular in getting a place in his heart.

A place in the heart of Anna is more than anything else in the world and millions are prepared to sacrifice everything to get such a place.

For them it is a *Secure Niche*, where there is place for sincerity and service. It is a thing worth aspiring. And achieving that is worth applauding !



# PUBLIC RELATIONS IN GOVERNMENT

**S. Venkataswamy**

'Public Relations in Government' has limited scope, but its potentialities are unlimited. It is limited in the sense that it lacks the inherent lure of wild promises which form the usual theme for commercial advertisements or salesmanship and it has no scope for free play of imagination, characteristic of the propaganda method. Government publicity or public relations is, therefore, very much different from the usual propaganda and advertisement techniques.

The aim of public relations in Government is to collect the information and basic data from authentic sources and put across for building up a nation, consisting of enlightened public, capable of discharging their civic responsibilities and community functions, in the most efficient and effective manner. Public relations, according to certain Western authors, has three-fold purpose, namely, Information, Persuasion and Co-ordination. "Public relations needs skill and experience in effective strategy, timing, planning, organisation and methods of integrating all the activities into one whole".

As far as it relates to Government, public relations is a two way process. On the one hand, Government's policies and programmes are placed before the public and on the other, an assessment is made of the reaction of the different sections of the

people to various activities and achievements of several departments of the Government.

The need for dissemination of correct information from authorised sources has been accepted universally, especially after the Second World War. The propaganda technique, liberally practised and scientifically perfected by Nazi and Fascist Governments have spread devastation, throughout the World. During the war period, the first casualty has been the "truth". Consequently the U. N. O. has brought out a number of literature, especially on "Fundamental Education", with a view to make the Governments all over the World recognise the main principle of educating the public by furnishing the details regarding Government activities and programmes based on truth and factual data.

In a Democratic Government, "People have a right to know what the Government are doing on their behalf and it is the duty of the Government to keep the public informed about their plans and policies". The origin and development of public relations in Government is worth studying and will be of professional interest. In a published report of the Press Commission appointed by the Government of India, there is a chapter entitled "Government Publicity and Public relations", in which interesting information

on the subject will be found in detail. According to that report :—

“ In India, as in other countries, when the first newspaper made its appearance, the Government's first thought was how its publication could be suppressed. The first Editor was deported, before he could earn the title. When the newspapers came to stay, the endeavour was to keep things out of the press. To give information to the Press was regarded as derogatory to the prestige of the Government.”

This summarises the state of affairs in India, about one hundred years ago. Times have changed and there were changes in the policies of the Government too. The British bureaucratic Government has yielded place to the democratic Government of Indian Republic.

To-day, public relations form a vital unit and indispensable part of the Government machinery, both at the Centre and in all States. The Public Relations Wing of the Government issues press-releases, press-notes, leaflets, pamphlets, posters, brochures, etc, in addition to arranging Press Conferences. A number of journals are run by the Government for the dissemination of information on the activities and achievements of the various Ministries or Departments of the Government. ‘Madras Information’, ‘Gramana-

nam’, ‘Kurukshetra’, ‘Panchayati Raj’, ‘Ind-Com’, ‘Bhagyalakshmi’, ‘Mezhi Chel-vam’ are some of the important Government Journals in English and Tamil that serve as media of mass communication. Besides the printed word, the spoken word also is put to maximum use, through the Radio, film, exhibitions etc.

Incidentally, Public Relations Officer in Government becomes a chronicler of contemporary history, placing on record all the relevant material regarding epoch-making events. Cambell A. Johnson, the eminent Publicist who served the Government of India in 1946-48, during the period of transfer of power from the British Empire, has given his diary reports in the form of an interesting book entitled “Mission with Mountbatton”, which I feel deserves to be prescribed as a text book for public relations men in Government.

Public Relations is an applied science of social dynamics and a fine art of putting across, ideas and ideals, before the public. “Keep your eyes and ears open”, is the dictum that should be followed in this process.

In short, public relations in Government is the art of projecting the objectives of the State, on to the public and a science of social engineering, capable of constructing bridges of understanding, among the different individuals and institutions.



# SECOND CHAMBERS

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**G. M. Alagarswamy,**  
*Secretary, Madras Legislative Council.*

Almost all self-governing democratic States have bicameral legislatures. Yet the need or the justification for an Upper House or a Second Chamber has always been a subject-matter of acute controversy in all ages among the constitutional theorists and it is one of the vexed questions in political science. It is supposed to have a more logical basis in a federal State. In a unitary State or in a component State of a federation, a Second Chamber is often thought of as a brake, a device for interposing delay, a means of checking 'the inconsiderate, rash, hasty legislation, of the other House.' In the words of Sir Henry Maine, 'almost any Second Chamber is better than none'. Abbe Sieyès' insoluble dilemma was that 'if a Second Chamber dissents from the First, it is mischievous; if it agrees with it, it is superfluous'. With a rare unanimity, in spite of the age-long controversy, the democratic world has decided to continue the one where it existed, and create one wherever new legislatures are born in spite of the fact that it passes human ingenuity to construct an effective Second Chamber. Let us now examine the arguments or reasons for either viewpoint.

## **Historical :**

The House of Lords in England is the most ancient Second Chamber continued without interruption and based on heridity. It is also a classic example of a Second Chamber having started as the most powerful House of Parliament and gradually surrendering its power to the House of Commons. In England the representative bodies of middle ages to advise the monarch were constituted on the basis of status: the Nobles, the Clergy and the Commoners, and they sat in separate Chambers as separate bodies. In course of time the first two fused to form the British House of Lords and the Commoners form the House of Commons.

## **To represent the nobility against the democratically representative Chamber :**

This had been the role of the British House of Lords from the beginning, even when the House of Commons was not so representative of the people. It became a body 'to represent persons distinguished by birth, wealth or honours, with right to block popular activities' (Montesquieu). This right became very essential to vested business interests both in Britain and Europe and they

abhorred the 'dependence on an elected majority' and 'looked to a Second Chamber to keep the country safe for democracy'. These interests always considered the Second Chamber as the protective armour for safeguarding their interests, for even a delay of an undesirable policy, they thought, was already a gratifying deliverance.

### **To give the contrary time for second thoughts :**

The modern and a modest conception of a Second Chamber is that it should sympathise with the long-term interests of democracy and should have wisdom and foresight to see—and strength to intervene—when these are being betrayed by a temporary majority. Such betrayal is not likely to happen frequently. Yet, if such a thing happens even once in a way, the absence of a preventive will be of tragic consequence to a country. 'The qualities needed in such a body are mature judgment, insight into political and social questions, and some aloofness from party motives. Such a body does not easily spring from universal suffrage. It would be dogmatic to say that it is unobtainable in the modern world, but no known method of composition seems likely to guarantee it—though perhaps it might be a lucky bye-product of methods intended for quite a different result'—Lord Compion.

Further, such a body is essential to act as a check to prevent hasty legislation by the Lower House and to interpose so much delay (and no more) in the passing of a Bill into law as may be needed to enable the opinion of the nation to be adequately expressed. It is likely that the Lower House immediately responsible to the people is 'likely to be moved by gusts of passion of a momentary or transitory nature'. A majority of Single Assembly, when it has assumed a permanent character—when composed of persons habitually acting together, and always assured of victory in their own House—easily becomes despotic and overweening, if released from the necessity of considering whether its acts will be concurred in by another constituted authority.

'The same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls makes it desirable there should be two Chambers : that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year'—John Stuart Mill.

The need for a 'second look' was forcefully brought out by Ferrand by narrating an incident that happened between Thomas Jefferson, who was opposed to bicameralism and George Washington who had an opinion that Second Chamber would bring political stability and sobriety, when the U.S. Constitution was being shaped. Washington asked Jefferson at the breakfast table when he poured his hot coffee into the saucer 'Why did you pour that coffee over the saucer?' 'To cool it,' replied Jefferson. 'Even so,' said Washington, 'we pour legislation into the Senatorial Saucer to cool it'.

One other reason given by J. S. Mill which has not lost its force even to-day is that one of the most indispensable requisites in the practical conduct of politics is... 'a willingness to concede something to opponents and to shape good measures to be as little as possible offensive to persons of opposite views, and of this salutary habit of mutual give and take between the two Houses is a perpetual School'.

### **To improve Bills and to relieve congestion of business in the Lower House :**

A Second Chamber has a useful field of activity in tidying up Bills sent from the Lower House—in giving Ministers an opportunity of putting into shape concessions promised there and clarifying the drafting. Further, its comparative leisure may allow it to stage discussions on matters of long-term importance, which the lower House might consider academic. Further, because of the rich experience of its members, points which have not been expressed at all or where expressed find better expression which aids fresh thinking. Bagehot's justification for the existence of the House of Lords by the deficiencies of the House of Commons might

well apply to other Second Chambers as well. He says, 'If we had an ideal House of Commons..... it is certain we should not need a higher Chamber..... but, beside the actual House a revising and leisured legislature is extremely useful, if not quite necessary.'

A Second Chamber is often formed to provide representation which could not be adequately provided for in the lower House based on adult franchise. Those who desire representation of economic or social groups in legislature but cannot agree to the abolition of the territorial principle for the lower House see a way out in the Second Chamber. The Second Chamber gives scopes for representation of men of status and rich experience in different walks of life such as academicians, scientists, jurists, economists, educationists and professionals who do not care to face risks of popular elections.

**In a federal Constitution, to safeguard the interest of the component States :**

To be the 'Chamber of States' of a Federation provides a Second Chamber with a better argument for indispensability than unitary countries can muster (Lord Campion). To represent the States is the main purpose for which the directly elected Senates of the U.S. and Australia exist.

These are the various basic reasons which the political theorists advance for justifying the existence or creation of a Second Chamber.

Opposition to the system is equally well supported with weighty arguments. The principal ground of attack is that it is undemocratic. Legislative process is sufficiently long-drawnout even without a Second Chamber. Needless multiplication of checks and balances would only make the parliamentary form of Government less dynamic.

The so-called impulsiveness is only an excuse which the vested interests have invented to establish a Second Chamber to safeguard their interests. The other ground of attack is that it is very difficult to constitute a real Second Chamber to fulfil the objects for

which it is established. Further, the existence of parties makes it difficult to compose the Second Chamber with men of calibre in the different fields. If the Second Chamber is to be composed on party lines similar to the complex that exists in the lower House, then it is normal to expect the Second Chamber also to support whatever has been done in the lower House unless the party in power itself wants to reverse the decision of the lower House. In view of this, wherever the Houses are composed on the same party lines, then it becomes more a duplication and becomes unitary in character.

These are the various arguments for and against the creation or existence of Second Chambers. With rare unanimity, wherever parliamentary system of democracy has been adopted, a Second Chamber has been constituted. Even in the Constitutions framed in the 20th century as in India, Ceylon and Burma, Second Chambers were constituted not only at the Union level but also at the State level.

The Second Chambers in the component States of the Union of India have been constituted by persons elected from different electoral constituencies. One-third of the members are elected by the Assembly constituency, one-third by Local Authorities constituency, one-sixth by teachers' constituency, one-sixth by the Graduates' constituency and the rest by nomination to give representation to persons concerned in literature, art and science. When the Constitution was being drafted, the question whether a component State should have or should not have a Second Chamber was left to be decided by the members elected to the Constituent Assembly by that State and the members belonging to our State decided to have a Second Chamber which was in existence since 1937.

The utility or otherwise of the Second Chamber entirely depends upon the way in which it is allowed to function and the proportion of eminent men drawn from different walks of life to compose it.

# HUMOUR IN LEGISLATURE

**C. D. Natarajan,**  
*Secretary, The Madras Legislative Assembly.*

Humour in Legislature may at first appear to be a paradox in the context of the concept of the Legislature as the supreme and sovereign organ of the State whose primary and paramount function, among others, is to legislate for the good governance of the country and the welfare of the people. The deliberations, debates and discussions, in the Legislature are, therefore, in general expectation, to be earnest, eloquent, serious and purposeful.

A Parliament was originally a meeting for parley or consultation. In modern times, Parliament means a Deliberative Body and Parliamentary Democracy means 'Government by discussion, debate and deliberation'. Discussion or debate or even deliberation can arise only when there are diverse views and contrary opinions on any matter or subject brought before the Legislature for decision. In the nature of things, therefore, discussions are bound to be serious and animated, if not heated.

'Humour' has carried down through the languages of Europe a peculiar etymology. In origin, it means 'wetness' and is of the same source as 'humidity'. True to its etymological sense, in the Legislature, humour acts as a spray of water to the fray of tempers.

'Humour' may be defined as the sense within us which sets up kindly contemplation of the incongruities of life and expression of that sense in speech and art. The word 'humour' thus means either something subjective, as we speak of a 'man of humour' or something objective, when we speak of a speech as 'full of humour'.

Wit is a specie of the genus humour which means the expression of humour in some form which involves a play on words. It is, however, necessary to maintain the distinction between 'wit and humour' on the one hand and 'sarcasm and satire' on the other. The nature of humour, in the words of the great Philosopher Kant, lies in the 'sudden transformation of a tense expectation into nothing'.

In Parliamentary Democracy, the work of the Legislature falls under three broad heads, namely, Critical, Legislative and Financial. In the performance of the critical functions the members of the Legislature put intelligent and incisive questions to turn the searchlight on the several aspects of the administration, ostensibly to elicit information but really to focus attention on the defects and drawbacks and the acts of commission and omission in administration. This is commonly

known as the 'Question hour' and it is during Question hour that the wit and humour of the Ministers and members come into play.

It is inscribed in the Constitution of India that there shall be freedom of speech in the legislature subject only to the provisions of the Constitution and the Rule of Procedure and that no member of the Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court in respect of anything said by him in the Legislature. Good temper and moderation are, however, the characteristics of parliamentary language and parliamentary language is never more desirable than when a member canvasses the opinions and the conduct of the opponents in debate. The Rules of Procedure seek to secure dignity and decorum. Speeches in Parliament are not to be defamatory or offensive. Moderation in language is the hallmark of parliamentary speeches. Unparliamentary expression can be expunged by the order of the Speaker. Personal imputations are not permitted. Matters *sub judice* are not to be discussed. Any member who persists in objectionable or unparliamentary expressions can well be called to order by the Speaker. But, subject to these restrictions and regulations, members enjoy freedom of speech with full and free scope for the play of wit and humour. It is not always that members expect a factual answer to their questions. They know, as well as the responsible Ministers, that international or defence matters are frequently far too delicate to be discussed in detail on the floor of the House. But the members wish to see how a Minister acquits himself in an awkward situation. More often than not, their object is to embarrass and provoke. In such a situation the shield and lance of a Minister is necessarily the wit and humour. It enables him to parry the deadliest of thrusts and to attack in retaliation with a view to silence the member.

Masters of wit and humour, no less than the master of eloquence, have left an indelible mark and imprint in the annals of the parliaments and legislatures in the great democracies of the world. The pages of the

Hansard and the Official Debates bear eloquent testimony to the wit and humour which sparkled in the Parliaments and legislatures not only to enliven the proceedings, but also to relieve the tedium and monotony of long debates and to act as a gentle breeze in an atmosphere of suffocation and to cool frayed tempers. Flashes of wit and humour have softened clashes of ideas.

Winston Churchill, the greatest parliamentarian of modern times, was a master of wit and humour. Sir Harold Macmillan has said that the great thing about Churchill in private talk, in Cabinet and in the House of Commons was his puckish humour, his tremendous sense of fun and the quick alternation between grave and gay. "Winston's wit rocks the House" were the headlines in newspapers of his days.

The child of the House of Commons as he was, who loved and lived in the House of Commons, so to say, Winston Churchill contributed many a lively hour by his inimitable witticism and humour. This legendary man of impish fun, keen mind, mischievous humour, warm heart and astringent wit has contributed many lively pages to the Hansard of his times.

On one occasion when a Member jumped to his feet to express his strong disagreement with what Churchill had said, but in a fit of anger was able only to mumble something which was unintelligible, the great Churchill remarked, "My Rt. Hon. Friend should not develop more indignation than he can contain", and the Member humbly slumped into his seat!

On another occasion, a Member, Sir Hicks, in the course of his speech noticed Sir Winston Churchill shake his head in disagreement. Pricked by this, he remarked, "I see my Rt. Hon. Friend shakes his head, but I only express *my own opinion*,"; quick came the humorous reply from Churchill, "I shake only *my own head*!"

In the days of the Korean war, Mr. Lewis, a Labour Member put a question to the Prime Minister, Churchill, "Is the Prime



Minister aware of the deep concern felt by the people of this country at the whole question of the Korean War?"; Churchill replied, "I am fully aware of the deep concern felt by the Hon. Member in many matters above his comprehension"; thus he not only parried the question, but also silenced the Member and thus escaped from an awkward situation.

A Conservative Member once asked Prime Minister Churchill, "What course you would follow if a future British Monarch should bear the name Llewellyn?"; Churchill replied, 'I hope I may ask for a long notice of this question.'

Sir Alan Herbert, a Member of Parliament, made a provocative maiden speech on the second day of the new parliament in 1935. Churchill commented, "Call that a maiden speech? It was a brazen hussy of a speech. Never did such a painted lady of a speech parade itself before a modest parliament!"

This recalls to our memory lively and humorous remarks made in the Legislature nearer home. The Madras Legislative Council of those days consisted of a brilliant galaxy of legislators, distinguished alike for their erudition and eloquence as well as for their wit and humour, the Rajah of Panagal, A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, R.K. Shanmukham Chetty, C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, S. Satyamurthi and C.R. Reddi. It fell to the lot of S. Satyamurthi to make his maiden speech on the No-Confidence Motion moved by C.R. Reddi. Naturally, the speech was not only strident but laden with sharp criticisms and invectives. Quick therefore came the remark that there was nothing maidenly about the speech.

On another occasion when the marriageable age of boys and girls was under discussion, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai said that the Rajah of Ramnad might laugh that old people like him should support the motion. The Rajah of Ramnad remarked: "I only said that old men should not marry young girls".

Later, when the popular Ministry headed by Thiru C. Rajagopalachari was in office, a

member asked whether the Government had received any representation from the Non-gazetted Officers' Wives Association as regards the grievances of the N.G.Os. and by what quantum of money had the wives expressed their love for their husbands. Rajaji replied with a sense of humour: "Wives have no limitations to their demands".

On another occasion, when a Congress member Thiru K.T. Kosalram, seated in the place allotted to members of the opposition, asked a supplementary question as to the stage of an irrigation scheme, Rajaji replied: "The Hon. Member is not in his place and so he is being infected". There was laughter all round and thus a direct reply was evaded.

In recent times the proceedings of the Legislature of Madras have been punctuated, not infrequently, by wit and humour. A member in the opposition, Thiru K. Vinayakam, enquired about the implementation of water-supply scheme for Tiruttani wherein is situated the famous shrine of Lord Subramanya. With a view to urge the speedy implementation of the scheme he asked: "Will the work of the water-supply scheme for Tiruttani be commenced before the end of the month of Karthigai?" The Chief Minister, Thiru C. N. Annadurai, replied: "I am glad that Vinayakam, the elder brother, takes such interest in the temple of his younger brother Lord Subrahmanya". This is an instance where the witty reply involving a play on a word has served the purpose of provoking laughter without furnishing a direct answer.

On another occasion, the same member, Thiru K. Vinayakam, put a series of supplementary questions in quick succession and one member disappointed at his failure to catch the eye of the Speaker to put a supplementary question enquired in exasperation whether there was no limit to the number of supplementaries that could be put by a member. The Chief Minister intervened and replied: "The member's name, Vinayakam, contains the word 'Vina', the Tamil equivalent of question, and so he may ask as many

questions as he likes''. There was general laughter and the member Thiru K. Vinayakam went on merrily to put more supplementaries.

In conclusion it may be stated that it is needless now, within the compass of this short talk, to give a long string of witty and humorous remarks which had enlivened the proceedings of the Legislature both in the distant and recent past. Suffice it to state that a sense of wit and humour, besides being a sign of culture and refinement, is a necessary embellishment not only in art and literature, but also in speech and debate. It is in no sense incompatible with the solemnity of the

proceedings and cannot and does not detract from the seriousness and sincerity of debates. Especially, we Tamils are endowed with a keen sense of wit and humour as is evident from our literature, art and sculpture. Even in sublime devotional songs there is a strain of wit and humour which is easily discernible. The Tamil wit and humour is as well known as the Irish wit and humour.

Wit and humour in legislature, far from being a paradox, have contributed to enrich and embellish debates and discussions and to raise parliamentary process to the level of a fine art.

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### **A DOUGHTY WARRIOR**

**We are in charge of the task of re-juvenating our culture and civilisation — our entire thought. Instead of attempting that, we have been, for too long a period, doting upon the decayed forms attempting to defend them from critics and currents of new thought. And while other parts of the world, after persistent and patient search after truth, have arrived, at new conclusions and are scaling new heights, we are content to sit near the shattered rampart and narrate past glory.**

—ANNA.

# AN EVENING IN MADRAS

**S. Gajendran**

The day was the 24th of May in the year 1967. Madras City continued to be in the grip of heat wave for the second day; the temperature was 105.4°F. Till late in the evening the sea breeze did not set in and the warm land breeze was causing great discomfort to the citizens. The previous day experienced a temperature of 104°F.

Chief Minister *ANNA* after attending to his official work including discussion with two of his cabinet colleagues and foreign dignitaries and after granting interview to some of the innumerable visitors, had his lunch at 3.30 P. M. People at a distance won't appreciate the fact that the day is too short for *Anna*. After an hour's nap, *Anna* was again ready to receive visitors many of whom had assembled by then without previous appointment. He had perforce to get to the premises of the Maha Bodhi Society at Egmore late by an hour, to fulfil the first of the three engagements fixed for the day. The milling crowds waiting for over an hour received him with thunderous applause. The hall was filled to capacity. Perched on the parapet walls were young men and teenagers. Those who attended late could only hear *Anna* and not see him as they had to stand outside.

Presiding over the 2511th celebration of the Birth, Enlightenment and Pari Nirvana of Lord Buddha - *Anna* said that the teachings of the Buddha were universal in their application. He further made it plain that he was not opposed to any particular religion as such but he would like to emphasise that it was the principles taught by any religion which were more important than the dogmatic or ritualistic side. How far the principles taught therein were translated into action for the welfare and progress of society is the question which gives value to any religion. The Buddha is a symbol of supreme sacrifice and universal love and compassion.

Earlier Mr. E. Nandiswara, Director of the Maha Bodhi Society welcomed the gathering and Mr. Masayuki Yoshida, Consul for Japan, Mr. E. L. F. de J. Seneviratna, Deputy High Commissioner for Ceylon, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, M.L.A., Thirumathi Satyavani Muthu, Minister for Harijan Welfare and Information and Dr. A. Theagarajan spoke on the life and teachings of the Buddha.

Next in the programme was inauguration of a newly-constructed building at Triplicane near the Lady Willingdon Training College. In declaring open a balwadi-cum-library-

cum-recreation centre organised by the Madras Junior Chamber and run by the Indian Council of Child Welfare, Madras, *Anna* made an appeal to the private agencies and philanthropists to come forward and run welfare centres to help the poor and the needy as Government alone would not be in a position to organise such centres. He added that the Government would be shortly initiating a scheme to house the fishermen in Ayodhya Kuppam.

Mr. V. Chidambaram, President of the Junior Chamber, said that the chamber had contributed nearly Rs. 28,000/- towards the construction of the centre.

It was 9 P. M. when the Chief Minister reached the Victoria Public Hall to unveil the portrait of Dr. P. V. Rajamannar, retired Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, as part of the Inauguration Day Celebrations of the Chennapuri Andhra Maha Sabha.

A representative gathering of the citizens of Madras requested *Anna* to advise the newly formed Trust Board of the V.P. Hall to desist from its intention to place it at the disposal of a North Indian concern for the purpose of converting it into a Cinema House. The V. P. Hall had been constructed by the pioneers of the Justice Party headed by the Maharajah of Vizianagar, the Rajah of Bobbili and the Maharajah of Pithapuram. Ever since, it has been a place for the conduct of dramas, dance performances and important public meetings. The intention of the Trust Board to give the hall on lease to a North Indian concern for the purpose of running a Cinema House was against the interest of the development of amateur dramatic culture in the city. Though the Corporation of Madras opposed, the former Government decided in favour of the lease. The Andhra Maha Sabha promoted by the late Sir P. Theagaraya, Founder of the Justice Party, and nurtured by Mr. R. Madanagopal

Naidu and other distinguished citizens was very much worried over the structural alterations contemplated for the conversion of the beautiful hall into a cinema house. To avoid this catastrophe, the Chief Minister was requested to advise the Trust Board to have a separate hall by the side of the eighty-four year old V. P. Hall to accommodate the Cinema House and save the dissolution of the existing hall.

*Anna* who spoke for nearly forty minutes dwelt at length on the intrinsic value and glory of the Dravidian culture comprising within it the Andhra School of thought and the Tamilian School of thought and enumerated the literary and juristic talents of Dr. Rajamannar. According to him, Dr. Rajamannar is the fittest person to enshrine the Dravidian art and culture in the minds of the people of the other Indian States. *Anna* was cheered on more than one occasion during the course of his thought - provoking speech.

The hall reverberated with murmurs of approval when the greatest Dravidian of the South wished that the Chennapuri Andhra Maha Sabha, being an Association of the Telugus of Madras for whom he always had a space in his heart, should strive to be a liaison office between Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nad, which stand divided but not estranged as two administrative units.

*Anna* has, it may be recalled, risen from humble beginnings to a towering political career. He is a leader by merit and sagacity. He personally never considered his meteoric rise to power as something unduly great and unbelievably unattainable. He has attached no undue importance to the high office of Chief Minister. Therefore, he very pertinently remarked in his speech that his assumption of the said office was just a minor change in his life.

When Anna reached home after fulfilling the three public engagements it was quarter past ten in the night. Anybody would expect him to go to bed after a hasty meal. But nay he could not get away easily from the public and the Press besides the aggrieved parties with petitions in their hands and

hopes in their eyes. When probably the entire city was asleep, *Anna* was still sitting at his desk perusing the ever-increasing files and passing orders thereon to ensure an administration—efficient, healthy and wholesome!



## on national integration

Just on the eve of Independence Rajaji stated with an acumen all his own, "Our political experiment is really like melting iron and metals and pouring them into a crucible and making an alloy, an alloy which can stand wear and tear. It is not like the chinaware that other people have turned out in their countries. Their democracies were easy to make — like plastics. But we are dealing with metals." National integration is a goal, worthy and much-sought after, but neither in the field of language nor in the economic sphere, could we tolerate injustice and domination.

—ANNA.

# ODE ON 'ARIGNAR ANNA'

**G. Maria Joseph Xavier**

*Lecturer in English Saraswathi Narayanan College,  
Madurai, Madras State.*

1. The skylark sings ; the rising Sun doth shine  
With bright and piercing rays ; the darkness flees ;  
The humid flowers smile with faces fine  
The birds warble in a full-throated ease ;  
Full glad are all the living things in peace.  
Risen Thou hast with lustrous eyes that glow  
All people to guide and their hearts to please  
Our hearts rejoice ; our springing Joy does know  
No bound ; there flies the care our vexing foe.
2. Our hearts at rest and tranquil are our minds  
Under thy rule, oh ANNA ! Good and Great !  
Our Joy ! Our Pride ! Our shielding Rock that finds  
Us all in safer stage within our state.  
The people's dream ; our vision and our fate !  
On seeing you the dreading famine sore,  
Fear and ignorance that lay in wait  
Take wings amain and we gain more and more  
Of comforts and hence you we all adore.
3. Are you the mellow fruit of the penance  
Made by our earth mother to give us You ?  
Or has a Tamil King of prominence  
Been born again to guard us and renew  
This land and the language sweet as the dew  
Drops that descend upon the Meru Hill

Or nector in many a luring hue ?  
Or are you an embodiment of good will  
Nobleness and love passing the beryl ?

4. The mortal eyes would show what is ahead.  
A good mother would teach us a few things.  
But the sweet mother-tongue, it must be said,  
Opens our lips and eyes ; imparts us wings  
To fly in the sky of knowledge that brings  
The pow'r that shakes the world and lasting Joy.  
For us You guard that Boon, as anc'ent kings  
From the North wind that blows us to annoy ;  
And thus make us her golden mines enjoy.
5. How oft you had to bear hardships in life  
Confronting the bad customs and beliefs  
Extant in our life of ignoble strife ?  
The race that ruled is ruled and inwant lives,  
Losing the life sweet as the draught of hives.  
Noting the direful change didn't thy heart bleed ?  
How apt' you used thy pen that gave and gives  
New thoughts to raise us from the fen and feed  
Our mind ; and to a bright life us to lead.
6. We know you restless were to give us rest  
And spent in prison cell thy precious days,  
To lead us into a land new and blest.  
You called us all to stick to the meet ways.  
Our long delay you brooked with happy face.  
The time is come ; the fold has heard thy voice.  
With newer hopes in life at you we gaze.  
' Better late than never '—We've made the choice  
With thee we long to stay in rues and joys.
7. Famous thou art ; Is it because you are  
The chief ? No ; no ; a Min'ster comes and goes  
But you'd be known for ever as a bright star  
And near a stream a tree with happy boughs  
For thy broad mind and clement heart that shows  
Pity for the poor far and near  
For thy Good Ways that lure even the foes  
And the gift of the gab which we hear  
And rise to proper actions sans fear,

8. Plato was famous for his pensive head ;  
Cicero for his tongue shedding honey  
And Voltaire for his mighty pen that fed  
Myriad minds and gave them a life free  
Good Cato dealt with ruling a country,  
And won in politics a lasting name.  
But all those master minds we find in thee.  
Thou art amidst a group of lights that flame,  
The guiding star that burns with constant name.
9. Sweeter thy words ; fond and sweet is thy name.  
The babbling babes too are taught to lisp it.  
Other folds too with us thy fame proclaim.  
The mighty minds in YALE declare thy wit ;  
To honour thee and thine they think it fit.  
Blameless you are. Yet who is free from foe ?  
Seeing thee seated on the fame's summit  
Perchance some may envy but yet you go  
Ahead bearing the CROSS and drive our woe.
10. The Patch of darksome cloud may hide the moon  
Or the nimbus the Sun ; but cannot mar  
Their courses in the sky where they shine soon  
A ship of merchandise that's from afar  
At times with the surging sea is at war.  
The brawling gust and whale may give some bale ;  
Yet she crosses the brine ; like her you are.  
With the cargo of peace and Joy you sail.  
You'd sail and reach the shore. Hence thee we hail.
11. It gives me joy to hail you in my verse  
And pour on thee the boundless blessings sweet.  
Extolling thee I've writ this number terse  
And fain I place the same before thy feet.  
A day should have one hundred hours I' treat  
The sky, and a month should have hundred days  
A year one hundred months, I deign it meet,  
And ANNA ! You must shine with dazzling rays  
For countless years and be the theme of lays.
-



## on Socialism

**Socialism, I should say, is not merely one amongst the many patterns of economic activity — it is as much a faith as it is a system. It demands, not the head alone, but more especially, the heart. It is sustained not by the charts and graphs alone, but by sincerity and the spirit of a missionary. It is not bookish. It is born out of the notes of warning issued from the proper section — the groans of the downtrodden.**

— ANNA

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— *A. P. Janarthanam* M.L.C.



# SOLIDARITY IS OUR SHIELD

## SO, LET US SOLEMNLY RESOLVE

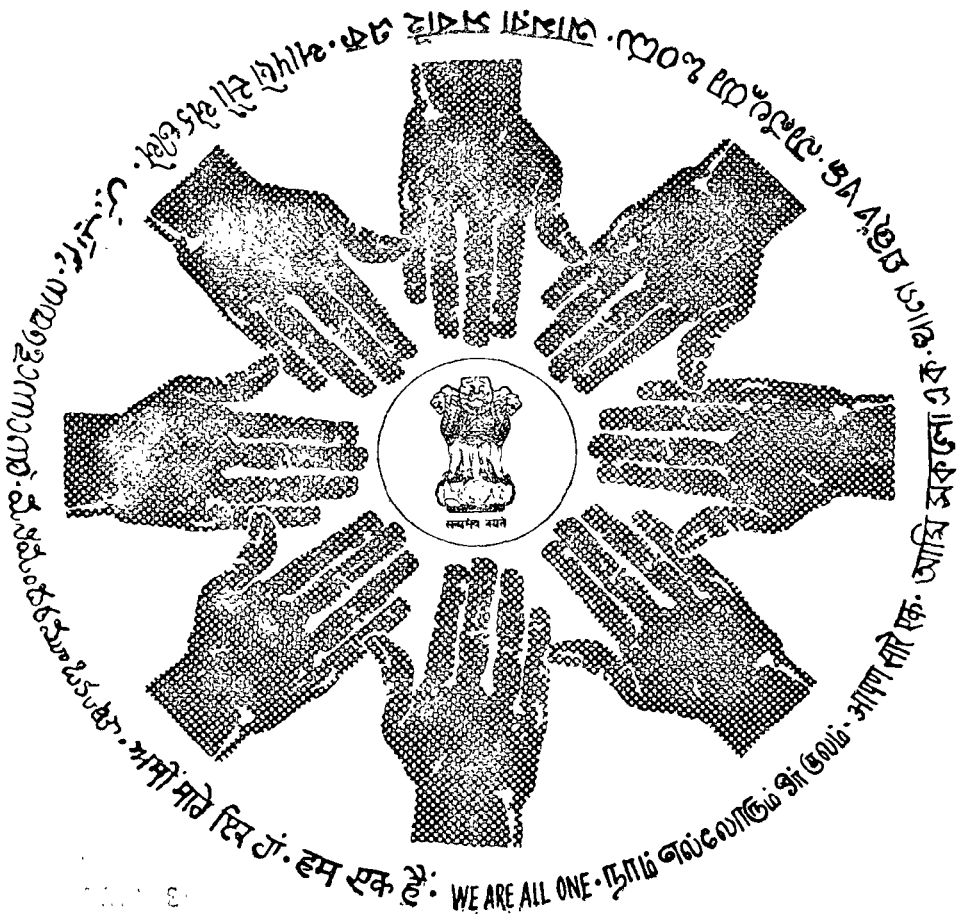
"I reaffirm the solemn resolve of our people to preserve the freedom and integrity of my Motherland, however hard and long the struggle and however great the sacrifices.

I pledge to work with determination for the strength and solidarity of the Nation."

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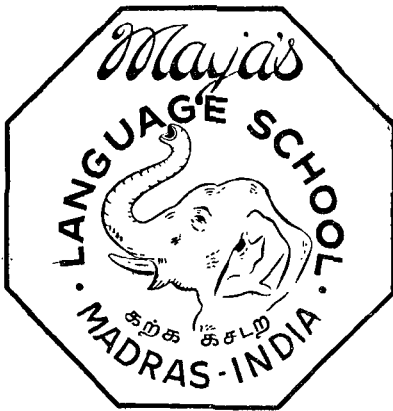
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**A. MARIAPPAN, President.**



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The T.U.C.S. is the Biggest Consumers' Co-operative Society having 68 branches in & around the City of Madras.

"KAMADHENU", the Co-operative Super Market is a Unit of the T.U.C.S., where you can buy all your requirements under one roof. Self Service Department is also functioning from 1-8-1968 at KAMADHENU.

Four of our branches viz. Nungambakkam, Royapettah t, Triplicane and Raja Annamalaipuram have been modernised, where Package System for provisions has been introduced to serve its members and the public in general more effectively. A textile wing has also been opened at the branches namely Nungambakkam, Royapettah l and Triplicane. House Delivery facilities are also provided at the 4 modernised branches.

All are requested to enrol as members of the T.U.C.S. and enjoy the benefits by purchasing their house-hold requirements through any of the branches of the T.U.C.S. or from KAMADHENU and encourage the Co-operative Movement.

*Secretary*

*With the best compliments of*

## Century Flour Mills Ltd.,

**Regd. Office :**

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பழனி கூட்டுறவு நில அடமான பாங்கு லீமிடெட்.

நிர். D. D. 115. பழனி

கூட்டுறவே

நாட்டுயர்வு !

## அறிவிப்பு

பழனி தாலுகாவைச் சேர்ந்த கிராமங்களிலுள்ள நன்செய் புன்செய் நிலங்களின் அடமானத்தின் பேரில் விவசாயிகளுக்கு அடியில்கண்ட நில அபிவிருத்தி காரியங்களுக்காக நீண்டகாலக் கடன் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. ஷே கடனை ஆண்டு 1க்கு ரூ. 100க்கு ரூ. 8-25 வீதம் குறைந்த வட்டி விகிதத்தில் 15 ஆண்டுகளில் எளிதாக திருப்பிச் செலுத்தலாம்.

பழைய கிணற்றை ஆழப்படுத்தவும் பெரிது படுத்தவும்,  
பாம்பேரி கட்டடம் கட்டவும், நிலத்தைச் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யவும்,  
மா, தென்னை முதலிய மரங்களைப் பயிர் செய்து தோப்பு உண்டு  
பண்ணவும், மோட்டார் பம்புசெட் வாங்கவும், அறை கட்டவும் புதிய  
கிணர் வெட்டவும்.

நபர் ஒருவருக்கு  
ரூ. 10,000  
வரை

15 வருட தவணை

விவசாய உழவுக் கருவி (tractor) வாங்க

ரூ. 40,000 வரை

அல்லது

10 வருட தவணை

புதிய கிணறு வெட்டி பம்புசெட் வைக்க .....

15 வருட தவணை

(அல்லது இரண்டு காரியங்களுக்கும் சேர்த்து)

மேலே கண்ட நில அபிவிருத்திக்காகச் சென்ற 2 ஆண்டிற்குள் ஏற்பட்ட நிரூபனமாகும். கடன்களைத் தீர்க்கவும், அடமான நிலத்தின் பேரில் உள்ள ஈடு அல்லது ஒத்திக் கடன்களைத் தீர்க்கும் (ஓர் அளவுக்கு) பாங்கியில் கடன் வழங்கப்படும். அமராவதி கூட்டுறவு சர்க்கரை மில் அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு முன் கடன் தீர்க்க ரூ. 10,000மும் நில அபிவிருத்திக்கும், அல்லது இதற்காக ஏற்பட்ட முன் கடனைத் தீர்க்கவும் மேற்கொண்டு ரூ. 5,000மும் கடன் கொடுக்கப்படும்.

பாங்கியில் கடன் பெறுபவர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கும் சலுகைகள் :-

ரூ. 2000வரை வில்லங்க சர்ட்டிபிகேட் கட்டணம் கிடையாது. இதற்குமேல் ரூ. 5000 வரை பாதி கட்டணம் மட்டும் செலுத்தினால் போதும் அடமானப் பத்திரம் எழுத முத்திரைக் காகிதம் தேவையில்லை. ரூ. 5000 வரை பகுதிப் பதிவுக் கட்டணம் செலுத்தலாம்.

## மேலும் ஓர் நற்செய்தி

புதிய கிணறு வெட்ட கடன் பெற்று குறிப்பிட்ட காலத்துக்குள் வேலையைப் பூர்த்தி செய்பவர்களுக்கு அரசினர் மானியம் ரூ. 500 கிடைக்கும்.

அவரவர்கள் தங்கள் வருமானத்திலிருந்து சிறிய அளவில் தவணைப்படி செலுத்தி பாங்கியில் பெறும் கடனைத் தீர்க்க வசதியாய் இருக்கும்பொருட்டுப் பல சலுகைகளுடன் நீண்ட காலக் கடன் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. ஆகையால் விவசாயிகள் அனைவரும் மேலே கண்ட காரியங்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படும் கடன்களைப் பெற்றுத் தாங்கள் விரும்பும் அபிவிருத்திகளைச் செய்து அபரிமிதமாக விளைச்சலைப் பெருக்கிப் பயனடையுமாறு அறிவிக்கப்படுகிறது.

P. முத்து தேவர்

தலைவர்

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MADRAS STATE

P. Natchadalingam  
Secretary

## TOWARDS PROSPERITY

A new era dawned for Tamilnad (on 6th March 1967) with the assumption of office by the new Government with the hope of bringing allround prosperity to the people.

As its first task, the Government brought "the-one-rupee-a-measure rice scheme" to the immense joy of the common man. To increase production of food, double and triple crops were encouraged in the place of single and double crops. The people who were groaning under the pressure of rising prices were relieved by the downward trend in prices of essential commodities.

Tamil has been given a honoured place in difference to the sentiments of the people.

Under the inspiration and guidance of the Chief Minister of Madras, Prosperity Brigades, better known as "Seerani Padai" have sprung up all over the State; a machinery whereby people volunteer their services for productive purposes. This has created a new social awakening in Tamilnad.

Educational facilities for Harijan Stndents have been increased. The Government gives aid for such of those Harijans who start industries.

To promote Casteless Society Government has encouraged inter-caste marriages by giving awards. The Government has legalised self-respect marriages by a Special Act.

Let us march towards our goal; Our goal towards Prosperity.



*Hearty Greetings and Felicitations  
to*

*Hon'ble Thiru C. N. ANNADURAI*

*on the happy occasion of his sixtieth birth-day.  
May he live long to lead us on the path of  
progress and prosperity!*



**Prasad Process Private Ltd.**

“ CHANDAMAMA BUILDINGS ”

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MADRAS-26

தொலைபேசி எண் : 260

ஸ்தாபிதம் : 1947

தந்தி. : “நில் கோஸ்டோர்”

**நீலகிரி மாவட்ட**

**கூட்டுறவு விநியோக விற்பனைச் சங்கம்**

(வரையறுக்கப்பட்டது)

நீண்ட உறவுஸ்

எண். ஜே. 27

உதகமண்டலம்

திரு. பீ. உருலா கவுடர்  
தலைவர்

திரு. ஏ. சேலை கவுடர்  
உபதலைவர்

மொத்த விற்பனைக் கிளைகள் : கடலூர், குன்னூர்

சில்லரை விற்பனைக் கிளைகள் : 16

நீலகிரி மாவட்டத்தில் உணவுப் பொருள்களுக்கும்

மொத்த விநியோகஸ்தர்கள்.

இரசாயன உரங்களுக்கும், அரசாங்கம் அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்ட ஸ்டாக்கிஸ்டுகள்.

கடலூர் தாலுக்காவில் ஏ.சி.சி. சிமெண்டுக்கு

அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்ட ஸ்டாக்கிஸ்டுகள்.

விநியோகஸ்தர்கள் ;

இந்தியன் ஆயில் மண்ணெண்ணெய்க்கும் விவசாயக் கருவிகளுக்கும்

காப்பி, தேயிலை, செடிகளுக்கான ‘மலைமார்க்’

கலப்பு உரங்கள் தயாரிக்கிறோம்.



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the Hand-loom Cloth among the public and to afford  
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*Cheapest Rates  
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durability in up-to-date fashions*

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Society : 3091

**our goods are available all over India through  
co-op. tex emporium, depots & hand-loom houses**

**THE KRISHNAPURAM WEAVERS'**  
**Co-operative Production & Sales Society Ltd.. No. A 1880**  
**19, Krishnapuram Colony, MADURAI-14, (Tamilnadu)**

**Sales Depot : 27-A, RAMNAD ROAD, MADURAI-9**



## உத்தரமேரூர் கூட்டுறவு விவசாய வங்கி (வ-து) எண் 41 உத்தரமேரூர்

[இவ்வங்கி தமிழகக் கூட்டுறவு விவசாய வங்கிகளில் தலை சிறந்தது]

தலைவர்

துணைத்தலைவர்

பொருளாளர்

திரு. M. வரதாச்சாரியார் திரு. S. D. நடராஜ முதலியார் திரு. மா. சண்முக முதலியார்

இதர இயக்குநர்கள்

திரு. த. பெருமாள் நாயுடு திரு. வே. அப்பாசாமி நாயகர் திரு. ர. பலராம ரெட்டியார்

திரு. வீ. அப்பா செட்டியார் திரு. வே. ப. பெருமாள்சாமி நாயகர்

திரு. வை. கெ. சிங்காரவேலு முதலியார் திரு. அ. மாணிக்க முதலியார்

திரு. P. இராமசந்திர நாயுடு

கீழ்க்கண்ட டெபாசிட்டுகள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப் படுகின்றன :

- |                       |         |                       |    |
|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------|----|
| 1. கிரந்தர வைப்புகள்  | 7½% வரை | 4. நடப்புக் கணக்குகள் | 1% |
| 2. சேமிப்பு வைப்புகள் | 4%      | 5. சிக்கன வைப்புகள்   | 7% |
| 3. மடங்கு வைப்புகள்   | 6½%     |                       |    |

சிங்கப்பூர், மலையா போன்ற கடல் கடந்த தேசங்களிலிருந்தும் இங்கு டெபாசிட்டுகள் வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்வங்கி ஏர் முனைக்கு ஊக்கமளிக்கும் பார்புகழ் வங்கியாகும்.

D. அப்பாவு

செயலாளர் பொறுப்பு

## மதுரை மாவட்ட கூட்டுறவு வழங்கு விற்பனைச் சங்கம் வரையறுக்கப்பட்டது, மதுரை-1 31, வெங்கலக்கடைத் தெரு, மதுரை-1

தபால் பெட்டி : 118

தொலைபேசி : 2166

மதுரை மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள கூட்டுறவுப் பண்டகச்சாலைகளுக்கும், இதர சங்கங்களுக்கும் மொத்த வியாபாரியாகவும் மதுரை நகரத்தில் 18 சில்லரை விற்பனை நிலையங்கள் மூலம் பொது மக்களுக்கு அத்தியாவசியமான உணவுத் தானியங்கள் வகையறு விற்பனை செய்து வருகிறது.

இரசாயண உரங்களுக்கு இந்த மாவட்டத்திற்கு அரசின் ஏஜெண்டாகவும் மாவட்டத்தில் 360 ஏஜெண்டு சங்கங்கள் மூலம் அமோனியம் சல்பேட், யூரியா, அமோனியம் சல்பேட் நைட்ரேட், கால்சியம், அமோனியம் நைட்ரேட் முதலியவைகளை நெற்பயிர்களுக்கும் இதர பயிர்களுக்கும் விநியோகம் செய்து வருகிறது.

“புற மார்க்” கலப்பு உரம் சிறந்த நிபுணர்களைக் கொண்டு இச்சங்கம் உற்பத்தி செய்கிறது. நிலவளத்தை அதிகரிக்கவும், நெல், வாழை, மிளகாய்வற்றல், நிலக்கடலை, உருளைக்கிழங்கு மகசூலைப் பெருக்கவும் இவ்வூரம் மிகவும் சிறந்தது.

விவசாயிகளும் இதரர்களும் இச்சங்கத்தின் சேவையைப் பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ள வேண்டுகிறோம்.

வி. ஏ. ராமய்யா

எஸ். வைத்தியலிங்கம்

துணைப்பதிவாளர்/இணைச் செயலாளர்

துணைப்பதிவாளர்/தனி அதிகாரி

தரமான, கலப்படமற்ற குடும்பத்தேவைக்கான பொருள்கள் அனைத்தும் ஒரே இடத்தில் சீரான விலையில் கிடைக்கப் பெறும் ஒரு கூட்டுறவு நிறுவனம்.

**கூட்டுறவுச் சிறப்பு அங்காடி**  
**மதுரை**

எஸ். வைத்தியலிங்கம்

பொதுநிர்வாகி

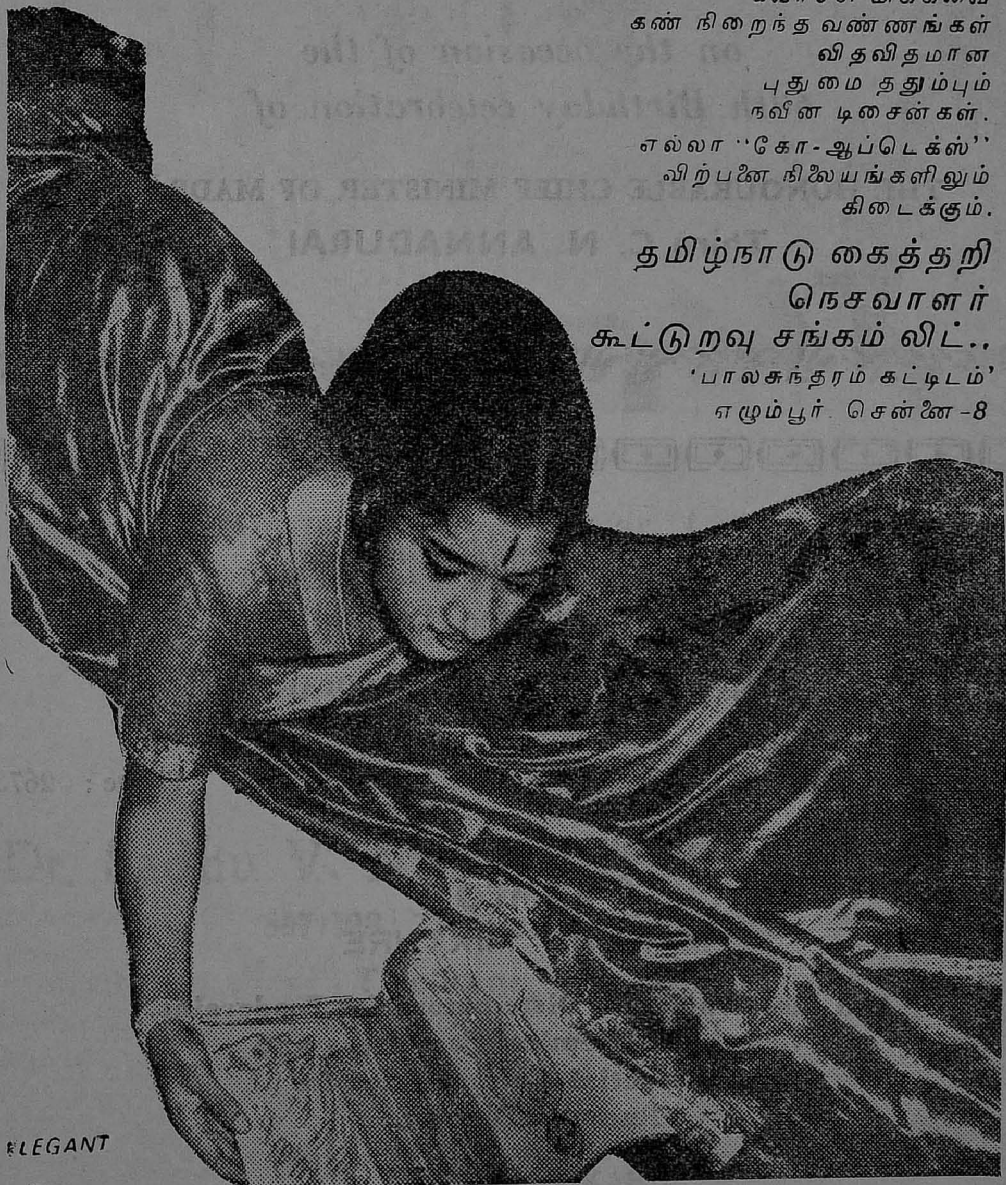
உங்கள் பொலிவுக்கு...  
கண்டோர் வியக்கும் கவர்ச்சி தரும்

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கண் நிறைந்த வண்ணங்கள்  
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புதுமை ததும்பும்  
நவீன டிசைன்கள்.  
எல்லா 'கோ-ஆப்டெக்ஸ்'  
விற்பனை நிலையங்களிலும்  
கிடைக்கும்.

தமிழ்நாடு கைத்தறி  
நெசவாளர்  
கூட்டுறவு சங்கம் லிட்..  
'பாலசுந்தரம் கட்டிடம்'  
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குறைந்த விலைக்குக் கிடைக்கும்.

\*

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வெள்ளி விழாக் கட்டிட எலக்ட்ரிக் பிராஞ்சு  
பகுதியில் கிடைக்கும்.

\*

எங்கள் பண்டகசாலையின் கிளைகள்

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1) தலைமை ஆபீஸ் ஜவுளி பகுதி                      | 137, வடக்கு ரத வீதி     |
| ,, ,, பலசரக்குப் பகுதி                          |                         |
| 2) பிராஞ்சு ஜவுளி பகுதி                         | 5, நேதாஜி ரோடு          |
| 3) பிராஞ்சு ஸ்டேஷனரி 1                          | 4, நேதாஜி ரோடு          |
| 4) பிராஞ்சு ஸ்டேஷனரி 1                          | 3, ஆஸ்பத்திரி ரோடு      |
| 5) பிராஞ்சு ஸ்டேஷனரி 1                          | 48-B, சின்னக் கடை பஜார் |
| 6) எலக்ட்ரிக் பிராஞ்சு (வெள்ளி விழாக் கட்டிடம்) | 117, வடக்கு ரத வீதி     |

இங்ஙனம்

சி. சிவப்பிரகாசம்

தலைவர்

உப தலைவர்

டி. சோமசுந்தரம்.

செயலாளர்

ஆ. வேலாயுதம், பி. காம்.

நிர்வாகஸ்தர்கள்

N. B. சிவகாமிநாத பிள்ளை அவர்கள், N. S. சுந்தரமகாலிங்கம் அவர்கள், கோ. பெருமாள்,  
S. நாராயணன் வை. குருநாதன், S. M. இராமையா நாடார்  
A. கிருஷ்ண ஜயங்கார்



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2 years	3 years	6 1/4%
3 years	5 years	6 1/2%
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