CHAPTER – VII

AS CHIEF MINISTER, 1963 - 1967

Bhaktavatsalam took charge as Chief Minister of Madras State on October 2, 1963 when Kamaraj resigned his post under the "K" plan. According to "K" plan some of the senior Congress Ministers should resign and offer themselves to party work.¹ So Bhaktavatsalam took charge as Chief Minister and served in that post for three years and five months. As Chief Minister he held the portfolios of Finance, Education, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments, Official Language, Labour and Legislature. He had contributed a great deal to the all-round progress of the State in Industry, Agriculture, Education, Power and Rural Electrification. The phenomenal changes that took place in every aspect of life and work in Madras State during that time could very well be appreciated by understanding the hard, concentrated work done at all levels resulting in large number of schools, colleges, industrial establishments, irrigation projects, road communications and power projects.

The period witnessed the emergence of a new society. A wide cross section of the people rooted in conservatism moved out of their traditional surroundings and took positions at all levels of Government and economy.

The educational institutions presented a picture of the new society. The agriculturists dropped their traditional methods and switched over to modern tools and techniques. The Government carefully prepared the ground for industrial growth and development. The Chief Ministership of Bhaktavatsalam coincided with the Third Plan Period and the State had a creditable record in the implementation of the plan and in the achievement of the targets.

The Third Plan outlay was 291 crores of rupees. Out of this, central government's assistance was Rs 190 crores and State's contribution was Rs 101 crores.\(^2\) The final outlay increased to Rs 340 crores.\(^3\) The increase in outlay was due to escalation in cost, taking up of new projects and widening the scope of some programmes under general education, technical education, and minor irrigation works. The State was able to fulfil the plan with out any further assistance from the centre because the Government made efforts to mobilise sources for the plan and enforcing economy on non-developmental expenditures. Non-developmental expenditures declined from 39.5% in 1956-57 to 35.9% in 1965-66.\(^4\) Performance exceeded the target every year and planning commission placed on record its high appreciation on the progress achieved by the

\(^3\) Madras Information, April 1965, p.2
\(^4\) Ibid.,
\(^4\) Madras Legislative Council Debates, Vol. LX1, March 1965, p.20
State.\textsuperscript{5} While on discussion on mid term appraisal of the Third Plan, K.Balasubramania Iyer, Opposition M.L.A., complimented the Government, "This document is an impressive one and a very good record of achievement. Some of them are largely ahead of the schedule. On many heads targets have been achieved."\textsuperscript{6}

Before independence, the British Government followed the policy of non-interference in respect of industrial development. But during the two World Wars the Government supported the development of certain industries which were calculated to help the war effort. Hence the industrial economy of the pre independence period was geared to meet the requirements of Imperial interests. The transformation from a colonial system of Government to a full-fledged democracy demanded a commitment towards a welfare State. Hence the State of Madras made notable progress not only in Industries, but also in providing welfare measures and social security to fixed income group. The Pension scheme of 1960 assured pension and gratuity and also family pension for those who were to die in service. In 1964 the pension scheme was further liberalized. Minimum pension was Rs.20/- per month. For all destitutes above 65 years of age monthly pension of Rs.20 was provided.\textsuperscript{7} The age limit was reduced to 60 in the case of handicapped persons.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Madras Information}, April 1965, p.2
\item \textbf{Madras Legislative Council Debates}, Volume LV1, No-1, dated 24.3.1964
\item \textbf{Madras Information}, April 1964, p.8
\end{itemize}
Employees State Insurance Scheme was implemented vigorously. Minimum service for family pension was reduced to five years for those who die in service. Pension was sent by money order.

The State income and per capita income recorded a rising trend during 1960-61 to 1965-66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Income (Lakhs)</td>
<td>1129.56</td>
<td>1214.75</td>
<td>1256.95</td>
<td>1370.98</td>
<td>1497.31</td>
<td>1593.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percapita Income (Rupee)</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under family planning, Madras State made remarkable achievement.

The period also witnessed certain disturbing trends like high cost of living, Price rise and the Hindi Agitation. Failure of monsoon in 1965 and the consequent drought, out break of war with Pakistan and the industrial recession of 1966, made the situation in the country as well as the State far from happy. There was a spirit of defiance and indiscipline everywhere and violence showed its ugly face in many parts of the State.

---

Finally this trend was reflected in the general elections of 1967. One of the best-administered States in the country under the Congress rule namely the Madras Government headed by Bhaktavatsalam suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the electorates due to the accidental synchronization of an economic crisis, scarcity of rice and the language problem with the general election.

The achievements in the fields of Education, Agriculture, Industry, Power and Rural Electrification during the Chief Minister ship of Bhaktavatsalam are discussed under respective subheads. The Hindi Agitation, Price Rise, and the General Elections 1967 are discussed under relevant headings.

**Agriculture**

It is true that the economic development of a country in modern times is associated with the industrialization of the country. But industrialisation can follow only on the sound heels of agriculture. Agriculture is the foundation on which the entire super structure of the growth of industry and other sectors of the economy has to stand. Hence agricultural development has played a crucial role in the process of economic development in this State. The majority of people live by agriculture and any significant improvement in their living standard will be possible only by increased agricultural production. There are strong links between agriculture and overall economic growth.
The agriculturists in Tamilnadu have responded to the stimulus of the many sided assistance from the Government. As irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture, the expansion in irrigation facilities has expanded the paddy cultivation. The expenses for irrigation schemes in Madras State during 1964-65 was to the tune of Rs. 442,22,042 . The waters of all the rivers, big and small have been harnessed for irrigation and power. Amount spent on irrigation and power was Rs. 9671 lakhs of rupees at the end of second plan and it was Rs.11811 lakhs of rupees up to 1963-64. Total areas irrigated by canals, tanks and wells were 2517986 hectares. The Lower Bhavani project irrigated 207000 acres of land. The Parambikulam-Aliyar project irrigated 240000 acres of lands. A sum of Rs. 6.1 crores was provided for Parambikulam-Aliyar project in the year 1965. For the medium irrigation projects Rs. 258 lakhs was ear marked in 1965. The numbers of minor irrigation projects were 1038 up to 1966 at a cost of Rs. 277.99 lakhs. Government offered assistance to dig wells, install pump sets, and construct tube wells. Government sanctioned

10 Ibid., p.63
11 Popular Ministries, Schemes, Projects, Historical events, Visits 1921-1974, Tamilnadu Archives, p.125
12 Ibid., p.225
13 Ibid., p.225
14 Madras Information, April 1965, p.18
15 Ibid., p.18
16 Popular Ministries, Schemes, Projects, Historical events, Visits 1921-1974, op.cit., p. 238
37 lakhs of rupees for 2000 filter point tube wells at Thanjavur.\textsuperscript{17} 36 lakhs acres enjoyed irrigation facilities at the end of 1966.\textsuperscript{18}

The pump set revolution in the State was prompted by the supply of electricity at subsidized rates and due to the intense rural electrification on the State. Rs.2.6 lakhs of pump sets were working in rural areas as at the end of 1966 compared to 14373 pump sets in 1951.\textsuperscript{19} Connected load of electricity to agriculture was 754361 Kilo Watt in 1964-65 and it rose to 850540 Kilo Watt in 1965-66.\textsuperscript{20}

The increased production was also due to use of modern tools. The agriculturists dropped the traditional modes and means of cultivation. They started venturing with modern tools and techniques of production. At the end of the Third Plan, 5.18 lakhs of improved ploughs were in use in Tamilnadu.\textsuperscript{21} The number of tractors used in 1951 was 327 and it rose to 934 in 1961.\textsuperscript{22}

Government also involved itself in providing chemical fertilizers and improved seeds. The enormous demand for chemical fertilizers spotlights the changing outlook and attitudes of the farmer. In 1965-66

\textsuperscript{17} Madras Information, April 1965, p.6
\textsuperscript{18} Madras Information, January 1967, p.3
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid
\textsuperscript{20} Statistical Abstract for Madras State 1965-66 op.cit., p.205
\textsuperscript{21} Madras Information January 1967, p.3
\textsuperscript{22} Tamilnadu Economy Performance and Issues, Madras Institute of Developmental Studies, Oxford and IBH Publishing House (P) Ltd, Madras,1988, p.27
51.7 lakh tons of chemical fertilizer was distributed to the farmers. During 1964-65 the off take of nitrogenous fertilizers increased by 140% and phosphorous by 230%. A break through in rice production took place due to adoption of high yield seeds and fertilizers.

The Tamilnadu farmer prepared and used compost manure also. They used 63.77 lakh tons of compost manure in 1966 where as it was 19.45 lakh tons in 1960-61. By the use of high yielding variety of ADT27, the average yield went up to 384 pounds of paddy per acre as against the kuruval yield of 2400 pounds per acre. The advent of ADT 27 presented the opportunity to convert most single cropped area in to double cropland. As more and more lands were brought under cultivation, a saturation point was reached and thereafter intensive cultivation was started from 1965. Intensive agricultural programme was started in Madras, Chengalput, Coimbatore, and Tirunelveli. High yielding varieties programmes were launched in 1966-67.

Thus by means of planned development, Madras State achieved a significant progress in the agricultural sector. With the use of high

---

23 Madras Information, January 1967, p.3
24 K.Perumalsamy, Economic development of Tamilnadu, S.Chand and Co, New Delhi, p.84
25 Madras Information January 1967, p.3
26 Madras Information, April 1966, p.3
27 Tamilnadu Economy Performance and Issues, op.cit., p.139
yielding seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities the State achieved a remarkable break through in agricultural production.

**Industrial Development: A Pragmatic Approach**

The First Plan (1951-56) aimed at building up of services like agriculture, power and irrigation. But once self sufficiency was achieved in food production, the centre of gravity shifted from agriculture to industry. Industrial development plays a major role in the development of a state as it would create more employment opportunities, increase the national income and purchasing power. Madras, a State of high population has low per capita agricultural land. Hence expansion of cultivation through large-scale irrigation was not possible. To improve the level of living and employment rapid industrialisation alone was the solution. The pragmatic approach by the central and State Governments in creating necessary infra structure and climate for growth of industries was responsible for the industrialisation of the State during 1960-1966. This helped the growth of economy, raised the productivity of labour and expanded the capacity of the society to meet its wants.

As roads of arteries of economic life, conveying trade, education and general change, by a planned system of road development, transport of raw materials to industrial centres was made easy. Production centres
were linked with the market. As at the end of 1965, 15666 miles of roads were there.\textsuperscript{28} At the end of 1966, 31800 miles of roads were there.\textsuperscript{29} The ports had handled increasing volume of imports and export trade, which pointed out the industrial character of the State.

State Governments have to depend on central Government for assistance, subsidies to attract, retain and promote industrial investments in their States. They have to face competition from other States also. The central government plays a larger role in industrial development of States by way of participating public section investments, opening industrial finance institutions, imposing import controls, offering export assistance and licensing systems. It is within this national framework that States have to pursue industrialization. The spread of industries in the State started by mid 50's and the changes that took place afterwards are enormous. The ending of the colonial rule and the beginning of a planned development opened industrial investments. The State took advantage of the atmosphere of industrial activity to expand and diversify production base. This took place in the sixties. As a result the industrial structure became more advanced. Through out the period of industrial progress, the Governments support was at the back.

\textsuperscript{28} Annual Statistical Abstract for Tamilnadu 1965-66, \textit{op.cit.}, p.208
\textsuperscript{29} Madras Information, January 1967, p.1A
The industrial growth was rapid under the Second and Third Plan. Initially the State's industrial base was textile and major industrially developed centres were Madras, Coimbatore and Madurai. Textile industry played a vital part in the economy of the State because of the employment potential it had generated. Coimbatore occupied a pride place in textile industry. More than 80 textile mills and engineering units were there in the year 1964.\textsuperscript{30} In addition to textile mills, Madras Aluminium Company, Shakthi Sugars and Madras Forgings were there. The entrepreneurs of Coimbatore put alloy industries on stream. Lakshmi Machine Works, a huge textile machinery manufacturing concern was also set up in Coimbatore. Slowly the industrial base spread to other parts of the State like Trichirapalli when the Government acquired lands near boiler plant for small arms and Rifle Factory for Defense Department in 1966.\textsuperscript{31} Special efforts were taken to start industries at under developed areas.

Some of the Central Government sponsored projects in Tamilnadu were Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Hindustan Teleprinters, Hindustan Photo films, Heavy Vehicles Factory Avadi, Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals, Ordnance factory Trichirapalli, Madras fertilizers, Neyveli Integrated Projects, Surgical Instruments Projects and Avadi

\textsuperscript{30} Madras Information, May 1964, p.14
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
Tank Project recorded good progress in the year 1964. The Neyveli Lignite Corporation entered the second phase of production. Heavy Vehicles Factory Avadi, produced its first tank. Surgical Instruments Factory with an outlay of Rs 5.25 crores went into production in the middle of 1965.\textsuperscript{32} Hindustan Photo Films factory proceeded according to schedule and lands were acquired for petroleum refinery factory and fertilizer factory.

Industrial estate at Madras was inaugurated on 1st July 1965.\textsuperscript{33} By reason of its popularity and success it became the forerunner of 21 other industrial estates spread all over the State. These estates employed 4600 people and produced goods worth Rs 35 crores.\textsuperscript{34} Government set up 13 new industrial estates at different places apart from assisting private industrial estates at Coimbatore, Madras, Tuticorin, Pollachi, and Sivakasi.\textsuperscript{35}

While the First Plan created the base for rapid economic and industrial development, the Second Plan widened and strengthened the industrial base of the State. The Third Plan was aimed at stimulating the private sector with provision of necessary economic overheads. Hence under the "Industrial development and Regulation Act", 617 licenses

\textsuperscript{32} Madras Information, April 1965, p.18
\textsuperscript{33} Madras Information, January 1967, p.5
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.,
\textsuperscript{35} Madras Information, May 1964, p.14
were issued, out of which 341 were put to use and 200 were on preparatory work in 1964.\textsuperscript{36} Power supply to industries in 10 years increased from 32 crore kilowatt-hours to 142 crore Kilo Watt hours.\textsuperscript{37} Connected load of electricity to industries in 1964-65 was 585162 Kilo Watt hours and in 1965 - 66 it was 666662Kilo Watt-hours.\textsuperscript{38}

Industrialisation offered employment opportunities to many. In the year 1964, 6572 factories employed 348136 workers and in 1965, 6879 factories employed 369340 workers.\textsuperscript{39}

Government had assisted industrial growth in Tamilnadu in two forms from the second plan period onwards.

1) Participating in public sector investments by providing infrastructure in energy, transport, and communication; and

2) Stimulation to private sector by providing amenities to private investments by providing infrastructure in specific locations like industrial water, electricity, and providing financial assistance by low interest loans through IDBI, IFCI, ICICI etc.
The dynamic industrial revolution could not have been sustained and steadily carried forward, had not the State Government made adequate provision for supply of technical and technological personnel through a well thought out education policy.

Though the Third Plan period coincided with heavy stresses and strains in the form of external aggression and agricultural failure still the State was able to achieve the targets.

Through careful planning and utilization of power, transport facilities, well developed power grid, stable administration, the Madras State was able to build up a strong infrastructure and occupy an important position in the industrial map of the country. Industrialisation of Coimbatore, Trichirapalli, and Madras and stimulation of private sector Industries by providing necessary overheads were the high lights of Bhaktavatsalam's able administration.

Thus the industrial planning corrected the lopsidedness of the predominantly agrarian economy into an industrial economy. Economically backward areas had a taste of economic development and raised their level of living. There was a welcome diversification of industries and the industrial structure became broad based. All these were possible only by an efficient administration, consistent policies and proper labour legislation. Government acted not only as a patronizing agent but an active catalyst for promotion of industries.
Power

Power or energy is a basic requirement for subsistence, welfare, and economic growth. Commercial energy sources are coal, oil and electricity. Industrialised market economies depend on electricity. The per capita consumption of electrical energy is accepted as an indicator of level of economy of a country. In this respect Tamilnadu compares favourably with the rest of India. Tamilnadu stood first in India by way of number of consumers.\(^{40}\) It stood second in generation and utilization of power.\(^{41}\) While the units of power generated in 1960-61 was 2213-48 million kilowatts, it was 2426.07 million kilowatts in 1965-66. The units of power consumed also rose to 3301.17 million kilowatts in 1965-66 from 1764.60 million kilowatts in 1960-61.\(^{42}\)

The development of agriculture and industry is closely related with power and hence assigned a pride place in our plans. The Third Plan expenditure (1961-62 to 1965-66) was 348 crores of rupees, out of which more than 1/3 was spent on power.\(^{43}\) Originally the outlay on power was Rs.100 crores, but later increased to Rs.111 crores.\(^{44}\) As new schemes were taken up and rural electrification given priority, the out lay on

\(^{40}\) K.Perumalsamy, *op.cit.*, p.260

\(^{41}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{42}\) *Annual Statistical Abstract for Madras State 1965-66, op.cit.*, p.1


\(^{44}\) *Madras Information*, May 1964, p.5
power became Rs.120 crores. This is 35% of the State's total plan outlay and reflects the high priority accorded to power development.

During the First Five-Year plan, major schemes were commissioned and Basin Bridge was expanded. The Second Plan was industry oriented. Power consumption increased. Periyar and Kundha Powerhouse extension 1 and 2 were commissioned. During the Third Plan Kundha hydroelectric scheme III stage was taken up as major project. The total expenditure on this project was Rs.14.35 crores and additional provision of 6.75 crores was made in the budget of 1964-65.\textsuperscript{45} The Mettur Tunnel Hydroelectric Scheme for utilization of irrigation discharge for power generation was taken up at a cost of Rs 8.37 crore and a provision of Rs 2.49 crore made in 1964-65 budget.\textsuperscript{46} Kundha powerhouse III was commissioned on April 7, 1965. The Mettur Tunnel Powerhouse was commissioned on August 16, 1965. The other projects taken up during the Third Plan period were Periyar Hydro Electric Scheme II stage; Anamalai Hydro Electric scheme (Parambikulam Project), Kodayar Hydro Electric scheme and Madras plan extension IV stage.

The prolonged power cut in the year 1965-66 due to low storage in hydel reservoirs highlighted the imbalance between hydel and thermal

\textsuperscript{45} Madras Information, September 1964, pp21-22
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.,
power. Hence during the Third Plan period hydel and thermal power stations were planned to correct the imbalances. Generation of thermal power was accorded priority. The Ennore thermal power station with a capacity of 340 million watts and additional 30 million watts at Basin Bridge thermal station were taken up for execution in 1965. A sum of Rs.79 lakhs was provided for this scheme in the subsequent plans. The total installed capacity of Tamilnadu grid increased from 571 million watts as at the end of Second Five Year Plan to 1070 million watts by 1965-66. At the end of the Third Plan the total installed capacity of the grid stood at 1370 million watts hydro, 401 thermal.

The economy as a whole achieved a breakthrough and recorded an all round and impressive progress. People in Tamilnadu are aware of the diversified development that has altered their life style and standard of living.

**Rural Electrification**

Rural electrification plays a vital role in increasing the agricultural output and fostering the growth of rural small industries. It is a key factor in the socio economic transformation of the State. As electricity is a basic need to a common man, the Government encouraged rural electrification

---

47 Madras Information, April 1966, p.8
as a matter of policy. Tamilnadu is the pioneer State in India in providing lights to villages and in providing electric motors for drinking water. Tamilnadu stood first in rural electrification in India. Electricity was provided to 18000 villages up to December 1964.\textsuperscript{49} As on 1st April 1965, 19383 villages were electrified.\textsuperscript{50} A sum of Rs.4 crores was allotted in the 1965-66 budget for rural electrification. All villages with a population of 5000 and above and most of the villages with a population of 2000 and above were covered by the end of Third Plan under rural electrification.

The farmers were benefited by rural electrification. Electrification reduced the drudgeries of the lives of the farmers. The standard of living of rural population increased and green revolution was witnessed by lift irrigation and electrical pump sets. This reduced rural population migrating to urban areas. Up to December 1964 two lakh pump sets were connected. As on 1st April 1965, 224362 pump sets were connected.\textsuperscript{51} Tamilnadu stood first in India in the use of electric power for irrigation. Thus the pump set revolution prompted by the generation of electricity and intense rural electrification altered the life style and standard of living of rural population.

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Madras Information}, March 1965, p.1A
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Annual Statistical Abstract for Madras State 1964-65}, p.207
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid,
Education

Education plays a multi dimensional role in the removal of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. Increase in production, establishing social equality and development of health are also the result of education. Under the British rule education was a transferred provincial subject and Government of India was precluded from spending their revenue upon any provincial subject and could not influence the educational policy of the State. In free India also education was a State subject for a long time and now it is under the concurrent list. The Central Government under Article 45 of the constitution made provision for free and compulsory education for children up to 14 years.\textsuperscript{52} This is because education is a potent instrument of national development. If any change is expected in a society without violent revolution, the one and only instrument is education.

The Madras Elementary Education Act 1920 served as the basis for all efforts for the diffusion of elementary education throughout the country.\textsuperscript{53} In 1935, the Madras Elementary Education Act 1920 was amended so that penalty was imposed on parents who withdrew their children from school.\textsuperscript{54} Up to the year 1957, villages with a population 500

\textsuperscript{52} India at 50, Facts Figures and Analyses 1947-1997 Express Publication (Madurai) Ltd, Madurai 1997, p.399
\textsuperscript{53} Native News Paper Report, October- December 1920, p.204
\textsuperscript{54} Popular Ministries, Schemes, Projects, Historical Events, Visits-1921-1974, op.cit., p45
and above were provided with primary schools. The Elementary Education Reforms Committee recommended the provision of schools for villages with a population 300 and above.\textsuperscript{55} Hence in 1962 the Kamaraj Ministry took steps to provide schools as above. There was increasing hunger for education everywhere after independence. The number of elementary schools increased from 15303 in the year 1948-49 to 30383 in 1964-65.\textsuperscript{56} The increase of 15080 schools is a note worthy feature.

Bhaktavatsalam succeeded Kamaraj as Chief Minister in October 1963 after the "Kamaraj plan" was introduced in July 1963. Kamaraj Volunteered to resign his Chief Ministership and Bhaktavatsalam became the Chief Minister. He took up the education portfolio along with Finance, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments, and Official Language. Bhaktavatsalam carefully continued the pioneering work done by Kamaraj in the education field. The State witnessed a phenomenal success in expanding educational opportunities.

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION**

Elementary education is recognised as crucial for national reconstruction. Sustained efforts for promotion of elementary education began when India adopted its constitution in 1950. On the recommendation of the Kher Committee the goal of free and universal education to all

\textsuperscript{55} Madras Information, December 1965  
\textsuperscript{56} Madras Information, September 1965, p.29
children up to the age group of 6-14 years to be achieved by 1960 was incorporated in the constitution.\textsuperscript{57} The achievement of the State in sending children of 6-11 years age group to school has won appreciation from higher quarters and commended by other States also. The end of 1964 brought the entire age group of 6-11 under compulsory education in a phased manner.\textsuperscript{58}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Age group$^{59}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>6 to 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>7 to 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>8 to 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>9 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>10 to 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional enrolment of 14 lakhs of students was the target of Third Five Year Plan but it was revised to 19.69 lakhs and the achievement was 20.09 lakhs at the end of 1965. 92% of the children in the age group of 6-11 were at school by the end of the 3rd plan. While the 4th plan visualized only 87.7% for the country as a whole, the Madras State was far ahead of most of other States.

\textsuperscript{58} Third Five Year Plan - Madras State, Review of Progress during 1961-62 to 1964-65 Ch XVII, p.137
\textsuperscript{59} G.O.No.1599 / \textit{Education} dated.1.9.65
MID DAY MEALS SCHEME

Poverty prevented people from sending their children to school. If compulsion is to be successful, provision of midday meals is essential. Provision of midday meals on a voluntary basis was started in July 1956 covering 2 lakhs of pupils from 8000 elementary schools. Bhaktavatsalam gave 5 acres of land at Minjur for the noon meal scheme of schools at Minjur. In the year 1957, the Noon Meal Scheme became eligible for Government's assistance and included in the State's Second Five Year Plan. The scheme was also eligible for 50% subsidy from central Government. The scheme was proposed to be included in third Five Year Plan also but from 1961-62 it was treated as a non-plan scheme. Rs.150 crore per annum was spent for noon meal scheme in the year 1965. As at the end of 1964, midday meals were provided in 29017 schools benefiting 14,93,265 students. In addition 1152 Harijan Welfare schools and 512 voluntary schools provided noon meals. As at the end of 1965, 28841 schools provided noon meal for 16.03 lakhs of students. 1115 Harijan schools and 464 voluntary schools participated in the programme.

60 K.Venkatasubramanian, Issues in Education, Macmillan India Ltd, Madras, 1982, p.31
61 Sarojini Varadappan, Enathu Thanthai, Bhaktavatsalam Centenary Celebration Volume, Madras, 1997, p.42
63 Madras Administration Report 1964-65, Chapter XI, p.131
64 Ibid, p.165
addition to noon meal, free uniform was provided to 8 lakhs of students in the year 1964 and to 9 lakhs of students in the year 1965.\textsuperscript{65} Thus free education provided by the State and supported by incentives like noon meal, free uniforms and free textbooks contributed for the successful enlistment of pupils from poorer society. These measures sought to remove the various social and economic handicaps, which have denied the poor access in the past to educational facilities.

Teaching of English from 3rd standard started in the academic year 1964.\textsuperscript{66} Bhaktavatsalam introduced English medium educational curriculum.

\textbf{SECONDARY EDUCATION}

Secondary education provides the link between elementary and higher education. As the number of Elementary schools and number of students in those schools increased, steps for enlargement of facilities for secondary education has to be taken up. Thus the number of boys in secondary schools was 2.36 lakhs in 440 schools in the year 1947. It rose to 12 lakhs of students in 2100 schools in the year 1964.\textsuperscript{67} 1.15 lakhs of students enrolled in 1961, 1962 and 1963 at high schools and Rs.245 lakh provided for higher education.

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Op.cit.}, p166
\textsuperscript{66} G.O. 328 / \textit{Education}, dated 14.3.64
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Madras Information}, September 1965, p. 29
Up to 1955-56 education was free up to III form. In 1960, it was free up to secondary level subject to an income limit of Rs.1200 per month and in the year 1962-63 income limit was raised to Rs.1500 per month and free for children of Non-Gazetted Government employees. It was in the year 1964 the Government abolished tuition fees in secondary schools irrespective of economic status.⁶⁸

On the recommendation of the State legislature, the pattern of school education was reorganised and completed in 1965 as 11 years in school, 1-year pre university course and 3-year degree course. Hitherto it was 10 years at school level.⁶⁹

Government paid grants to secondary schools at the rate of Rs.5000/- per year for student strength of 500 and below. Rs.7000/- year was paid to schools with strength above 500. To benefit the primary and secondary school teachers, the Tamilnadu Government made arrangements with the Central Government to translate the UNESCO journal "The courier" in Tamil.⁷⁰ This journal was published by the UNESCO in English, French, Spanish and Russian. As an educator, Bhakavatsalam saw this journal a powerful instrument for keeping our teachers informed about world

---

⁶⁸ G.O. 350, Education dated. 18.3.64; Madras Administration Report 1964-1965, p.132
⁶⁹ Madras Administration Report 1964-65, p.135
⁷⁰ Dr. Malcom S. Adisesah, “The Tamil Unescan”, Bhaktavatsalam Fifty Years of Public Life, op.cit.,
educational and scientific trends. Thanks to the efforts of the Education Department, People of Tamilnadu had a window opened to the world. Similarly the Children's Tamil Encyclopaedia was brought with the help of UNESCO.

Importance of libraries as an instrument of education had been neglected all these days. Hence the Department of Public Instructions was bifurcated in May 1965, into two Departments.\textsuperscript{71}

1) Department of Elementary and Secondary Education

2) Department of Higher Education and Libraries

All basic, lower and higher elementary schools were provided with libraries.\textsuperscript{72}

During the first three years of the Third Five Year Plan, 1978 higher elementary schools and 8013 lower elementary schools were provided with libraries.\textsuperscript{73} Government provided Rs.20000 per year for expansion of State film library. Schools were equipped with projector, radios and tape recorders.

\textsuperscript{71} Madras Administration Report 1965.p.168
\textsuperscript{72} G.O.No.1060, Education Department dt.16.6.1964
\textsuperscript{73} Third Five Year Plan - Madras State, Review of Progress during 1961-62 to 1964-65 Ch XVII, p.139
STATE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION: QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT

With the expansion of educational facilities, quality should also be improved to the needs of the developing society. It is in this context that the State Institute of Education was established on July 1, 1965 under the direct control of the Director of Secondary Education. The objectives of the State Institute of Education were to provide in-service training to all inspecting officers of elementary schools and staff of training institutes for elementary school teachers. It also proposed to undertake studies and investigations in training of elementary school teachers. Its aim was also to produce literature to elementary schools and teachers. It will be the academic wing of the Directorate of Secondary Education. Audio-visual education, vocational guidance, and research were brought under State Institute of Education.

School Improvement conferences were held 52 times in 1964 and 36 conferences in 1965. Sixty conferences were held in 1966 with 7016 Schools participating.

---

74 Madras Administration Report 1965, p.166
HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is the responsibility of both the Central and State Governments. Expansion at secondary level inturn necessiated augmentation of facilities for collegiate education. Government sanctioned opening of a number of colleges at mofussil as part of the policy of promoting wide diffusion of higher education. In 1964-65 Government Arts and Science Colleges were opened at North Madras (women), Cuddalore, Gudiyatham, and Krishnagiri. Six aided colleges were also opened in this year.

Just as the Christian missionaries spread education along with religion, Bhaktavatsalam also wanted to provide education with the help of religious institutions. This was made possible at the time when he was in charge of both the Education and Hindu Religious Department during the years 1957 to 1967. The Parasakthi College for women at Thirukutralam was established with the financial help provided by the Thirukutralanathar temple as well as many other temples and matts.

During the year 1965-66 seven new Government Colleges were opened at Ponneri; Dharmapuri, Trichirapalli, Ramanathapuram, Vellore, Madurai (women) and seven private colleges aided by State Government were also opened.

75 Madras Information April 1966, p.9
76 Madras Administration Report 1965, p.170
A decision of far reaching importance was taken in 1965 to open Evening Colleges for men and women. These colleges benefited a large number of students, particularly those in employment who would otherwise be denied collegiate education. They were opened at Government Arts College and Queen Mary's College at Madras and Government Arts College at Coimbatore.77

In Tamilnadu there were only two universities till 1965 - Madras and Annamalai Universities. It was on Bhaktavatsalam's initiative that the Madurai University was established to serve the areas of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, and Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts.78 Already there was a university study centre at Madurai, set up by the Madras University. The centre developed to such an extent that it was capable of being raised to a full-fledged university. So "The Madurai University Act 1965" was passed providing for establishment and incorporation of a university at Madurai. Lands were acquired and approved by the Government.79 The University was inaugurated on February 6,1966.80 The University owes its existence to the farsighted policies of the Government led by Bhaktavatsalam.

77 Madras Administration Report 1965, p.170
78 Madras Act 33 of 1965 and Madras Administration Report 1965 ,p.166
79 G.O.1879, Education dt.3.12.64, G.O.1967, Education dt. 2.12.64 and G.O.1957, Education dt.15.12.64
80 Madras Information, April 1966, p.14
Technical Education

In a developing economy, output of technical personnel has to be in pace with the demand of industries. Also with the expansion of education at higher elementary schools, it is necessary to provide diversion for boys in the age group of 14-17 to technical courses of study. Junior Technical schools were intended to meet this need. Already 10 such schools existed in the State and more schools were opened. To train adequate students in engineering skills at degree level, Regional Engineering College Trichirapalli was started from 1964-65 with an initial intake of 120 students and the intake was increased subsequently to 150 in the next year.\textsuperscript{81} Salem Engineering College was started in 1965 with 60 students.\textsuperscript{82} By the end of the Third Five Year Plan, admission capacity in Engineering colleges was 2140 and polytechnique was 4200. Institute of Textile Technology and Institute of Commercial Practices were established in 1965 at a cost of Rs.90000 and Rs.50000 respectively.\textsuperscript{83}

Expenses on Education: Unprecedented Expansion

Planners have considered outlays on education as investments in human resources. They help in building human resources that are vital for

\textsuperscript{81} Madras Administration Report 1965, p.174
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Third Five Year Plan - Madras State, Review of Progress during 1961-62 to 1964-65 Ch XVII, p.277.
generating and sustaining economic growth. As the Government believed those expenses on education was an investment for the future, the expenditure increased from Rs.1173 lakh, being 19.8% of the revenue expenditure in the year 1957-58 to Rs.13152 lakh, being 22.6% of the revenue expenditure of the year 1963-64.

The 1965 budget proposed to sanction 37 crores of rupees as plan and non-plan expenditure. This was 22% of the revenue expenditure. For secondary education, the expenditure rose from 6.7 crore in 1963-64 to Rs.11.8 crore in 1965-66. The unprecedented expansion in secondary education made it necessary to provide for construction of building and equipments for high schools. Thirty lakh of rupees was provided for this.

EXPENDITURE ON GENERAL EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount(in Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-1951</td>
<td>10.57 cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-1956</td>
<td>10.53 cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963 -1964</td>
<td>26.9 cr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 Madras Information, September 1965
85 Third Five Year Plan - Madras State, Review of Progress during 1961-62 to 1964-65 Ch XVII, p.277
Even though Andhra Pradesh separated from Madras State and population decreased by 40%, the increase in expenditure bears eloquent testimony to the efforts of the State in the field of education.

Under Bhaktavatsalam’s stewardship the beneficiaries of education included teachers as well. Madras State has been the first State in India to implement the Triple retirement benefit scheme for Teachers. Pension was supplemented by Provident fund and Insurance. The minimum pension for teachers was raised to Rs.20 per month from April 1966.

It may be observed from the foregoing that Bhaktavatsalam, in addition to continue the pioneering work started by Kamaraj, had made his own contribution and rendered yeomen service to the cause of education. Establishment of Madurai University and Regional engineering college at Trichirapalli were all crowning glories to his administration as Education Minister.

Food Crisis and Price Rise

According to Economists, periods of price rise are associated with expanding economic activities and falling price indicate stagnation and economic depression. But it is an irony that the congress Ministry headed by Bhaktavatsalam, which made an impressive progress in industry, power,
and all other fields was forced to face a humiliating defeat in the general
elections due to high cost of living and price rise.\endnote{88} Shortage of food and
other essential commodities started in India after the stoppage of imports
from Burma during the Second World War. After independence, the Five
Year Plans aimed at economic growth in the midst of price stability,
removal of poverty, food deficit, illiteracy and industrial backwardness. But
expected results in agricultural production could not be achieved due to
failure of monsoons in the years 1957 to 1960. There after various schemes
like Grow More Food Campaign, irrigation works and development of
ground water resources were under taken to improve the food production.

In Madras State even in 1946-47 itself it was estimated that the State
was short to the tune of two million tonnes of rice. But the rice production
increased from 17.91 lakh tons in 1950 to 39.16 lakhs tonnes in 1964 due to
the success of Grow More Food Campaign scheme.\endnote{89} Though the
production of rice went up, still the prices were also in the upward trend.
This was due to the diversion of rice to Kerala where better prices were
offered. Net diversion of rice to Kerala was 1.12 lakh of tons in 1954-55. It
rose to 4.38 lakh of tons in 1963-64.

The food production was sufficient to with stand the supply of rice
till 1961. At this stage consumption level stood at 15 to 16 oz per day per

\footnotetext{88} Indian Express, 25 February 1967.
\footnotetext{89} Madras Information, June 1958.
person. But a few months after the general elections of 1962 the food shortage was acute in Madras. There was a wide spread agitation for price rise. The D.M.K. picketed Government offices on July 19, 1962.90

V.R.Nedunchezian, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly demanded for a committee to be appointed to check the price rise but the Government refused.91 Due to the Chinese attack in November 1962, the defence budget increased. The Government refused to reduce plan expenditure also but raised the taxes further. Budget deficit became huge and prices rose faster than before.92 Although the agitation was stopped due to Chinese invasion, distress of the people continued unabated and the food situation progressively worsened.

Government understood the under current of uneasiness about price rise. With a view to secure better control of prices on essential commodities Government promoted a network of consumer's cooperative stores all over the State in the year 1964. The programme was enlarged to 19 more towns with 50000 and above population. Financial assistance was given to wholesale and primary stores towards share capital, working capital and construction of godowns. Rs 82 lakh was provided to this scheme.93

91 T.M. Parthasarathy, DMK Varalaru, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1973, p.353
92 Op.cit.,
93 Madras Information, February 1964, p.2
In rural areas scheme for distribution of consumer commodities through village cooperative societies and marketing societies were made. 2500 village societies were provided with essential commodities.\textsuperscript{94}

Large numbers of fair price shops were opened. Government of India requested Madras Government to procure one lakh tons of rice on their behalf by compulsory levy on millers and dealers\textsuperscript{95} The Madras Government assumed powers to control direct and regulate food grains trade from April 1, 1964. The new "Madras Food Grains Dealers licensing order 1964" issued under section 3 of Essential Commodities Act 1955 provided that no dealer could sell food grain unless he had a license and no sales at a price higher than fixed by the Government.\textsuperscript{96} All retailers had to register with the wholesale dealers.

In the year 1964 production of rice was 39.16 lakh of tons, export to Kerala during January - September 1964 was 4.38 lakh tons and import from Andhra was 2 lakh tons.\textsuperscript{97} The surplus was drained off and an acute shortage was created. Added to this, fall in production of millets put a pressure on rice and the price increased steadily. To control this "Madras Coarse Rice (maximum prices) Order 1964 and "Madras (Medium and

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{95} \textbf{Madras Administration Report}, 1964, p.127
\textsuperscript{96} \textbf{Madras Information}, May 1964, p.34
\textsuperscript{97} \textbf{Madras Administration Report}, 1964, p.127
Fine) Rice (maximum price) Order 1964 were promulgated. 98 As the rice price was freezed, paddy was not available in the market. So "The Madras Paddy and Rice (declaration and requisitioning of stocks) Order 1964 was issued. By another order "Southern States Regulation of Export of Rice Order 1964" by Government of India, the movement of rice and paddy from one State to another was also banned. 99 With this open market trade came to a stand still.

Government's interference with the distribution channels and regulation of market forces led to other problems. Returns for the efforts and investments of the producer as well as the interests of the urban dwellers had to be reconciled in a manner fair to both. Agriculturists had to be paid adequate prices for his produce with reference to use of fertilisers and increased cost of production. Traders should also be allowed margin. Keeping all these in view the situation were difficult to manage. Paddy was purchased at a low price and rice was sold at a higher price. A Price vigilance cell was formed to monitor the prices. Government of India also formulated three schemes for implementation in the States. 100

1) Organisation of whole sale and primary stores in cities and towns with a population of one lakh in the first phase, population of 75000 in the second phase, and 50000 in the

98 Madras Administration Report, 1964, p.127
99 Ibid.
100 Madras Information, August 1964, p.34
third phase. Government provided a finance of Rs.15.2 lakh in the year 1962-63 for this purpose.

2) In rural areas distribution was made through rural credit societies and the societies were eligible for financial assistance.

3) Consumer stores for plantation workers to obtain essential commodities at reasonable price were established. Already there were 78 stores. 33 new stores were opened covering 109 industrial establishments.

The State and Central Governments were suggesting people to take wheat as alternative food.\textsuperscript{101} But the price of wheat was also raised by a decision of the parliament by 10 to 15 paise per kilo to reduce the Government's burden by way of subsidy.\textsuperscript{102} As Madras people were not accustomed to wheat, the propaganda to consume wheat could not succeed. Also due to scarcity of wheat in North India, wheat quota to Madras was reduced in September 1964.\textsuperscript{103}

People had to stand in long queues and wait for long hours to get minimum quantity of rice. So it was decided to implement family ration

\textsuperscript{101} K.S. Ramanujam, \textbf{Big change}, Sundara Prasuralayam, Madras,1971, p.32
\textsuperscript{102} Murasoli, 19 December 1964.
\textsuperscript{103} Madras Administration. \textit{Report 1964}, p.127
cards system from November 1964.\textsuperscript{104} The Home guards assisted preparing family cards and distributed in the city. Over 5,40,543 cards were issued.\textsuperscript{105}

Failure of Monsoon

The year 1965 was marked by failure of monsoon and consequent drought. The first two months witnessed Anti-Hindi agitation. With the outbreak of hostilities with Pakistan in that year, the focus shifted towards defence. Due to fall in output of fertilisers following less allotment from centre, normally, self-sufficient State faced deficit to the tune of 6 to 8 lakh tons of rice in the year 1965.\textsuperscript{106} Government decided to acquire buffer stock, and a ban on inter district movement of rice was imposed.

According to Government statistics, population increased by 35\% and food production by 40\% as shown below by the three Five Year Plans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Food production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>36 crore</td>
<td>5.12 cr tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>37 crore</td>
<td>5.74 cr tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>41 crore</td>
<td>7.77 cr tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>41 crore</td>
<td>8.75 cr tons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{104} K.S. Ramanujam, \textit{Big change, op.cit.}, p. 32  
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Madras Administration Report, 1964}, p.128  
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Madras Administration Report, 1965}, Chapter X, p.viii  
\textsuperscript{107} T.M. Parthasarathy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.534
The opposition charged that the scarcity was due to hoarding by dealers who were under the protection of Congress leaders.\textsuperscript{108}

The year 1966 will go down in India's history as the most difficult and trying period. In every sense it had been a year of crisis. Unprecedented drought in many States and critical food situation, industrial recession forced price rise. Blame for the general distress was placed squarely on the Government.

In metropolitan cities to hold the price line and to make available essential commodities in adequate quantities, the Government set up consumer cooperatives and departmental stores in 1966. In Madras "The South Madras Cooperative Departmental Stores" was inaugurated on October 14, 1966. Government of India gave an assistance of Rs 17.25 lakh. State Government assisted by way of share capital, loan, and grant.\textsuperscript{109}

Though the Government took many measures to check the price rise and to make available food supply to people still the wide spread feeling of resentment among general public and agriculturists was due to the following facts as charged by the opposition parties.

\textsuperscript{108} Murasoli, 20 December 1964.
\textsuperscript{109} Madras Information, November 1966, p.36
1) Tax was levied on agriculturists in November 1965 due to war. But it was not revoked after the war was over.\textsuperscript{110} So agriculturists' cost increased. For them cost of implements and other connected items were high. During harvest season, price of paddy fell down. Paddy was purchased at a low price and rice was sold at a high price. Just as the Government formed co-operative societies to ensure fair price for consumers, it failed to protect the farmers.\textsuperscript{111}

2) The Government seed farms were not able to provide good seeds to farmers.\textsuperscript{112}

3) Chemical fertiliser needed for the year 1966 was 5.8 lakh tons where as the availability was only 3.26 lakh tons. This fertiliser shortage affected the farmers.\textsuperscript{113}

4) Government announced that "Procurement without tears" was its policy. But in reality the procurement policy posed severe problems to the agriculturists. It was a harsh imposition on farmers. The targets of the paddy to be given by the farmers to the Government were fixed by the Government. So the Government officials harassed the agriculturists.\textsuperscript{114} Even the

\textsuperscript{110} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Volume XXXIV, Feb - March 1966 p.188

\textsuperscript{111} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, 1963, Volume VII (1 to 7) p.51

\textsuperscript{112} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, February-March 1966, Vol. XXX IV, p. 246

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p.191

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., p.263
time of harvest required Government's permission. If the agriculturists were not able to account for the excess paddy with them, the Government confiscated it and the concerned person was arrested.\textsuperscript{115} Even small quantities of rice, like cycle load of rice was not allowed to be taken to near by places.

5) Dealers and millers were appointed by the Government to procure paddy from agriculturists and deposit in Government godowns. But they were not paid money immediately. So they delayed purchases and there was scarcity.\textsuperscript{116}

6) Government promised bonus for excess amount of paddy given at the time of procurement. But when the levy itself was high where will be the excess.?\textsuperscript{117}

7) 10000 tons of food grains stored in the Food Corporation godown was damaged and it was sold in auction which was due to not providing proper protection to the food grains. At a time when there was scarcity, the available grains were also wasted.\textsuperscript{118}

8) In the statutorily rationed areas the Government forgot its obligation to supply people with the promised food grains.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p.178
\textsuperscript{116} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Volume XXXIV, February-March 1966, p.252
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., p.190
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., p.295
Starving people were driven from pillar to post in search of rice.\textsuperscript{119}

9) The concept of super markets was robbing Peter to pay Paul because supplies to them commandeered by the Government hindered regular trade.\textsuperscript{120}

**GENERAL ELECTION, 1967**

The year 1967 was election year. Though the ruling party had a proud record of industrial development and all round progress, yet there was a real challenge for its continuance. The Government of India announced a drastic food aid cut in central food supplies. Rice eaters got only 1400 grams of rice and 600 grams of wheat per adult per week.\textsuperscript{121} To ease the situation the Government announced that no permit would be necessary to bring one bag of rice to Madras city from North Arcot and Chengalput District.\textsuperscript{122} The new measure was expected to bring large quantities of rice to the city. Rice from South Arcot was also permitted to be brought. Andhra Pradesh agreed to supply 5000 more tons of rice.\textsuperscript{123}

The opposition party, DMK, exploited the soaring price to its advantage. The election manifesto of DMK stated that they would eliminate

\textsuperscript{120} *Ibid.*, p.269
\textsuperscript{121} *Indian Express*, 11 January 1967.
\textsuperscript{122} *Indian Express*, 21 January 1967.
\textsuperscript{123} *Indian Express*, 4 February 1967.
food scarcity and control price rise. They promised to give three measures of rice for one rupee. But if production increases they might even give five measures of rice per rupee. They also assured to better the procurement system by removing controls and without hitting the small landholders.

The accidental synchronisation of an economic crisis with the general election was taken into account to judge the Congress records unfairly. The State allowed itself to be swept off its feet by glib promises.

As people were denied necessities of daily life, they were disillusioned with the Government. The common man was not in a position to understand the reasons for the price rise. The rulers offered explanations, which could not be understood, and not convincing to the common man. Added to that the opposition party DMK gave promises which were attractive to the people and they were carried away by such promises and all the achievements in Industry, rural electrification and power were relegated to the back. People imagined their problems would be solved by change of Government. So they voted for the DMK and the Congress suffered a crushing defeat.
Anti - Hindi agitation

The need for a common language in a land where numerous languages are spoken was realised by Mahatma Gandhi even during the freedom struggle. He recognised Hindi as that language. The propagation of Hindi in South India was one of the constructive programs of the Non Co-operation Movement and important policy of the Congress from 1920 onwards. Congress leaders emphasised the necessity to achieve unity through a common language. The Tamilnadu Congressmen owing to their broad nationalism forgot to love their own race and mother tongue and the Congress party in Madras Presidency extended its full cooperation for the propagation of Hindi. At the Tamilnadu Congress conference at Kancheepuram in 1925, Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaram urged the Tamilians to learn Hindi. Sarojini Naidu at the 1927 conference argued that a single language could unify a nation.

Introduction of Hindi in 1937 by the first Congress Ministry headed by Rajaji as a compulsory subject in schools was a major turning point in the history of Tamilnadu. Rajaji said that learning Sanskrit would be easy

125 M.P.Sivagananam, Enathu Porattam, Inba Nilayam, Madras, 1974, p.141
128 Ibid., p.197
"if you knew Hindi, and a knowledge of Hindi would enable South Indians understand North Indians better". On April 21, 1938 the Madras Government made Hindi compulsory in 125 Secondary schools.\textsuperscript{130} (Twenty-five Government schools and one hundred Boards, Municipal and Aided schools.) Eminent scholars like Somasundara Bharati, Maraimalai Adigal, C.N.Annadurai and E.V.Ramasamy Naicker opposed the imposition of Hindi. Anti Hindi conference was held at Madurai in May 1938. The Justice Party in the Assembly protested the imposition of compulsory Hindi because leaders of Justice Party identified Hindi Movement with Brahmins and the self-respect movement headed by E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker was in the rear. While E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker provided the political and communal leadership for this anti Hindi movement, Somasundara Bharati provided the literary and cultural leadership.\textsuperscript{131} E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker was arrested on December 6, 1938, and imprisoned for one year and six months.\textsuperscript{132} It was during that agitation that Talamuthu and Natarajan died in prison and became martyrs for the cause of language.\textsuperscript{133} Compulsory Hindi introduced by a Ministry containing Brahmins aroused the fear in the minds of the people that it would mean the rule of Brahmins and North Indians.\textsuperscript{134} Hence K.V.Reddi

\textsuperscript{130} G.O. No.911, \textit{Public Education} dt. 21.4.1938
\textsuperscript{131} K.Nambi Arooran, \textit{Op.cit.}, p.206
\textsuperscript{132} S.Marthandasekaran, \textit{Op.cit.}, p.60
\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.},
\textsuperscript{134} P. Spratt, \textit{Op.cit.}, p.34
Naidu pointed out, that learning Hindi would give employment opportunities to Brahmins and earn appreciation for the Provincial Congressmen from the North Indian leaders. Thus what was started as a pure language problem, later became anti Congress and anti Brahmins.

After the outbreak of Second World War in 1939, as the British involved India in the war without it's consent, Congress decided to quit from the Ministry. Hence Rajaji's Ministry stepped down from power on October 27, 1939 and Governor's rule was imposed. The agitation also came to an end when the Governor issued an order to make Hindi as optional subject, and compulsory Hindi was withdrawn on February 21, 1940.

Subsequently in 1946 when the Congress Ministry was brought to power after the provincial election, Hindi was not reintroduced.

In 1950 when the constitution was framed it was decided that Hindi would be the official language from January 1965.

In 1955 a commission headed by Kher, the Former Chief Minister of Bombay State was appointed to assess the progress of Hindi and the use of

136 Chief Secretary's Fortnightly Report, D.O.No.p4-19 dt.3.11.39 Fortnightly Report No.21, dt.21.2.1940
English. The Commission said that there need not be any rigid date for change over to Hindi. It should be a natural transition without any inconvenience and restriction on the use of English. The commission visited Madras in 1956 and reiterated the provision of the constitution. It gave a questionnaire to all the States. The then Madras Government sent the reply. The Madras Government did not refuse Hindi, but wanted English to continue.

But Rajaji changed his opinion on language issue because he realised that if Hindi were forced at any level or for any purpose it would create a wave of anger and distrust against the North. He argued that Hindi is not the mother tongue of majority of the people. It is spoken only in five states and by 40% of the population only. This 40% is not spread all over India but restricted to five or six states only. If English is given up non-Hindi States have to face hardships and sufferings.

In 1959 Frank Antony mooted a resolution in parliament that English should also be a national language. At that time Nehru gave an assurance in the Parliament on August 7, 1959, "There must be no imposition. I do not wish the people of non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance

139 K.S.Ramunujam, The Big Change, op.cit., p39
140 Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Official Report 1965, op.cit.,
142 Madras Information April 1965, p.4A
are closed to them because they are forced to correspond in Hindi. As long as the non-Hindi people require English, it can continue. There is no limitation of time." 143 Nehru assured that English would continue as associate or alternate language of the union. But the Hindi protagonists were against the use of associate or alternate. They were also against the provision that English would continue so long as the non-Hindi people liked it. The non-Hindi people wanted a statutory guarantee of the assurance of Nehru. The Hindi fanatics tried to prevail upon Nehru but as Nehru was sympathetic to non-Hindi people, they could not succeed. After the death of Nehru, North Indian leaders like Nanda, Morarji Desai, and Shastri were impatient to impose Hindi. This aroused apprehensions, caused irritations, and evoked hostility in non-Hindi areas.

In the Madras Assembly a resolution was put forwarded by V.R. Nedunchezian, Leader of the opposition party in the Assembly to convey to the Central Government that all the fourteen languages enumerated in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India should be recognised as official language under article 353 and till such time English should be retained as official language. 144 But the resolution was lost. Bhaktavatsalam replied that using 14 languages would lead to chaos

143 Op.cit.,
144 Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Official Report, March 1965, Volume 29, p.608
only.\textsuperscript{145} Nedunchezhiyan expressed DMK's stand on Hindi in the Assembly on March 9, 1964 as "If English is considered foreign language for India, Hindi is foreign language for Tamilnadu. Hindi is a particular regional language only and it is not fit for communication, science and not developed".\textsuperscript{146}

At the Chief Minister's conference held at Delhi, in 1964, Home Minister Nanda said that all central Government circulars, gazette would be issued in Hindi from January 26, 1965.\textsuperscript{147} All the Chief Ministers agreed to the use of Hindi without removing English. They also agreed to the extension of Hindi in schools and colleges. Communication between Hindi and non-Hindi States would be either in English or Hindi with English translation.

As the deadline date January 26, 1965 for making Hindi as official language of the Union was fast approaching, the Home Minister Nanda declared on January 17, 1965 that from January 26, 1965 Hindi would be the official language of the union.\textsuperscript{148} This was communicated to all central Government officers. Rajaji appealed to the central Government to withhold part 17 of the constitution indefinitely. While inaugurating the anti-Hindi conference at Trichirapalli he said "Delhi is going to divide the

\textsuperscript{145} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, 1963, Vol. XIII, dated 08.08.1963.
\textsuperscript{146} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, 1964, Vol. XV, dated 09.03.1964.
\textsuperscript{147} Murasoli, 14 December 1964
\textsuperscript{148} Murasoli, 17 January 1965
country by imposing Hindi as official language. Even I feel like asking a separate State". The West Bengal leader S.K. Chatterjee remarked "If India's unity is to be preserved only by Hindi, then unified India is not necessary. If integration of India is the aim, do not impose Hindi".

The sentiments and fears of Bengal and Tamilnadu were understandable. While Hindi-speaking people would get advantage everywhere, like promotion in Government offices, it will be a stress and strain for non-Hindi people. The Hindi speaking people need not have to face the problem of readjustment in their education. South Indian children will be over burdened. But the central Government dominated by Hindi fanatics like Shastri, Morarji and Nanda was firm on the introduction of Hindi.

The D.M.K. announced that if Hindi was to be imposed from January 26, then the day will be observed as "Mourning Day" and black flags would be hoisted and black badges would be worn. Bhaktavatsalam asked them to mourn at their homes. He warned that if they demonstrated their feelings in public, Government would not tolerate as he considered that would mean disrespect to the country and constitution.

---

149 Indian Express, 18 January 1965
150 Murasoli, 26 December 1964
151 Indian Express, 18 January 1965
152 Murasoli, 22 January 1965; Indian Express 19 January 1965
School and college students all over Tamilnadu held demonstrations, and agitation, which ultimately took an ugly turn and became violent. Students decided to abstain from Colleges for a day on January 25 and to burn Hindi books of Hindi Prachar Sabha at Marina beach.\(^{153}\)

On January 26, Students of Loyola College, Pachaiyappa's College, Vivekananda College, New College, and Government Arts College participated in the procession.\(^{154}\) Students pledged not to join NCC as the commands were in Hindi.\(^{155}\) Students from all over Tamilnadu were united in the opposition to Hindi. In the procession as it was inevitable on such occasions, some demonstrators indulged in rowdy behaviour and police struck back with what most observers agreed was unnecessary severity.\(^{156}\) Police entered many colleges and arrested students. They were lathi charged and tear gas and firing was used on 42 occasions. Annamalai University was closed indefinitely following the shoot out incident.\(^{157}\) The Chief Minister warned the students against continuing the strike.

The D.M.K. leaders were arrested for hoisting black flags on Republic Day as Bhaktavatsalam said that Republic Day is a sacred day. To declare it as mourning day is disrespect for national integration and

\(^{153}\) Murasoli, 24 January 1965
\(^{154}\) Murasoli, 26 January 1965
\(^{155}\) Indian Express, 26 January 1965
\(^{156}\) P. spratt, Op.cit., p.48
\(^{157}\) Indian Express, 28 January 1965
independence. To this Nedunchezian replied, "We too love Republic Day
but as Hindi is imposed on this day we mourn the day". The reasons
underlying the celebration of Republic day as mourning day are worth
considering and they cannot be ignored. The Home Minister Nanda
cancelled his trip to Madras as Kamaraj advised him not to visit Madras at
that time. But Nanda at the airport said that development of Hindi is a
national commitment and there is no going back. Constitution could not be
changed. Morarji Desai wanted all those interested in unity and
democracy should welcome the Government's move and no regional
sentiments should come in the way. Prime Minister Shastri called for
quicker steps for change over to Hindi. All these words were uttered at a
time when the south was feeling the need for a statutory assurance for
continuance of English. The irresponsible remarks from the North Indian
leaders including the Prime Minister Shastri incited the anger of the Tamils.
While Nehru was never hesitant to criticise the Hindi fanatics of North,
Shastri himself a fanatic, his appeal to end the agitation fell in deaf ears and
without response.

Bhaktavatsalam requested the central Government not to say
anything about Hindi at this stage.

158 Murasoli, 17 January 1965
159 Dinamani, 18 January 1965
160 Indian Express 26 January 1965
161 Indian Express, 29 January 1965
162 Indian Express, 28 January 1965
The Congress in Madras State was concerned as how to remove the legitimate fears of the middle class and the elite. Both Kamaraj and Bhaktavatsalam felt that it was a drama staged by D.M.K. to deceive the gullible and promote their own political interest.\(^{163}\) Both of them were not prepared to demand amendment of constitution to make English as the sole official language. They argued that Hindi people would say that English is imposed on them. As Dinamani had observed "opposition to Hindi by D.M.K. is not opposition to Congress alone. If they think so, they are not presenting the correct picture to the Central Government."\(^{164}\)

Rajaji accused the Congress as supporting Hindi for the sake of posts in Government. The rise of students against Hindi was spontaneous. As Rajaji himself remarked "I have seen such a rising of students 40 years ago during the freedom struggle."\(^{165}\) Students expressed their fear and dissatisfaction. Their fear was not baseless as for as this problem is concerned. Language affected their future and their agitation was against Hindi and Hindi only. Among them there was unity.

Newspapers in Tamilnadu also supported the anti Hindi agitation. The Mail warned, "The tendency of separation will soon come to the front. Tamilnadu is firm in this issue. Very soon others States will also follow

\(^{163}\) Indian Express, 28 January 1965
\(^{164}\) Dinamani, 27 January 1965
\(^{165}\) Murasoli, 9 February 1965
suit. At a time when Chinese are threatening at the border, food situation is
dangerous, Kashmir problem is yet to be solved, and the Government
should not waste its energy in Hindi imposition".  

Swadesamitran advised that opposing Hindi is not unpatriotic. It
further asked the State Government to advise Central Government to
postpone the date for making Hindi as official language. Resolution to this
effect can also be brought in the State assembly.  

It is not a prestige issue. State Government can at least allow the opposition party to bring the
resolution.

The agitation continued for weeks together. At Madurai part 17 of
the constitution was burnt. At Chidambaram 4000 students took out a
procession. Central Government offices were picketed. At Tiruppur two
policemen were burnt alive. Police have been the victim of violent attacks
in many places. A regular war of attrition was waged by the frenzied mobs
and police had to open fire on 42 occasions. Trains were broken and
burnt. Telephone wires were cut. Annadurai and Rajaji appealed to the
students to stop their agitation and return to schools and colleges. All
schools and colleges were closed. To prevent further troubles Armed Police
from Mysore, Kerala, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and Military from

166 The Mail, 18 January 1965
167 Swadesamitran, 21 January 1965
168 Madras Administration Report, 1965, p.90
were called.\textsuperscript{169} Rajaji advised the students to give time to the Government to act. But the situation worsened. The two union Ministers O.V.Alagesan and C.Subramanian resigned from the Cabinet to protest against Hindi imposition.\textsuperscript{170}

There was a high level meeting at Satyamurthy Bhavan, the Tamilnadu Congress Committee’s headquarters, on February 13, 1965 to discuss the language issue. Indira Gandhi, Kamaraj and Bhaktavatsalam attended the meeting. They requested O.V.Alagesan and C.Subramaniam to get back their resignation.\textsuperscript{171} The Prime Minister addressed over radio and gave a solemn assurance that statutory provision for continuance of English would be made and that Hindi would not be made official language until all non-Hindi States agreed.\textsuperscript{172} The two union Ministers with drew their resignations.

The All India Congress Committee Working Group met on February 22, 1965. The Committee recommended the implementation of Nehru’s assurance and three language formula as evolved by the National Integration Conference. But Annadurai demanded an amendment of constitution and he said nothing short would satisfy the people. He assured

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Murasoli, 29 March 1965}
\textsuperscript{170} K.S.Ramanujam, \textit{Big Change, Op.cit.}, p.49; \textit{Indian Express} 12 February 1965
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Indian Express}, 17 February 1965
the students that he and his party would take up the issue with the Government. Students suspended the agitation and educational institutions were reopened on March 8, 1965.\textsuperscript{173}

Chief Minister's conference was convened at Delhi on February 23, 1965\textsuperscript{174} where in its was decided to recommend to the Central Government to amend the Official Language Act to give effect to Nehru's assurance. The amendment was later carried on during Indira Gandhi's period. She alone seemed to be alive to the situation at that time. According to her "Our real intention was to promote national integration through Hindi. But if it fails to do that, we may have to rethink".\textsuperscript{175} Owing to the intervention of war with Pakistan, the language issue was side lined temporarily. The sudden demise of Shastri, election of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister, nearness of general election all combined together did not revive the controversy.

Amidst all these disturbances the Chief Minister Bhaktavatsalam stood like a rock. He was much abused, maligned and personal propaganda against him went unabated. He put down all violent acts with an iron hand and maintained law and order in the State. He firmly supported the three language policy of the Congress.

\textsuperscript{173} Murasoli, 9 March 1965
\textsuperscript{174} Indian Express, 25 February 1965
\textsuperscript{175} Indian Express, 14 February 1965
Apparently many believe in Tamilnadu that Bhaktavatsalam was responsible for the defeat of Congress in the 1967 elections. The ballot box revolution of 1967 was due to a combination of various factors. One of the factors was language issue. But the blame fell on Bhaktavatsalam because he happened to be the Chief Minister at that time. Congress was sure to face a defeat for other reasons also even if some body other than Bhaktavatsalam was the Chief Minister. For this particular language issue, Bhaktavatsalam alone could not be blamed.

North Indian Leaders Attitude

The leaders of the north including the Prime Minister were impatient to impose Hindi. As responsible Ministers they did not consider it their duty to quell the fear of Non Hindi people. In a country where there is illiteracy in large, the first duty of the Government is to inaugurate literacy campaign and not the imposition of a new language. The people of Tamilnadu did not believe in promises and pledges. They wanted an amendment in the constitution only, not even an amendment in the official language act, as the official language act does not override the provision of the constitution. The Calcutta High Court Bar Association expressed the opinion that constitution should be amended to promote national integration and not for

imposition of a language on people who have their own highly developed language. The central Government failed to understand that the continued agitation in Chennai was an expression of a single feeling and if not found a solution it could be a deep political problem for India. A strong central Government alone can tackle the problem. In Tamilnadu, Bhaktavatsalam had to bear the brunt of people for the wrong policies followed by the Central Government. The Price paid for this was heavy. Though successive Congress Governments in Madras State had a good record and their achievements were substantial, still the Congress was reduced to nothing in the State Elections in 1967. Language seems to be the adamantine rock on which many a political ship had been wrecked.

**Congress Party's Attitude**

Congress Government was ruling Tamilnadu from 1946. It was decided in 1950 itself as per the terms of the constitution that Hindi would be the official language from 1965. Articles 343 to 351 deal with the official language of the Union and the States. This is part 17 of the Constitution. When the Indian Constitution was framed in 1950, Rajaji, Kamaraj, Bhaktavatsalam and C.Subramaniam were all members of the Constituent Assembly. Rajaji as the Governor-General signed the constitution. Under part 17 of the constitution it was decided that Hindi

---

178 Indian Express, 3 February 1965
179 Times, 11 February 1965
would be the official language of the Union from 1965 onwards. The leaders representing Tamilnadu did not express any objection to the language part at that stage.\textsuperscript{180} The resolution was given for voting. Seventy seven members accepted Hindi and seventy seven were against Hindi. As there was a fix over the burning issue, Rajendra Prasad, the then President, gave his casting vote in favour of Hindi.\textsuperscript{181} Thus it was decided under the Constitution that Hindi would be official language from 1965. 15 years time was given for non-Hindi people to prepare themselves for the change. But the Governments headed by Kamaraj and others did not do this. Instead a hope was created that change over will not be implemented. Finally when the dead line date came on January 26, 1965, it was Bhaktavatsalam’s period and he had to take all the blames for the omissions and commissions of the previous Governments.

While other neighbouring States Andhra and Karnataka made the study of Hindi compulsory, Madras Government was reluctant to do so.

The Congress party was committed to three language formula and wanted to solve the problem on that basis and not on what people wanted. Opposition to Hindi was considered by the Congress as opposition to their party. The language policy was not explained to the people in proper perspective. When there was such a big crisis in the State, the Congress in

\textsuperscript{180} M.P.Sivagnanam, \textit{Op.cit.}, p.915
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Madras Legislative Assembly Debates March 1965}, Vol.29. p.282
Tamilnadu was not guided as to its future course of action.\textsuperscript{182} "In the Tamil people's view TamilNadu Congress Committee is the big culprit," wrote \textit{Sengol}. It further added, "The Congress party did not even show its love for Tamil either for defence or as a matter of political shrewdness. It did not try to get the good will of the people.\textsuperscript{183} The life and death of a political party depends on the way in which it reacts to a crisis.\textsuperscript{184} The Congress in Tamilnadu did not react to the crisis and its fate was sealed in the election of 1967.

\textbf{D.M.K.'s part and Madras Government's Reaction}

When it was made known that Hindi would be the official language of the union from January 26, 1965, D.M.K. announced that January 26, 1965 would be celebrated as mourning day.\textsuperscript{185} They also planned to hoist black flags and wear black badges. The D.M.K. did not say that Republic Day was a mourning day but mourning was for making Hindi as official language from that day. If South India does not express its resentment; it would be construed that they have accepted Hindi. But Bhaktavatslaam did not accept this explanation out of a feeling of national unity. The opposition party is definitely entitled to express its protest. Annadurai blamed the Chief Minister that he did not show political

\textsuperscript{182} P.R. Ramakrishnan, M.P, in Murasoli, \textbf{20 February 1965}
\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Sengol}, 21 February 1965
\textsuperscript{185} Murasoli, \textbf{9 January 1965}
shrewdness and calm attitude. He thought that he could control or suppress opposition by force. The need of the hour was that the feeling of Tamilnadu should be conveyed to the Central Government with out mincing of words and in unequivocal terms. When the people of Tamilnadu wanted a statutory guarantee, Bhaktavatsalam said "leaders promise is enough protection for us. To doubt their promise is not fit to be an honour for them. It is enough if Official Language Act is amended." So he failed to reflect the views of Tamilnadu in the language issue. He could have asked the Central Government to postpone the date or even a resolution to that effect could have been allowed in the assembly. Changing decisions is common in a democracy. When Uttar Pradesh decided to scrap English, with out Central Government's consent can we not ask postponement?

Students have expressed their fear and resentment over the imposition of Hindi. Their fear is not baseless. It is the duty of the Government to allay this fear through law. Instead the Government tried to suppress the feeling of resentment, unsympathetic and intolerant of the involvement of the students in this issue. The Tamilnadu Congress Party as the local arm of the all India party as well as the Madras Government could not respond to the growing sub nationalism of Tamil people in a convincing

---

186 Murasoli, 2 February 1965
188 Swadesamitran, 21 January 1965.
way. The Government alienated the students and educationists. As a result the party was forced to meet an unexpected and undeserved defeat in the election of 1967.

If people were given free choice in the study of language, convenient to them, without any official imposition friction among people on language basis will not be present. Thus Hindi instead of integrating people created a stress and strain in non-Hindi area and became one of the reasons for the fall of a best-administered Congress State in India.

Tamil Development

After discussing the Anti-Hindi Agitation it would be appropriate to discuss the contributions made by Bhaktavatsalam to Tamil language as Education Minister and as Chief Minister during the years 1962 - 1967. All the works carried out for the promotion of Tamil by the Congress Government headed by Bhaktavatsalam gone in to oblivion in the wake of Anti-Hindi Agitation.

Tamil as Official Language

Government of Madras in 1956 enacted the Madras Official Language Act of 1956 under which Tamil was declared as the Official Language of the State and the Act was published in the gazette on January
23,1957. Under section 4 of this Act, Tamil should be used in Government offices for official purposes. The Government constituted a committee in 1957 with S.Venkatraman ICS, as Chairman to advise the Government on steps to be taken to implement to Official language Act 1956. In 1958, Tamil was introduced for official correspondence in Government offices. In 1960, Tamil typewriters were introduced and typists were trained in 1961. Tamil was introduced up to district levels.

When Kamaraj formed his third Ministry after the third general elections of 1962, Bhaktavatsalam was entrusted with the Official language portfolio along with Education, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments, and Labour Welfare. After his assumption of office as Minister for Official Languages, nine more departments were included for use of Tamil in official correspondence.

In 1963, 7871 offices up to district level and 83 offices at regional level started using Tamil. At this stage letters received from the public in Tamil were replied in Tamil. From November 1,1962 Education and Transport Departments started using Tamil for their communications. However provision was given to use English for correspondence with Central Government and courts. Jail department, Fire Service and Commercial Taxes department used Tamil from November 1962. All agricultural offices started using Tamil from January 1962; the milk commissioner office Erode and Madras implemented the use of Tamil from
August 1963;\textsuperscript{190} Public Health and Municipal Department from September 1963.\textsuperscript{191} Animal Husbandry Department from 1965.\textsuperscript{192} Thus almost all departments started using Tamil during Bhaktavatsalam's period itself.

**Tamil as Medium of Instruction in Colleges**

Tamil was made as medium of instruction in Government Arts College Coimbatore in 1962. Special facilities were given to students opting for Tamil medium by way of fee concessions and stipends.\textsuperscript{193} Managements were given grants for appointment of staff and purchase of books.

Another note worthy achievement was that a bureau of Tamil publication with a capital of Rs.10 lakh was set up in April 1962 for publication of text books and general books in Tamil.\textsuperscript{194} A short hand manual in Tamil was prepared and a glossary of legal terms in Tamil was also published. 57 Tamil books were published at a cost of Rs.173,680. The Tamil Academy with the assistance of the Government published nine volumes of Encyclopedia in Tamil and the final volume was released on January 4, 1963.\textsuperscript{195} It was a pioneering effort in the country. Tamil was the

\textsuperscript{190} G.O.No.1197, Public General(M) dated 25.7.1963
\textsuperscript{191} G.O.No.1318, Public General dated 20.8.1963
\textsuperscript{192} G.O.No. 2129, Public General dated 6.11.1965
\textsuperscript{193} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates 1962, Volume VI, p.74
\textsuperscript{194} Madras Legislative Assembly Debates 1963, Volume XV, p.318
\textsuperscript{195} Madras Information, February 1963
first language to have an Encyclopedia of this kind. The topics in the Encyclopedia covered subjects ranging from agriculture to zoology, countries, their history and geography, constitution, gazetteer information on all important cities, towns, rivers, languages and people.

Tamil at International Level

In September 1966 International Conference on Tamil studies was organized in Kuala Lumpur. Bhaktavatsalam led the delegation of Tamil scholars to the conference and helped to found the International Association of Tamil Research. The rich Tamil linguistic heritage was recognised in the UNESCO and in the international world of letters. Tamilnadu UNESCO Committee was also formed. This committee made arrangements with the UNESCO to publish a journal called "courier" in Tamil version also. This educational, scientific and cultural journal proved to be a powerful instrument in keeping primary and secondary school teachers informed of educational and scientific trends. The Tamil edition appeared regularly and the people of Tamilnadu had a window opened to the world. A children's Tamil encyclopedia was completed and released with the help of UNESCO. Bhaktavatsalam also made arrangements with the UNESCO to subsidise Tamil books every year in science for use in schools.

Though a lot was done for the development of Tamil, Bhaktavatsalam was not a language fanatic. He was aware of the fact that Tamil people are living in other parts of the country and language policy
should not harm them. He was of strong opinion that education should not be politicised. While central services examinations are held in English and Hindi, he thought learning of Tamil alone would not help our students. He wanted the students to realize the importance of English also. English cannot be eradicated completely. His view was that the Government should give education in a language which was being desired and asked for by the students. He did his best for the development of Tamil without much ado about it.

**Elections 1967**

The fourth general election held in India in 1967 was one of the most significant landmarks in the evolution of democracy in Asia and in the world. A ruling party, so well entrenched in office for nearly two decades, over so vast a country, was forced to face an inglorious defeat at the hands of resentful electorates.\(^{196}\) This happened both at the Centre and also at States ruled by the Congress. The country as a whole had to face internal conflicts, economic crisis, natural calamities, external aggression, and loss of its great leaders like Nehru and Shastri.

The situation in Tamilnadu in 1966 was also similar in the sense that there were indiscipline and violence everywhere. The language issue, drought, famine and price rise created unrest and frustration among

common people. Though the Congress suffered reverses in many States and was severely mauled at the centre, the defeat in Madras was unexpected and undeserved.\footnote{P.Spratt, \textit{op.cit.}, p.51} The Congress party was free from scandals; its successive Governments had a good record; their achievements were substantial; still people voted against it. They made a non-violent revolution and expressed themselves for a radical change. Even after a lapse of nearly forty years the Congress is not able to stage a come back in this State. The reasons for this total collapse of the Congress at the polls are discussed below in brief.

In the general elections of 1957, DMK got 15 seats and the Congress 151 seats.\footnote{T.M.Parthasarthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.201} In the 1962 elections, DMK won 50 seats and congress 138 seats.\footnote{Swadesamitran 28 February 1962} In the crucial elections of 1967, DMK won 50 seats and the Congress 138 seats. In the crucial elections of 1967, DMK won 138 seats and Congress 50 seats.\footnote{K.S.Ramanujam,\textit{op.cit.}, p.18} This reverse was not a sudden one but it was taking place slowly in the minds of the people for 10 years and made its appearance noticeable in the 1967 elections.

The language policy followed by the Congress at the Centre was one of the reasons for its election debacle. The Tamilnadu Congressmen owing to their broad nationalism forgot their mother tongue and their own race.\footnote{M.P.Sivagnanam,\textit{op.cit.}, p.141}
As the local arm of the all India party, the Tamilnadu Congress party could not respond to the growing sub nationalism of Tamil people in a convincing way.\footnote{P.Spratt, \textit{Op.cit.}, p.60} Right from 1946 successive Congress Governments ruling Tamilnadu knew fully well that Hindi would be made the official language from 1965. But none of the Congress Governments prepared the people for the change over even though there was an ample time of 15 years. They did not make Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools as neighbouring states had done. They created an illusion that Hindi would not come.

The opposition leaders spread the idea that Tamil would be wiped off by the Congress.\footnote{Madras Legislative Council Debates, Volume LXI, March 1965, p.562}\footnote{Dinamani, 27 January 1965.} At a time when people thought that an amendment of the Constitution alone would safeguard their interest, the State Government, failed to convey this feeling to the Central Government. The Madras Government construed any opposition to Hindi as opposition to Congress.\footnote{Dinamani, 27 January 1965.} The tendency of separation came to the forefront and many violent incidents took place, which ultimately led to common people's disillusionment and frustration over the language policy of the State.

The propaganda of the DMK that Tamil language and culture had to be protected and that the Tamilian should have a proud place in history of the world was pleasing to the masses.
Price rise was another factor. The rising prices of food and other essential articles of day-to-day use assumed an intolerable pitch. The rains failed badly in the year 1965-66; industrial recession set in; defense budget increased due to war with Pakistan and China. The general blame for the distress was placed on the Congress. Common man was not in a position to analyse the causes of price rise. He lost his peace and happiness and so he cast his vote against the Congress. Though the Government promoted a network of consumer co-operative stores, marketing societies and fair price shops, still people had to stand in long queues to get their quota of rice. The DMK utilized the soaring price to its advantage. The election manifesto of the DMK stated that they would eliminate food scarcity and control price rice.²⁰⁵ People at this juncture were desperate and taken away by such promises and voted for a change. The rulers gave explanation for the scarcity of the food materials, which could not be understood by the common man²⁰⁶. The promise of DMK of giving rice at one rupee a measure and control of price rise made people think "let us give a chance to them and see".

The grand alliance of the opposition party under the banner of "United Front" and Rajaji's vigorous campaign against the Congress also contributed to the fall of the Government to some extent. Rajaji openly

²⁰⁵ Murasoli 18 February 1967
²⁰⁶ Dinamani 26 February 1967
blamed the Government for supporting Hindi for the sake of posts in the
Government.\textsuperscript{207} M.P.Sivagnanam blamed that the Congress did not try to
going the good will of the people.\textsuperscript{208}

The United Front was formed mainly to oust the Congress from
power. There was nothing common among the allies.\textsuperscript{209} While the Swatantra
party stood for private enterprise, the DMK for scientific socialism and the
left for State controlled economy. But people were not much bothered
about the ideological differences of the allied parties. Their only thought
was that their food and language problems would be solved by the political
change. They were attracted by the wordy illusions created by political
opportunism.

An analysis of the election results 1967 reveals that it is only the
arithmetic of getting more number of seats due to alliance with other parties
that had gifted the State to DMK. Even though Congress as a single party
got 41.86\% of votes, which is more than the 40.8\% of votes secured by the
DMK as a single party.

\textsuperscript{207} Mursoli, 9 February 1965
\textsuperscript{208} Sengol, 21 February 1965
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>votes polled</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63,72,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMK</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>62,15,143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus a popular Ministry in spite of its good governance and achievements lost its credit because it failed to understand the critical feelings of the people on its doings and utterances. It was indifferent to public views on many vital issues and did not take corrective steps. The DMK was clever enough to make people forget the achievements of the Congress Government in economic front, in the education field, agriculture industry power and rural electrification. The DMK created an impression in the minds of the people that the Congress should not be voted back to power in such economic crisis of inflation. They also succeeded in creating a feeling that Tamil language and culture would perish if the Congress continued to govern the State.

On account of its own faults like drifting away from people, lethargic attitude due to being in power for a long time, failing to get public support, coupled with the natural calamities, the Congress was forced to face a humiliating defeat in 1967. This election result should serve as an eye opener to all political parties for many more years to come.

Murasoli, 28 February 1965