

## **CHAPTER II**

### **EDUCATIONAL REFORMS OF KAMARAJ'S RULE**

Education is known and has been proven to be the most powerful tool for social transformation across the world in various societies. This chapter attempts to understand the reforms that were done during Kamaraj's rule in the field of education in its widest possible sense. That means, not just focused on the statistical details and analyses but to embed the spirit based on which the schemes, plans, amendments and welfare measures were introduced towards transforming the society.

Emphasis has also been thrust towards covering the education through perspectives of change it brought to the society apart from mere volume of conversion of illiteracy to literacy through formal education.

#### **EDUCATION IN MADRAS STATE UNTIL 1954**

Attempts by British as early as 1822 by Sir Thomas Munro through a Government enquiry into the state of education in the Madras Presidency showed that there was approximately one school per thousand population and only close to a quarter of the school age population were being taught in these schools.<sup>1</sup> To improve the situation a board was appointed to organise a system of public instruction and subsequently 14 collectorate and 81 taluk schools with a central school at Madras, were opened. However, in 1836, this

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<sup>1</sup> *Tamilnadu Human Development Report*, (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2003), p.10.

scheme was pronounced failure and the schools were abolished as inefficient.<sup>2</sup>

In 1840, Lord Ellenborough's Government constituted a University Board to develop the condition of education in the state. Though number of changes for over a decade, by 1853, there were 460 educational institutions with 15000 pupils in them. This number had risen, by turn of the century, to 26771 with 784,000 pupils in them.<sup>3</sup> The next four decades were not filled with systematic and significant developments in the field of education as the British Government was hampered with two world wars and subsequent intensification of freedom struggle that spread throughout India.

India got independence from British in 1947 and became a republic in 1950. In the first Madras Presidency Assembly elections in 1952, Congress Party as a single party with most strength and yet a minority party, won 152 seats out of 375, decided to come to power with the support of independent members and other parties. After series of political drama within short period, Congress Party came to power under the Chief Ministership of Rajaji.<sup>4</sup>

Though formal education is traditionally categorised into primary, secondary and tertiary education, this education system can be sustained and perform to its fullest of the efficiency for the development of individuals and society only if the enrollment from school age population is at its most and dropouts are least. In this

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>4</sup> V.K. Narasimhan, *Kamaraj – A Study*, (New Delhi: National Book Trust of India, 1967), pp. 48-49.

context, it is worth to enquire in to the status of primary education in details prior to Kamaraj's ascension to power as Chief Minister.

### **NEW SCHEME OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BY RAJAJI'S GOVERNMENT**

According to Article 45 of the Constitution, the state Governments were responsible for providing free and universal education for all children until their completion of age 14 by 1960, that is, within a decade after the nation's declaration of Republic status.<sup>5</sup> This challenging task, under the then existed extremely drained financial situation after famine and World War II, had to be achieved by Rajaji Government and it came up with a plan known as New Scheme of Elementary Education (NSEE) in 1953.

The scheme was claimed to be a better suited program for elementary children for couple of reasons. First their nominal mental ability to grasp things at a stretch and next the general physical Indian school atmosphere.

Three central points were at the core of the change proposed;<sup>6</sup>

1. Shortened school hours for children
2. Shift system
3. Half-a-day out-of-school program for learning useful skills through productive bodily labour

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<sup>5</sup> S. Lalithalakshmi, *Kamaraj-The Administrator*, (Unpublished Ph.D., thesis, University of Madras, 1981), p.83.

<sup>6</sup> G. Ramachandran, Honourary Educational Advisor, "The New Scheme of Elementary Education", *Madras Information*, Vol. XI, No. 10, Republic Day Special Issue, (January, 1954), p.41.

The arguments given in support of these core points were; Shortening the school hours was justified as a measure of optimising over-schooling of young children since the mental capacity at the tender age is understood to be very prone for fatigue based on research from Jamia Millia and in Santhiniketan in which it was claimed that the children's brain could efficiently absorb what is taught for only a maximum of three hours with some short breaks in-between.<sup>7</sup> Besides, it was also argued that the condition of schools where the children had to sit tight packed in buildings often exposed to dust, sun and even rain, were not opt for whole day schooling.<sup>8</sup>

The shift system, with three hours in the morning and three hours in the afternoon, was for two different batches. It obviously was to double the number of students every year and thus closing the gap to the target of achieving universal education with no additional burden on resources and investment, except the teachers had to stretch them a bit more than usual.

Half a day out-of-school learning of useful skills was supported by Rajaji as the idea closely adheres to the proposed basic education of Gandhi. Rajaji clarified in one of his responses about NSEE that the;<sup>9</sup>

1. Primary education should be less book-centered
2. Children should not be made to sit in a class for five hours a day

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>9</sup> *Rajaji's Speech, M.L.A. Debates*, Vol.IX, 1953, p1739 quoted in S. Gousalya, Gandhi and Kamaraj, (Madurai: Best Institute of Nonviolence and Women Studies, 2002), p.176.

3. Children should do simple manual work
4. Children should recognise the dignity of work
5. Children should help their parents in their work whenever possible

Eventually the NSEE did not turn out to be a successful program and short lived for only over a year. Dramatically, the scheme apart from failing itself also cut short the Rajaji's Chief Ministership. Strong hostility rose against the NSEE within the party and outside and was criticised as 'hereditary education policy' since the children would continue to learn their parent's occupation that was generally based on caste system in the half days out-of-school. At the peak of it, Rajaji announced that his resignation as he was neither willing make any modification nor retract the NSEE.<sup>10</sup>

### **ABOLISHMENT OF NSEE BY KAMARAJ GOVERNMENT**

After resignation of Rajaji, Kamaraj assumed the office in the forenoon of April 13, 1953, in a Tamil New Year's Day.<sup>11</sup> On May 18, 1954, NSEE was announced to be abolished by the education minister C.Subramaniam and the old education scheme that was in place prior to NSEE was reinstated.<sup>12</sup>

There were two important reasons attributed to the abolishment of the NSEE scheme;<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.178.

<sup>11</sup> *G.O.No 520, Public (Special)*, 13th April 1954

<sup>12</sup> *Pudhiya Sattap Peravai* (New Legislative Assembly) – *Thalaimai Cheyalaga Valagam Thirappu Vizha – Sirappu Malar*, (Chennai: Thamizharasu Achagam, 2010), p.183.

<sup>13</sup> *M.L.A.Debates*, Vol.VI(1 to 8), Government of Madras, Nov 1957, p.482.

1. Young children, learning a skill part time, as an apprentice, from their parents at home would lead to strengthen the undesirable caste based education
2. The NSEE was implemented by the wish of a single person of Rajaji, without even a widespread discussion with the experts and public opinion, and thus not a democratic way of implementing a change

### **SITUATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN 1954**

By 1954, even after spending more than 70%, out of the total budget, for education the state was able to send school only 50% of the children from the total population of school going age.<sup>14</sup> Kamaraj had to achieve universal and free education by 1960, which was hardly five years away, and his Government began the battle in a systematic manner.

### **ELEMENTARY EDUCATION REFORM COMMITTEE**

After discontinuation of NSEE and revival of the scheme that had been in force prior to the introduction of NSEE from the academic year 1954-55<sup>15</sup>, Kamaraj Government constituted an Elementary Education Reform Committee<sup>16</sup> with Dr.R.M.Alagappa Chettiyar as Chairman and five more notable educationists as members as mentioned below;

1. N.D.Sundaravaldivelu, Director of Public Instruction
2. K.Arunachalam, Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Coimbatore

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<sup>14</sup> S. Lalithalakshmi, *Op.cit.*, p.83.

<sup>15</sup> *G.O.No 703, Education*, 20th May 1954

<sup>16</sup> *G.O.No 1714, Education*, 4th December 1954

3. S.Meenakshi Sundara Mudaliyar, Kalaimagal Kalvi Nilayam, Erode
4. M.Arunachalam, Head Master, P.K.N.High School, Tirumangalam
5. V.S.Gopalakrishna Ayyar, Head Master, Sir.M.Ct.M.High School, Madras

The committee was empowered to co-opt any person as a member of the committee based on the needs. The terms of reference to the committee were to examine the prevailed system of elementary education in the state with particular reference to aim, content, relationship to secondary education and other allied problems. The committee was also expected to suggest ways and means for implementing the directive principle contained in Article 45 of the Constitution.<sup>17</sup>

To understand the actual situation of elementary education and in order to make further modifications and improvements, the committee prepared a questionnaire and received feedback from teachers associations, unions, president of district boards, Chairman of municipalities, President of Panchayat Boards, educationalists, Members of Legislative Assembly (M.L.A), Members of Parliament (M.P) and prominent citizens of the State. The committee also visited institutions, interviewed educationalists and recorded evidences in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore, South Arcot, North Arcot, Madurai,

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<sup>17</sup> P. Sivasankari, *History of Elementary Education in the Madras State from 1947 to 1967*, (unpublished M.Phil., Dissertation, Presidency College, Chennai, 2001), p.37.

Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli in the first quarter of 1955.<sup>18</sup>

### **FREE EDUCATION FOR POOR, CHILDREN**

On Feb 26, 1955, Cabinet minister C.Subramaniam submitted the annual budget for the year 1955-56. It contained the announcement of free education from June 1955 onwards for all children until Form III (8<sup>th</sup> Standard, age 14) who came from families with annual income of up to 1200 Rupees. Families under this annual income were considered as poor families and they qualified to get benefitted from the scheme.<sup>19</sup> Before this announcement, the State had full fee concession for Harijan children irrespective of the income of their parents or guardians and half fee concession for children from families belonging to backward classes subjected to the same annual limit.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to making the elementary education free for poor, those students who failed in a class were also allowed to enjoy the concession for the second year to reduce discontinuity and wastage. The existed scheme did not allow this until the promotion of the student to the next higher class.<sup>21</sup>

### **EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHERS**

In 1955, the government of India allotted funds to State Governments in order to utilise them for the increase of employment

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<sup>18</sup> *Report of the Instruction in Madras, 1954-55*, p12 quoted in P. Sivasankari, *History of Elementary Education in the Madras State from 1947 to 1967*, (unpublished M.Phil., Dissertation, Presidency College, Chennai, 2001), p.38.

<sup>19</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), February 27, 1955, p.1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> S. Lalithalakshmi, *Op.cit.*, p.85.

to the educated unemployed. Kamaraj Government took advantage of the scheme and utilised the fund to build new schools, and employed teachers who were fit under the description of educated unemployed, and a 2800 schools were opened in a single year 1955.<sup>22</sup>

The allotment of the 2800 schools that were made to various districts are as follows;

**Table No. 9 - List of new schools under 'Employment for the Educated Unemployed' Scheme**

<b>Name of the District</b>	<b>Number of Schools Allotted</b>
Chengalpattu	143
South Arcot	236
Thanjavur	196
Madurai	226
Ramanathapuram	229
Tirunelveli	47
North Arcot	218
Salem	633
Coimbatore	326
Tiruchirappalli	312
The Nilgris	1
Malabar	90
South Kanara	143
<b>Total</b>	<b>2800</b>

<sup>22</sup> *M.L.A. Debates*, Vol.XX, February 7, 1955, p.29.

## **PRIORITY FOR SCHOOL-LESS CENTRES**

All the new schools allotment was prioritised on rural areas identified as school-less centres. It was defined that a centre in a district with a population of at least five hundred and did not have a school within a radius of one mile as School-less centre. These centres were entitled to get a school. School-less centres with even larger population was given priority against the centres with comparatively less population.<sup>23</sup>

In the year 1954, the State Government had opened 1270 schools in school-less centres and 200 additional teachers had been employed.<sup>24</sup> The respective district boards were the appointing authorities. The district boards called for list of qualifying candidates from the Employment Exchange and made the selection.

## **MADRAS STATE EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

In the course of discussion in the Legislature, two suggestions were emerged that intended in developing and sustaining the continuity of the development through all-party agreement;

Firstly the main framework of organization of school management and its financial basis should be embodied in an education Act. Secondly a committee inclusive of representatives from all parties in the Legislature should be set up in order to advise the Government on education matters. These suggestions were agreed by the State Government.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *G.O. No 750, Education*, dated 31st May 1954

<sup>25</sup> "Compulsory Elementary Education", *Madras Information*, Vol XII, No.6, June 1958, p.30

The Madras State Education Advisory Committee (MSEAC) that had minister for education as Chairman consisted thirteen other members, inclusive of five members from opposition parties;<sup>26</sup>

1. V. K. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, M.L.A
2. C. N. Annadurai, M.L.A
3. M. Kalyanasundaram, M.L.A
4. S. Pakkirisamy Pillai, M.L.A
5. P. S. Chinnadurai, M.L.A
6. A. Vedaratnam Pillai, M.L.A
7. Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran, M.L.A
8. S. Ramaswamy Naidu, M.L.A
9. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, M.L.C
10. T. P. Srinivasa Varadhan, M.L.C
11. V. K. Palaniswami Gounder, M.L.C
12. Mahammad Raza Khan, M.L.C
13. Jothi Venkatachalam, M.L.C

### **Functions of MSEAC**

Functions of the committee were as follows;<sup>27</sup>

1. To review education development in the State and to suggest schemes for further development
2. To study the Teacher-Pupil ratio for optimisation
3. To review curriculum and enhance it by suggestions
4. To give recommendations to Government on legislations in education framework

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> G. Balan, *Kamarajar Vazhkayum Aatchiyum (Life and Administration of Kamaraj)*, (Chennai: Vanathi Publishers, 2010), pp.122-123.

5. To suggest for appointment of teachers, if any lack of teachers situation found in any of the schools

The Director of Education was responsible that once every six months to ensure the recommendations of the committee were fulfilled through circulars or other means to concerned schools or departments.<sup>28</sup>

### **INCREASE IN TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO**

Kamaraj Government took further steps to increase enrollment in schools without increasing the number of teachers. From 1958-59, the teacher-pupil ratio was raised to 1:35<sup>29</sup> and subsequently in 1961-62 the ratio was further increased to 1:40.<sup>30</sup> At the same time in order to avoid degradation in quality of teaching, Government appointed special teachers for Tamil language and Physical education who were not included in the ratio. The ratio was successfully optimised to 1:45 in 1963-64 and order was issued to implement the same in all schools including privately managed schools in the State.<sup>31</sup>

### **IMPLEMENTATION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION**

Complementing to the efforts to increase the enrollment towards universal education, the Government investigated in details on the wastage on the dropouts before completion of primary schooling and found that only 45% of boys and 37% of girls had completed the first five years of primary schooling.<sup>32</sup> That is to say the majority of the enrolled students had turned out to be wastage. So

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *G.O.No.639, Education, 2nd April 1958*

<sup>30</sup> *G.O.No.211, Rural Development, 25th January 1961*

<sup>31</sup> *G.O.No.1974, Education and Public Health Department, 4th Sep 1963*

<sup>32</sup> A. Gopanna, *Kamaraj Oru Sagaptham (Kamaraj – An Epoch)*, (Chennai: Nava India Publishers, 2003), p.152.

it was decided to enforce compulsory education. According to this enforcement, throughout the Madras State the entire enrolled students from classes First to Fifth could not discontinue from school either up to the age of twelve or until finishing Fifth Class.<sup>33</sup>

This compulsory education for primary schooling was introduced in 1960-61 and fanned out throughout the State in three phases in the subsequent three years. As a part of the scheme, all children living within a radius of one mile from a primary school had to be enrolled even if they had missed the enrollment for the previous year.<sup>34</sup> There was an additional enrollment of 300,000 children and employment of 6,600 teachers was reported as an outcome of the enforcement.<sup>35</sup>

#### **MID-DAY MEALS SCHEME**

Mid-day meals scheme for school students has its own history and known to have been practiced as early as late nineteenth century in Japanese private schools. The same idea had been evolved in countries Brazil in 1938 and in the United States in 1946.<sup>36</sup>

On March 27, 1955, Kamaraj and Sundara Vadivelu, Director of Public Instruction (DPI) together attended a conference at Madras. Kamaraj was curious to understand the impact of mid-day meals that were being provided to children of Madras municipality schools and Harijan welfare schools. DPI explained that the students attendance from Mondays to Fridays were two folds everyday compared to

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *G.O.No.637, Education Department, 28th March 1959*

<sup>35</sup> *G.O.No.635, Education and Public Health Department, 2nd Feb 1963*

<sup>36</sup> R. Balasubramanian, *Welfare State in South India*, (Chennai: University of Madras Publishing, 2004), p.118.

Saturdays since the schools in Saturdays were open only for half-days and thus no mid-day meals were provided for the lunch.<sup>37</sup> His argument to Kamaraj proved the significance of mid-day meals through statistics.

Besides the fact that Kamaraj was determined to increase enrollment and attendance in primary schools, he himself had also experienced firsthand, during his primary school days in Kshatriya Vidyalaya School under 'pidiyarisi' (hand full of rice) scheme where the public contributed a full of rice from each family to prepare meals for the students, the benefits of such scheme.<sup>38</sup>

It was the time when the Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) fund allocations from the Central Government to State Governments had started based on the projections for various schemes from the respective State Governments. However, mid-day meals to all primary school children, by no means, were conceivable proposal to the Central Planning Commission.

Determination and persistence from Kamaraj to realize mid-day meals scheme reflected in the discussions he had with the representatives of Planning Commission. DPI was even forced to agree to give up the mid-day meals proposal on the favour of other many short-term welfare measures to the State as mid-day meals scheme was considered to be untested in large scale and the gap between available and required fund was Rupees 5 Crores (50 million

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<sup>37</sup> N.D. Sundara Vadivelu, "Pagal Unavu Thantha Pagalavan (The Man Behind Mid-day Meals)", *Thesiya Murasu*, Tamil Fortnightly, July 1-15, 2009, p.33.

<sup>38</sup> N.V. Kalaimani, *Thesiya Thalaivar Kamaraj (Kamaraj – A National Hero)*, (Madurai: Ashta Lakshmi Nilayam, 1995), p.140.

Rupees).<sup>39</sup> However, Kamaraj was even ready to come up with a new tax for executing mid-day meals scheme.<sup>40</sup> Finally, SFYP included the mid-day meals scheme for grants and the Legislature also had endorsed the scheme.<sup>41</sup>

## **PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN MID-DAY MEALS SCHEME**

Kamaraj travelled widely across the State and spoke to public in various forums that ranged from conferences to meetings to one-to-one discussions on why the mid-day meals scheme was necessary to be implemented in schools as early as possible and how it was an individual social responsibility to feed the children of their own society. His idea was to implement the scheme even in the absence of funds from the State and Central Governments.<sup>42</sup> An announcement was made about the scheme on March 27, 1955.<sup>43</sup> On July 17, 1956, the mid-day meals scheme began in Ettayapuram, Tirunelveli District, by the Director of Public Instruction.<sup>44</sup>

From November 1, 1957, the Kamaraj Government continued and expanded the scheme to cover as much as possible elementary schools under the scheme with available funds from Central Government.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the funds from both State and Central Governments, the scheme's success primarily could be attributed to public

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<sup>39</sup> N.D. Sundara Vadivelu, *Kalvi Vallal Kamrasar (Kamaraj - The Educational Philanthropist)*, (Chennai: Emerald Publications, 1982), pp. 34-35.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p.31.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p.36.

<sup>42</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), July 23, 1956, p.1.

<sup>43</sup> G. Balan, *Varalatrill Vaazhum Sadhanai Sandrorgal*, (Chennai: Vanathi Publishers, 2009), p.290

<sup>44</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), July 21, 1956, p.1.

<sup>45</sup> G. Balan, *Op.cit.*, p.290.

donations. Local donors of cash or kind organised and formed committees among themselves in utilizing the funds and articles efficiently. Generally the Head Masters of schools were nonmember secretaries of these committees.<sup>46</sup>

The nature of the meals provided consisted of cooked rice with Sambar (a sort of curry made from pulses) or buttermilk or curd and vegetables or pickles. The committees decided the best food in line with available funds and the meals were provided almost 200 days in year to the children.<sup>47</sup>

Cost of the non-recurring items such as utensils was entirely borne by the local committees. Government provided grants, calculated at the rate of the amount by which actual expenditure exceeded 4 to 6 paise per meal per pupil.<sup>48</sup>

The State Government started the scheme with an estimated Rupees 11 lakhs (1.1 million Rupees).<sup>49</sup> Under most circumstances, on top of Government grants, the local committees had to contribute about another 2 paise per head. However, the contribution of these committees varied widely.<sup>50</sup>

### **‘CARE’ CONTRIBUTION IN MID-DAY MEALS SCHEME**

From July 1961 onwards the ‘*Cooperative American Relief Everywhere*’ (*CARE*) shared the economic pressure of the mid-day meals scheme over the Government by providing food materials,

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<sup>46</sup> M. Sundararaj, “Mid-day Meals Scheme in Tamilnadu”, (Chennai: Tamilnadu Archives and Historical Research, 1997), pp.3-4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *G.O.No.1850, Education Department, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1957.*

<sup>50</sup> *G.O.No.862, Education Department, 28<sup>th</sup> April 1960.*

Milk powder, cooking oil, wheat, rice and other nutritious items were supplied free of cost from CARE. This organisation worked round the clock.<sup>51</sup>

Kamaraj was sharp enough to exploit his influence with Prime Minister Nehru and also Nehru's good relationship with USA for the success of mid-day meals scheme.<sup>52</sup> Kamaraj Government provided CARE with adequate staffs and field officers.<sup>53</sup>

### **EXPERIMENTS IN MID-DAY MEALS**

School Meals and School Improvement Schemes Assessment Committee was constituted in 1960 with K. S. Subramania Goundar, M.L.A., as Chairman. The committee paid visits to mid-day meals centres and suggested developments.<sup>54</sup> To maximise the nutritious benefits of the mid-day meals, foods such as Multi-Purpose Food (MPF) and bread were experimented.<sup>55</sup>

Government made provisions for the establishment of MPF-plants in order to facilitate the supply of the food. Hundred pupils were chosen from corporation schools in 1960 for studying the benefits of MPF. After specific period of study, the hundred pupils showed better results in terms of weight compared to the control group.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *G.O.No.1895, Education and Public Health Department, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1961.*

<sup>52</sup> *M. Sundararaj, Op.cit., p.5.*

<sup>53</sup> *G.O.No.241, Education Department, 2nd February 1962, G.O.No.3059, Education Department, 22nd December 1962, G.O.No.1805, Education Department, 21st July 1961.*

<sup>54</sup> *G.O.No.1930, Education Department, 12th September 1960, G.O.No.2126, Education Department, 06th October 1960*

<sup>55</sup> *G.O.No.2556, Education Department, 06th December 1960, G.O.No.358, Education Department, 16th February 1961, G.O.No.573, Education Department, 21st March 1961*

<sup>56</sup> *G.O.No.2405, Education Department, 15th November 1960*

Later in 1970, another experiment to provide modern bread was carried out and the Government had to drop the study as the experiment was pronounced as failure since pupils preferred other rice based meals over the bread.<sup>57</sup>

### **PROGRESS IN EXPANSION OF MID-DAY MEALS SCHEME**

The statistics show that the scheme that was started purely with the support of people and eventually gathered momentum to get support from Central Government and service institutions, had turned out to become a phenomenal success in just five years, to feed lunch to almost every elementary school child.<sup>58</sup>

**Table No. 10 - Statistics of Mid-day meals beneficiaries (1957-63)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Schools in the State</b>	<b>Schools with Mid-day Meals</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Pupils fed (in lakhs)</b>	<b>Expenditure (in lakhs)</b>
1957-58	22220	8270	37.20	2.29	6.93
1958-59	23449	11552	49.20	4.00	34.10
1959-60	24580	23136	94.10	7.75	63.91
1960-61	25149	24586	97.80	8.86	82.78
1961-62	27135	26406	97.30	11.80	115.00
1962-63	28005	27256	97.30	12.65	118.50

With the expenditure increase by seventeen times from the year 1957 to 1963, the total number of children benefitting increased by six folds. Looking at the last three years of Kamaraj Government, from 1960 to 1963, the ratio of schools that were provided with mid-

<sup>57</sup> G.O.No.700, Education Department, 08th May 1970

<sup>58</sup> "Mid-Day Meal Scheme", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, (March 1963), p.36, G. Balan, *Op.cit.*, p.133.

day meals has remained stable in feeding almost every child. This could be attributed to the determination, meticulous execution and the vision Kamaraj had in his decisions.

### **BENEFITS OF THE MID-DAY MEALS SCHEME**

The benefits of mid-day meals scheme implementation in elementary schools were quite many and from various perspectives;<sup>59</sup>

1. Thousands of children who had been kept off the schools on the account of poverty of their parents were brought to the light of formal education
2. Dropouts, who left the school to support their family with their little earnings, were greatly reduced as now the poor parents were better convinced that their children would be fed and also turn out to be educated
3. Hunger of the children in the classroom that had been preventing them from concentrating to the teaching was removed
4. Children from varying family backgrounds sat together and ate the same meal and that developed a brotherhood among them
5. Caste barriers, to some extent, in the young minds started shattering

### **INTRODUCTION OF FREE SCHOOL UNIFORM**

Kamaraj Government further investigated on the reasons for poor enrollment of children in elementary schools, especially girls, even after the provision of mid-day meals.

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<sup>59</sup> "Mid-Day Meal Scheme", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, (March 1963), p. 36.

Besides the attitude that prevailed in the society that the girls do not have to pursue education, it was found that girl children from poor families felt shy to wear the not so good clothing to schools and thus avoided schools altogether. This finding triggered Kamaraj to come up with a scheme to provide free school uniforms to elementary school children.<sup>60</sup>

Apart from providing few pairs of new clothing to those children who do not have, the school uniforms also served to remove the reflection of wealth of families through the clothing of the children.

By the end of 1959, the free uniform scheme gained similar popularity and public support to that of mid-day meals scheme and at least ten thousand boys and girls had been given free uniforms.<sup>61</sup> Public contribution ranged from contributions of good sum from the affluent to cater to the expenses of the scheme to sewing of uniforms from cloth shop proprietors. With all the support, a set of free uniform was scheduled to be provided every six months.<sup>62</sup> Director of Public Instruction mentioned that the free mid-day meals scheme successfully brought all the boys to schools and the gap with girls was successfully bridged with free school uniforms. He further added that the uniform obviously would enhance the unity among children.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Personal interview with C. Subramaniam on 10th April 1988 quoted in P. Balagurusamy, "C. Subramaniam's Political Personality", Unpublished M.Phil., Thesis, Madurai Kamaraj University, (Madurai: 1989), p.84.

<sup>61</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), December 26, 1959, p.2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), February 15, 1960, p.2.

By 1960, the education department provided adequate funds to supply free uniforms to all the elementary school children.<sup>64</sup> There was also continued generous public support and the number of children receiving free school uniforms raised three folds in five years. The number in 1961 was 3.6 lakhs (360,000) and was increased to 9.4 lakhs (940,000) in 1966.<sup>65</sup>

## **SECONDARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT**

The strengthening of primary education in terms of enrollment and elimination wastages had resulted in better than expected progress in enrollment to secondary education. Kamaraj Government took a step further to enhance secondary education by providing with more schools. From 1967 schools in 1953, there were 1619 secondary schools at the end of 1962, increasing the quantity by double.<sup>66</sup> A noteworthy feature in this expansion is that good number of schools were started in rural parts and thus they brought the advantage of secondary education to the children of the under developed areas.<sup>67</sup>

Based on the Legislature Committee recommendations, reorganization of secondary education was done together with modifications in University education. Prior to this change there were five stages in the system of general education provided in the State as follows;<sup>68</sup>

### **School Education**

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<sup>64</sup> V.K. Narasimhan, *Op.cit.*, p.62.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Report on Public Instructions in the Madras State, 1961-62*, p.20.

<sup>67</sup> "Phenomenal Rise in Educational Facilities", *Madras Information*, Vol. XI, No.3, (March, 1957), p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> "New Educational Pattern", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No. 5, (May 1963), p.15.

1 <sup>st</sup> Stage (Primary)	-	5 Years
2 <sup>nd</sup> Stage (Higher Elementary / Junior Secondary)	-	3 Years
3 <sup>rd</sup> Stage (Secondary)	-	3 Years

#### **University Education**

4th Stage (Intermediate)	-	2 Years
5 <sup>th</sup> Stage (First Degree or 3 years if Honors Course)	-	2 or 3 Years
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		15 Years or
		16 Years (If Hons.)
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These five stages were modified in to three stages as follows;<sup>69</sup>

#### **School Education**

1 <sup>st</sup> Stage (Elementary)	-	7 Yrs
2 <sup>nd</sup> Stage (Higher Secondary)	-	4 Yrs

#### **University Education**

3 <sup>rd</sup> Stage (First Degree)	-	3 Yrs
		-----
		14 Yrs
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In the first stage, Standards I to VII, all the differences in curricular content between Higher Elementary Schools and Junior Secondary Schools were abolished. The second stage reorganised the Standards VIII to XI as Higher Secondary education. In the third

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

stage, intermediate course of 2 years was abolished and degree course duration was increased from 2 years to 3 years.<sup>70</sup>

However, subsequent problems encountered in the implementation of the three stages in terms of physical and financial implications led to the seeking of advice from State Education Consultative Committee.

The outcome, by 1963-64, eleven years course consisted of eleven Standards was effected and designated as follows;<sup>71</sup>

Standards I to V	-	Primary
Standards VI to VIII	-	Upper Primary
Standards IX to XI	-	Secondary

The Pre-University course of one year after Secondary School Leaving Certificate (S.S.L.C) examination remained and continued to be attached to the colleges. There were no changes brought to degree course of three years.<sup>72</sup>

### **TERTIARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT**

During Kamaraj's regime, the tertiary education, under two Universities namely Madras University and Annamalai University, was introduced with many innovative honors courses. In Madras University, honors courses in Geography, Psychology, Commerce, Tamil, Telugu and Islamic Culture and History were introduced. Diploma courses in Politics, Public Administration, Statistics,

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

Journalism and certificate course in librarianship, French, German and Anthropology were also introduced.<sup>73</sup>

In 1954-55, seven new Arts colleges were opened. Number of students in the certificate and diploma courses run by Madras University was 259 men and 53 women. The strength at Annamalai University was at 2244 men and 170 women. The Alagappa College of Technology was under Madras University. Excluding the Arts and Science departments of the Annamalai University, there were 45 colleges for men. The strength in various University classes was at 37,702 men and 6776 women.<sup>74</sup>

By 1963-64, at the end of Kamaraj's regime, the number of Universities remained two but the strength across all University courses had been raised to 42,370 men and 13,307 women. The significant increase in the strength of women, doubled in 1963 as against 1954, is worthy of a note. At the end of the year there were a total of 68 colleges for general education including 20 for women.<sup>75</sup>

There were 27 Arts colleges for men and 9 for women in the year 1951. It was increased by 1956, 36 and 15 and by 1963 the numbers were 44 and 16 respectively. In short, Arts colleges for their respective categories had been doubled.<sup>76</sup>

## **TECHNICAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT**

### **Engineering**

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<sup>73</sup> *Report on Public Instructions in the Madras State, 1953-54*, p.28 quoted in P. Balagurusamy, *Op.cit.*, p.70.

<sup>74</sup> *Madras State Administration Report*, Part II, 1954-55, (TNA, Madras), p.65.

<sup>75</sup> *Madras State Administration Report*, Part II, 1963-64, (TNA, Madras), p.141.

<sup>76</sup> S. Lalithalakshmi, *Op.cit.*, p.110.

At the end of FFYP in 1956, there was a huge gap between the supply and demand for technical man power in the State. It was essential to produce adequate engineering personnel at all levels for the success of SFYP which was heavily relied on heavy industries and transport development.<sup>77</sup>

Due to the huge investments required and scarcity of technical faculty availability in the State, intakes in to the institutions were increased significantly as high as twice the original strength in many cases. For an example, admission to Guindy Engineering College was raised from 125 to 250 in 1957.<sup>78</sup>

It was estimated by technical studies and research that for every engineering degree holder there must three diploma holders in engineering. There were nine degree institutions in the State but there were only eleven polytechnics which engaged diploma courses in engineering, just less than half of what was required. Four more polytechnics in the same year and proposals were made for opening more new polytechnics in order to bridge the gap further by increasing the total polytechnics to 19 in the State by 1961.<sup>79</sup>

By 1959, post-graduate courses in six technical subjects had been started. Such a rapid expansion has, however, had resulted in a shortage of scientific equipments and accommodation in the colleges. To meet the requirements Rupees 8.8lakhs (880,000) were sanctioned for the construction of additional building and laboratories.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> H. Nulraj Joseph, Technical Education Officer, "Development of Technical Education", *Madras Information*, Vol. V, No. 1, (January 1958), p.20.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Madras Information*, Vol. XIII, No.12, (December 1959), p.20.

Directorate of Technical Education (DOTE) was constituted in 1957 and in a relatively short duration of less than two years, four post-graduate courses, three in Guindy Engineering College and one in Coimbatore PSG College of Technology, were started.<sup>81</sup>

### **Stipend to Junior Technical Schools**

Junior Technical Schools were innovative allied institutions to Polytechnics and demands only a modest qualification of Standard VIII for enrollment. These schools were, naturally, different from Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) as the curriculum included languages, Math, Science together with technical education like Carpentry, Smithy, Foundry, Fitting, etc., for about 12 hours per week.<sup>82</sup> No tuition fees were charged and 50% of the enrolled enjoyed stipends.<sup>83</sup>

### **First Technological Institute in South India**

Towards advance technological education in the country, Central Government had decided to establish four higher technological institutes. Each of these institutions was designed to be fully residential to promote corporate life among students. First one had already begun operations in 1951 at the east part of India in Kharagpur, West Bengal.<sup>84</sup>

When it was known that one of the four institutes would be set up in South India, Chief Ministers of Kerala and Karanataka States, Shakarji and Nijaligappa respectively, like Kamaraj for Tamilnadu

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22.

<sup>82</sup> "Junior Technical Schools", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No.7, (July 1963), p.35.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Humayun Kabir, "Technical Education in Independent India", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVI, No. 11, (November 1962), p.28.

State, attempted so hard to convince Central Government to move the institute to their States. However, Kamaraj was quick enough to understand the potentials of the institute and visited the Capital to meet the concerned officials personally. He even promised the sponsor the land required for free on behalf of State Government to setting up the institute and this aggressive step earned the decision on his favor resulting in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras (IITM).<sup>85</sup>

Today the high caliber scientists and engineers from IITM have spread across the country and the world in prominent positions contributing to technological developments. Pursuance of technological knowledge transformation has, to a great extent, transformed the lives of the society.<sup>86</sup>

### **Medicine**

There were four medical colleges (Allopathic) in the State in 1952-53. Kamaraj Government opened a medical college at Madurai in 1954-55.<sup>87</sup> However, after the language based split and formation of States, Madras was left with four medical colleges, namely; Madras Medical College, Stanley Medical College, both at Madras and Christian Medical College at Vellore and Madurai Medical College in Madurai.<sup>88</sup>

Fifth medical college, the Thanjavur Medical College, was started in 1961. The strength of students learning medicine was

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<sup>85</sup> Personal interview with Thindivanam K.Ramamurthy at Chennai on 15<sup>th</sup> July 2012

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Report on Public Instructions, 1954-55*, p49 quoted in P. Balagurusami, *Op.cit.*, p.75.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Report of 1960-61, p.43.

increased from 1870 men and 586 women in 1953-54 to 3142 men and 886 women in 1962-63.<sup>89</sup>

### **Law**

Madras Law College affiliated to Madras University was the institution for the State providing Law education and remained the only institution through Kamaraj's tenure as Chief Minister of the State. However, Kamaraj's Government had approved the proposal of forming study groups in the law college and by the end of his tenure as Chief Minister the total strength of students pursuing law had been raised to 1139 men and 32 women.<sup>90</sup>

### **Veterinary**

Madras Veterinary College that had been teaching Bachelor of Veterinary Science and Veterinary Livestock Inspectors course was provided with Masters Course in Veterinary Science in 1958. By 1961-62, there were 666 men and 7 women studying in the college all courses put together and Rupees 10 lakhs (one million rupees) was granted for further development of Veterinary education.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Report of 1961-62, p.42.

<sup>90</sup> *G.O.No.1854, Education Department, 19<sup>th</sup> Nov 1957*

<sup>91</sup> *Madras State Administration Report, 1962, p.111.*

## **Agriculture**

The State was largely depending on the agricultural revenue and thus it was needed to have continuous developments in the field of agriculture through breakthroughs stemming from education. The Coimbatore Agriculture College, the only institution in the State for Agriculture education, was provided with a refresher course, of duration six months, which consisted more practical sessions in agriculture for farmers.<sup>92</sup> Enrollments per year were gradually and steadily increased in the college as a measure of expansion and a graduate course was started in Annamalai University in 1960-61. Besides, Agriculture Regional Research Stations were started at five locations in the State namely; Aduthurai, Cuddalore, Kovilpatti, Periyakulam and Tindivanam.<sup>93</sup>

## **SCHEME FOR SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT**

School improvement scheme, another brainchild of Kamaraj administration in the row of free mid-day meals and free school uniforms, was centered at improving the schools as better education centers with provisions and infrastructure. Kamaraj was successful again similar to the schemes mentioned above in maximising public engagement and securing their contribution and support.

There were significant contributions from people for all round improvement of schools including gifts of land, buildings, play grounds, provision of furniture, equipment, supply of books to school libraries and books for needy children, etc.<sup>94</sup> Though there was

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<sup>92</sup> *G.O.No.1918, Agriculture Department, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1954*

<sup>93</sup> *M.L.A. Debates, Vol. XXVIII, (March 1960), p.101.*

<sup>94</sup> N. D. Sundaravadivel, Director of Public Instruction (DPI), "The School Improvement Scheme", *Madras Information, Vol. XVII, No.2, (February 1963), p.15.*

enormous contribution for the scheme from public, the benefits were not just material but social and educational.<sup>95</sup>

The requirements of the provisions in schools were ascertained by a preliminary and subsequently an exhaustive survey and the requirements were listed out. The scheme was first rolled out in Kadambathur Block area in Chengalput District on February 2, 1958.<sup>96</sup> In the year 1958, 23 conferences had been held to increase public engagement and as a result 2536 institutions were benefitted.<sup>97</sup>

Public participation was raving with enthusiasm that, in a course of 25 months, the total number of schemes that were undertaken in 99 such conferences was over a lakh (100,000). The estimated cost of all these schemes worked up to be Rupees 5.2 crores (Rupees 52 million). Towards schemes like building improvements which take time, the donors gave token donations at the conferences. The scheme was purely voluntary and there were no rules set as to the method of operation though there were few suggestions given unofficially.<sup>98</sup>

These contributions also helped to supply free slates, books and free school uniforms. Kamaraj had mentioned in one of the conferences that he felt the need to do something to make the school children not to get depressed or sense of inferiority through visible

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Legislative Measures and Popular Ministries, Schemes, Projects, Historical Events and Visits from 1921 - 1974*, (Madras: TNA, 1981), p.182.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Madras Information*, Vol. XII, No.4, (April 1958), p.6

signs of economic disparity but to make them all feel equal and elated.<sup>99</sup>

Instances of a laundryman donating his entire possession of one acre of cultivatable land, a peon donating 35 cents which was probably a huge sum to him, a farm laborer donating his entire annual savings in advance, a scavenger and a post man donating a months' salary each, a poor Harijan donating six coconut seedlings and women donating their jewels<sup>100</sup> did not just indicate the penetration and success in terms of people engagement but the momentum Kamaraj's initiatives breached the lines between poor and rich to improve education of the younger generation and to secure a future of developing an active, self-reliant, self-confident and self-sufficient society that is vigilant and proud about educational activities. The schemes of Kamaraj brought the school and people in close intimate contact and orientated the schools to the community and made the people education conscious.<sup>101</sup>

### **BENEFITS FOR TEACHERS**

Dr. Radhakrishnan, who rose to the President of India from a position of school teacher and his birthday September 5, is being celebrated as Teacher's Day, once mentioned, "*...therefore I appeal to the teachers that is the generous youth, hospitable youth, adventures youth, courageous youth whom we have in this country, if they are to be utilized for building up a new country, a new India, a new society, the beginning must come from the teachers*

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<sup>99</sup> M.S. Muthuswamy, *K. Kamaraj – A Socio Political Study*, (Madras: Tamilnadu Academy of Political Science, 1988), pp.93-94.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.

<sup>101</sup> N. D. Sundaravadivel, Director of Public Instruction (DPI), "The School Improvement Scheme", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, (February 1963), p.15.

*themselves*".<sup>102</sup> Kamaraj Government had grasped the vital role the teachers play in getting education to its best and implemented well deserving benefits for teachers.

### **Salary Review**

A comprehensive review of salary scales of Primary school teachers was made at the end of 1956. In 1951-52, the annual average salary of Primary and Secondary school teachers was Rupees 544 and by 1956, it had gone up to Rupees 651, a 20% increase. Though this increase mainly came from the Central Government's revision through FFYP, State Government's contribution was at least 50% in upgrading the pay of teachers.<sup>103</sup> By 1963, at the end of Kamaraj's regime, elementary school teacher's salary was given an increase of Rupees 17 per month at the cost of Rupees 2 crores (Rupees 20 million) per annum to the Government. Above this the Government had also accepted the recommendations in full of the Pay Commission on the salary of teachers.<sup>104</sup>

### **Triple Benefit Scheme**

Madras State under Kamaraj's leadership was first in Asia to implement a triple benefit scheme to teachers that included pension, provident fund and insurance schemes in April 1955.<sup>105</sup> Besides, the scheme also had included free education up to S.S.L.C for children of

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>103</sup> "New Deal for Teachers", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVI, No.9, (September 1962), p.247

<sup>104</sup> K. Santhanam, Chairman, Panchayatraj Finance, "Finances of Panchayatraj Bodies", *Madras Information*, Vol. XVII, No.10, (October 1963,) p.8.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

elementary school teachers. The highlights of the triple benefit scheme were as below<sup>106</sup>;

1. Conferring of Pension benefit to teachers in both elementary and secondary schools, drawing a salary of Rs.100 and below who retire after April 1, 1955 (in 1956)
2. An increase of pay and dearness allowance of Rs.12 for all teachers (in 1957)
3. Extension of free education to children of high school teachers (in 1956-57)
4. Extension of pension scheme to teachers in high schools and training schools including general schools (in 1958)
5. The pensioner benefit of Headmasters, B.T.Assistants, etc., of non-Government secondary and training schools was increased to a maximum pension of Rs.75 per month in the case of Headmasters and Rs.60 per month in the case of B.T.Assistants, 1<sup>st</sup> Grade Pandits, etc., (in 1960)
6. The scales of grants to teachers in aided schools were revised to be the same for their corresponding categories of teachers in Government service

The scheme benefitted all teachers in elementary schools under local boards, aided management schools and secondary and other similar grades of teachers in secondary schools. The scheme had been extended to all teachers in secondary schools from April 1958.<sup>107</sup> The Government of India had recommended all the State

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<sup>106</sup>“New Deal for Teachers”, *Madras Information*, Vol. XVI, No.9, (September 1962), p.248

<sup>107</sup> N.D. Sundaravadivel, Director of Public Instruction (DPI), “Education in Madras State”, *Madras Information*, Vol. XIV, No.1, (January 1960), p.33

Governments the adoption of the triple benefit scheme introduced by Kamaraj's Government. The question of extension of the scheme to Union Territories was also examined.<sup>108</sup>

### **Awards for Meritorious Services**

From 1960, the scheme was instituted by Government for recognition of meritorious services rendered by elementary school teachers. The annual awards were conferred on two teachers selected from each education district in the State and each award was in the form of a cash prize of Rs.200 in prize bonds and a certificate of merit. For 1960-61, 47 teachers were honored with such awards. The awards were enhanced with a Silver medal worth of Rs.30 subsequently.<sup>109</sup>

### **Housing for Teachers in Villages**

Government approved housing grants for teachers of one-teacher-schools in 1958. It was estimated that these houses would be built by spending Rs 2500 each.<sup>110</sup> A total sum of 25 lakhs (Rs 2.5million) was allotted initially for building 750 houses in the respective villages.<sup>111</sup>

### **Rise in Retirement Age**

In 1963, the age of retirement of teachers was raised in various categories of schools from 55 to 58. The Government Order stated that the age of retirement from service shall be raised from 55 to 58 years in the case of trained teachers in all elementary schools,

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<sup>108</sup> C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, "Budget for 1961 – 62", *Madras Information*, Vol.XV, No.3, (March 1961), p.14.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), October 17, 1958, p.1.

<sup>111</sup> Rangavasan, *Thanga Thalaivar Kamarajar (Kamaraj – A Golden Leader)*, (Chennai: Kaleeswari Publications, 2005), p.99.

secondary schools, training and special schools and Anglo-Indian schools whether they are under the management of the Government, local bodies or aided agencies and which are recognised by the Education Ministry.<sup>112</sup> It was also stated that if any of these institutions had already been maintaining a retirement age higher than 58 years, would continue to be the same.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL LANGUAGE**

### **Tamil as Official Language**

Under Madras Official Language Act of 1956, Tamil was made as official language on December 27, 1956 and the implementation started in phases. The first batch of departments selected for changing their correspondences in Tamil was as below<sup>113</sup>;

1. Revenue Department (including the Block Development Offices)
2. Public Works Department (Irrigation and Electricity)
3. Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department
4. Education Department
5. The Local Bodies
6. Department of Agriculture
7. The Co-operative Movement
8. The Village and Panchayat Courts

Simultaneously, printing and distribution of the standard glossary and Tamil translation of the District Office Manual to all offices and preparation of supplementary glossaries was taken up.

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<sup>112</sup> "Education of Children in Madras State", *Madras Information*, Vol.XVII, No.7, (July 1963), p.8.

<sup>113</sup> "Tamil as Official Language", *Madras Information*, Vol.XI, No.9, (September 1957), p.1.

Standardisation of the key board for the Tamil typewriters and supply of such typewriters to Government offices was also geared in full swing along with translation of department codes, manuals and forms.<sup>114</sup>

With immediate effect, the respective departments started to issue all the communication and orders in Tamil to the general public or to private individuals. But the use of English was not precluded, however reduced to a minimum, in these departments. For example, reports on suit notices and suits were sent in English till the translation of the Acts concerned became available.<sup>115</sup>

### **Tamil Development and Research Council**

The council was inaugurated on January 26, 1959 by A.J. John, the Governor of Madras. Kamaraj Government passed orders constituting the Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council as a separate agency for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects and at the same time to secure the co-ordination of the measures taken by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee. Minister of Education was appointed as Chairman of this 39 member Council including the Chief of opposition C.N. Annadurai.<sup>116</sup>

Functions of this Council were as follows,<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> "Tamil as medium of Instruction", *Madras Information*, Vol. XIII, No.5, (May 1959), p.7

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8

1. To keep under review the progress of the work done by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee; and to co-ordinate that work with other related activities in the field of development of Tamil.
2. To arrange for the systematic copying of all the inscriptions in the various temples in the State and arrange for publishing the same according to a planned time schedule, and to co-ordinate this work with the activities of the Epigraphical Department of the Government of India
3. To arrange for systematic study of the antiquities of pre-historic and historic periods of Tamilnadu and to co-ordinate this work with activities of the Archeological Department of the Government of India
4. To co-ordinate and develop the activities of institutions and libraries, where unpublished manuscripts are available, co-ordinate the work relating to editing and printing on the basis of a planned time schedule
5. To co-ordinate and develop the activities of all agencies at present engaged on the production and publication of popular reading materials and to co-ordinate this work with the program of Public Library Development, especially in villages
6. To arrange for production of children's books in Tamil and to arrange for their distribution
7. To promote the study of folklore
8. To arrange for the compilation and publication of bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopedias, basic vocabularies, etc., and to promote systematic study and research of ancient manuscripts

9. To take such other measures to develop the Tamil language and to spread its use as a vehicle for all transactions both in the educational and other fields

### **Tamil as Medium of Instruction in Colleges**

The Constitution of India strengthens the idea of tertiary education through mother tongue by stating that all efforts must be made to replace English by the regional language or national language as medium of instruction in schools and colleges. National leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Tagore had also favored the mother-tongue medium of instruction despite their personal good command of English language.<sup>118</sup>

Kamaraj Government introduced Tamil as medium of instruction for degree courses from academic year 1960-61 onwards. This was started in Government Arts College in Coimbatore and in the next three years private colleges began the adoption.<sup>119</sup> In 1965-66, the first batch of pupils who learned all their education in Tamil as their medium of education, since the primary and secondary education had already been provided with Tamil as medium of instruction by 1963 got their degrees.<sup>120</sup>

There was also a stipend of Rs.30 per month provided to the degree course students, for at least two thirds of total student population, as a token of encouragement.<sup>121</sup> The Government also encouraged printing of good quality Science and other fields' books

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<sup>118</sup> "Landmark in School Improvement Movement", *Madras Information*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, (April 1960), p.27.

<sup>119</sup> S. Gousalya, *Op.cit.*, p.74.

<sup>120</sup> "Tamil as medium of instruction", *Madras Information*, Vol.XIII, No.5, (May 1959), p.22.

<sup>121</sup> A. Gopanna, *Op.cit.*, p.158.

in Tamil and allotted a million Rupees for the establishment of the press.<sup>122</sup>

### **PUBLIC LIBRARIES - PIONEERING EFFORTS IN MADRAS**

Madras was the first amongst the States of India to pass an Act for public libraries. The Madras Public Libraries Act was passed, in 1948. The Act was implemented in 1950 before Kamaraj came to power in 1954. Before that there was neither prioritisation nor serious attempts to set up public libraries in the State.<sup>123</sup>

The Connemara Public Library was recognised as the Central Library of the State and Local Library Authorities was constituted in all districts. As per guidelines of the Libraries Act, there needs to be main library for every city with a population of more than 50,000, a branch library for every town with a population between 5,000 and 50,000 and a delivery station for each village with a population between 1,000 and 5,000.<sup>124</sup>

The table below has the district wise number for libraries that were present in the State in 1954 and in 1964, at the end of Kamaraj Government's a decade long rule;<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), June 4, 1961, p.2.

<sup>124</sup> "Rural and Urban Library Service", *Madras Information*, Vol.X, No.12, (December 1956), p.14.

<sup>125</sup> *Thanthai Periyar 85<sup>th</sup> Piranthanaal Malar* (Special Issue for 85<sup>th</sup> Birthday of E.V.Ramasamay), (Chennai: Viduthalai Publications, 1964), p.179.

**Table No. 11 - Growth of Public libraries between 1954 and 1964**

<b>Name of the District</b>	<b>Libraries in 1954</b>	<b>Libraries in 1964</b>
Chennai City	0	83
Chengalpattu	1	57
Thanjavur	1	43
Madurai	1	94
Ramanathapuram	1	45
Tirunelveli	1	65
North Arcot	1	41
Salem	1	74
Coimbatore	1	113
Tiruchirappalli	1	61
The Nilgris	1	23
South Arcot	1	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>747</b>

It is obvious from the figures that there had hardly been any initiatives before 1954 despite the amendment of Libraries Act in 1950 for setting up libraries in the districts of the State and as a result every district had only one library to the maximum. The increase in the next decade under Kamaraj rule was an astonishing sixty folds increase. Every district had an average of 62 libraries by 1964. Besides, there were also Children's libraries developed to be uniquely centered for children's development and first such library inaugurated in Chengalpattu district with a public donation of Rs.1000.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

Another statistics in the table below indicates the significance in terms if libraries usage by the public;<sup>127</sup>

**Table No. 12 - Statistics on Public library usage between 1954 and 1964**

<b>Description</b>	<b>In 1954</b>	<b>In 1964</b>
Total Branch Libraries	11	747
Total Delivery Stations	0	693
Total Number of books	383,288	1,867,722
Total Daily Visitors	6,728	64,861
Total Expenditure in Rupees	200,000	5,400,000

It was observed that Kamaraj Government went for more than what had been suggested by Libraries Act. Apart from Central and Branch libraries based on population, delivery stations were developed to encourage participation and engagement in the society. In Coimbatore district, a Mobile Library Van was also functioning as a pilot scheme for extending the reach and network of libraries further.<sup>128</sup>

### **PROGRESS OF EDUCATION - AN OVERVIEW**

For a decade, from 1954 to 1963, much had been achieved by Kamaraj Government for the development of the State in the field of education. If the basic literacy, the ability to read and write, can be considered as the first step towards any further educational development, then the table below indicates beyond doubt that the

<sup>127</sup> E.V. Ramasamy, *Kamarasarai Ean Aadharikka Vendum (Why Should Kamaraj Be Supported?)*, (Madurai: Arivukadal publishers, 1960), p.13.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

achievement of Kamaraj was no less than a social transformation.<sup>129</sup>

The increase in percentage of literacy over the Kamaraj decade was, a never before possible, about 85% and the number speaks for itself.

**Table No. 13 - Statistics on Literacy in Tamilnadu (1901-1961)**

<b>Year of Survey</b>	<b>Percentage of Literacy</b>	<b>Percentage Increase</b>
1901	7.0	-
1911	7.5	7.1
1921	9.8	30.6
1931	9.8	0.0
1941	14.4	46.9
1951	17.0	18.1
1961	31.4	84.7

Another table below compiles the total expenditure by Kamaraj Government for education development of the State, every year.<sup>130</sup> Over the decade the expenditure for a year had been tripled for education development.

**Table No. 14 - Details of expenditure for education in Kamaraj decade**

<b>Academic Year</b>	<b>Expenditure for Education in Lakhs</b>
1954-55	921.67
1955-56	1095.85
1956-57	1029.73
1957-58	1118.93
1958-59	1240.52
1959-60	1332.75
1960-61	1553.25
1961-62	1822.55
1962-63	2726.00

<sup>129</sup> Thanthai Periyar 85<sup>th</sup> Piranthanaal Malar, *Op.cit.*, p.1.

<sup>130</sup> G. Balan, Kamarajar Vazhkayum Aatchiyum, *Op.cit.*, p.127

It is worth noting that Rajaji administration in 1953 decided to introduce a new scheme of elementary education, as explained in details in the early part of this chapter, to reduce the number of hours of schooling per day so that each day two shifts could be run in order to cope with the economic situation of the State at the same time to double the number of pupils enrollment every year.

Kamaraj and Rajaji were extremely opposite to each other in making decisions based on their own principles. Rajaji was known for his intellect and was stubborn in implementing what he felt good for the State but Kamaraj's goal was to educate everyone.<sup>131</sup> Kamaraj was against the new education policy proposed by Rajaji Government as he envisaged the policy would potential affect the education development of the State.<sup>132</sup>

Kamaraj Government right from its inception in 1954, besides abolishing the new scheme that had reduced the learning hours in school for elementary students, through innovative measures and people engagement could constantly increase the expenditure every year for producing excellent results in the field of education.

Kamaraj was so determined to spread and penetrate education to all the layers of the society and executed plans to achieve at least an elementary school with one teacher for every village that comprises of a minimum of 350 people. Eventually every village of that population had a school with in decade. He did not stop at the starting of schools and sustaining them with public support but

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<sup>131</sup> Personal Interview with Dr.K.Veeramai, President, Rationalist Organization Dravidar Kazhagam, 12<sup>th</sup> August 2012, at Nagapattinam.

<sup>132</sup> Personal Interview with Mr.Tindivanam.K.Ramamurthy, Ex.M.L.A., 15<sup>th</sup> July 2012, at Chennai.

further deep dived in to the needs of pupils and that led to subsequent mid-day meals and school uniform schemes. When was asked why such a strong efforts put on education development his reply was that education seemed to be the only way out from inequality.<sup>133</sup>

To emphasise the point further, the table below shows the overall growth of educational institutions and the enrollments in the State during Kamaraj decade;<sup>134</sup>

**Table 15 - Growth of Educational Institutions between 1951 and 1963**

<b>Type of Educational Institution / Enrollment</b>	<b>In 1951</b>	<b>In 1963</b>
Elementary Schools	15,800	29,000
Enrollment	1.9 millions	4 millions
Secondary Schools	637	1995
Enrollment	333,000	900,000
Polytechnics	6	24
Arts Colleges	36	60
Engineering Colleges	5	10
Medical Colleges	3	6
Indian Institute of Technology	0	1

Elementary schools and enrollment had been doubles while secondary schools and their enrollment had been tripled. Arts, Engineering and Medical Colleges had been doubled while Polytechnics had been risen to a whopping fourfold increase. In addition, Indian Institute of Technology, a first of its kind higher

<sup>133</sup> Personal Interview with Mr.G.Boovaraghan, Minister for Publicity and Information in Kamaraj's 3<sup>rd</sup> Cabinet, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2012, at Chennai.

<sup>134</sup> *Madras Administration Report*, Part II, (March 1963), TNA, Madras, p.139.

educational institution for South India, in the midst of high profile competition between the Southern States to secure the institution to their respective States, was brought to the Madras State with Central Government's Support.<sup>135</sup>

Kamaraj's philosophy was to ensure education to everyone in the society since he believed that social transformation could either be brought or would flower only upon an educated society. Kamaraj Government's first annual budget in 1954 had allotted a twenty percent of the total expenditure for education and majority of the allocation went to free and compulsory primary schooling.<sup>136</sup>

Upon the understanding that children from poor families were under pressure to make their choice between bread and education, Kamaraj came up with the historically successful mid-day meals scheme that revolutionized the enrollments to primary schools in the State. Indian Administrative Service officers and Indian Police Service officers from suppressed class of the State are not uncommon today is surely not a coincidence.<sup>137</sup>

When Kamaraj was given a golden lemon memento on an occasion at Thirumalapuram on September 3, 1959 by Mr.Sankarapandiyan, as a token of welcome, Kamaraj did not hesitate, to request the district Collector who was present there, to donate the lemon to mid-day meals scheme.<sup>138</sup> Kamaraj made that clear in a speech that his Government's first and foremost task was to

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<sup>135</sup> S. Lalithalakshmi, *Op.cit.*, p.110.

<sup>136</sup> Personal Interview with Mr.Thamizharuvi Manian, Ex.General Secretary of Tamilnadu Congress Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> July 2012, at Tiruvarur.

<sup>137</sup> Personal Interview with Mr.Pazhaniappar Nedumaran, Ex.President of Madurai Congress Committee, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2012, at Vedaranyam

<sup>138</sup> *Viduthalai* (Freedom, Tamil Daily), September 3, 1959, p.4.

develop the educational status of the State and nothing else deserved the priority against this goal. He further went on declared that no economic pressure could ruin the attainment of this goal and he was entirely willing to travel through villages of the State to get alms in order to make it happen.<sup>139</sup>

Kamaraj had realised that the mere increase in number of schools would not produce the best possible outcome and working days for teachers was increased from 180 to 200 days per year. Teachers were taken care by triple benefit scheme, a first of its kind in the nation, and series of pay scale revisions to teachers. 39 Teacher Training Institutes and 2 Physical Education Colleges were established during Kamaraj decade.<sup>140</sup>

There existed a rule in practice that prevented the Tamil language teachers from becoming Headmasters of the schools while the teachers who taught other subjects like Mathematics, Science or History, Kamaraj ditched the rule and made every teacher is equally deserved to become Headmasters. Kamaraj Government's contributions to Tamil language education and development were significant. One the account of making Tamil as official language of the State in 1958, Kamaraj Government formed a committee under chairmanship of Ki. Aa. Pe. Viswanatham to develop Tamil glossary for research, appropriate translations for technical syllables and jargons.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> L. Ramanathan, *Eazhai Sirargalukku Kalvi Kodutha Kamarajar (Kamaraj – The Man Who Educated Poor Children)*, (Chennai: Valliappa Brothers Publishers, 2003), p51

<sup>140</sup> N.V. Kalaimai, *Op.cit.*, pp.332-333.

<sup>141</sup> Personal Interview with Mr.Kumari Ananthan, Ex.President of Tamilnadu Congress Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> March 2012, at Chennai

The Bachelors of Medical students at the end of their convocation in M.B.B.S, after the study of five years, had to practice in Government hospitals for an additional year as a part of the curriculum requirement. However during this one year there was no monetary benefit given to these medical students. When the students brought this to the attention of Kamaraj on 1963, he ordered that the practice doctors to be given a stipend of Rs.105 per year and subsequently this stipend was increased to Rs.200 per annum.<sup>142</sup>

Kamaraj once mentioned that social transformation is possible and only possible with keenness to learn and the children have this keenness in abundance and thus there must be the starting point. He continued further that the thought of transformation might bring the fear of change, especially the ones who are already well-off, but ensured the change he foreseen was a constructive and inclusive one. He had realised the transformation in a democratic society might be slow but believed the benefits are far more valuable by gradually combining the values of existing society to the modern transformed society over time.<sup>143</sup>

Kamaraj felt that the need of the society to transform to thrive and achieve, from the comforts of newly dawned freedom from British, and the fundamental drive, he had decided could only come from education. He added in his speeches that education could be the

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<sup>142</sup> T.S. Mariappan, *Kamarajar Vazhkai Varalaru Sambavangal, (Incidents in the life of Kamaraj)*, (Coimbatore: Vijaya Publications, 2012), pp.74-75.

<sup>143</sup> M. Namachivayam, *Sama Vaazhvu, (Equality in Life)* – Kamaraj Speeches, (Madras: Vaanathi Publishers, 1965), p20.

only asset for the asset-less of the State that could bring other assets and respect eventually.<sup>144</sup>

The State had made an inclusive progress in the field of education and had brought about a silent social revolution. Education and the thought of education was not thrust on people by force but the people were convinced of the fact that the efforts the Government took for educational development were for the benefits of their own future and had begun to clamor for education. People were enabled to realise that, like freedom, education was also a birth right.<sup>145</sup>

Madras State was the leading State among all the States of India at the end of Kamaraj decade in transforming the society through educational developments. The results of educational revolution even had attracted the attention of people of the United States.<sup>146</sup>

Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru stated that the development of India depends on the breakthroughs that must be made in all the fields such as industries, agriculture, etc; however, none of those breakthroughs could be achieved without achieving breakthrough in education. He did not hesitate to declare that Kamaraj Government had become successful in sowing the seeds for that breakthrough and a transformation of the society with engagement and participation from people and thus the change is self-sustained. Nehru even wrote to the rest of the Chief Ministers of the

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<sup>144</sup> Kamaraj Speech at Kumaratchi, South Arcot district, on 27<sup>th</sup> Dec 1961 quoted in *Thesiya Murasu* (Tamil Fortnightly) dated July 1-15<sup>th</sup>, 2009

<sup>145</sup> *Madras Information*, Vol. XIV, No.1, (January 1960), p.33.

<sup>146</sup> John Kenneth Galbraith, United States Ambassador to India, quoted in *Viduthalai*, July 19, 1961, p.1.

States of India to catch up with Madras State and thus the transformation throughout India.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, quoted in *Viduthalai*, April 17, 1959, p.3.