CHAPTER V

KAMARAJ'S MINISTRY - INDUSTRY

Madras State had been primarily agricultural and industrially backward. There were no big industries in the State until the year 1955. Its basic physical resources were weak; it was deficient in key minerals, essential for a rapid economic development on modern lines; there was no coal; metallic minerals were not plentiful; forest resources too were meagre; the available iron was not of high grade. The import of coal and steel from its northern neighbours was not an easy task, as it constituted a heavy strain upon the railway facilities of Madras. With the absence of proper physical environment the industrial sector remained difficult to be exploited fully.

The opposition parties of the State, particularly the D.M.K. was often making accusations that industrially only North India was flourishing and South remained backward. The previous Ministry headed by Rajaji defended its position by stating that industrial development was largely a matter concerning the

2. Ibid, P.14
Central Government and State Government had little or no voice in shaping the policies and "...though it was true that industrial revolution could set up high living standards... but as far as Madras State was concerned there were little opportunities of obtaining a share in the new wealth that was being accumulated by other nations... There was no use comparing our standards with those of progressive nations and levelling a charge of inaction against the present Government."  

It was true that the State was seriously handicapped in natural resources and transport bottleneck was there. There was inadequacy of power also. The demand for power was in fact assuming serious proportions that a number of licensed industries, due to want of power could not make any headway. In spite of such drawbacks there were certain compensatory factors at work. The State had a 'leader position' in the rest of

3. Expansion of Development Activities, (Budget Speech by the Finance Minister), Madras Information, March 1964, P.9

India in the supply of technical and skilled personnel. Secondly its agricultural base was fairly sound, thanks to the effective implementation of the first Five Year Plan. By harnessing all the available water resources for irrigation during the plan period, the State produced enough foodgrains for its population.\(^6\) But at the same time the pressure of population on natural resources posed a serious problem to the State.\(^7\) The capacity of agriculture to provide employment was nearly saturated. The proportion of earners in the rural areas was very low (30% as against 41% in all India) and disguised unemployment was widespread in urban areas. (5% of the population was estimated unemployed compared with 2% in all India)\(^8\) From the point of view of increasing the State’s aggregate output as well as employment opportunities industrial development offered as the best ground.

While attaining self sufficiency in food was

\(^{5}\) Ibid, P.711
\(^{6}\) Ibid, P.11
\(^{7}\) Ibid, P.22
\(^{8}\) Ibid
the aim of the First Five Year Plan, development of industries was assigned a high order of priority, during the Second Five Year Plan in pursuance of the policy of the Avadi Congress of greater stress on heavy industry as a way to socialist economy.\(^9\) Kamaraj in accordance with this Policy launched a programme of industrial development in the State. As a dynamic Chief Minister he endeavoured to bring in industrial expansion in the State by making use, on the one hand of his stable, well organised and clean administration, and on the other hand of the skilled labour that was available in a relatively cheap and abundant manner. The industrial development that was achieved under his leadership was mostly through private sector and Kamaraj made every effort to help and attract the potential industrialists of the State through the Governmental machinery.

Historically speaking the State had already made a head start in the industrialisation process during

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the British period itself. It started with agricultural processing industries like rice mills, oil mills, flour mills and cotton ginning factories and moved into the second phase of industrialisation viz. development of cotton textile industry which was in a highly developed stage. It had built on, a sizable cotton textile industries particularly the spinning mills, thus it had gone through the first two stages of evolutionary industrialisation of the traditional pattern; the spirit of enterprise had already been evoked and it was in the 'take-off' stage which was also the growth phase. It was in this phase that there was stagnation and no maturity. In a situation faced with limitations of essential physical resources and with a large backlog of underemployment and unemployment and with shortage of power and transport bottleneck, it was not an easy task to create an industrial economy that would lead to fuller employment and better living conditions. To make matters worse the State Government had neither the authority nor enough financial resources to mobilise huge capital for industrial

enterprises.\textsuperscript{11} It could not get adequate financial help from the Central financial institutions like Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. Life Insurance Corporation of India and banks. Funds from these institutions were invested mostly in North and generally South and particularly Andhra State was deprived of these chances.\textsuperscript{12}

As a preliminary step in the industrialisation process,\textsuperscript{13} Kararaj's Government had informal consultations with the leading industrialists of the State as to what steps were to be taken for industrialising the State during the Plan period.\textsuperscript{13} It was felt that the State was not lacking in industrialists who could rank with others in all over India in ability, experience and industrial knowledge but their main difficulty was in getting adequate finance. As suggested in this Conference Kararaj's Government constituted two Committees—one for large and medium scale industries and the other for small scale and cottage industries. Both the Committees included

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, P.13
\textsuperscript{12} Director of Industries to the Secretary of Industries, Letter No.2172 (Industries), dated 25.4.50, No.10401/OC.3/50 dt. 20.7.59
\textsuperscript{13} C.O.No.1438, Industries, 21 April, 1955.
the then leading industrialists of the State. The main functions of these Committees were to suggest programmes of industrial development for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan and indicate the suitable location, the required capital available, raw materials and also indicate the nature and the amount of Government's assistance necessary to set up such Industries.

In 1967 Kasaraj constituted a Standing Advisory Committee known as State Industries Development Committee with the Minister of Industries (R.Venkata-Raman) as Chairman and consisting of officials and non-officials. The object of the Committee was to examine the economic resources of the state and to draw up Project Reports for the possible new industries in the state. This Committee set up eight sub-committees each to deal with a group of industries and furnish detailed working and technical know-how, cost of production and all other relevant materials. The eight sub-Committees were for

1) Medium and Small Scale Industries
2) Leather Industry

3) Ceramic and Refractory Industries
4) Electrical Industries
5) Engineering Industry
6) Chemical Industry
7) Forest Industry
8) Agro Industry

The reports submitted by these sub-committees were to be scrutinised and finalised by the Development Committee in consultation with two expert cells in the development wing of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Apart from these steps a broader and comprehensive survey known as Techno Economic Survey was arranged by Government's Ministry in October 1958, with the help of the National Council of Applied Economic Research under the chairmanship of Dr. P.S. Logathan, the then Director General of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi. The aim of the Survey was to assist the development potential of the State in the context of the availability of resources and other related factors and suggest on the basis of these findings appropriate measures in order to speed up industrialisation in the State.16

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According to the findings of the Report, the development pattern in the future had to be dominated only by the growth of industries since agriculture had already well developed and offered very little scope either for increasing productivity or for providing more employment. The Report further stated that the number of large scale industries in the state was relatively small compared to Bombay or West Bengal and that was the reason for the industrial backwardness of the state. Establishment of large scale industries, according to the Report, would serve both as a nucleus for the spreading of improved technology and also help to develop other ancillary units. The Report set forth three major industrial complexes that could be developed in the State. 1) Neyveli Industrial Complex comprising chemical and engineering industry  2) Salem complex centred around iron, steel and aluminium industries. 3) Tuticorin complex based on chemical industries and fisheries.17

16. Ibid, p.56
17. Ibid, p.5
In the absence of adequate natural resources the report suggested that small scale industries based on non-resources could be developed which would increase income and employment directly. As for the small scale industries the report appreciated the present Government's efforts and with the same effort, the report continued small scale industry might grow very fast. It pointed out at the same time that the choice of instruments in this field in the private sector was very wide and the Government could stimulate fuller development by continuing to provide orderly Government and efficient public services, and more directly, could embark upon organized publicity of the advantages the Government could offer to the potential investors in different industries and also create a favourable climate by providing such assistance they needed. The Report also stated as there was close relationship between the increase in power consumption and growth of industries, power situation needed close attention, as existing power production was not commensurate with the future requirements of industries. The Report stressed for the improvement of the transport facilities also because

18. Ibid, p.60
of the necessity to import raw materials like coal, iron and steel to feed the non-resource based industries. It emphasized that such vast development effort, called for planned needs, proper allocation of resources, correct phasing of expenditure and coordination of development in all sectors and so it required careful study of the existing resources and improvement in planned techniques. For all these the Report continued, the State Government must play a dominant role in promoting economic development not merely by extending all facilities to private sector but impose on itself very activities which would strengthen the overhead facilities and provide a base of quick industrial growth. This, Kamraj's Government did provide and under his leadership the State occupied third place in India in the industrial sphere.

The Industrial Policy of Kamraj's Government

Broadly speaking the industrial policy followed by Kamraj's administration was equivalent to the policy laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 30 April, 1956 of the Union Government. In accordance with that Policy the future development of
certain industries was left with the exclusive responsibility of the State. This category comprised arms, ammunition, and other defence industries; atomic energy and atomic energy minerals; mineral oils, iron and steel; coal and lignite; ship building and aircraft; heavy plant and machinery etc. All new units in this category could be set up only by the State.

In certain other industries the state generally could take initiative in establishing new undertakings and private enterprise was allowed to supplement the effort of the State. Aluminium and other non-ferrous metals; ferro alloys, machine tools, fertilisers, chemical pulp, road and sea transport; antibiotics and essential drugs came under this category. The third category included all the residual industries, the future development of which was left to the private sector.

Industries may be broadly classified as heavy industries producing capital goods, small scale industries producing consumer goods generally with the aid of small machinery and power, and village industries producing such goods as are consumable
within the village and not involving the use of any complicated machinery.

**Heavy Industries**

As mentioned before the Techno-Economic Survey had pointed out that the lack of heavy industries was responsible for the industrial backwardness of the State and hence the Government should speed up its growth. On the one hand absence of proper physical resources had been mainly responsible for the situation; on the other hand, the development of heavy industries was regulated by the Government of India with reference to the provisions in the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act 1951, by a system of licensing of Industries. The State's capacity in raising huge capital was very much limited. Unless certain conscious efforts were taken it was not possible on the part of the State Government to do anything effectively.

During the Second Five Year Plan a sizable portion of outlay amounting to about Rs.2000/- crores was proposed in the National Plan for the development of the basic industries like iron and steel and improvement to the transport system.ay, it felt that there was no sufficient portion of the outlay allocated
for South. He felt, just because there was no coal, Madras State could not be kept backward for ever. He wanted that the National Plan should envisage for the industrial development of the South also and for that purpose some special preference should be given here, as the pressure of population per acre of the cultivated land was the greatest in these areas. 21 His Government made representation to Central Government endearing these points. 22 There was already the Lignite Project in the State for which about 50 crores of rupees was earmarked in the Plan. But Kamaraj made emphatically clear that it would not improve the ratio very considerably. Due to his efforts he made the Central Government sanction certain Major Projects for the Madras State during the Plan period, with the result the State came to possess certain heavy industries which helped the State to make considerable progress industrially.

The following were the major industries sponsored by the Central Government during Kamaraj's Chief Ministership.

22. Ibid.
Neyveli Lignite Project:

The most important project was the integrated Lignite project at Neyveli in South 'root district, with an authorised capital of about Rs.36 crores. It envisaged the mining of about 3.5 million tons of lignite per annum. The project consisted of five fold components: 1) Mining Project 2) Thermal Power Plant 3) Fertiliser Plant 4) Briquetting Plant 5) Clay washing plant. About 1.5 million tons of lignite was to be utilised in a thermal power station, to generate thermal power to the extent of 250 M.W. at the first stage, to be stepped up to 400 M.W. About 1 a million tonnes of lignite was to be utilised on the production of urea fertilizer and the remaining quantity was to be briquetted and carbonised to yield about 2.2 lakhs tons of carbonised briquettes for using as domestic and industrial fuel.23

At first the Government of Madras bore the entire responsibility for conducting the investigations.

23. G.O.No.2733, I.L.C.(1957) Department, dt. 22.9.57
on the lignite deposits in the Neyvelli area till the end of 1954. Kamraj's Government felt that as the project involved heavy capital investment and other organisational matters it would be beyond the resources of the State Government. With effect from 1 January, 1955 Government of India took over the administration of the Project and converted it into a company called The Neyvelli Lignite Corporation. The State Government made an agreement with the Central Government that the entire expenditure incurred by the former from 1 April 1952 till 31 December 1954 was to be regarded as a contribution to the capital structure of the project and so an interest of 4½ per annum was to be paid from 1 January 1955 and besides this the net profits of the undertaking was to be divided between the Government of India and Government of Madras in the ratio of 3:1. In order to safeguard its interest the State Government appointed two of its nominees as Directors of the Corporation.24

The first unit of the Neyveli Thermal Power Station was commissioned in August 1962 under the Indo-Soviet Double Credit Agreement. It was to have five generating sets of 50 M.W. in each grid to be fed into the Madras Grid. Thus totally the power generating capacity was 250 M.W. This was to be increased to 400 M.W. during the Third Five Year Plan period. The Neyveli Thermal Power Plant relieved the State quite considerably of its power deficiency.\textsuperscript{23}

The other projects of the Central Government were 1) Integral Coach Factory at Perambur, installed at a cost of Rs.735 crores of rupees producing about 620 coaches per annum; in addition to a furnishing unit at a cost of Rs.360 crores enabling to furnish about 300 coaches per year before the departure from the factory premises.\textsuperscript{24}

2) The Teleprinter Factory, Guindy, Madras, set up with Italian Collaboration, engaged in assembling of teleprinters.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} Budget for 1961-62, Madras Information March 1961, p.78
\textsuperscript{24} Industrial Pattern and Prospects, Madras Information, September 1962, p.10
\textsuperscript{25} G.O.No.244, Public Department, dated 15.2.1961
3. Raw Film Factory at Udy at a cost of Rs.75 crores implemented through the National Industrial Development Corporation (a public limited company of Government of India) in technical collaboration with a reputed French firm to produce Cinema, X-ray and Photographic films.

4. Surgical instruments Factory at Guindy, Madras established with Soviet aid to produce about 2.5 million pieces of surgical instruments.

5. High pressure Boiler Plant at Trichy with machinery imported from Czechoslovakia (State Government gave assistance by making available about 750 acres of patta land and 2400 acres of Porambore lands).

6. Defence Industries at Avadi with substantial assistance by way of land, water, etc., by the State Government.

29. Industrial Development in Madras State, Madras Information, February 1961, P.30
31. Ibid.
32. Big Capital Programmes, Madras Information, April 1963, P.16
Salem Steel Plant:

The establishment of iron and steel plant based on the iron ore of Salem district and Neyvali lignite was seriously engaging the attention of Kamaraj's Government, to be entrusted to the Government of India. The State Government did all the preparatory work so as to facilitate the implementation of the project. A special officer was appointed to attend the various administrative and technical items of work and a special cell was constituted consisting of engineers to assist and advise the officer on technical and other matters. A team of experts from German Democratic Republic inspected and submitted their Report indicating the economic feasibility of the Project. On the basis of these steps the Government of India proceeded to prepare a detailed project report and the preparation of such a report was entrusted to Messrs. Dastur & Co., Calcutta to be submitted to Government of India by the end of the year 1963. Meanwhile Kamaraj left the Ministry and so the Steel Plant could not be established under Kamaraj's regime.

32. Ibid.
Heavy Industries under Private Sector:

In setting up industries Kamaraj followed a pragmatic policy of assisting the private sector by providing necessary impetus, encouragement and assistance, so that the tempo of industrial growth could be accelerated. Lands were made available to them easily either by acquiring suitable private lands or by assigning Government paraembok lands; electric power was supplied at economic rates. Financial assistance by way of long term loans to the existing as well as new industries was provided. Kamaraj's Government made maximum use of the financing agency of the State viz., The Madras Industrial Investment Corporation, a concern established in 1969 as a Joint Stock Company with an authorized capital of Rs.2 crores under the Indian Companies Act.\(^{33}\) (The State Government had subscribed Rs.102 lakhs representing 51% of the authorized share capital loan given by the Corporation ranged between Rs.50 thousand to Rs.25 lakhs and the maximum period of repayment was 20 years).\(^{34}\)

34. The following table would indicate the details of loan given during Kamaraj's period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount (Rs. in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>95.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>30.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>238.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>207.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table continued on next page
In order to enable the investors with limited finance come forward to start off new industries, Kamaraj’s Government supplemented and participated in the share structure.

In all these concerns, the Government had their nominees on the Board of Directors. Under Kamaraj’s administration large scale industries particularly engineering industries (the second largest group of industries both in terms of employment and output) attained considerable growth under private sector. Some important industries that were started under Kamaraj’s Government were, 1) Standard Motors (Vandalar)

34
Contd. of table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount (Rs. in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>135.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>153.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


25. The State Government had shares in the following concerns.

1. Madras Industrial Investment Corporation.
5. Southern Structuralss Limited, Madras.

at first licensed for a capacity of 3000 small cars per annum it increased its out. It to 6000 cars and 1000-1500 one ton trucks per annum; 36 2) Ashok Leyland (Madras) - licensed for the manufacture of 6400 chassis and 1200 heavy duty Titan chassis per annum, started producing about 5400 Comet chassis and 60 heavy duty Titan chassis per annum; 37 T.I.Cycles of India (Ambattur), one of the biggest cycle manufacturing units in the country produced about 3 lakhs of cycles per annum. 38 Other companies such as Simpsons, India Pistons, T.V.S., and Union Company were licensed to manufacture diesel engines, automobile components and accessories.

Industries based on Agricultural raw materials:

Textiles:

There were about 71 textile mills in the State in the year 1961. By the end of 1965, there were about 124 textile mills in the State out of which 109 were purely spinning mills and 25 were composite mills. 39 In January 1965, South India Viscose Limited

38. Ibid.
was licensed and it set up a factory at Sirumugai in Coimbatore district in January 1962 for the manufacture of staple fibre and nylon yarn.40

Sugar:

There were only 3 sugar factories in the State till the year 1963 with a total crushing capacity of 3900 tonnes of cane per day.41 During the Second Five Year Plan 2 factories in the private sector and 3 factories in the Cooperative sector with the governmental assistance were set up with a total crushing capacity of 4500 tonnes of cane per day. By the year 1963 production of sugar in the 5 factories was about 1,97,900 tonnes.42 During the Third Five Year Plan licences were issued to eight more sugar factories.43

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. The sugar factories were:

1. Kathavi Sugars Ltd., Lalgudi, Trichi District.
2. Ayana Sugars, Perumadum, South Aroki District.
7. Kalikavichi Cooperative Sugar Mills, South Aroki District.
8. South India Steel and Sugars Ltd., Mundiapakkam, South Aroki District.
In 1963, licence was granted for setting up a Central 2 million gallon power alcohol plant in Trichy District, Seshasayee Paper and Boards Limited, set up its factory near Koda to produce 20,000 tonnes of paper per annum and 3 more firms were granted licences for setting up paper pulp and straw board factories in the State.

**Linear-based Industries**

There were 4 units manufacturing portland cement in the State one at Madukkarai, Coimbatore district, another at Dalmiapuram in Trichy district, third at Thulukkapatti in Ramanathapuram district and the fourth at Talayuthu in Tirunelveli District. During Second Five Year Plan a new cement factory known as Madras Cements Ltd., in Rajapalayam was started with State Government investing Rs.10 lakhs in the share capital. In the year 1962 licence was granted for setting up a factory at Sankari Burig in Salem District, for setting up a factory at Pamban and another in Kaveri was under the consideration of the State Government.

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44. G.O.No.3450 I.L.C.(1963) Department, dated 13.6.60
The State had the largest deposit of high grade magnesite in India, an important refractory material. Under Kamraj’s period licences were issued to six factories for a total capacity of 125844 tons of refractories. 2 Units were licensed for the manufacture of sanitaryware - one at Ranipet for 1246 tons and another at Cuddalore for 1200 tons of sanitaryware and 1900 tons of glazed wall tiles. Licences were also issued to 2 units for the manufacture of insulators for a total capacity of 3000 tons of H.T. and 1200 tons of L.T. insulators, one to be set up at Sarakuppam Vadalur and the other at Saidapet in Chingleput District.

Thus achievements of Madras State under Kamraj’s leadership in implementing the large scale industrial programme had not been insignificant. Acting as a catalyst, it explored all possibilities in establishing large scale industries either by the Central Government or by the private sector. Effort was also made to avoid regional imbalances in the distribution of industries within the State, though
it was not always possible, due to resource position, availability of raw materials etc. 46

As per the advice of the Techno-Economic Survey, Karanaj's Government took steps to develop Tuticorin into a deep sea harbour under Third Five Year Plan.

46. The following table would show the regional basis disposal of large scale industries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of Industrial undertakings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingleput</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Arcot</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Arcot</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilgiris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanjavur</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichy</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadurai</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramanathapuram</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunelveli</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangamati</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

so as to exploit the marine resources and also build an industrial complement around it. His Government also made representations to the Ministry of Railways to provide for new railway lines for the South so that such a communication would improve and facilitate availability of raw materials in regular way and in time, and also help for marketing purposes.\footnote{Address by Governor (Bishwanath Mahdi - at the Joint Session of Madras Legislature, 19 January 1961, contained in G.O.Ms.364 Public (Election IV) Department St. 25.5.1961.}

**Small Scale Industries**

Since development of small scale industries was also an important sector of economy in meeting the increase in demand for consumer goods, in creating employment opportunities, and rise of income and standard of living - thereby being about a balanced and integrated economy, Kamaraj's Government made a notable progress in this field. While the development of large scale industry was done through either Central Government or Private Sector; it was in the field of small scale industry that the State confined its direct interest. While an amount of Rs.12 lakhs was spent for small scale industry during First Five Year Plan, about Rs.300 lakhs was spent for its promotion during Second Five Year Plan.\footnote{Budget for 1961-62, Madras information, March 1961.} The policy of
Kamaraj's Government was to encourage and promote small industries through private sector rendering all possible kinds of assistance. The types of assistance extended were -- facilities for credit, importing training and technical advice regarding the use of improved tools, machines and new techniques, providing sites and buildings, supply of raw materials, power at concessional rates, facilities for importing or purchasing new machines, providing factory space in order to enable small entrepreneurs to conserve their limited resources for working expenditure, providing servicing facilities in operation, involving the use of expensive machinery and assistance in the marketing of products.

The Techno Economic Survey made a special mention about the achievements of Kamaraj's Government in the field of 'small scale industry and referred that '... it was previously in this field Madras has established an excellent record. Its achievements in establishing and running industrial estates have been highly commended.'

Financial aid was given to small industrialists under the State Aid to Industries Act of 1922. With a view to give aid in a liberal measure, the Act was amended by its Government and the rules were completely revised, superseding the old rules, and henceforward it came to be called as 'Cradas Small Scale and Cottage Industries' Loan and Subsidy Rules, 1966'.

The salient features of the liberalised rules were the amount of loan that could be granted to industrial concern was raised from 60% to 75% of the value of assets offered as security and in the case of cottage industries, loans upto 100% of the total value of the security offered could be granted. It empowered the various offices of the Industries Department to grant loans upto the limit prescribed for each officer. Previously loans were granted upto a maximum of Rs.20,000/- on personal security to private parties and cooperatives. Under the present liberalised rule, loan was granted up to Rs.10,000/- on person and up Rs.50,000/- in the

A sum of Rs.127 lakhs was provided during the Third Five Year Plan to be given as loans under the Act.

**Industrial Estates and Colonies**

Kamaraj's administration followed a policy of establishing a number of industrial estates and Colonies in all parts of the State. The idea was, to establish an industrial estate under Governmental initiative and provide it with all basic requirements of a factory, and then give the factory units within each estate to private industrialists. Thus the basic approach was to get over the initial hurdles through Governmental effort and then to harness private enterprises and private initiative for the common good. This composite policy worked very well as far as

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51. The following table would give particulars of loans granted to industrialists and industrial Cooperatives during Kamaraj's term of office.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of case</th>
<th>Amount disbursed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>11,27,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>3401</td>
<td>24,50,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>4007</td>
<td>24,50,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td>24,50,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Industrial Development in Madras State, 1956-61*

contained in O.C.3525, I.L.C. dt. 15.5.61

The Government initially set up two industrial estates in the year 1958 - one at Guindy, Madras, consisting of 52 factory units, at the cost of Rs.70.03 lakhs and the other at Virudhunagar consisting of 18 units at the cost of Rs.28.40 lakhs. These estates contained, built up factory units with all modern amenities like water, power supply, gas, steam, compressed air, etc. These factory units were rented, at first on subsidized rates so that the industries that would be started might be placed on stable basis. Private industries manufacturing articles such as hand tools, electrical motors, radio components, automobile parts, industrial leather belting and washers, galvanized and die cast parts, switchboards, etc., were housed in these estates. By the year 1961, industrial estates at Guindy had well developed housing about 128 factory units, manufacturing goods to the value of Rs.2 crores per annum. Apart from these estates,

industrial colonies (less in space than the industrial estates) were set up in Madurai, Tirunelveli, Trichy, and Varthandam (Kanyakumari district). 55

As experience during Second Five Year Plan showed that these estates made notable contributions to industrial growth by creating the necessary climate, a provision of Rs.4.08 crores was allotted during the Third Five Year Plan for establishing such estates at Vriddhachalam, Thani, Krishnagiri, Kailpatti, Kumbakonam, Kajapalayam, Dindigul, Nagaparvai, Ambattur, etc. 56 During the year 1963-64, 41 units in the industrial estates were under various stages of construction and construction of 100 additional units was to be taken in 1964-65. 57

Technical Education and Industrial Training:

The implementation of the various Schemes for the development of industries under Second Five Year Plan and subsequently under the Third Five Year Plan,

both in the Public and Private sectors resulted in an increased demand for trained personnel in large numbers in the technical line. In order to meet the growing demand for technical man power, schemes to turn large number of technicians and craftsmen were undertaken by his Government. Though originally a sum of Rs.120.83 lakhs was allotted for technical education during Second Five Year Plan, it was increased to Rs.193.65 lakhs due to opening of a number of Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics.\textsuperscript{58} Two new Engineering Colleges were opened by Government one at Madurai and another at Coimbatore during the plan period. New post-graduate courses like public health engineering, \textsuperscript{59} dam construction, irrigation engineering and hydraulics, structural engineering including concrete technology, mining course, soil mechanics, foundation engineering, internal combustion engineering were started in the Government College of Engineering, Guindy.\textsuperscript{60} Many development

\textsuperscript{58} O.C.No.497, (Education) dt. 22.3.1960.
\textsuperscript{60} Progress of Education in Madras State, Madras Information, March 1968, P.6
Schemes at the cost of Rs.30.51 lakhs were undertaken during Second Five Year Plan period, like provision of additional accommodation by construction of new buildings, installation of modern machinery and equipments, to commensurate with the increase in the admissions and training capacities of the institutions and keeping pace with the modern trends in the field of engineering and technology. During the Third Five Year Plan period an outlay of Rs.9 crores was set aside for Technical Education and establishment of three more Engineering Colleges at the cost of Rs.125 lakhs was envisaged. It was also arranged to start a regional Engineering College at Trichy in the year 1963-64.

A separate Department was created in October 1957 and made in charge of technical education (previously Industrial Department was in charge of it). Before the year 1958, there were three Government Polytechnics at Madras, Madurai and Coimbatore.

and six private polytechnics two at Madurai and one each at Coimbatore, Trichy, Chettinad and Karaikudi. During the Second Five Year Plan period 11 new Polytechnics were set up by Government and the number of Private Polytechnics also increased (with substantial assistance from State Government) to 13, with the result by 1968 there was no district in the State barring the Nilgiris without a polytechnic. During Third Five Year Plan period about 34 Polytechnics at the cost of Rs.220 lakhs was envisaged. Provision of about Rs.12.5 lakhs was made in the budget for 1963-64 for starting two women Polytechnics.

Liking use of the Central Government’s aid of 60% of the total cost, the State set up 4 new Government industrial schools during 1966-67. In order to integrate the craftsmen training to a single pattern, these 4 schools were converted from 1 August, 1967, as Industrial Training Institutes imparting

66. Ibid.
training in artisan course according to the pattern prescribed by Government of India. From 1 August 1967 free workshop, clothing, free medical aid, provision for free hostel accommodation and provision for stipends to one third of the strength of the Institute, at Rs. 25/- per mensa were introduced in all the four Institutes. 68 Schemes were undertaken at a total cost of Rs. 23.49 lakhs during the Second Five Year Plan period relating to the development of these Training Institutes. From the year 1957 evening classes were conducted to industrial workers in the Technical Institutions and within the factory units in order to improve their theoretical knowledge. During the Third Five Year Plan period, more Industrial Training Institutes and Centres were started, with the result by April 1963 there were 28 Training Institutes in the State, (2 more to be started from August 1963), and there was provision to start 3 such Institutes in the Budget for 1963-64. 69

68. Ibid.
Thus within nine years Madras made enormous progress in the Industrial sphere. Since the State lacked adequate physical and financial resources to create big investments, the best possible channel of action was to influence, persuade and encourage private enterprises to come up. This Kamaraj did, with skill, realism and imagination. He also made use of the large corps of craftsmen and technical personnel and further expanded their quality by proper training programmes and made good for the lack of adequate natural resources. Making use of the above assets along with the clean and efficient administration Madras State was able to progress from an agricultural State to an industrially developed State, third in rank, all over India. According to the Techno-Economic Survey conducted in 1966 "... Madras has built up an industrial pattern not only sound, but geared to further intensification." ... in short at the close of Second Five Year Plan, recorded a satisfactory degree of industrial growth despite heavy handicap caused by deficiency in industrial raw materials.\(^7\)


71. Ibid, P.4
CONCLUSION

Kamaraj provided an unprecedented kind of leadership in the post independent era — a leadership drawn from the masses and dedicated to their service. He was a leader of 'simplicity, earnestness, strength and resources'. As a man without the benefit of education or the support of family prestige he had slowly worked his way up the ladder by hard and sincere work and had proved that by sheer common-sense and commitment one could be an efficient administrator and thus become an acclaimed leader.

Starting his political career as an ordinary Congress volunteer even at the age of 17 during the Non-Cooperation Movement days in the year 1920, very soon nationalist activities became the primary concern of this unlettered youth. As attainment of independence for the country was the goal of his party it became his accepted principle also and hence he participated in all the national activities of Congress party in its various phases undertaken.

under the leadership of Gandhi. His own caste men’s hostility to such of his activities and his family members’ attempt to direct his attention from anti-governmental activities, first to business and later to marriage, all proved futile. These activities brought him imprisonment (he had served four terms), but they also provided him ample opportunities to acquire organizing talents which he mastered in due course. His one advantage over the others was that as a bachelor with few domestic entanglements, who could take whatever food that was available and sleep at any odd place, Party activities were his full time work which subsequently resulted in making him a full time politician.

From 1930 onwards, the Provincial Congress Committee became the ground wherein Kamraj could learn his political education with the help of his mentor Satyamurti.2 He became its member for the

2. Kamraj - Satyamurti association had mutual significance. In certain critical moments, Satyamurti had benefited by the counsel of Kamraj. For instance, in 1940, when the Madras Governor offered Satyamurti the Vice-Chancellorship of Madras University, Kamraj advised Satyamurti to reject the offer on the grounds that he might be keeping himself out of the national struggle vis-a-vis anti-war Satyagraha by being in position. Moreover to Kamraj it did not seem fit for Satyamurti to accept the offer as a gift from the British Governor, since the same he could have had it earlier from the Congress of 1937 if only he wanted it. On the part of Kamraj, he owed his first lessons in politics to Satyamurti; in fact Kamraj had admitted that it was Satyamurti who by his eloquence raised patriotic fervour in Kamraj.
first time in 1921 and attained for the first time
an official position in 1930 when Satyanurthi made
him the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Com-
mittee when the former was elected its president.
It was in 1940 he became the head of the Provincial
Congress Organization, (he held this post continuously
for about fourteen years until 1954 except for a
short break in 1952). In the Provincial Congress
Committee in the power struggle that took place between
Satyanurthi and Rajaji, Kamraj acted as the right
hand of Satyanurthi. This process and also probably
his knack of moving with people and winning friends
and his loyalty towards them, won him a sizable
number of loyal followers over whom he had complete
hold. As head of the organization he played a key
role in excluding Rajaji from leadership in Madras
and in that role and also in his controversy with
Gandhiji he proved clearly that he was not that
kind of a man, in spite of his lack of education,
to be pushed around by the Congress High Command.

His political strength increased particularly
after the success of Quit India Movement; Rajaji’s
defection from the Congress, the passing away of
Satyamurti in 1949, Kamraj's own strength as the leader of a group consisting of considerable number of followers— all these aspects enhanced his influence and power and helped him to emerge as the king-maker in the Provincial Congress. The important task that he accomplished before his emergence as the king-maker was the elimination of his formidable political rival, Rajaji, completely from leadership in the Province.

In eliminating Rajaji from the scene Kamraj definitely proved that he was in no way inferior to Rajaji in playing the game of politics. The significant factor, in this accomplishment was that the fall of Rajaji was done without any open or embarrassing confrontation and publicity. It was true that Rajaji himself was to some extent responsible for his own unpopularity among the rank and file of the Congress; but with the kind of influence he commanded with the Congress High Command he could have easily regained his former position; but it was Kamraj who prevented such developments. After successfully overthrowing Rajaji, he moved into the role of a king-maker in which he shone brightly and it became an accepted principle, in the Provincial Congress
Committee that without Kamalraj’s support no one could become the head of the ministry. His influence had gone up to such an extent that when Rajaji was called in 1952 to shoulder the responsibility as Chief Minister of the State, he assumed office only after getting an assurance from Kamalraj that the latter had no objection. On his part Kamalraj accepted Rajaji for the time being in recognition of the fact that only a powerful personality like Rajaji was the right person to manage the situation at that time.

It was in April 1954 that Kamalraj emerged as the Chief Minister of Madras State; though he himself seemed to have preferred influence to power all these years, the circumstances under which Rajaji had to quit and the leadership contest in the Congress legislature party that took place between Kamalraj and C. Subramaniam, Kamalraj emerged as Chief Minister acceptable to the majority of the legislators. As he had no previous experience as administrator there seemed to be doubts in certain quarters both inside the party and outside, whether he would be upto the mark. But he was able to remain the Chief Minister of State for three consecutive terms from 1954 to
1957, from 1957 to 1961, and from 1961-1963 totally for about nine years. He was the first non-English knowing person to head the administration in any part of India. 3

When he was in power, certain advantageous factors were present that helped him in his task of improving the economy of the State which subsequently also helped him to get a good name as an administrator. Though personally as administrator he was responsible for implementing the national plans in time and used the allotted funds fully and usefully in an economic manner, he had the advantage of being in power when those Plans viz. the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans - were undertaken to reconstruct the New India - left in a bad shape by the British under the guidance and monetary aid of Central Government and also under the dynamic leadership of Nehru. (When he assumed office it was the third year of the First Five Year Plan and when he quit office it was the second year of the Third Five Year Plan). 3

S. Subramanian, P.C. - Rashtrapati - Symbol of Indian Democracy, New Delhi, Popular Prakashan, 1966, P.19
The new Industrial Policy Resolution passed in 1956 in acceptance of the principle of socialistic pattern as objective by the Congress Party resulted in the development of public sector - a task undertaken by the Central Government in the expansion of industries all over India, in which the State of Tamil Nadu also got benefitted.

His close association with Nehru and the goodwill of Nehru towards him were aspects that helped Kamaraj to a larger extent in getting concessions from the Central Government. When the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was criticising that only North was flourishing and South was remaining backward, his personal influence with Nehru helped him in getting more concessions for his State from the Central Government.

Kamaraj was fortunate in having an efficient team of ministers (like C.Subramaniam, R.Venkataraman and M.Bhaktavatsalan) in assisting him in the administration of the State.

Keeping these aspects separately it must be stated to his credit that he possessed certain abilities
to administer the state admirably which should not be confused with the formal factors. He had the shrewdness and common sense to understand the problems in the proper perspective. According to his colleagues C. Subramaniam and K. Bhaktavatsalan, who were in his cabinet, he possessed enormous commonsense which helped in solving the problems of the State immediately without delay. According to them, he would ask his secretaries to explain the nature of the problems in Tamil. He was quick in grasping them and then would tell them the solutions without much hesitation and vacillation. 4 Though it was a fact that he had an efficient team to assist him in the administration, he had proved through his sufficiently long tenure of office that he had the capacity to lead and guide such a team (both the civil servants and veteran ministers).

As administrator of the State he tried to get a personal knowledge of the needs and problems of the people of his State through mass contact. He toured Tamilnad extensively acquiring the knowledge of the political terrain which he was later to use as master of Congress Organization. He learned the peculiar needs of each town and village who

4. Interview with C. Subramaniam and K. Bhaktavatsalan
commanded power and influence and the weakness and fallibilities of those leaders. His often
tours all over Tamil Nadu though raised objections
from the opposition that such tours would affect
administrative work, but it enabled him to under-
stand the nature of the problems without recourse
to statistical data through officialdom.

He was not a theoretician inhibited by 'isms'
but a practical man who approached the problem
directly and pragmatically. His conception of
Socialism as he himself had said was '...I have no
dogmatic or theoretical views on Socialism. I
firmly believe that Socialism means advancement of
the status of the poor and what helps the poor or
the broad masses of our country... Life, individual
or national is full of problems. We must try to
solve such problems as they arise in a broad, liberal

6. 'They say that I am not a degree holder; yet I do
not know geography I have never claimed that I have
attended a college. Nor do I claim college geography.
But I also know geography, of course in my own way.
I know almost all the villages and towns of Tamilnadu.
The routes to these villages, intervening rivers,
important lakes how they can be tapped to useful
purpose, the people and their occupation are known
to me in the best way possible. I have also visited
many places in north India. If this knowledge which
I gained through personal experience does not form
part of geography and if map reading and theoretical
knowledge derived from reading geography book alone
is geography then let it not known to me at all'- Kamaraj
and humanistic sense, rather than enforce any pet theory or a preconceived dogma on a particular situation. 7

As an administrator his style of functioning was more informal than formal. He was known for taking on the spot decisions. 8 According to R. Venkataraman 9, Kamaraj never allowed any laws, rules or regulations to stand in the way of doing the right thing. Often time during the course of administration many cases and represented against the tyranny of some executive orders. He was advised by the officialdom that the requirement of rules, laws and regulations had been complied with, and that the consequent situations were either inevitable or irremediable. On those occasions when Kamaraj felt that the grievances were genuine or that the hardships should be remedied, he never hesitated to have the rules changed or the regulations modified in order to see that justice was done. 9

Above all, he was absolutely free from self interest, a fact known to all the Tamil people that gave his enormous moral strength in taking fair and right decisions. According to his colleagues his concern for the poor and downtrodden was genuine. He was always anxious to look to their needs and do something about them.

With these plus points as administrator, what did he achieve and what were his draw backs?

Kadras State under his regime stood in forefront in many spheres. Kadras, always deficit in food, more so after the separation of Andhra, achieved self-sufficiency in food production under his Chief Ministership. By harnessing all the rivers in the State through major and medium irrigation projects and by utilising the irrigation potentials in full, Kasaraj was able to achieve this transformation. The Parambikulam - Aliyar Project was the result of Kasaraj's effort; he succeeded in getting the cooperation of the Kerala Government which was previously not cooperative, to direct the surplus water of their State to the benefit of Kadras State.

10. Interviews with C. Subramaniyan and M. Shaktawatsalam.
As geographically Madras State occupied somewhat a narrower portion of the Indian peninsula it lacked some of the bounties of nature available in the broad expanse of the North. In order to compensate the deficiency in nature, Kamaraj undertook expansion of power in the rural side so that electrically operated pumps etc. could be used for irrigation. Madras State ranked first under his regime in the utilisation of power for irrigation. The systematic exploration of underground water by pump irrigation intensified cultivation and it was one of the main causes of increase in food production in Madras State and enabled it to achieve self sufficiency.

Madras State ranked first in India in rural electrification under Kamaraj’s regime. It ranked third in India in generation and utilisation of power. In the matter of hydro-electric output also, it ranked first in the country. The Periyar Project was the result of Kamaraj’s efforts owing to his successful negotiation with Travancore-Cochin State Government. Periyar water was made use for generation of power to benefit Madras State. (Periyar lake was on Travancore side of the border of Madras).
In the field of education he made it one of his principal tasks as Chief Minister to bring about universal and free schooling in Madras State. As a result of his efforts, about 75% of the children of the State in the age group of 6 and 11 were in school. By the time Kamaraj left, he made school education up to the final year, free for all poor children irrespective of caste or community. By such schemes as Midday Meals, Compulsory Education and increase in the Teacher-Pupil ratio, he was able to raise the admission capacity of the children within the limited financial means. The amount that was allotted to education in the Budget was on the increase each year; it was only Rs.92 million in 1954-55 but was Rs.272 millions in 1962-63. The School Improvement Programme under which people living in a locality had to contribute to the all round improvement of the schools was an innovation of his Government which made Madras State give a lead to other States. His Midday Meals Scheme acted as a good incentive to poor parents, particularly at the rural area, to send their children regularly and ensured both regular attendance and better enrolment.
The pragmatic and realistic policy of Karunanidhi's Government made no small contribution to the industrial development of the State. Though he hailed from the rural side, he believed in modern technology in increasing the production through industries and also in solving unemployment problem. In industrialising the State, he brought to the notice of the Central Government that allotment of industries for the State under the Second Five Year Plan was insufficient and inadequate. It was owing to his efforts, that the State came to have certain major projects of the Central Government like Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Raw Film Factory at Cotty, Surgical instruments factory at Madras, High Pressure Boiler Plant at Tiruchi, Heavy Vehicles unit at Avadi etc. Understanding fully well that the basic physical resources of the State were meagre and also the capital in Madras State was also both poor and shy, he enabled the Madras Industrial Investment Corporation supply the deficiency in a bold and imaginative policy of participating in the share capital of private enterprise. It was this decision which had enabled the State to march forward during the decade of his administration from a primarily
agricultural State to one of highly industrialized State in India. The industrial complex around Madras City (Industrial Estates and Colonies) bore testimony to the dynamic Industrial development that the State made under his leadership.

What were his drawbacks? In the field of Education it was true that by his effective policies he was able to wipe out illiteracy to a larger extent in the State; through technical education, a large number of workers received technical training. But at the same time since there was no proportionate increase in the employment potential, the problem of unemployment remained unsolved. 11 Again inspite of rapid industrialisation, transport facilities and power development remained inadequate to meet the growing demands of the State. 12 (Also Kasaraj did not solve the problem of increase in prices; prices for consumers were rising which Kasaraj could not check. 13

11. Interview with K. Kalvramandaram, Member of Parliament.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
His handling of the Judukulathur riots earned him much criticism from the opposition party members.\textsuperscript{14}

In fact a no confidence motion was moved against his ministry in the Assembly in October 1987. According to the opposition party members he failed to set up a judicial enquiry as demanded by the opposition. It was alleged that there were police excesses which his government at the first instance failed to check and in the second instance failed to bring to light. It was also alleged that his government failed to bring the antagonizing groups viz. Hayavars and Harijans to a compromise without bloodshed. This brought him the criticism that personally he did not like Kathuramalinga Thavar as his rival in his home district viz. Ramanathapuram and so was keen on suppressing him. However one could not blame Ramayaj the way he handled this problem, if one understood the history of Ramanathapuram District, and one might even justify the manner and method by which

\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix II
he handled it. 15

As a politician Komaraj could be considered a partisan. He refrained from naming the State as Tamil Nadu for the reason that he did not want the opposition to gain advantage by conceding to their demand. At the same time as a partisan though he was able to check the rise of Communists but failed to check the rising popularity of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. 16

Again, though he was personally never corrupt, he did not prevent the Congress party to raise funds by conducting exhibitions in which Government money was given for opening their stalls in the

15. "Their curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud tramp of whose powerful hooves and the stirring sound of whose double-headed drum compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly... Though the marevars are usually cultivators they are some of them the most expert cattle-lifters in the Presidency. The Marevars furnish nearly the whole of the village police (Kavilgars, watchmen) robbers and thieves of the Timevelly district. Very often the thief and the watchman are one and the same individual. Still the mareva of today, as a member of a caste which is numerous and influential as a man of superior physique and bold independent spirit, thief and robber, village policeman and detective combined - is an immense power in the land"

--Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume V, Delhi, Census Publications, 1935, p.57

16. Interview with M.Kalayanamurthar.
exhibition and this money went to the party.\textsuperscript{17}

Kamaraj did not have a clear cut policy over the language issue; he failed to influence Nehru over the question of official language as the Chief Minister. \textsuperscript{18} Opposition to the imposition of Hindi had been chronic in Tamil Nadu ever since Rajaji sought to have Hindi taught in schools in the year 1937 itself. When the problem of implementing Hindi as the official language of the country came to the forefront in the year 1963, he himself failed to have clear ideas over this issue at that time and then impress upon the Central Government what kind of policy would be acceptable to the people of Tamilnadu. Perhaps Kamaraj did not want to take

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{18} According to the Constitution of India, the official language of the union shall be Hindi and that English shall fully continue till January 21, 1965; also parliament was permitted to continue English indefinitely thereafter.

In 1963, Parliament made the official Language Act, which said that from January 26, 1965, English may be used for official purposes of the Central Government and the business of Parliament. This provision did not clearly state the position of English clearly to be used as the official language and it was left to remain ambiguous. When replacement of English by Hindi as the Official Language started in the year 1965, January in accordance with the provision of the constitution it resulted in wide spread demonstration in Madras State, by students and later developed into serious rioting in most towns throughout the State, resulting in the killing of about 30 people in police firing and the murder of 4 police men.
sides or wanted to show a neutral course of action and hence did not take any clear cut decision on the issue. This problem was left to remain ambiguous and unsolved. When students' demonstrations exploded all over the State over the question of official language and became one of the factors for the downfall of the Congress Party, it was the old problem which could have been solved by Kararaj but which he failed to do. But as All India Congress President with his guidance, the principle came to be evolved according to which English was to continue to be used in Central administration and all the scheduled languages were to be used as the language of administration and education in the State where it was spoken.

In spite of these omissions he was the acclaimed leader of the Tamil mass. He was not a demagogue who fed his audience with empty but colourful words; but a man of action who knew his business; (In fact he was well known for the economy of his utterances and he hardly participated in Assembly proceedings) in a way his lack of eloquence helped him not to complicate the issues. To him the Congress party was
everything. There was no divergence such as personal interest and party interest. In the modern Indian politicians who change their party affiliation immediately to the side of the winning Party, Kamaraj's party loyalty had many lessons to teach; if they failed to build a mass base like Kamaraj in their own home States but look to the High Command for help this was one of the reasons.

One quality that was most admirable about him was never did he seek power for its own sake. He was never an office hunter. From the time he assumed Chief Ministership until the time he refused the offer of ministership by Drs. Gandhi in the Central cabinet in 1969 he proved that power had no attraction for him. His lack of education did not undermine his capacity. He possessed knowledge of a different type: not based on books, but based on common sense, observation and practical experience; equipped with this knowledge he was able to prove that one could be a successful administrator as long as one's intentions were honest. In this respect he could be considered a model politician, in India.