CONCLUSION

Kamaraj as a person and a personality, in literature, has been studied as a King Maker and a seasoned diplomat\textsuperscript{1} in both regional and national politics or an educational philanthropist\textsuperscript{2} or an uneducated and still efficient and uncorrupted administrator\textsuperscript{3} or a freedom fighter and Gandhian martyr who lived for upholding democracy\textsuperscript{4} or a leader who worked for uplifting poor and suppressed\textsuperscript{5}. However, this study, emphasizing another aspect of Kamaraj’s rule, has argued a subtle but strong envisioned social transformation approach underneath the strategies, plans and random welfare measures of Kamaraj as Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, for all but a decade, from 1954 to 1963.

Having been born in the turn of the Twentieth Century in 1903 in a backward village of Southern State of the British India to uneducated parents, his accomplishments, as we listed some of them as freedom fighter, king maker, seasoned diplomat, educational philanthropist, uncorrupted administrator and an up-lifter of poor, when he passed away at the age of seventy-two, in 1975, were unusual and beyond any reasonable and logical imagination.

\textsuperscript{2} N.D. Sundara Vadivelu, *Kalvi Vallal Kamrasar (Kamaraj - The Educational Philanthropist)*, (Chennai: Emerald Publications, 1982), pp. 34-35.
This researcher was primarily fascinated by the story and eventually, after study through the personal and political life of Kamaraj and analysis of the existing literature, comprehended a subtle, sustainable and systematic long-term social transformation approach of Kamaraj in Tamilnadu State as its Chief Minister from 1954 to 1963.

This study groups the elements and evidences, of Kamaraj rule’s social transformation approach, under four distinct but still mutually interconnected categories, viz.

1. ‘Fail-Safe’ Strategy
2. Fulfillment of Basic Needs
3. ‘For the People and By the People’ Strategy
4. ‘Focus to Present and Forecast to Future’ Strategy

‘Fail-Safe’ Strategy

‘Fail-Safe’ Strategy, a notion of this study employs to bundle the consistent and persistent attempts by Kamaraj on the underlying balance of helping and hindering forces for his leadership, plans, strategies and methods. This category is intentionally discussed first in the order, even before the fulfillment of basic needs, as the study claims an emphasis that Kamaraj has arguably placed on making the progress of the State fail-safe.

Firstly, Kamaraj’s very first selection as Chief Minister upon resignation of Rajaji in 1954 was not unanimous but contested by fellow Congressman C.Subramaniam who secured 41 votes against
Kamaraj, who had gotten 93 votes. It was unusual and unexpected to political observers and even to his own supporters in the Party. Kamaraj’s first Cabinet when it sworn in on April 13, 1954 and had only Seven Ministers, excluding Kamaraj, had included C.Subramaniam. His Cabinet portfolios were the critical ones including Finance, Food, Education, Law and Information and Publicity.

Congress Party in the State had Rajaji and Kamaraj on its upper echelons throughout the history but they took diametrically opposite stand literally in every single issue. Those 41 votes against Kamaraj were probably not against Kamaraj but for Rajaji. But Kamaraj wanted to move forward in utilising the time and energy of the Government in transforming common men’s lives rather than internal Party power plays. Thus the balance he took was to represent the Rajaji’s group in the Cabinet with key portfolios. The move definitely had the danger of earning the disappointment of his supporters in the Party but yet they could convince themselves by the fact that a Cabinet Minister would never overrule the Chief Minister.

Besides, S.S.Ramasamay Padayachi and M.A.Manickavelu Naicker, leaders of Caste Parties, Tamilnad Toilers Party and Commonweel Party, respectively, dissolved their parties into Congress Party and took Cabinet positions in Kamaraj’s First Cabinet. During Rajaji’s leadership as Chief Minister, both the

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7 *Commemoration Issue of New Legislative Assembly Secretariat*, Ministry of Information and Publicity, TNA, Chennai, 2010, p.238
leaders and their Parties were against Congress Party and they could never reach consent to take part in the Government.

Those were novel to Kamaraj’s attempts for amicable relationships within the Party and also external Parties through Cabinet participation. He also endeavored to alleviate the friction that used to exist between the opposition and the ruling parties in any Democracy. C.N. Annadurai, who had founded DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) in 1949 and had gained the major opposition status in the Assembly, by securing 15 Constituencies in 1959 General Assembly Elections and by tripling the share to 50 Constituencies in 1962 Elections, also was an exponent of literatures in both English and Tamil.

Kamaraj utilised Annadurai’s knowledge on education and proficiency in languages by inducting him to, despite differences in political views, the Madras State Education Advisory Committee\(^9\) in 1958 that was formed for reviewing educational development in the State and Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council\(^10\) in 1959 that was constituted for Tamil language development. The participation of DMK in Tamil development aspect was important as one of the DMK’s principles was against the spread of Hindi language in the State and the identity as Tamils was predominant sentiment within the Party.\(^11\)

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The Government of India had started to plan for the future of the nation, after obtaining Republic status in the year 1950, through its Five Year Plans from 1951 by Planning Commission. Kamaraj’s efficiency as Chief Minister in terms of implementation of schemes for education, health, irrigation, industries, transport, communication, etc., had huge dependency on the Five Year Plans as mostly half to two-thirds of the investment for the welfare and infrastructure schemes came from it. For example, the First Five Year Plan’s outlay was slightly over 20 Billion Rupees, of which 12 Billion was the share of Central Government.\textsuperscript{12}

Kamaraj beyond securing the funds for the State also ventured in to influencing the Planning Commission for the accelerated growth of his State. Few examples would illustrate the point. His recommendation to the Planning Commission to include Periyar and Kundah hydro-power projects in the First Five Year Plan itself, which was originally intended for the SFYP,\textsuperscript{13} and subsequent inclusion of Periyar hydro-power project in the First Plan itself.\textsuperscript{14}

When Homi Jehangir Bhabha, father of Indian nuclear programs, was looking for sites to locate a nuclear power project that could produce at least 500,000KW, Kamaraj wrote to him explained that the State needed the nuclear power as much of its hydro potential had already been exploited and the lignite resources were joining the

\textsuperscript{14} A. Gopanna, \textit{Kamaraj Oru Sagaptham (Kamaraj – An Epoch)}, (Chennai: Nava India Publishers, 2003) p.179.
queue\textsuperscript{15}. He got the decision in his favour, with Planning Commission’s consent, to set up the plant in Kalpakkam, near Madras.

Another key strength of Kamaraj for Fail-Safe was to put up right person in the right place. Kamaraj inducted R.Venkataraman, who had previously served as Chairman of United Nations Administrative Tribunal for a long period, in his Second Cabinet in 1957 as Minister for Industry and Labour and kept him through the Third Cabinet also. Venkataraman, was basically a go-getter for the State in terms of securing the needed capital from Planning Commission and also efficient distribution and spending. Eventually the State hailed a first rank in the country for industrial development especially in the medium and small-scale sectors\textsuperscript{16}. He later became the President of India after serving many key positions in the Central Government as Cabinet Minister for Finance, Industry and Defence.

At this juncture, Kamaraj’s Cabinet size that remained the smallest in the country with either seven or eight Ministers excluding him for all his three cabinets could also be attributed as a significant step towards Fail-Safe as the strategy increases the efficiency of Ministers while he can exert maximum control.

At the pinnacle of all these strategies for Fail-Safe, Kamaraj always made sure the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru is impressed by the performance of the State. Nehru even wrote to the


rest of the Chief Ministers of the States of India to catch up with Madras State in Educational Development and thus to translate the transformation throughout India.\footnote{Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, quoted in \textit{Viduthalai}, 17\textsuperscript{th} Apr 1959, p.3.}

When Nehru was disappointed at the Red-Tapism that hurts the industrial development of India, Kamaraj instantly reacted by setting up a State Development Committee that reviewed the approval and progress of the projects in a monthly basis, directly under him.\footnote{P. Venkatesan & N. Sivakumar, “Glimpses of Kamaraj’s Rule”, \textit{Review of Research}, Vol.1, Issue.12, (September 2012), p.2} Besides realizing the Nehru’s dreams for modern India through industrialization, he also helped Nehru by his revolutionary K-Plan (short form for Kamaraj Plan).

The K-Plan, which proposed resignation of Congress Party leaders from their positions as Central Ministers and Chief Ministers of the State to strengthen the Party, which led to volunteer resignation of Kamaraj himself in 1963, helped Nehru in mitigating Morarji Desai and Jegajivan Ram who had sought to project themselves as successors after Nehru. It also enabled Nehru to strike balance between left and right wings of the Cabinet. Desai often used to say, years later, that the plan was not Kamaraj’s it was Nehru’s.\footnote{K.K. Katyal, “Not Kamaraj Plan II”, \textit{The Hindu}, 8\textsuperscript{th} July 2002, http://hindu.com/2002/07/08/stories/2002070804521200.htm}

\textbf{Fulfillment of Basic Needs}

Abraham Maslow’s famous hierarchy of needs through his book entitled ‘Motivation and Personality’ had been published, coincidentally, on the same year Kamaraj took office as Chief Minister of Madras State in 1954. No evidence has been found in the
history of Kamaraj by this researcher on whether Kamaraj had any exposure to the idea and it is fairly conceivable considering the facts of poor rate at which the breakthrough concepts in the field of Psychology travelled from West to East in 1950s and Kamaraj’s limitations on the access to them. However, it is so evident that Kamaraj had realized the hierarchy that the social transformation should flourish from fulfillment of basic needs.

Kamaraj learned when Nehru stated that the development of India depends on the breakthroughs that must be made in all the fields such as industries, irrigation, agriculture, etc. However, none of those breakthroughs could be achieved without achieving breakthrough in education. When he started to implement a vigorous move in the primary education, as a starting point, he noticed that education was a luxury to a lot of poor families in the villages and earning daily bread was a challenge to them. Besides, he also observed that hungry stomach had been hindering the concentration of those students who turned to schools despite their fight for bread that eventually led to poor performance and ended in producing drop-outs.

When Director of Public Instruction, Sundara Vadivelu, showed that the students attendance from Mondays through Fridays were two folds everyday compared to Saturdays since the schools in Saturdays were open only for half-days and thus no mid-day meals were provided for the lunch in Madras municipality schools and Harijan welfare schools, Kamaraj decided to implement the mid-day meals scheme to a degree that no economic pressure could ruin the attainment of this goal even if it translates to travelling through

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20 N.D. Sundara Vadivelu, “Pagal Unavu Thantha Pagalavan” (The Man Behind Mid- day Meals), Thesiya Murasu, Tamil Fortnightly, July 1-15, 2009, p.33
villages of the State to get alms in order to make it happen.\textsuperscript{21} He also had back-up plans to come up with a new tax for executing mid-day meals scheme but successfully managed the mid-day meals scheme for grants in Second Five Year Plan.\textsuperscript{22}

When Kamaraj realized the mid-day meals brought a breakthrough in elementary education in terms of higher enrollment and lower drop-outs, he also spotted no significant impact for the enrollment of girl children. 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 him to come up with a scheme to provide free school uniforms to elementary school children.\textsuperscript{23} By 1960, the education department provided adequate funds to supply free uniforms to all the elementary school children.\textsuperscript{24}

Kamaraj Government provided free hostels for SCs students. 75\% for SCs and STs, 15\% for Backward Classes (BCs) and the remaining 10\% of the seats were allotted for others in the hostels. SCs, STs and BCs were given full fee concession while others had to pay one third of total fees. In 1961, the government removed these fees, but the reservations remained the same and paved way to all the students, despite their caste belonging, to stay closer together without

\textsuperscript{22} N.D. Sundara Vadivelu, \textit{Kalvi Vallal Kamrasar (Kamaraj - The Educational Philanthropist)}, (Chennai: Emerald Publications, 1982), pp. 31-36.
As of 1960, there were 215 free hostels, including both fully owned by the State and Central Government aided, for SCs students from primary schools. 

Probably that covered the classic basic needs of food, clothing and shelter for the primary school students. He went further ahead to complement the basic needs for the students with School Improvement Scheme that was centered at improving the schools as better education centers with provisions and infrastructure. The requirements of the provisions in schools were ascertained by a preliminary and subsequently an exhaustive survey and the requirements were listed out. In the year 1958, 23 conferences had been held to increase public engagement and as a result 2536 institutions were benefitted. 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).

By the mid of twentieth century, electricity could well be considered among one of the basic needs and Kamaraj had the idea vividly. Madras State, with its more than three quarters of population living in the villages exceeded the targets of First Plan, to electrify at least 250 villages every year, by electrifying 1300 villages. In

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25 Viduthalai, May 23, 1961, p.1; 
G.O.No.798, Industries, Labour and Cooperation Department, 1st March 1958 
26 Viduthalai, October 12, 1960, p.1 
27 Legislative Measures and Popular Ministers, Schemes, Projects, Historical Events and Visits From 1921 - 1974, TNA, Madras, 1993, p.182 
29 A. Gopanna, Kamaraj Oru Sagaptham (Kamaraj – An Epoch), (Chennai: Nava India Publishers, 2003), p.182.
Second Plan, the target to electrify villages was set as 1000 villages per annum and Kamaraj administration benchmarked by beating the target with two folds, electrifying 11,000 villages. The State was at least 30% higher than other States at any point in time in any category in number of towns and villages electrified.

The average cost of electrification of a village was only Rs.40,000 as against Rs.80,000 in other States.  This shows that the efficiency of Kamaraj’s Government in terms of utilising the funds, the initiatives taken, corrupt free administration and adequate planning. Rural electrification was the key factor in the socio-economic transformation in the rural areas.

Housing, Health and Hygiene were the other areas of basic needs where his Government had made a significant progress. Those Depressed Class families could not afford to own a house was given free Government lands for house sites. Government also acquired land under Land Acquisition Act to sustain the provision of free lands to Depressed Classes. These were private lands acquired with appropriate compensation.

His administration also tried twin-houses in a block and five-houses in a block, side by side in a row, to save material use and thus expenses for both material and labour. The main savings came from the reduction of number of walls. Apart from cost, these houses saved

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significant time in building them. The cost significantly came down, one twin-house block was Rs.920 and five-house block was Rs.2750. The engineering excellences showed the interest the Government had towards those projects.

Harijans living conditions had been very pathetic in terms of cleanliness and hygiene. For water hygiene, many wells were silted and renewed and new wells were dug. Apart from this, roads, small bridges, bathrooms, toilets and cremation sites were also provided. In the year 1963-64, 4.5lakhs (0.45 million) was spent for providing new wells alone. Small linking roads were also provided for Harijan living areas.

Organized State-wide efforts for the propagation of family planning started in 1956, by when the Government had set up a State Family Planning Board with the minister of health as its Chairman. Established were 1088 Contraceptive Distribution Centers in addition to the 118 Family Planning Clinics and 44 Information Centers. Contraceptives had been stocked in all Government Hospitals and Primary Health Centers and also Maternity and Health Centers for free distribution.

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Children, Madras. Madras State won the national award for best work in the field of family planning for the year 1961.  

‘For the People and By the People’ Strategy  

Though the name of the strategy is a part of the famous United States President Abraham Lincoln’s quotation and is generally used to represent the key features of Democracy, the usage in this thesis to summarize the third element that was underpinned across almost all the welfare initiatives and especially to their astounding success.

Kamaraj was sharp to tap on the Centuries long ‘Annadhanam’ (food to hungry) faith and tradition of India to the favour of his mid-day meals plan. He started the scheme with public contribution and subsequently supported by Central Government and private organizations like CARE, but the public contribution was still pouring in.

Instances of a washerman 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 postman donating a month’s salary each, a poor Harijan donating six coconut seedlings and women donating their jewels 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 the 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 contribution and participation levels were definitely similar to his free uniforms and School Improvement Schemes. 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.⁴⁰

Besides the rest of the positive impacts, one of the latent elements was also the instant feedback as an administrator could receive on the schemes, directly from the Public. If there was no participation, probably that was not the interest of public. As the engagement of Public mounts beyond a critical point for a welfare scheme by the Government, the scheme ceases to be a scheme of Government and starts to become the scheme of People. Once a scheme turns to be virtually a people’s scheme, then it is self-sustained.

Kamaraj as a follower of non-violence and Gandhi believed that in rewards rather than the punishments and the encouragement through rewards was used as an instrument to increase participation and engage people in the areas of reluctance. At least on three notable occasions, the instrument of rewards was attempted with significant success stories.

First one was, rewards in 1956, worth Rs.100 and Rs.50 for eight persons from a district, every year, were announced for those who had contributed excellent service towards removal of

untouchability from the society. Rs.100 rewards for two and Rs.50 rewards for six persons.\textsuperscript{41} Those who open their wells to Harijans, allow Harijans into restaurants and engage in marriage relationship with them were recommended for Rs.100 rewards. Those who contributed in temple entry and other reforms in Harijan living areas were considered for Rs.50 rewards. In that year Rs.6000 was allotted for giving away such rewards.\textsuperscript{42} District Collectors gave the proposals to Harijan Welfare Department director and the director together with the Harijan Welfare minister scrutinized the proposals on their own merit and finalized the awardees.\textsuperscript{43}

Secondly, from 1958 onwards awards of two Gold medals and two Silver medals, in each district of the State, for the top two students from SCs, compared to their fellow SCs students to be fair, were announced, to ensure every year two students get the rewards, for passing out Secondary School Leaving Certificate (S.S.L.C.) examinations. A sum of Rs.3120 was granted in the same year for these rewards.\textsuperscript{44} The purpose, obviously, was to encourage the SCs students in their studies without disadvantaging them by comparing with non-Suppressed Class students.

Thirdly, to encourage the hygiene practices among the Harijan living areas, a reward scheme for the best hygienically maintained Harijan area was introduced. To motivate sustained hygienic conditions in 1961-62, he introduced Rs.300 worth of rewards for the most hygienic Harijan living villages. A thing worthy of a note here is that the rewards were given to villages and not individuals, so that to

\textsuperscript{41} Madras Information, \textit{Ibid}, p.16
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Viduthalai}, November 25, 1956, p.1
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{M.L.A. Debates}, Vol. X, Government of Madras, 27\textsuperscript{th} October 1958, p.24
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{G.O.No.4242, Industries, Labour and Cooperation Department}, 1\textsuperscript{st} April 1958
achieve, the village had to work together to compete with other villages. The rewards were of articles of general use like Radio Sets to the Panchayats.⁴⁵

In a nutshell, he had realized that rural development was impossible without engagement of people within themselves and also with Government and the result were Cooperative Societies and its phenomenal success in the State for liberating hundreds of thousands from poverty.

His administration managed about 84% of the public had been participating in village Cooperative societies. 11,366 villages had Cooperative societies, 332 agriculture Banks, 22 village banks, 102 preliminary mortgage banks, 15 central Cooperative sales and distribution societies, 228 agricultural societies, 1396 milk production societies, 275 house builders societies, 14 Cooperative presses, 7 Hygiene Cooperative stores, 15 Cooperative laundries and 2 Cooperative saloons were created. By 1963, a total of 19,164 Cooperative societies were operating.⁴⁶ These numbers self-explain the level and depth of public engagement.

Under the Village Production Plan, small quantities of primary seeds had to be multiplied in every Panchayat villages in the holdings of selected farmers called ‘GramSahayaks’⁴⁷ Thus other farmers in the respective villages had to cooperate with each other for mutual benefit.

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⁴⁵ Harijan Welfare Activities, Ramanathapuram District, Department of and Publicity, Government of Madras, 1963, p.56.
⁴⁷ Souvenir of the Madras Pavilion, Director of Agriculture Subcommittee Published, Madras, 1962, p.15.
Kamaraj successfully engaged the rich landlords too with the objectives of the Government for bringing up a transformation in the Society. Bhoomidhan scheme under which the landlords volunteered donating lands to the poor with encouragement from the State Government. In 1955, for example, 60 acres of wetland was shared between 60 families in the village Ukkadai, in Thanjavur district under the scheme.\textsuperscript{48}

He engaged the youth in Public and in the Party. G.Bhuvaraghan, who was in Twenty-Nine, probably the youngest Cabinet minister in the country, took charge as Minister for Publicity and information in his Third Cabinet is showed that the Kamaraj’s courage had in the youth and also his interests to represent the youth in the Cabinet.\textsuperscript{49}

‘\textit{Manu Neethi Naal}’ (Grievances Day), a day dedicated to collecting complaints and feedbacks from people) was another such initiative to engage the people at the bottom of the society. The poor people of society did not have any means to get the attention of authorities for their problems due to fear and bureaucracy will suffer forever with their problems. His idea of dedicating a particular day of the month to receive complaints from people of the districts freed the people from hassles of arranging appointments and also fears. The

\textsuperscript{48} Kamaraj’s Speech in \textit{Bhoomidhan Iyakkam Gandhi Kattiya Padhai}, (Bhoomidhan Movement – Way of Gandhi), Tamilnadu Bhoomidhan Committee, Gandhigramam), 1955, p.17

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Fortnightly Confidential Report for the First Half}, 28\textsuperscript{th} March 1962, TNA, Chennai, p.17
idea was welcomed by the masses and worked really well to serve its intended purpose.\textsuperscript{50}

Kamaraj’s success by ‘For the People and By the People’ would be incomplete without his efforts to engage the women into the mainstream. His meticulous approach brought out the root cause of poor clothing for girl children’s poor enrollment in schools, in 1951 the literate women were only 9.5\% and this was raised to 17.3\%, almost by two folds, by 1961.\textsuperscript{51} This thesis condenses now on the other notable occasions where he had put significant efforts to engage women.

Women’s Associations, popularly known as ‘\textit{Madhar Sangam}’ in Tamil, were conducted by Women’s Welfare Organizer. These associations were attached to the regular branches.\textsuperscript{52} The women were given a space for developing their potentials and gradually be economically independent but still interdependent with other women in the locality and indirectly with Government. The State Government considered the starting of the associations in rural areas was an important aspect because the associations had constituted a nucleus of welfare activities relating to women and children.\textsuperscript{53} It was also taken seriously by the State that status of women, both in backward and developed classes, were not developed enough, had to

\textsuperscript{50} Personal Interview with Mr.G.Bhuvaraghan, Minister for Publicity and Information in Kamaraj’s 3rd Cabinet, 15th August 2012, at Chennai


\textsuperscript{52} “Women’s Welfare in the State”, \textit{Madras Information}, Vol. XII, No.5, (May 1958), p.20.

be improved and a separate department was started. Tamilnadu was the first to take such a step among all the States of India.\textsuperscript{54}

For cottage industries development that was generally dedicated to women, a rolling capital of Rs.300 had been sanctioned, to each Assistant Women’s Welfare Officer, for the purchase of raw materials. These women’s cottage industries had wide range including spinning, tailoring, bag making, crochet work, lace making, embroidering, mat weaving, leaf plate making, flower threading, pickle making, etc.\textsuperscript{55} Besides cottage industries, maternity assistance, pre-basic classes and women’s welfare service homes were some of the other initiatives of Kamaraj’s administration for inclusively engaging women in the main stream.

Kamaraj’s Second and Third Cabinets despite their smallest size in the nation compared to other States featured a women minister. In the Second Cabinet was Lourdhammal Simon, a Most Backward Caste, who was in charge of Local Administration and in the Third Cabinet was Jothi Venkatachalam, who was in charge of Public Health.

In fact, the Third Cabinet also had additional features. There were two Harijans and a Muslim in the small Cabinet. Four members of the Cabinet were new and the remaining was from the existed Cabinet. His appointment of B. Parameswaran, a Scheduled Caste, as Cabinet Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments along with transport, Harijan Uplift departments was a breakthrough in the

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Madhar Nalam} (Women’s Welfare), Women’s Welfare Movement Publication, Government of Madras, 1961, p.1

history to engage and empower Harijans.\textsuperscript{56} Another appointment of Maruthiah, a Scheduled Caste Comrade, as Chairman of Madurai Meenakshi Amman Temple trusteeship board was formed and the historically new special privileges he was exposed during Tamil New Year celebrations was also noteworthy.

Last but not least, Kamaraj’s crucial role in making Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Nehru as Prime Minister of India could be well attributed to his interest for bringing up women talent. After the demise of Nehru in 1964\textsuperscript{57} and the next Prime Minister Shastri in 1966,\textsuperscript{58} there were five leaders, Morarji, Nanda, Chawan, Jegajeevan Ram and S.K. Patil, in the Congress Party interested in nominating themselves for the Prime Minister Candidature and each of them believed strongly that they were the best choice. To everybody’s surprise, Kamaraj proposed and eventually succeeded in making Indira Prime Minister who later was known as the strongest Prime Minister India ever had and also the only women to hold the post in Independent India to this day.

‘Focus to Present and Forecast to Future’ Strategy

Fourth and the last of Kamaraj’s well-arranged leg that supported his vision for social transformation, is ‘Focus to Present and Forecast to Future’ Strategy. The strategy, as observed by this research, of Kamaraj was to illuminate each welfare initiative with short and long term measures. This strategy perhaps enabled him not to lose the big picture while cutting the corners. Examples were

\textsuperscript{56} G.O.No 520, Public (Special), 13th April 1954
\textsuperscript{57} The Hindu, May 28, 1964, p.1.
\textsuperscript{58} The Hindu, December 11, 1966, p.1.
abundant through his decade, to illustrate the point and the following passages have few notable of them:

When the literacy of the State was only less than a third of its population and he was making ground breaking efforts to strengthen the primary schools, he also ventured in starting Polytechnics, Engineering Colleges and most notably bringing the Indian Institute of Technology to Madras. He had realized that though the State was depending on agricultural income, the transformation associated with the long term benefits were in industrialization and thus technical education. Point to emphasize here is that the revelation on technical education had come upon him despite the highly regarded Arts and Science Education of those days.

When it was known that one of the four Indian Institute of Technology would be set up in South India, Chief Ministers of Kerala and Karanataka States, Shankarji and Nijalingappa respectively like Kamaraj for Tamilnadu State, attempted so hard to convince Central Government to move the institute to their States. However, Kamaraj was quick enough to understand the potentials the institute had for the State and visited the country’s capital to meet the concerned officials personally. He even promised to 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 favour resulting in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras (IITM).59

Next one is his vision on the dimensions of electrification and the need for electricity. While the State ranked first among the States

59 Personal interview with Thindivanam K.Ramamurthy, Ex. President, Tamilnadu Congress Committee, at Chennai on 15th July 2012
of India in the utilization of power for irrigation, in number of requestors for new connections and in the number of electrical motors connected\textsuperscript{60}, he had also realised the potential of electricity for industrial development. Thus he predicted that the conventional sources of electricity would soon be exploited to the limits and attempted to bring atomic power station to the State and subsequently the attempt turned successful.

It would not be an overstatement to mention that most, if not all, the conventional sourced power projects for power production and significant numbers of industrial estates of the State were established during his decade long rule.

Similarly, while encouraging schemes such as All India Key Village scheme for intensive cattle development covering about 2,000 cows and buffalos of breed-able age, establishing District Livestock Farm at Pudukottai, Sheep Farm for woolly sheep in the Nilgris, 19 urban artificial insemination centers, etc., at present he also initiated the small industries and technical trainings in full swing with Government subsidies for technical trades such as Black Smithy, Carpentry, Fitting, Light Metal, Electrical Wiring, Plumbing, Gas Welding and Other miscellaneous trades for the future.\textsuperscript{61}

Another idea was about the identity of the State strengthened based on Tamil language. Though the State machinery had to run with English for the then present, he also envisaged a situation

\textsuperscript{60} V.P. Appadurai, Chief Engineer for Electricity, \textit{K.Kamaraj 60\textsuperscript{th} Birthday Commomoration Volume}, (Madras: Swatantra Printers, 1962)

\textsuperscript{61} “Harijan Welfare in Madras State”, \textit{Madras Information}, Vol. XIV, No.8, (August 1960), p.34
whereby the State would manage its internal affairs in the local language Tamil.

Under Madras Official Language Act 1956, on December 27, 1956, Tamil was made as official language and the implementation started in phases. 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. Standardization of the keyboard 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.62

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.63

Kamaraj introduced Tamil as medium of instruction for degree courses from the academic year 1960-61 onwards. This was started in the Government Arts College in Coimbatore and in the next three years private colleges began the adoption.64 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

63 Ibid
already been provided with Tamil as medium of instruction by 1963 got their degrees.\textsuperscript{65}

Yet another idea for his vision of future was the triple benefit scheme for teachers and their retirement age revision. Despite the periodic salary revision and other benefits the Government provided for teachers, the State was first in Asia to implement a triple benefit scheme to teachers that included pension, provident fund and insurance schemes from April 1955.\textsuperscript{66} Besides, the scheme also had included free education up to S.S.L.C for children of elementary school teachers.

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 the elementary schools, 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.\textsuperscript{67} 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.

His introduction of Old Age Pension (OAP) scheme was another first in the history of free India. He had the forecast for ageing population and possible changes such as urbanization and thus

\textsuperscript{65} “Tamil as Medium of Instruction”, \textit{Madras Information}, Vol. XIII, No.5, (May 1959), p.22
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid
\textsuperscript{67} “Education of Children in Madras State”, \textit{Madras Information}, Vol. XVII, No.7, (July 1963), p.8
the scheme provided monetary help for the helpless and deserted elderly citizens.\textsuperscript{68}

Kamaraj had realized that the social transformation does not simply happen with infrastructural developments alone such as housing and roads or health and hygiene or replacing agriculture with industrialization for that matter. These were fundamental platforms but not all. People’s attitude towards their multiple roles as a caring family member, a contributing citizen and a creative entity had to be realized by them and he ventured into developing libraries seriously to bring about a change in this area.

Madras was the first amongst the States of India to pass an Act for public libraries, Madras Public Libraries Act in 1948. Though the amendment of the Act came into effect in 1950, before Kamaraj came to power in 1954, there was neither prioritization nor serious attempts to set up the public libraries in the State.\textsuperscript{69}

The Connemara Public Library was recognized 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.\textsuperscript{70} It was observed that the Government went for more than what had been suggested by Libraries Act. Apart


\textsuperscript{69} Viduthalai (Freedom, Tamil Daily), June 4, 1961, p.2

\textsuperscript{70} “Rural and Urban Library Service”, \textit{Madras Information}, Vol. X, No.12, (December 1956), p.14
from Central and Branch libraries based on population, delivery stations were developed to encourage participation and engagement in the society.

In summary and as a concluding remark, the evidences that have been argued under the four different categories in details reasonably supports the notion that the random looking welfare measures of Kamaraj’s rule in Tamilnadu, from 1954 to 1963, were not really random but a well-organised, subtly but strongly connected social transformation approach of Kamaraj.