CHAPTER III
THE CONCEPT OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

Edmund Burke

I. The Concept of Society
The Form of Society

Regarding the origin of civil society with a head endowed with sovereign power to protect the individuals and their property in the society, various theories have been put forward by political exponents since the days of Socrates. Some of them are the Theory of Divine Origin, the theory of Force, the Theory of Social Contract, the patriarchal and matriarchal theories and the Historical or Evolutionary Theory. The political exponents also introduced a concept of Natural Law which forms the basis for all right actions in a Society. "As elaborated by Cicero for the Romans, by the early Fathers for Christians, by Richard Hooker for Anglicans, and by Hugo Grotius for lawyers, this law is believed to be a code implanted by God in the understandings of all right thinking people. In Cicero's words,

'Right reason is indeed a true law which in accordance with nature, applies to all men, and is unchangeable and eternal. By its commands this law summons men to the performance of their duties; by its prohibitions it restrains
them from doing wrong. Its commands and prohibitions always influence good men, but are without effect upon the head. God is the author of this law, its interpreter, and its Sponsor.²

Leading political philosophers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau brought forth the social contract theory for the origin of state (According to political scientists, a society with a sovereign head must be called a state and when there is no such head it must be called a mere society). But Burke did not observe that distinction and he used both "Society" and "State" as synonyms.³

The Whig party in the English parliament, to which Burke belonged, had its political principles based on Locke's philosophy.⁴ Locke said that the State (Society with a sovereign head) had originated from the social contract among the members of the Society and the King who was the head of the society should honour the Natural Law and the individuals in society should enjoy the Natural rights sanctified by the Natural Law. If the king violated the Natural Rights which were based on Natural Law, the people could resist his authority

According to Locke, "the king's title is made good in the consent of the people; rulers are officers exercising a 'Trust, which is put into their hands by their Brethren', a trust originating in a contract, seemingly more national than historical, by which any number of men agree to 'unite' into a community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living
one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a great security against any that are not of it'. These men, who are free, equal and independent in the 'State of Nature' before they make their contract agree to yield some of their independence and to obey elected rulers who will safeguard and regulate the institution of private property by adjudging between conflicting claims. The subjects' contract of obedience does not bind posterity; if a ruler betrays his trust, for instance by the arbitrary seizure of private property, his subjects have the right to resist and even to elect a new ruler.... Resistance is legitimate because the contract does not supersede an antecedent and superior Law of Nature; indeed, the States' Laws are only so far right, as they are founded on the Law of Nature, by which they are to be regulated and interpreted."

But, though Burke belonged to the Whig party he did not believe in the social contract theory of Locke for the origin of Society nor did he believe in Locke's concept of rights for the members of the society. Burke viewed the concepts of Social Contract and the Natural Rights differently. Burke said, "Society is indeed a contract. It is a partnership in all science a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those now living but between those who are living and those who are dead and those who are to be born." Burke's view that the society was a partnership between the past, present and future generations, killed the essential spirit
of social contract as conceived by Locke and presented the idea of society as an Organisation with roots stuck deep into the past. The political community, to Burke, was a biological development. It was more like an organism than an organisation. It was possessed of some kind of life, subject to growth and change. It was because of this view of state that Burke realised that the circumstances constantly changed and as they changed old institutions became obsolete and they needed modification or removal. But Burke wanted that the reforms must be embedded in the past.

Burke repudiated the Lockean conception of Natural Rights as he did the Theory of Social Contract, stating that the theory was abstract. For him abstract rights are nothing; only concrete, personal and human rights are meaningful. Rights are civil and not pre-social. Burke said, "The only rights men can actually enjoy are rights created, recognised and protected by society. Freedom is to be found not in weakening the social bond but in strengthening it; not in setting man against the state, but in reconciling men to the state and working out natural compromises, conferring such liberty as may be consistent with the welfare of Society." To Burke, the full recognition of Natural rights would lead to anarchy. He said, "In denying their false claims of right, I do not mean to injure those which are real.... If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right." The test is always the same, that which is conducive to the welfare of Society is a human right: "Government is a
contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. To provide for human wants effectively, government must bridle human passions, and in this sense the restraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reckoned among their rights.\textsuperscript{12}

Burke believed in Natural Law in which many philosophers including Aristotle believed. To him no civil law could go against the Natural Law which was of divine origin.

Burke accepted the class distinctions namely Monarchy (Royalists), aristocracy, commoners and the working class that existed in the British Society.

**Religion**

Burke felt that the connection between Religion and politics in Society was deep.\textsuperscript{13} His \textit{A Vindication of Natural Society} which was a satire attacking Bolingbroke's religious opinion\textsuperscript{14} reveals the deep religious spirit in which all Burke's political and social speculation are rooted. Bolingbroke a brilliant orator and a renowned writer, belonging to the Tory Party, had indicted revealed religion by pointing to some of the consequences which had flowed from dogmatic creeds. Defending religion through powerful arguments, Burke said:

"Show me an absurdity in religion, and I will undertake to show you an hundred for one in political laws and institutions.... If after all, you should confess all these things, yet plead

\textsuperscript{13} Burke, \textit{A Vindication of Natural Society}, p. 381.
\textsuperscript{14} Burke, \textit{A Vindication of Natural Society}, p. 383.
the necessity of political institutions, weak and wicked as they are, I can argue with equal, perhaps superior force concerning the necessity of artificial religion; and every step you advance in your argument, you add a strength to mine."15 Burke's deep faith in God and religion is evident from his comment, "Civil society rests on spiritual foundations for man is, by his constitution, a religious animal."16

Burke's religious faith makes him give great respect for the Law of Nature which he believed to be of Divine origin. According to him, nothing could happen against the Will of God, i.e. the Law of Nature. He said, "We are all born in subjection, all born equally, high and low, governors and governed, in subjection to one great, immutable, pre-existent law, prior to all our devices, and prior to all our sensations antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the universe out of which we cannot stir.

"This great law does not arise from our conventions or compacts; on the contrary, it gives to our conventions and compacts all the force and sanction they can have; it does not arise from our vain institutions. Every good gift is of God; all power is of God; and He, who has given the power, and from whom alone it originates, will never suffer the exercise of it to be practised upon among less solid foundation than the power itself."17
Burke always stood for tolerance in religion. Though a protestant himself, he championed the causes of the Catholics in England and Ireland who were subjected to cruel treatment. Emphasising the importance of tolerance in religion, Burke said, "Do not promote diversity; when you have it, bear it; have as many sorts of religion as you find in your country: There is a reasonable worship in them all." 18

Moral Values

Burke had a high regard for moral values. H.J.C. Grierson says that Burke was the enemy of the spirit of Macchiavelli and Hobbes, who would exempt politics from the control of morality. He said that Burke was always the great champion of the control of politics, domestic and foreign, by moral considerations. 19 Charles Parkin in his The Moral Basis of Burke's political Thought says, "While Burke's thought is by design a response to immediate contingencies, it is in no sense an uncontrolled or arbitrary response, but always, in his own eyes, under the guidance of moral principles, which... represent themselves unchanging truths of human life and community.... Burke's political thought... always leans towards a still centre of the most general and absolute belief. His ideas carry all the marks and associations of their origin, but they converge on a core of moral certainty freed finally from the relative and the contingent." 20

Burke always considered Justice and Liberty as the
chief elements of moral philosophy. Referring to Burke's regard to these principles Peter Stenlis says, "In every important political problem he ever faced in Irish, American, constitutional, economic, Indian and French Affairs, Burke always meant essentially the same thing, and he applied it as the ultimate test of Justice and Liberty in all human affairs." 21

Cultural Values

Burke had a great regard for custom and tradition. Macpherson points out that Burke showed a great favour to old institutions. 22 In his Reflections on the French Revolution he praised the principle of inheritance which he found embodied in English Charters and legislation from time immemorial. He says,

You will observe, that from Magna Carta to the Declaration of Right, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties, as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves an unity in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an inheritable crown; an inheritable peerage; and an house of commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors.

A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England
well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement... By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of Nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property and our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of providence, are handed down, to us and from us, in the same course and order.  

Burke's bias in favour of old institution was a long standing one. His opposition to any reform of the franchise at home had always been based on it. His great faith in tradition is quite evident when he says, "we owe an implicit reverence to all the institutions of our ancestors and that we should consider such institutions with all that modesty, in which a received opinion should be examined." Burke showed great respect to Monarchy and Aristocracy and accepted all their privileges. He also showed respect to the Church. He believed that in customs and traditions are hidden the wisdom of humanity and the experience of past generations.

Burke had great love for classical and English literature. Even while he was a student of law he was very much attracted towards literature. Referring to it John Morley says, "The vague attractions of literature prevailed over the duty of taking up a serious profession... It was upon literature, the most seductive, the most deceiving, the most dangerous of professions, that Burke threw himself for a livelihood."
But his extraordinary ability as a writer was revealed to the literary world even through his early treatise, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757). Referring to it John Morley says, "It is a piece of hard thinking, and it has the distinction of having interested and stimulated Lessing, the author of Laokoon (1766) by far the most definitely valuable of all the contributions to aesthetic thought in an age which was not poor in them... Its influence on Lessing and on Kant was such as to justify the German historian of the literature of the century in bestowing on it the coveted epithet of 'epoch-making'.

One signal merit remains to the Enquiry. It was a vigorous enlargement of the principle, which Addison had not long before timidly illustrated, that critics of art seek its principles in the wrong place, so long as they limit their search to poems, pictures, engravings, statues, and buildings, instead of first arranging the sentiments and faculties in man to which art makes its appeal. Addison's treatment was slight and merely literary; Burke dealt boldly with his subject on the basis of the most scientific psychology that was then within his reach. To approach it on the psychological side at all, was to make a distinct and remarkable advance in the method of the inquiry which he had taken in hand". In this respect, Burke can be rightly considered as the forerunner of the psychological approach now popular in the critical evaluation of literary works.

Besides these early writings, Burke's love for
literature enabled him to make an invaluable addition to English literature through his speeches and writings in his political career.

II. The Concept of Government

The Form of Government

Burke, in tune with the English tradition accepted the constitutional Monarchy as the head of the British Government. But he did not favour absolute monarchy. He accepted the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister, which was in practice. He insisted that Parliament should be the supreme body in taking final decisions through discussion.

The British parliament has two Houses, namely the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. In the days of Burke the House of Lords which consisted of the members of the aristocracy played a great role in taking decisions and it enjoyed more powers than the House of Commons. Burke justified this system saying that the aristocracy was more fit for that job as they were men of noble birth and they were above petty things. All the 'Peers' (Dukes and Earls belonging to the aristocracy) were members of the House of Lords.

To the House of Commons moneyed people were able to get easily elected, as the voters were only rich property people. Influential people were able to get elected easily through pocket boroughs and Rotten boroughs without facing the difficulty
of contesting in tough election in other constituencies.

Economic Policy

Burke favoured Laissez Faire policy to be followed at home. He said that a competitive, self-regulating market economy was the ideal. It was the most efficient system of production. It was the most equitable system of distribution of the whole product. It was a necessary part of the natural order of the universe. It was even divinely ordained, which set the seal on its being both necessary and equitable.29

Burke said that the desire on the part of the individual to accumulate, was the source of every state's prosperity:

Monied men ought to be allowed to set a value on their money; if they did not, there could be no monied men. Their desires of accumulation is a principle without which the means of their service to the state could not exist.30

Burke took it as self evident that capitalists' income came from the surplus produced by the actual producers and he said that this would be beneficial to the community provided that the surplus was ploughed back into production:

"In every prosperous Community something more is produced than goes to the immediate support of the producer. This surplus forms the income of the landed capitalist. It will be spent by a proprietor who does not labour. But this idleness is itself a spring of labour; this reposes the spur to industry. The only concern of the state is, that the
capital taken in rent from the land, should be returned again to the industry from whence it came..."31

Burke was convinced that the rich lived on the labour of the poor, but held that, for two reasons this was no ground for redistribution of wealth. For one thing, a wholesale, redistribution would give each of the poor an insignificant amount. More important, it would dry up the springs of wealth.32

Burke did not suggest any relief to the labour class. He said that not only must the able bodied poor work, to keep the world going, they must do so, as wage labourers, selling their labour as a commodity for a wage determined by impersonal market forces. That was necessary because that was the source of the profit which was the source of the capital which kept the world going.33

It is clear that Burke favoured capitalism in economy as he favoured traditional English hierarchical society in politics.34

As a strong advocate of economy in state expenditure Burke introduced certain economic reforms as a Paymaster General, which post he held in Lord Rockingham's brief administration in 1782 and again in the Fox-North coalition of 1783.35 Burke found wasteful expenditure in every aspect of administration. Referring to this John Morely says, "The royal household was a gigantic nest of costly jobbery and purposeless profusion. It retained all 'the cumbrous charge of a Gothic
establishment, though all its usage and accommodation had shrunk into the polished littleness of modern elegance'. The outlay was enormous. The expenditure on the court tables only was a thing unfathomable. Waste was the rule in every branch of it. He [Burke] fixed the paymaster's salary at four thousand pounds a year, and was himself the first person who accepted the curtailed income."36

Welfare Measures

The concept of Welfare State is an idea advocated by political thinkers in the twentieth century. Arthur Schlesinger defines the welfare state, as "a system wherein government agrees to under-write certain levels of employment, income, education, medical aid, social security, and housing for all its citizens."37

But during Burke's time the concept of welfare state was not known to the people. However, Burke's words spoken on different occasions reveal his genuine interest in the welfare of the people. While discussing the question of American colonies Burke said to the authorities: "The question is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable but whether it is not your interest to make them happy."38 According to Burke, Government existed to serve the interests of the people to interpret their inarticulate desires as best as might be good for them, to lead the people to material prosperity and eternal happiness.39
I. The Concept of Society

The Form of Society

Anna did not write anything about the origin of Society or Natural Law as they remained the subject of a serious discussion among the political philosophers only till the Nineteenth Century. The established opinion regarding the origin of society was that it came into existence through evolution. Anna found no reason to disagree with it. He also did not discuss Natural Law as the essential features of it were embodied in the fundamental principles of modern Democracy. He believed that the Varnasrama Dharma based on Manu's writings created different castes among Tamils. The ancient Tamils, about whom Tolkienar gives a good account in his Tolkapiyam, were unaware of any caste distinctions. Anna also had faith in the humanism of Thirukkural and other Sangam Literatures which do not talk about caste distinctions. Writing about Anna, Sagar Ahluwalia says, "Annadurai joined the pro-British Justice Party not because he was pro-imperialistic but because he believed in undoing Brahmin Supremacy and caste arrogance...He had a passion for social Justice and campaigned vigorously for social equality and the abolition of caste." 40

As a strong believer in Valluvar's philosophy,
All men that live are one in circumstances of birth; Diversities of work give each his special worth.

Anna advocated that casteism must go.

Religion

As regards religion, Anna accepted truths found in any religion. He said, "The teachings of Mahavir constitute a noble code of conduct. 'Have control over the five senses, Avoid excessive desire of things.' If people had realised the full significance of those teachings, there would have been no wars or conflicts in the world; there would have been no necessity for the United Nations." Speaking about the Sikh religion Anna said, "The Sikh religion does not allow exploitation, nor does it allow any one to live on the profit of the labour of others." Speaking on the occasion of the Buddha's Birth Day Celebrations at Madras on 25.5.1967, he said, "There is nothing greater than love in the world. The Buddha has given his religion of love to the whole world. Therefore, everyone should follow his religion of love and right conduct in life." Anna did not hate any religion as such. In fact he said, "If religion says that man is supreme to all other material things and he is no slave to anyone except God then I am a believer in religion..." What Anna condemned was the exploitation of the innocent and down-trodden by a privileged section, in the name of religion by asking them to believe in rituals and various gods and deities. In 'Thambikku Kadithangal' (Letters to a Younger Brother) published in Dravidanadu, his own weekly, he condemned
cheating people in the name of God. According to Sagar Ahluwalia, "Annadurai made it his life-mission to expose the methods of tyranny and deception by Brahmins in securing their hold in all spheres of Hindu life. He used the word 'Brahminism' to describe the strategy which Brahmins had been using from the early days of the Aryan expansion in India in order to bring the entire religious and social life of Hindu India under their domination. In order to do this he traced back the origin of the Brahmin community to the early days of the stories of the puranas in which the Brahmin mind had cleverly worked out a salacious account of the doings of the gods and goddesses so that they may have popular appeal." 47

Condemning the rituals in the name of God, as foolish acts, Anna wondered that the people who doubted whether the money sent through a post office would reach its destination, believed that the things given in Thivasam, (religious rite) would reach their ancestors who were no more. 48

True to his wisdom and scholarship, he believed in the ancient religious principle, "There is but one God and one creed." 49 This enabled him to treat all religions alike and all sects of people as one.

**Moral Principles**

Anna's pieces of advice which he gave to the people in general and to his party men in particular through his speeches and writings constitute his moral principles. Anna's life-long message was Kadamai, Kanniyam and Kattunādu (meaning
Duty, Integrity and Discipline) which governed his own life, personal and public." Anna strongly advocated the principle, Marappom, Mannipom (Forget and Forgive). Whenever he faced any pungent criticism from his political enemies, he would say 'Ethaiyum Thāngum Ithaiyam Encalukku Undu (meaning we have the heart that will withstand anything).

In his "Thambikku Kadithanaal", Anna always insisted on purity in thought, word and deed. He also insisted on the feeling of fraternity in everyone. His reference to his party as a 'big family' itself indicates how Anna himself practised fraternity. His reference to Poonkunranar's dictum: Yādumūre Yāvarum Kēlir (Every village is my village and everyone is my kin) in Dravidanadu dated 25.11.56 also reveals his deep faith in fraternity.

As one who loved and practised simplicity, Anna used to refer to himself as "Samanian" (an ordinary man). While he spoke in the Rajya Sabha, he referred to himself as the "representative of the man in the street." Anna's great faith in simplicity was quite evident when he said, "I believe that our poverty and simplicity which have retained our purity are enough to bring success to us."

Anna said that the individuals who entered political life should possess democratic spirit, unselfishness, duty-consciousness and give-and-take policy. He always emphasised that one who sacrificed self-interest for the sake of common
interest was a real man.\textsuperscript{58}

Cultural Values

Anna had great regard for the cultural heritage of Tamils. Ancient Tamil customs and traditions which he came to know from his study of Sangam Literature \textit{Tholk\textsuperscript{69}p\textsuperscript{59}iyam, Thirukkural, Ettuthogai, Pathunpattu, Silappathikaram and Manimegalai} were always respected by him.

He regarded the custom of celebrating the Pongal festival as a special feature of Tamil culture. In the last letter written by him in Kanchi dated 12.1.69, hardly a month before his death, Anna praised the Pongal Festival. He said that Pongal is an incomparable Tamil Festival. Of all the festivals he had witnessed in various capitals of foreign countries, nothing was comparable to Pongal for its splendour. 'Work is wealth', 'Work gives higher position', and 'there is no world without Work' are the principles for which Pongal festival stands, Anna said.\textsuperscript{59}

Anna had great regard for the marriage system of the ancient Tamils. They considered marriage 'as a sacred rite of the union of two hearts. Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the ancient Tamil society. The marriages celebrated during the earlier stage of Sangam Age were practically free from Aryan influences.\textsuperscript{60} Writing about the traditional marriage system prevailing among the Tamils P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar writes in his \textit{History of Tamils}: "It will be noticed
ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Aryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive dakshina." 61 The matrimonial union was very natural which was based on mutual understanding, mutual consent, mutual help and mutual love. 62

Appreciating the spirit behind the traditional marriage system of the ancient Tamils in his letter 'Thambikku' (Toayounger brother) entitled "Thirumanam" (Marriage) published in 'Dravidanadu' dated 6.5.56, Anna emphasised that the marriage of two persons who had mutual consent, would always bring happiness to them. Following the above custom and tradition of marriages of the ancient Tamils, Anna himself conducted innumerable marriages to young men and women in Tamilnadu.

Anna had extraordinary interest in Fine Arts. He appreciated visual arts, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting. He was himself a good painter. Anna had a good knowledge of music. He liked drama and the cinema. He himself acted in several dramas written by him to project his political principles. He also wrote scripts to films with this object in view.

Speaking during the prize distribution function of Music and Drama Society at Rajaji Hall, Madras on 23.4.67, Anna praised the role of artists who unmindful of their poverty worked in their respective fields with devotion. He said, "Our artists have not only been rendering yeoman service
in their respective fields of activity but also they have been functioning in such a manner as to win the appreciation of foreigners. But most of the musicians, dancers and other artists have spent the greater part of their lives in poverty."^{63}

Anna had immeasurable love for the Tamil language and its literature. The antiquity of Tamil language and the valuable thoughts that Tamil literature has made available to humanity, made Anna feel proud about them. He stood firm in safeguarding Tamil language and literature at any cost. Only on this count he had to oppose Hindi imposition which he feared would undermine the importance of Tamil and its literature in its own land, if left unchecked. It was during his period of Chief Ministership that the Second World Tamil Conference was held with pomp and glory in Madras. The statues of great poets and scholars were erected on the Marina Beach at Madras.

Anna, besides loving and enjoying Tamil literature, made valuable contributions to it. His literary works include short stories, plays and essays, besides his political speeches and writings which are pieces of literature.

II. The Concept of Government

The Form of Government

Anna insisted on a Federal structure with the minimum necessary powers for the Central Government and more autonomy for the states.
Originally Anna felt that the Government of India had centralised all powers in its hands and the states had consequently no power left to bring economic development on their own by utilising the natural resources available in the states and so favoured a separate Independent sovereign Federation of Southern states. After the Chinese aggression he gave up the demand for a separate Dravidanadu in the interest of the security of the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

So, finally Anna favoured a Federal set up for the central government. In his own words, "The D.M.K. in Madras has projected the image of a future Federal set-up wherein the Central Government will be in charge of defending our country and maintaining our security and our integrity and nothing more. 64 He also wanted the formation of a Federation of southern States (Which form a separate unit, geographically) within India, with more powers for states and he got the constitution of the D.M.K. party amended embodying this view. The amendment says [The party should] "strive for the formation of a closer Dravida Union of the four linguistic states of Tamilnadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala, with as large powers as possible within the framework of the sovereignty and integrity of India and of
Economic Policy

In the economic field Anna advocated socialistic principles. He advocated an accelerated system of taxation so that the accumulation of wealth in individual hands could be prevented. He also insisted on state-ownership and control of key industries and effective control over both production and distribution.

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha in April 1962 on the motion of thanks to the President's Address to the session of Parliament in 1962 Anna pointed out the defects in the Government's economic policy. He pointed out that the committees which had gone into the question of the Government's achievements in economic field had only said "powerful industrial empires have been built up, monopolies have grown". Continuing his speech Anna Said, "Why drag in the name of socialism and give your own interpretation to socialism? Socialism is not mere welfare, because Socialism is something other than guaranteeing welfare. It works to create inequality. I am aware, according to Laski, that equality is not identity of treatment, but affording equal opportunities for all. But in this country of ours, can we say that equal opportunities have been
given, or are being given to all? What about the scheduled castes, what about the backward classes?"68

Commenting on Socialism, Anna says "Public enterprises should be run to maximise revenues that is to say, profits, in a developing country like India. The idea is that the profits made should in turn be ploughed back into the unit, should be reinvested, and should be used for the good of the people. Just now we have been hearing the observations of the Honourable Member Sri. T.T. Krishnamachari. He was stating that in the public projects or power projects or industrial projects the returns are not up to the mark. I would say that much money has been sunk in the public sector but neither have the targets been reached nor are the returns commensurate with the efforts taken or the sonnets sung about Sindri or Bhakra or other projects."69

Continuing his speech Anna said, "Sir, I would hasten to state that I must not be misconstrued to mean that I am against planning or against the public sector. I am all for planning and all for the public sector, but if in the public sector the return is so meagre; if in the implementation of the public sector there is so much of wastage, we have to examine it carefully. There are rumours about corruption. I am not in a position to present
facts and figures, but the rumour is widespread that there is corruption and maladministration and other evils connected with the public sector. Therefore, I feel that the President should have stated in his address, that in spite of having the vision of socialism, we are not moving towards that socialism."\(^70\)

Referring to the system of distribution prevailing in the country Anna said, "only in economics books does production come in the first, and distribution in the second chapter. But in actual practice, while you produce you distribute.... If the goods had been properly distributed if there had been proper distribution of wealth, there would not have been so much poverty in this country of ours."\(^71\)

Referring to the blackmarket Anna said, "When a private concern gets profit in the open it can bring it out and reinvest it in business. But when they get black money which is not being accounted for, they cannot bring it out, or put it into the industry. Therefore it goes into ostentatious living."\(^72\)

Referring to the food problem Anna said, "One aspect of the food problem is increase in production. Another aspect of the food problem is the distribution of what is produced. And the third aspect is how best to hold the price line."\(^73\)
As Chief Minister, Anna did what was possible within the powers of the state government in the economic field. He introduced the scheme of supplying rice at a rupee-a-measure in the rationed areas of Madras and Coimbatore and later in the fair price shops throughout the state. This helped the economically backward people very much. Consequent on this action, the price of rice in the open market also fell. 

In the field of industry and labour, his government's best policy was "not to emphasise further big investments but to fight recession, that is getting the maximum return from the existing investment and ensuring industrial peace and high production." He also undertook to enlarge private investment in new industries in the public sector.

His advice to the paddy procurement officials "Tap the rich and pat the poor producer", was expressive of the socialistic spirit in him.

Welfare Measures

Anna believed that the modern concept of welfare state expected any government to take welfare measures particularly relating to education, health and other social aspects. So when he felt that the government of India did not do much in this direction, Anna made a reference to
this in his speech in the Rajya Sabha: "The amount of taxation that has been raised is so colossal and the return to the people by way of social services, health, education etc., is so meagre that I want to find out where all this money goes."77

Anna as Chief Minister introduced certain welfare measures within the short duration of his Chief Ministership. He introduced free education upto P.U.C. for those whose parents' income did not exceed Rs.1500/- per annum.78

A plan to reclaim and develop the Kuum River which was a source of pollution was drafted by the previous government but it was shelved. Anna took it up and allotted some amount and also inaugurated the first stage of Kuum improvement scheme in 1967.79

Conclusion

Burke believed that society is an organisation which came into existence through evolution and he also advocated Natural Law which he considered to be of Divine origin. He believed in class distinction. Anna as one belonging to the twentieth century, did not find any necessity to talk about the origin of society or the Natural Law theory, the essence of which is embodied in the fundamental principles of Democracy. To him the class distinction based on caste is only an artificial creation
unknown to the Tamils of the Sangam and the pre-Sangam periods. Both Burke and Anna believed in one God and advocated religious tolerance. Anna opposed supersticious beliefs in the name of religion, but Burke found no occasion to talk about it. Burke had great faith in moral principles namely justice and liberty, which he wanted in all activities of the society or state. Anna's proverbial statements stand as evidences for his high regard for moral values which he wanted in all activities of society and state. Both Burke and Anna had great regard for cultural values. Burke showed respect for old institutions like Monarchy, Aristocracy and Church and Anna liked the old marriage system of the Tamils, in which mutual love was respected and marriages were conducted without priestly interference. Anna liked the time-honoured Harvest festival of Tamils, which assumed the name of Pongal later. Both Burke and Anna loved literature very much. Burke greatly valued classical and English literatures while Anna loved the Sangam literature of the ancient Tamils and master-pieces of English literature.

Burke accepted Constitutional Monarchy but opposed absolute monarchy. Anna wanted a Federal structure for Indian Republic with the Central Government having only the minimum necessary powers to deal with affairs of Defence
and communication and the states having autonomy. Though Burke believed in Leisseez-faire policy and Anna in Socialism both kept people's benefit as their main concern in their economic policy. The concept of a Welfare state was not known to Burke. But Anna as a man belonging to the twentieth century advocated it, insisting on the States' special care in the field of education, health and social security.
NOTES


5. James Sambrook, p. 70.


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D.R. Bhandari, p. 354.

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26 R.P. Sharma, p. 72.

27 Morley, p. 9.

28 Morley, pp. 18-19.

29 C.B. Macpherson, Burke, p. 53.

30 Ibid., p. 54.

31 Ibid., p. 54.

32 Ibid., pp. 54-55.

33 Ibid., p. 55.

34 Ibid., p. 63.


36 John Morley, pp. 91-94.

37 R.P. Sharma, p. 315.

38 Ibid., p. 67.

39 Ibid., p. 69.


43 Anna "The Laudable Sikh Religion" Ibid., p.95.


45 A.K.Moorthy and G.Sankaran, Trans. and eds. Occasional Speeches of Anna, p.XXV.


47 Sagar Ahluwalia, p.16.

48 K.Vivekanandan, p.213.

49 Ibid., p.217.

50 Sagar Ahluwalia, p.126.


53 K. Vivekanandan, p.234.

54 Ibid., p.236.

55 Ibid., p.237.

56 Ibid., p.237.

57 Ibid., p.239.

58 Ibid., p.240.

59 Ibid., pp.242-243.

60 V. Perumal, pp.15-16.

61 Quoted in V. Perumal, p.16.

62 V. Perumal, p.16.


64 Sagar Ahluwalia, p.86.
65 Ibid., p.48.
66 Ibid., p.23.
68 Ibid., pp.6-7.
69 Ibid., p.7.
70 Ibid., p.8.
71 Ibid., p.105.
72 Ibid., p.105.
73 Ibid., p.124.
74 Ibid., p.111.
76 Ibid., p.249.
77 Sagar Ahluwalia, p.5.
78 L. Thiagarajan, p.260.
79 Ibid., p.253.