CHAPTER - VI
SOCIAL POLICY AND JUSTICE - 1969-76
Tamil Nadu has been from time immemorial inhabited by a race of people speaking the Tamil language and belonging to the Dravidian family. The original name for the Dravidian race is believed to be Tamilian. According to the historians the earliest civilised people of the country were Dravidians. "The Dravidian race is the most primitive of the Indian people and occupies the oldest geological formation in India."¹ Tamil Nadu in the ancient times is supposed to have been a part of a submerged continent of 'Lemuria' which is claimed to be the very cradle of the human race. There is positive archaeological evidence which reveals the continuity of civilised life in Tamil Nadu eversince the Palaeolithic period and it has a "hoary antiquity of about 300,000 years."² The discoveries of Robert Bruce Foote, the Father of India's pre-history and his colleague William Kind, have shown ... that the Palaeolithic Man had been around Madras. In Tirunelveli districts, microlithic tools have been
discovered and they show that the successor of Palaeolithic Man, viz., the Mesolithic Man lived in that area. There are also traces in different parts of Tamil Nadu of the Neolithic Man. There are also evidences relating to the other stages in the evolutionary history of Man. They all show that the antiquity of human life in Tamil Nadu definitely goes back to about 300,000 years, if not more."

The culture and civilisation of the early Dravidians have been held to be very ancient and advanced. The "city civilisation of the Sind and the Punjab and other parts of India appears to be Dravidian." The Dravidians of Tamil Nadu mixed a great deal with the Indo-Aryans from North India and gradually their cultures fused together in a fine blending. The South-Eastern part of Indian peninsula is the land of Tamils which, in the days gone by, was ruled by three Royal houses - the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandayas.

Thus, the D.M.K. partymen and Tamils of to-day are the proud descendants of an ancient people who
possessed a considerably rich culture and a highly advanced stage of civilisation. The credit of propa-gating the ancient glory of Tamil culture, civilisation, trade and Commerce, and literature doubtless goes to the D.M.K. leaders who all claimed to be the heirs of ancient Tamils.

After the land-slide victory of the D.M.K. in the 1967 elections, Chief Minister Anna and his colleague Karunanidhi, then Minister for Public Works, applied themselves to the task of working out a series of Socio-Economic measures for the people. But the burden of implementing these ambitious Socio-Economic schemes fell on Karunanidhi, due to Annadorai's death.

His spell of Office, has brought to light some of his qualities as a brilliant administrator. When the deplorable condition of the old Elphinstone Bridge was brought to his notice, as Minister for Public Works, he was quick in his action and consulted the engineers concerned and ordered its repair and beautification forthwith. Later it was named as Thiru V.Kalyananandaramia’s bridge. On another
occasion, he declared May 1st a Government holiday, in the immediate presence of the employees as he considered that May Day is the festival day for all workers. After a few years it was also declared as a State holiday with full pay. And on yet another occasion, in regard to the Memorandum given by the Tiruchi' Bus Employees Association consisting of 22 demands, he issued an on-the-spot order, which also dealt with the victimised workers suspended in previous strikes, of whom 52 were reinstated immediately.

These instances speak volumes for his grasp and perception of the issues as they cropped up every day, and on which he took on-the-spot decisions. On-the-spot decision became his style of functioning. The age-old red-tape was eliminated for the first time in the country. This brought him praise from all over the country. Karunanidhi used to say that 'D.M.K. party was the true communist party of Tamil Nadu for workers and agriculturists.' He also elaborated this point on several occasions.

On the soil of Tamil Nadu, he wanted to make a
beginning in the path towards communism and socialism. He had a love for Communism and Stalin since the beginning of his public life. He had named his son 'Stalin', three decades ago, because of which the boy could not get admission to a Christian Catholic institution.

The Cooum Improvement Project:

The river Cooum, taking its birth from the sea, was like a black cobra running through the heart of the metropolitan city. Cooum was undoubtedly a source of contagious diseases and an eye sore. Its foul and pungent smell created unhygienic and unhealthy atmosphere not only for the city dwellers, but for every visitor. In early 1937, the then Congress (Rajaji) Government endeavoured to initiate the Cooum Improvement Project, but it was dropped for want of funds.

As Public Works Minister, Karunanidhi had mapped out his official plan to change this cesspool of filth
into a beautified river, by regulating the force of sea-water by erecting a dam. The need for the project was presented in precise terms by Karunanidhi who obtained the funds for the first stage of work in the first D.M.K. Budget itself. While inaugurating the first stage of the Cooum Improvement Project in September 1967, Anna said.... "I could not refrain myself from mentioning Karunanidhi's impatience to get the Cooum scheme through. My younger brother has been pestering me for a financial provision, when our first budget was under preparation, for the Cooum scheme. He would not rest assured by my statement till he himself saw the financial allocation. On completion of the scheme, the Cooum will be a place of pride in Madras City, like the Thames in London." The responsibility of sanctioning and implementing the remaining stages of the scheme fell on Karunanidhi himself, as Anna did not live long enough to see it through. The Government spent nearly Rs.3.5 Crores on the whole project and a Boat club with a pleasure boat service was introduced. Thus a dark blot on Madras landscape was removed in 1974.
Veeranam Project:

The Veeranam Project is a major scheme aimed at augmenting the city water supply by 40 MGD. It was one of the important schemes which gave complete satisfaction to Karunanidhi during his tenure as Minister for Public Works. Veeranam lake, a branch from Cauvery, is more or less, in its structure, like a vessel from which it is very convenient to take water easily. The first phase of the scheme would augment the city water supply scheme by about 40 MGD per day. On the basis of the projected population of 26 lakhs by 1981, the water requirement of the city is estimated at 175 MGD, with per capita domestic consumption as 40 gallons a day. Even after the completion of the first phase of the Veeranam Project, the expected daily supply will be of the order of 100 MGD per day only. Hence, there is a gap of 15 MGD to be bridged. It is therefore, proposed to take up the second phase of Veeranam project, which will augment the city water supply to an extent of additional 30 MGD. Karunanidhi had given strict instructions to the Ministry for Public Works and to the Planners that
this scheme should be carefully handled in such a way that no part of the irrigated area suffered under any circumstances. The first phase of the Veeranam Project was inaugurated by Anna on October 30, 1967. He said "The beautiful Cauvery goes wherever she wants. That is her nature. Tamil literature had given more importance to Cauvery than the Kanarese, even though Karnataka is her birth-place. She is the Cradle of Dravidian Civilisation. It is well known to all of you how Karunanidhi will approach to solve this major work."?

Karunanidhi was keen on the policy of nationalisation. He was endeavouring to mobilise a substantial strength in the House to nationalise a few bus routes. Some critics from the Treasury benches said that Karunanidhi had a wrong policy against the bus owners. They were like honey-cages, and hence he must change his policy. He replied "I know the art of taking out honey. I will go to the web with all cautious protection. I will take out only honey but I do not squeeze the bees. The bus owners would not be troubled."8
Averting Calamity:

The Official Languages (Amendment) Bill 1967, along with the resolution on language policy passed by the Parliament sought to hasten the imposition of Hindi on the non-Hindi people. The students of Madras city revolted against the Bill and decided to set fire to the Central Station and to the Railway Carriages. On hearing this unpalatable news, he rushed to the Central Station in spite of several warnings that his life would be in danger. His object was to prevent the students from damaging the national property. At the Central Station, he met the students and addressed them: "Your emotional agitations are pure and just. It should be respected. Your clarion voice is echoing the cry of entire Tamil Nadu. At this juncture the D.M.K. government is not a Congress government to welcome Hindi. Therefore, this government, definitely will take action at the administrative level on democratic principles. If not, in the name of students some thugs will let loose violence, thereby the Centre may dislodge this government by charging against it internal disturbances." He appealed in a touching
Students calmly dispensed from the Central Railway station. On 25-12-1967, the Mail wrote prominently, "Karunanidhi had taken initiative to safeguard the national property by appealing to students. It shows his courageous and timely action." On 24-12-1967, the Statesman commented: "Karunanidhi impressed on the students that Railway does not belong to Delhi-wallas but to the entire country. He set a first-class example by his courageous action in meeting students at the agitating spot."

Karunanidhi with the help of Anna persuaded the Madras Legislative Assembly to decide to scrap teaching of Hindi in its schools and served a notice on the Centre that it would never accept Hindi as the country's sole official language. The storm-signal had been hoisted in Madras and there was total breakdown in communication on the language issue between the Centre and one of the more important Indian States. Thus the Hindi Zealots faced their moment of truth on January 25, 1968.
The **Kalaimamani Chain** was awarded to Karunanidhi by the Drama and Music Society of South India for his best work as a play-wright on 22-4-1967 at Rajaji Hall and the function was presided over by Anna. Karunanidhi is a distinguished poet also. On April 14, 1969, the World Poet's Association, U.S.A, sent a message paying glowing tribute to him for his super-poetic language as follows: "An invincible contemporary; Leader of Tamil culture; Poetic Magic breathing Tamil; Linguistic splendour and (￣ー￣)glory."\(^{12}\)

The P.W.D. Minister, Karunanidhi, was invited by Mr.M.S.Gopal, the Director of Tiruchi Station of AIR, to preside over a poetic play on 5-8-1967 and it was broadcast on 13-8-1967. The title was 'Emancipators of Tamil Nadu', consisting of a list of five great freedom fighters; Kattabomman, Maruthai Pandiyar, Bharathiyar, VVS.Iyyer and V.O.Cidambaranar, and after this function, Karunanidhi was asked to preside over a number of such poetic plays whenever they were staged.
Second World Tamil Conference:

The D.M.K. Government convened a World Tamil Conference in Madras. The D.M.K. Government was pledged to restore Tamil Nadu and Tamil to their ancient glory. Karunanidhi's contribution to the Second World Tamil Conference was among the best amongst his contemporaries. About 670 Tamil Scholars from several countries participated and presented research papers on various aspects of this ancient language. The statues of the great Tamil scholars were unveiled on the Marina Beach Road, and the Statue of Anna was unveiled on Mount Road by Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar on January 1, 1968. It was a spectacular occasion when thousands of people attended the conference.

*The Silappathikaram* (The story of anklets), is an immortal classic written by prince-poet Illango in 2nd Century. The story had been staged as a play several times all over Tamil Nadu and screened twice because of its dramatic value, but it did not have a dramatic form. Karunanidhi's most valuable contribution to Tamil literature has been to produce a
dramatic version of *Silappathigaram*. This was translated into English by Prof. D.G. Narayanaswamy and circulated to the scholars who attended the Second World Tamil Conference. According to Karunanidhi as long as *Silappathigaram* remains, the fame of Poompuhar (the ancient name of Kaveripoopathinam, meaning the city of flowers), the greatness of Madurai, the valour of Vanchi and in short, the whole glory of Tamilians shall ever remain undimmed. It also makes references to the kingdom of Tamils who exercised great and extensive cultural domination in the past, even to the extent of appointing Greeks and Romans as their palace guards. After Chief Minister Anna’s death in February 1969 (due to cancer), Karunanidhi succeeded in the terrible power struggle to emerge as Chief Minister. The man who hailed from an ordinary middle class family of Thiruvarur, without a formal academic education, rose to the highest position by his hard, sincere and loyal work for his party and the Tamils. His heart and mind was first wedded to his partymen, the downtrodden, the backward and the orphans in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu aptly accorded him the exalted position in recognition of his sacrifices, and
achievements, which are in no way inferior to those of any national leader in India.

KARUNANIDHI AS A CHIEF MINISTER

Karunanidhi, a forceful man of iron will and great self-respect, has undoubtedly broken the strongholds of orthodoxy, zamindary and governing classes, and bestowed his attention on the poor peasants, labourers, scheduled castes and backward classes.

He belongs to a political creed that looks not to the West or East but only to his mentor Periyar for inspiration but with the help of Anna's unique training.

His spirited nature disregarded all consequences in the cause of Tamils and Tamil Nadu, and he sacrificed a considerable part of his life, even deserting his family on several occasions at critical situations. He was one of the indomitable fighters
against Hindi, and a pioneer in the concept of complete State Autonomy. "Political analysts have often observed that irrespective of which political party remains in power in Tamil Nadu Karunanidhi should always be the professional Chief Minister of the State." This is neither flattery nor illusion but a sincere tribute to his diligence, perseverance and administrative ability, due to which the State prospered under his stewardship. Hundreds of welfare projects of Socio-Economic progress mapped out by the D.M.K. in election manifestos were launched because of the effort of Karunanidhi.

His pre-eminent political position and power gave him the opportunity to put into execution some of his principal Socio-Economic projects for the weakest and the unrecognised sections.

Various doubts were expressed not only by the public but by some of his own party men when he was elected as Chief Minister, because the University scholar Nedunchizian was closer to Anna than Karunanidhi, and was supposed to succeed Anna. But the inner
democracy of the party thought that Karunanidhi was its best choice. The leading members of the D.M.K. party approached Rajaji for his opinion in the selection of Chief Minister. Rajaji said, "The Tamils and Tamil Nadu would be safer in the hands of Karunanidhi. The Government and party would be strong and stable." In the inner party power struggle Karunanidhi won and emerged as the Chief Minister, while the disgruntled Nedunchezian was given the Education portfolio.

The chain of events belied the partymen's fears about his Chief Ministership, and they felt that Karunanidhi was a better choice than other leaders with high university qualifications. Not only Tamil Nadu but the whole of India was soon to find "an innate common sense and alacrity of mind combined with charity and shrewdness, a passion for justice and moderation, to distinguish their leader as an astute administrator and a brilliant statesman." 

In power for an unbroken period of nine years, he attempted to build a strong, democratic, secular and
socialistic Tamil Nadu within the federal structure of the Union of India. The fruit and the benefit of his struggle for more powers from the Centre were to be equally distributed among other sister States. In the other States also, Chief Ministers began unfurling National flag on national occasions.

When his partymen and admirers had planned to celebrate his forthcoming birthday in a fitting manner, he had politely expressed his unwillingness to be the object of unnecessary pomp, show and eulogy, but asked them to spend the amount instead for the needy sections of the society. At his instance, the amount at their disposal was spent in helping orphanages, the physically disabled and handicapped. It became the practice on his birthdays to launch, some welfare scheme or the other for the helpless and the hopeless men in Tamil Nadu.

If judged from his record of achievements so far, he will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the most dynamic personalities in Indian state politics, possessing a rare combination of the capacity for
thinking and for action. He is exceptionally intelligent, intellectually curious with a keen, logical mind, and a gift for organising and channelising the will for change.

Social Justice:

Karunanidhi, as a young lad sat at Periyar's feet and imbibed his philosophy against religion and superstitions and became a full-fledged rationalist and social reformer. Anna's D.M.K. party had served the people only as a social organisation from 1949 to 1957. The D.M.K. and Karunanidhi were not much interested in electoral politics. His passion was to fight for the rights of the Dravidian Tamil culture as against Aryan-Northern culture, and spread the gospel of rationalism. He participated in almost all agitations launched by Periyar's Self-Respect Movement for social change which became the nucleus and forerunner of the D.M.K. party.

He felt that social emancipation should precede
political freedom as suggested by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. At first he emphasised on Social Marriages as suggested by Periyar.

Social Marriages; Inter-Caste and Widow Re-marriages.

Endogamy is a rigid rule of Hinduism. Endogamy prevents one group fusing into another. It is not only closed to other groups but even among itself. It perpetuates the caste system for every. Marriages automatically become commercialised. In the selfish demands for dowry, real love has no place.

Social marriages are of two kinds. The first is the one where the contracting parties to the marriage belong to the same caste; and the other is an inter-caste union where no purohit will perform marriage rites; mantras in Sanskrit have no place and no 'Homas' (fire) to witness the marriage. The groom and the bride exchange garlands. Karunanidhi's marriage was also a social-cum-self-respect marriage of the said type.
The self-respect marriage was not valid according to law in Tamil Nadu and the people who contracted marriages in this style were forced to face difficulty in the transaction for the transfer of property. Before 1967, under Congress regime a Bill proposed by the D.M.K. to overcome it was rejected in the legislature and only lip sympathy was given to secular and social reform.

When the D.M.K. came to power, not only it gave legal validity to the Self-Respect marriages that are to take place in future but also to the thousands of marriages that had already taken place since 1925. The Central Government at first was hesitant to accord acceptance to this Bill. Atlast it gave its approval.

Karunanidhi got celebrated thousands of such social marriages by himself presiding over the marriage functions in Tamil Nadu. Particularly on his 51st birth day, 51 such marriages were celebrated and the Tamil Nadu government bore the marriage expenses of all the 51 marriages. He himself gifted
each couple with brass and copper vessels, sarees, dhothis, fruits and coconuts." The poor slum dwellers embraced the opportunity given by their Chief Minister and thus averted borrowing heavy money on higher interest by pledging their small possessions to the heartless money-lenders. Social marriages were simple, secular and economically celebrated without the paraphernalia of elaborate rituals, pomp and show. Hundreds of marriages in this style were conducted by Karunanidhi in his residence itself. It should be remembered that no couple, who contracted in social marriages did object or raised adverse comments.

Unity of Word and Deed:

Of all the States in India, Tamil Nadu is the most caste-ridden, with many contradictions. There are several top leaders even in the D.M.K. and D.K. who preached voluminously of Inter-caste marriages as a means of eliminating caste. But they practised personally only endogamous marriages at home, not only for their own children and relatives but also for
their adopted children. But Karunanidhi preached Inter-caste marriages, as well as practiced it. He had his son married to a Scheduled Caste girl. He said... "to banish the caste system and establish a society based on equality mere speeches will not be enough. Our deeds are more important. You may be curious to ask what I have done in this direction. What my father failed to do, as a father I have done. I got my son married to a girl belonging to the depressed class. That way I am related to the people belonging to the depressed classes." He defined Inter-caste marriages as; "Inter-caste marriages do not mean a marriage between a girl belonging to a Sharmas family and a boy belonging to Shastri's family or a Yadava boy and a Jat girl. One of the conditions is that either the bridegroom or the bride must belong to the depressed class. Such a marriage only will be considered as an inter-caste marriage. Only then will be the gold medal be awarded." Under this inter-caste marriage programme, Karunanidhi government awarded gold medals to those who entered into such marriages.
Bharathiyar (Subramaniyam), a Brahmin national poet, was the first to pave the way for inter-caste marriage prior to the self-respect movement by "marrying his sister-in-law to a depressed class man, Kanagalingam." Secondly, Rajaji had married his daughter to Devadoss Gandhi (son of Mahatma Gandhi). Subramanya Bharathiyar's task in getting his sister-in-law married to a Scheduled Caste man was not an easy one. The so-called rationalists and atheists preached only from platforms but they did not practise it in their own life like Bharathiyar and Karunanidhi.

Widow re-marriage and divorce were a taboo amongst Hindus except among certain lower castes which permitted it. Karunanidhi evinced a keen interest in widow re-marriage. He vehemently criticised female slavery, and the use of two different standards for men and women. He called it as unsocial and undemocratic. He also cited that widows in the puranas had remarried and the practice of widow remarriage in ancient days was not a taboo.

Widow remarriage was validated earlier under the
Hindu Widow Marriage Act, 1956. But it had a limited application. In spite of the provisions for remarriage in the Hindu marriage Act of 1955, very few were coming forward to marry widows. Cases of childless young widows or divorces ready for marriage are in plenty, but they are left to suffer for want of men with radical views. "The only remedy for this is to pass a law. Without compulsion, which would however be no compulsion to marry, the provision for remarriage of widows and divorcees will remain a dead letter in the Statute book."{21

In order to remove compulsory widowhood, Karunanidhi encouraged widow remarriage scheme and awarded Rs.8,500 to each couple as an incentive. The orphaned and helpless widows were given sewing machines to earn their daily bread.

Archakas (Priests) Legislation:

The political strides of Karunanidhi were impressive and colourful, but on the Socio-religious side
his path was more difficult. As a social reformer, he worked for reconstructing society on a rational and egalitarian basis. He also declared that there should be absolutely no interference with the customs, traditions and religious practices of temples and religious institutions. At the same time he warned the Officers of the Religious Endowment Board to be vigilant towards the "bandicoots" fattening on public funds.

Karunanidhi directed the Hindu Religious Endowment Board to issue a memorandum that "Archanae (Pujas) in the temples be conducted in Tamil with the desire for propagating Tamil culture in sanctum sanctorums. Meanwhile, archanae in Sanskrit would also continue to be in vogue." The sanatanists (traditionalists) challenged the introduction of Tamil by the government in Madras High Court on the ground that it interfered with the purity of worship, which was the age-old custom and tradition of Hindu temples.

On behalf of the petitioners, it was argued that the mode of worship and the matters relating to worship
in Hindu temples are operated by *agamas* and *sastras* which are recognised as the authorities regarding practices governing temples. The government has no power to change the *Archanas* which had been always in Sanskrit. It was contended that the order of the government was a violation of the guarantees provided under Article 26 of the Indian Constitution. "The Division Bench of the High Court rejected the arguments advanced on behalf of the petitioners and said that their contention appears to be a result a confusion of ideas. No where had it been laid down that language was part of religious practice that an archana should be conducted only in a particular language. The circular had no where stated that archanas should not continue to be performed in Sanskrit language and that was not a part of religion."  

Karunanidhi moved another Resolution in the Assembly requesting the Centre to amend the Constitution "to enable the State Legislature to enact a law for the purpose of appointing archakas and pujaris in the Hindu religious institutions from among qualified persons professing Hindu religion, irrespective of
caste, creed or race of such persons.” In 1972, this Bill was debated and passed in the legislature. Accordingly Brahmins as well as other communities including scheduled castes are entitled to become archakas. Karunanidhi followed it up with the intention to eradicate all caste distinctions in the appointment of priests performing the pujas in the temples. The legislation for this was enacted as a step towards social reform on the recommendation of the Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Caste. The Committee stated "In the year 1969, the Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes has suggested in its report that the hereditary priest-hood in the Hindu society should be abolished that the system can be replaced by an ecclesiastical organisation of man possessing the requisite educational qualifications who may be trained in recognised institutions in priesthood and that the field should be open to all candidates irrespective of caste, creed or race." 

Enraged at this law enacted by the Karunanidhi
government, some of the so-called Brahmin-sanatanists went even to the Supreme Court and the piece of legislation affording equal rights to all persons irrespective of caste distinctions was crippled by the Judgement of the Supreme Court that "Tamil Nadu government's Amendment Act would lead to interference with the religious freedom guaranteed under Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution."26

The judgement of the Supreme Court in the present case, clearly pronounced that non-Brahmin priests were not entitled to enter the sanetum sanctorum, which act would be ultra-vires of the Hindu Shastras. This is because of the age-old customary law reserving the priest-craft only to Brahmins, denying it to all other communities.

Karunanidhi government on its part appealed to the then Indira government at the Centre many a time to amend the Constitution so as to incorporate and protect the law safeguarding basic human rights. "I and my colleagues in the D.M.K. Ministry met Jagajivan Ram and other Central Ministers and stressed the need
to amend the Constitution so as to give effect to the "Archakas law". But Mrs. Gandhi who had chosen to amend the Constitution many times; did not come forward to amend the Constitution even once for this purpose."27 He also said "Greatly annoyed and angered with such a state of affairs, Periyar planned to stage an agitation to attract the attention of Central government to stress the point that necessary amendments should be made to the Constitution to give effect to this "Archakas Act". He did not live long to carry the crusade forward."28

Slum Clearance - A Crusade:

Slums exist even in rich countries like America. These slums are created by the poor people who, dazzled by the affluence of cities, rush to seek employment somehow and somewhere in the urban area. The city of Madras is an old sea-fort. The harbour has been catering to the needs of many unemployed persons. Similarly the rickshaw pullers finding it difficult to secure accommodation for themselves, were forced
to erect their own sheds on platforms and footpaths to become pavement dwellers. With the passage of years, the number of slums and slum-dwellers has increased considerably and it is estimated that lakhs of people were living in slums in Madras city with a total population of 25 lakhs as per 1971 Census."

The slums in Madras present a most unhygienic, ugly and nauseating scene with gutters gushing around, swarms of mosquitoes invading the site, herds of pigs roaming about, heaps of filth and garbage scattered all around.

Contageous diseases like Cholera and Small-pox are frequent guests here. The huts in the slums are damaged, being prone to fire during summer, or floods in rainy season make the pathways swampy." Within the size of land meant for one person, nine persons 'live' here.30 Slums have been the bed-rock of the urban riots of the past and the present. How to redeem these poverty-striken people who were born to live but live only to suffer was the problem which Karunanidhi government was concerned with. It took
a big step in providing residence for the homeless, getting slum cleared within 7 years and creating 'the Slum Clearance Board', the first ever in India.

The Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1971 was enacted to give necessary powers to the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board in their task of clearing the slums and for the prevention of the growth of new slums. In the mofussil areas the Slum Clearance Board was being attended to by the units of Tamil Nadu Housing Board. As per a statistical survey, "1,202 slums were found to exist in the city out of which Socio-economic survey had been completed in respect of 1,052 slums upto August 1972."\(^\text{32}\)

Before the formation of the Slum Clearance Board, 1,820 fire-proof sheds had been constructed under the Master Plan of Karunanidhi in various places around Madras, and "630 temporary sheds were also constructed at a cost of Rs.50 Lakhs."\(^\text{32}\)

The Slum Clearance Board as far as feasible aimed at providing tenements in the same locality, as the
'slum-minded' dislike the idea of being uprooted from their old moorings. An ex-gratia payment of Rs.50 per family was given to enable them to move into these camps.

The slum-dwellers in the area were shifted to temporary transit camps, before the construction of multistoreyed buildings was taken-up. A certain percentage of the tenements was also earmarked for allotment to the low-paid government and quasi-government employees who happened to be slum dwellers and to the slum dwellers who could afford to go on a hire-purchase basis. "Under this scheme, an initial payment of Rs.500/- was collected and the occupant had to pay a monthly instalment of Rs.30/- for a period of 25 years" to get the tenement for himself. Land for constructing the tenements had been made over to the Board by the Government, or purchased by it or received as gift from benevolent owners.

In implementing such humanitarian scheme as of clearing the slums and giving the slum-dwellers a new
life in hygienic surroundings, the Board was not guided by the economics of the project.

The rent at which tenements were let out was only a nominal Rs.15/- per month, whereas the economic rent should be around Rs.45/-.

One important factor that weighed with the Board in fixing the nominal rent was the very low income of the slum dwellers. They were mostly engaged in odd jobs involving heavy manual labour or petty occupations. In nearly 75% of the households there was only one earning member.

A study had clearly shown that more than 80% of the slum dwellers had income ranging from Rs.30/- to Rs.100/- only. and the per capita, a small fraction of the minimum required for subsistence. To collect economic rent from these people would perhaps, Karunamidhi thought, defeat the very purpose of the programme. At the same time, he realised, the Board certainly could not shoulder this heavy subsidy especially when it had still to go a long way in tackling the Herculean task and there was shortage of funds. He made the Board to come to grips with
reality and think in terms of running some industry for
the slum-dwellers in order to make up the loss.

The floor area of each tenement ranges from 191
to 215 Sq. feet with a living-cum-bedroom, kitchen and
an unenclosed verandah, and with modern amenities like
water tap, electric lights and good sewage.

Karunanidhi said "Much more could however be
achieved if the Central government comes forward to aid
this pioneering socialist endeavour. The Centre must
adopt a clear National Policy on Slum Clearance in
metropolitan cities and towns." The scheme was
implemented in 84 townships and 451 villages, and the
total expenditure was to the tune of Rs. 17 Crores.
About 6,000 built houses, each costing about Rs. 4,000/-
were freely given to the backwards and the scheduled
castes." The total number of persons who obtained
sites was "1,10,000 of whom scheduled castes were
1,02,404, Backward Classes, 40,550 and other classes
32,123."
Karunanidhi had been pleading for an annual central assistance to the tune of Rs.10 crores for the duration of the project. He said "the problem should be viewed as a social responsibility to a class of people indispensable for society's upkeep and not purely whether it was a remunerative investment to house slum dwellers", and he further added "the Union Government had made no separate allocation for clearance of slums. But only a small sum for environmental improvement in slum areas. Even this scheme was withdrawn in 1974.\(^{39}\)

He was conscious of the fact that the rehabilitation of slum-dwellers in modern apartment alone might not improve their lot unless the economic condition of the erstwhile slum-dwellers was improved and proper education on environmental sanitation was imparted. He also stressed that greater attention must be paid to social service with the co-operation of voluntary organisations.

Great leaders like Jaya Prakash Narayan, V.V. Girri, Bhola Paswan Sastry, Mirza Liquat Ali, Nigel Harries and a host of others paid glowing tributes to the achievements of Karunanidhi in respect of his Slum-Clearance Scheme.
Some socialistic thinkers expressed their fear that Karunanidhi's plan for a separate colony for Scheduled Castes will perpetuate their depressed social condition forever. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten, that the huge number of sub-human dwellers of infamous slums represented hunger, famine, epidemics, emasculation, and death by starvation. The number of such hope had multiplied even after 30 years of independence. At least it must be appreciated that Karunanidhi had taken up this gigantic work of slum-clearance (converting a rat hole life into a habitable place by now standard) in a spirit of social service and devoted to the task of uplifting the poor people on a motto of one house for every family. "True to his motto, Karunanidhi strove to see god in the smile of the poor." 40

Housing and Slum Clearance:

The salient and sacred duty of a democratic government is to provide subsistence (food, clothing and housing) to every citizen for his well-being, and
such problems exist in all under-developed countries. Having solved innumerable problems through socialistic measures, Karunanidhi hurried with equal urgency to provide shelter to the slum dwellers, the bane of urbanisation. He said "socialism should start with housing of the poor and real socialism can be achieved only by raising the poor and the down-trodden to a state of well-being. This is not a slogan but a programme of action." The acuteness of housing shortage in Tamil Nadu requires no emphasis. There was need for attending seriously to Rural Housing Programme, wherein the gap between the requirements and availability is too wide. The shortage of houses was felt more acutely in the urban areas, where due to the present trend of industrial growth, people from countryside migrate to towns in large numbers.

The Karunanidhi government, wedded to the socio-economic concepts of a welfare state and a stable democracy, thought of housing the masses, mostly the slum dwellers, industrial workers and persons in the low income group in decent environments and made earnest and concerted efforts. The City Improvement
Trust for Madras city was established in 1945 and this organisation was able to meet the demand for housing to a considerable extent, with the financial assistance of government. As it was considered that the development of housing progress should not be confined to the city alone but extended to the districts also, the Tamil Nadu Housing Board was established in April 1961, with three mofussil units at Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Coimbatore. The Board being a statutory body with members from various departments, was able to plan and co-ordinate the housing activities in the state and ensure expeditious and efficient implementation of the housing programme. The Co-operative Housing Wing during the Congress regime was under the control of the Registrar of Co-operative societies but (in D.M.K. regime) been attached to the Tamil Nadu Housing Board.

Karunanidhi had taken enormous interest and intensified the programmes. He wanted that this should be a far-reaching housing operation, covering an extensive area in all parts of the state. He mapped out various schemes and was personally seized of the implementation problems. The schemes were:
a. Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme.
b. Low Income Group Housing Scheme.
c. Middle Income Group Housing Scheme.
d. Land Acquisition and Development Scheme.
e. Tamil Nadu Government Servants Rental Housing Scheme.
f. Village Housing Project Scheme.
g. Tamil Nadu Subsidised Housing Scheme for Plantation Workers.
h. Plan achievement under subsidised Housing Scheme for Plantation Workers.
i. Urban Housing Scheme.
j. Mini Cottages in Hill Areas.
k. Residence-Cum-Clinics for Doctors.
l. Houses for Persons retiring from Government Services.
m. Houses for non-gazetted Government Servants.
n. Houses for Burma Repatriates.
o. Save a rupee a Day Programme.
p. Provision of House sites to Landless Rural Workers.
q. Cellular Concrete Plant.
r. Brick Plant.
The main bottle-neck in carrying out the ambitious programme under the various housing schemes was inadequate financial aid. The funds for the schemes are too low compared to actual requirements. With a view to increase the housing activities, the Tamil Nadu Housing Board had been striving to obtain loan from other sources and had succeeded in getting its schemes sanctioned by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation. Tamil Nadu Housing Board had obtained a loan of Rs.100 Lakhs from the Syndicate Bank during 1971-72 repayable in 3 years. The LIC had given in February 1973 a package of loan of Rs.1 Crore for financing many of the Housing schemes intended for lower income and low income group persons. It was also proposed to approach nationalised banks for loan assistance to Tamil Nadu Housing Board for construction of houses with government guarantee.
Fourth Plan Outlay for Housing and Amount Provided

In Budget Estimate

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<th>Plan Budget Outlay for 1973-74 (Rupees in Lakhs)</th>
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<td>I) State Plan Scheme:</td>
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<td>a) Government Project</td>
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<td>c) Private Industrial Project</td>
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<td>2. Low-income Group Housing Scheme -</td>
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<td>4. Land Acquisition and Development Scheme</td>
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<td>5. Tamil Nadu Government Servants Rental House</td>
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Source: Ibid.
Beggar Rehabilitation Scheme:

The courageous and unique struggle of Karunanidhi for social justice resulted in another reform leading to the elimination of subhuman status of thousands of beggars. This was result of Karunanidhi's interest in freedom and human justice.

In June 1971, on the eve of Karunanidhi's birthday, Care Homes for beggars where they could be accommodated and rehabilitated were established, with the objective of converting beggars into useful citizens.

The impact of the Begging Leper's Rehabilitation Homes, Karunanidhi started was to release forces of social progress everywhere in India towards democracy and economic well-being.

Karunanidhi's was always moved ever since his boyhood by the begging lepers who wandered not only from street to street but also filled temples, mosques and churches. He said "beggers must first of all be
rehabilitated in the public esteem and earn and receive the respect to which as human beings, they are entitled. We must realise beggers are as much victims of our social and economic structure, as the sick are the victims of bacteria and virus. Initially Care Homes were opened for rehabilitating leper-beggers each with 500 beds. The doctors, officials and staff of these Homes are people with personal involvement and complete dedication to these cripples. Karunanidhi said ... "The philosophy underlying the rehabilitation of beggers required that the Homes intended for begging lepers should not be converted into jails or places of life time confinement." The main aim of this scheme was to give treatment to the beggers suffering from leprosy and rehabilitate them ultimately so that they can lead a life of their own after their discharge from the homes. To facilitate medical help, two doctors and a para-medical staff who were specialised in medical and surgical treatment in the field of leprosy were posted in each Begging Lepers' Rehabilitation Home.

Boarding and lodging were free and they were
housed in separate corridors. Leper families were also accommodated in separate apartments. Their healthier children were admitted into schools.

To develop self-reliance and to help them earn their livelihood independently, various rehabilitation measures such as, mat-weaving, cloth-weaving, shoe-making, carpentry, poultry-keeping were taught in the homes for such of the inmates who had aptitude for them. The running of each Care Home entails an annual expenditure of Rs.4.5 Lakhs and a non-recurring expense of Rs.52,000/-. Karunanidhi introduced a plan to convert the Care Homes into Industrial Homes and ordered the installation of Power-looms, a printing press, and fabricating units. At frequent intervals, 30 to 40 members were released from Care Homes to take their place independently in society as useful citizens. Bank loans were provided to enable them to set up private business. Karunanidhi amidst his multifarious engagements, evinced keen interest in visiting Care Homes of Leper Beggers. He often used to say "The temple that I visit is the Home of Beggers
and the deities that I pray to with devotion are the beggers therein and the boon that I beseech is the recovery and resurrection of health and self-esteem." His touching speech helped to raise a Beggar Rehabilitation Fund to the tune of Rs.1.09 Crores.

On 19-9-1974, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said "The scheme of Beggers Rehabilitation Homes is a permanent panacea to arrest the contagious disease." Uma Shankar Dixit said on 3-10-1974 at Gandhi Memorial Hall, "Karunanidhi's schemes are commendable in the Gandhian principles and thoughts."

Welfare Programmes for the Physically Handicapped and Women:

Women's Welfare: Karunanidhi proposed a number of suitable programmes for the socio-economic rehabilitation of poor women deserted by the family or by their husbands, destitute women and other categories of women who had been left to fend for themselves without proper means of support. Karunanidhi directed
to give vocational training in ready made garments-making to such women in two districts at a cost of Rs.43,000/-.

There were nearly 50 work centres and production centres for destitute women under the control of the Social Welfare Department on the orders of the Chief Minister. There was no uniformity in the rate of stipend for the trainees in different centres. This lack of uniformity in the rate of stipend had given rise to administrative problems and difficulties which became a disincentive for trainees in certain centres. It was proposed to correct this anomaly during 1974-75 at a cost of Rs.40,300/-. It was also proposed to give training to women who had passed VIIIth standard for employment as house keepers at a cost of Rs.31,500/-. This scheme had 100 per cent potentiality for employment and was sure to help the uneducated women in distress.

Grants to Voluntary Organisations: In any undeveloped state like Tamil Nadu, it would not normally be possible for the state itself to tackle
all the problems in the field of social welfare and that Government efforts will have to be necessarily supplemented by voluntary agencies, to achieve substantial results within a reasonable length of time. It was proposed to grant financial assistance to voluntary agencies during 1974-75 for the following programmes: 49

a) To run socio-economic programmes of destitute women Rs.1.00 lakh.

b) To establish working women's hostel Rs.1.00 lakh.

c) To give interest subsidy in respect of loans taken by them from Nationalised Banks for implementation of socio-economic programmes for destitute women Rs.50,000/-. 

d) To run an integrated workshop for the vocational training and economic rehabilitation of the physically handicapped Rs.1.5 lakhs.

e) To run a training programme for special teachers for the physically handicapped and grants for running socio-economic programme for handicapped Rs.1.13 lakhs.
Welfare Programmes for Physically Handicapped:

The Tamil Nadu Government announced a thirteen-point programme for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped as a gift to the state on the eve of Karunanidhi's 50th birth day.

Considering the colossal magnitude of the problems and the lukeworm approach that had so far been made in relation to it, Karunanidhi proposed a massive programme for the comprehensive and total rehabilitation of the physically handicapped persons, defined in the widest possible sense to include the blind, the deaf and dumb, the mentally retarded and orthopaedically handicapped persons. It included training of teachers for teaching the physically handicapped persons, etc.

The educated among them were provided with jobs and the illiterates were given financial help. About 25,000 disabled persons were benefitted in the first year of the programme which was estimated to cost Rs.1.00 Crore in the initial stage. A statistical
survey revealed that there existed in Tamil Nadu more than two lakh physically handicapped of whom a little less than 70% had had no opportunity to go to school. Preference was given to the handicapped for appointment to such staff as lift-man, attendants, servers, etc., according to their physical conditions.

It was also proposed to open integrated workshops for the vocational training and the economic rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. The Tamil Nadu Transport Corporation absorbed many of the physically handicapped persons after a short course in vocational training. Appropriate steps were taken to give preference to these less fortunates in cottage, village and small Industries departments and few were trained in the manufacture of match sticks, in beedi rollings, in the hosiery industry, etc.

The deaf and dumb who had passed their S.S.L.C., examination were provided opportunities to qualify themselves in shorthand and typewriting. The government offered some special amenities like hearing aids for the deaf and wheel chairs for the lame. Karunanidhi
said "with diversified and ever-enlarging scope of activities and programmes year after year this department has to undergo a radical change. All our plans and programmes will go awry if a suitable administrative frame work is not provided." It was therefore, proposed that social welfare department should be reorganised.

Carefully observing the socialistic measures of Karunanidhi, Shri B. Basavalingappa, a Minister of Karnataka State said, "The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is the sole representative of the poor and the only leader who has gone a long way in eliminating poverty and uplifting the have nots."

Free Eye Camps:

Karunanidhi, a pioneer in social and economic reforms, from the day of his coming to power, dedicated himself, his party and his government to humanitarian service. His 49th birth day was celebrated on 3rd June 1972, by starting about 100 eye-camps in the
state as the first phase of a programme for the year 1972-73. This envisaged treatment of at least one lakh eye patients in the early stages of their ailment.

In his message on his birth day, he appealed to the public in the following words, pleading for their contribution to help the blind poor to recover sight is the best way of expressing your best wishes on my birth day." In response to his appeal the public came forward with profuse donations to the Chief Minister Kalaignar Karunanidhi Eye Camps Fund."

The importance of this massive programme was not only to mobilise the qualified eye specialists from the cities and organise camps in rural areas but to unlock the doors of opportunity and benefits to the blind poor from skilled ophthalmologists. Eye camps had been in existence since the beginning of the 20th century in India. Missionaries, government institutions and voluntary agencies had been conducting Eye Camps in the various parts of India. Sir Henry Holland, Dr.Mathura Das were some of the pioneers in the Eye Camp Projects. But for the first time in
history, a massive eye relief project was started in Tamil Nadu. The Chief Minister Karunanidhi took up this project with a long range vision to restore eye-sight in Tamil Nadu to one hundred thousand people every year. He said "In developed countries progress in eye relief has contributed to an increase in efficiency of the population and a decrease in the incidence of blindness... A patient who is blinded by cataract, looses his job and has to depend upon others for support and help for his daily activities. If he is operated on for cataract, he regains his vision and again becomes an earning member, ceasing to be a burden to others. If a person had defective vision he can be made to see better with glasses. Several people become blind due to glaucoma, malnutrition and other eye diseases which can be easily prevented. So money spent on eye relief will benefit the community economically and socially. Cataract is the most common cause of blindness in old age. Several surveys in India show that nearly 0.5% of the population loose their eye sight every year because of cataract. In the state of Tamil Nadu nearly two lakhs of people are getting blind every year due
to cataract. At present 25% of these people are getting operated upon for cataract. The remaining bulk of people stay blind for life without getting treatment." In 1974, in the medical colleges in the Eye Department of Tamil Nadu, the total strength of "beds available was about 600. Every district hospital had an eye section with 5 to 10 beds. In the Mission hospitals and private hospitals there were about 300 beds. So the total number of beds for eye-patients in Tamil Nadu was 1,000. The total number of qualified eye specialists in the state service as well as in private practice and Mission hospitals was about 120 in number. The number of cataract operations done in all these institutions was about 20,000 in a year."

The Eye-camp is an Eye-Hospital set up near the patients' home for his convenience. Except for big cities in Tamil Nadu, in small towns, there were no eye specialists. Expert eye care was provided through Eye Camps for a short period of time. In a well-reorganised Eye-camp nearly all the services like detection for glaucoma, examination of eyes and prescription of glasses for ailments were available as in other eye hospitals.
A survey has shown that there was a high incidence of cataract in all parts of India. Nearly 1.5% of population of blind in both eyes due to cataract. In Tamil Nadu alone there are more than 6 lakhs of people who are blind due to cataract. Mostly it occurs in old age after 60 years of age. Occasionally children and adults can have cataract. Qualified doctors and nurses stay throughout the period of the camp and all operated cases are taken care of.

The mobile ophthalmic unit attached to the government Erskine Hospital, Madurai, had done 810 cataract operation in a day. Eight surgeons operated at a time and there was a band of 16 doctors for the camp to operate by rotation. Operations were done continuously for 12 hours from morning 6'0 Clock to evening 6'0 Clock and like the organisations, similar to modern industries where production of quantity was properly controlled by a quality check-up, if more surgeons, more nurses, more operations and other technical staff are to be used, there need not be any restriction on the numbers. Each unit consisting of one surgeon, one trained nurse, one theatre assistant,
one qualified ayah, one clerk, two stretcher bearers supplemented with people for preparing the patient can safely undertake good cataract surgery as it is done in any hospital. Goms are not available in the camps but there are mats spread on clean cement floors.\textsuperscript{55}

Apart from the humanitarian benefits from the eye camp project, Karunanidhi had constantly dwelt on its economic and social impact. "A patient who is blinded by cataract loses his job and has to depend upon others for support. Therefore the money spent on the cure of eye diseases results in economic and social benefit to the community in as much as it helps patients to become economically active again."\textsuperscript{56}

This is the first time in Tamil Nadu and perhaps in India that a curative programme had been organised in a massive way through the government departments. Free surgical treatment was taken almost to the door of the patient and everything was given free to the patients, including food, accommodation, glasses medicines, etc. The cost of the project was much
less than in regular hospitals. The programme was given extensive publicity so as to reach the largest number of eye patients. The village headmen usually listed the people with poor vision in every village. Generally the mobile camps were housed at Schools, Colleges and Kalyana Mantapams. Adjacent to every operation theatre, there was a well stocked drug store.

Thousands of patients had regained their vision and most of them later lead a life of jubilation after finding an employment. Karunanidhi said "When the poor people who recover sight after free treatment in these Eye Camps gratefully bless us with tears of joy in their eyes, we are ourselves overwhelmed with joy."

This unique rural welfare programme undertaken by Karunanidhi had few parallels in the medical history of the world.

| Total No. of eye camps (till February '73) | 54 |
| Total No. of cases treated | 2,22,049 |
| No. of cases operated | 31,222 |
| No. of free glasses given | 31,222 |
| Financial allotment | Rs. 19,29,276 |
### District-wise Achievement in Chief Minister Kalaignar

**Karunanidhi Free Eye Camps Upto 15-3-1974**

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**Total:** 141 4,96,949 66,061 65,344

**Source** of Information: Project Vision - Chief Minister Karunanidhi Eye Camps - Director of Tamil Nadu Government, Madras.
Emancipation of Hand-Rickshaw Pullers:

In Karunanidhi's massive socio-economic welfare programmes, the task of emancipating the Hand-rickshaw pullers was of great significance. He believed that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among them deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

On 3rd June, 1974, on the occasion of his 50th birth day he made a firm resolve to abolish the hand-rickshaw from the roads, offering a cycle-rickshaw in place of a hand-rickshaw to each puller. Just to earn a few paise for his livelihood, a citizen pulling physically a fellow-citizen seated in a carriage was eventually an insult to human dignity, a deplorable degradation of humanity, a challenge to any democratic government.

Many a Mahatma and statesman has come and gone
but none had the socialistic and humanistic vision and heart to change this barbarous system; instead the so-called great Indian leaders justified it. This hand-pulling system in the name of division of labour, undoubtedly was first banned by the humanistic Chief Minister, Karunanidhi, in India. There is historic evidence to show that the hand-drawn rickshaw came into existence only in the latter part of the 19th century. In 1911, the Madras government Hackney Carriage Act regularised the hand-drawn rickshaws and an 'amendment was brought to it in 1964. Thus, a number of people in Tamil Nadu were engaged in their century-old profession of hand-rickshaw, dragging on their miserable existence with insufficient food, clothing, accommodation, insanitary surroundings and social segregation, residing in swampy slums.

In order to eradicate this human indignity and to arrest the growing poverty of the less fortunate rickshaw pullers, Karunanidhi made a moving appeal to the general public. In response to the Chief Minister's appeal, 'the generous public came forward with a generous donation of Rs.25.5 lakhs to the 'Chief
Minister's Rehabilitation Fund for Rickshaw Pullers."

Since then money had continued to pour in for this noble cause. M.G. Ramachandran, one of the pillars and leader of D.M.K. party had donated rain coats to all the rickshaw pullers of Tamil Nadu. He too, is a saviour and friend of the poor and the downtrodden. He said "My heart is bleeding at the running bare foot of my brethren in the hot sun and at his trembling puny body in the cold." With the changing pattern of life, Road Traffic came to be filled with Taxis, Cycle-rickshaws and Auto-Rickshaws. The helpless hand-rickshaw pullers became victims of this development. They could not compete with the new vehicle-owners.

Karunanidhi had given away as gift 630 cycle-rickshaws and all license-holders received them free of cost. About "1432 hand-rickshaws were surrendered. A flat sum of Rs. 200/- was paid as compensation for each hand-rickshaw surrendered."

There was also a scheme of government guarantee for liberal loans from Bank and the City Corporation Board for the purchase of cycle rickshaws.
Not only did Karunanidhi put an end to this outmoded transport, but he also elevated its users to a higher income level in life.

Administration of the Tamil Nadu Hindu Religious Charitable Endowments:

It is an established fact that Karunanidhi government was guided by, and wedded to, rationalistic principles. Yet this D.M.K. Government helped in a very significant growth of religious institutions and enabled them to render continued services.

There were 157 mutts, 832 specific endowments and 14,079 temples totalling 51,833 Hindu Public Religious institutions in the state owning 6,10,141 crores of acres of lands (both wet and dry). Of these, the department had control over 24,605 religious institutions owning 5,70,304 acres. The remaining cases were under investigation. The annual income of all these institutions was estimated at Rs.7.86 Crores. As a result of the investigation and detection by the
special staff for temple lands, 6,541 temples had been brought under the control of this department. Of this 2,041 are assessed institutions and the remaining 4,500 are small ones. It was proposed to bring another 26,000 new temples under the control of the department.

Several noteworthy activities were undertaken under the direction of Karunanidhi from out of the funds of the temples in Tamil Nadu, which serve not only as places of worship but also centres of art, medical help and for eradication of illiteracy. As a result, there was an increase in the number of religious institutions from 9,600 in the year 1967 to 24,605 in 1976 and an increase in the annual income of the institutions from Rs.3,98,52,754/- in 1967 to Rs.7,86,00,000/- in 1974. There was completion of Thiruppani works in 3,095 temples at a cost of Rs.12,44,000 between the years 1961-1973, the enhancement of the annual government grant which was Rs.3.00 lakhs in 1961 to Rs.15.00 lakhs in 1974-75 for the renovation and repairs of the temples.
Tamil archanai had been extended as per the order of Chief Minister Karunanidhi to all the temples in Tamil Nadu in deference to the unanimous demand of all sections of people in Tamil Nadu. The objections raised against this scheme had been set at rest during the year. The Tamil archanai is in vogue in all temples. The introduction of Tamil Archanas in the temples was part of Karunanidhi's call. "Tamil everywhere; Tamil is everything."

Karunanidhi had taken action for the amendment of the Constitution in the matter of appointment of Archakas irrespective of caste or creed, but on the basis of merits.

The introduction of compulsory reservation of vacancies by the Board of Trustees for the members of the Backward Classes, financial assistance to the Eye campaign intended for restoring the sight to the blind, and financial assistance for the rehabilitation of beggars were also a part of the programme. All are equal in the eyes of God, and therefore the government had accepted the recommendation of the Estimates.
Committee in this regard and ordered that the system of according temple honours to VIPs be dispensed with.

The social welfare activities undertaken out of the surplus funds of the religious institutions were being continued. "Two Deaf and Dumb schools, three Mercy Homes, 204 Libraries, 24 Siddha dispensaries, one Allopathic Dispensary, 36 Karunai Illams (with about 2,770 children) were established. Seven colleges and 33 Schools including High Schools, Middle Schools, Primary Schools were started. There were 2 schools for Nathaswaram, 7 Schools for oduvars and 4 Veda Agma Patasalas."^66

Muthiyer Illam at Tuttani, Thevara patasala at Tiruvanaikaval and a Divya Prabanda Patosala at Srirangam were opened.

There are about 51,000 employees working in all temples all over Tamil Nadu. The provident fund benefit scheme was extended to the employees^67 of temples also. The publications "Thirukkoil" continued
to be issued monthly. Eminent scholars contribute their articles to it on religion, antiquity and history of temples in Tamil Nadu. There are about 13,000 subscribers, including foreign, to this journal.

**Thirukural and Karunanidhi:**

*Thirukural* is an ancient and outstanding Tamil Classic which reflects the spirit of Tamils in its best form and is the pride of Tamil Nadu and the crowning glory of its culture. *Thirukural* is looked upon as the voice of humanity, the master piece of Tamil literature and one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought. Its author, the immortal poet Thiruvalluvar, was a social revolutionary, who revolted against castes and creeds which divided the society of his time.

*Thirukural* is the oldest treasure of knowledge which contains gems of sayings on politics, economics, state-craft, modern jurisprudence, love and covering bravely, the facts of human life under three major heads: Virtue, Wealth and Love.
Karunanidhi is a great lover, scholar and interpreter of Thirukural. He has written several Kuraloviyams (Kural in the form of short stories). In one of his Kuraloviyams, he had stated that Socialism and Communism were already visualised by Thiruvalluvar 2,500 years ago, even before Marx and Stalin. Valluvar asks which is the best book in the world and Valluvar himself answers it in his well-known couplet -

"The quintessence of all codes of law of every sect is but to share one's bread with all beings and them protect..."68

Karunanidhi government's political, social, economic and administrative policies were believed to be guided by the principles implicit in Thirukural. All leaders of the D.M.K. party stand by Thirukural as a model for shaping the administration and the party today. To D.M.K. partymen, the Kural is like Bible, Geetha and Quran.

Karunanidhi had taken great initiative and put
in serious efforts to spread the thoughts of Thiruvalluvar not only throughout Tamil Nadu but in other countries also. He passed a governmental order to mount a portrait of Valluvar and insert couplets of Kural in every government bus. The insertion of Kural in every bus helped spread the message of Kural everywhere in Tamil Nadu.

The University of Madras arranged a three-day Seminar on 'Thirukural' which was attended by eminent and erudite scholars from several Universities in the country.

Karunanidhi announced sumptuous 'grants' to Universities in the state to propogate Thirukural. Three endowments of a sum of Rs.3.00 lakhs were created for three Universities in Tamil Nadu to stimulate a study of, and research into, Thirukural.

Progress of General Education:

The government's interest to take education to
the backward and the downtrodden was the result of Periyar's ceaseless preachings over 60 years in Tamil Nadu. He desired that every hut should have at least a matriculate if not a graduate. In his younger days he saw that 98% of Tamil Nadu population was dubbed as illiterate sudras under the obnoxious caste system. Karunanidhi's government imbued with Periyar's humanism of the purest order in education and translated it into action with a sense of adoration and regard. Karunanidhi, as a sincere disciple of Periyar, gave immense importance to his policy of educational progress of Tamil people.

In 1937, during the Congress regime only 7% of the population had general education. It was unfortunate that Rajaji the then Chief Minister "closed 2500 primary schools. In 1952, when Congress resumed power ten per cent of the population had their education upto matric level. The then Congress government led by Rajaji introduced the parentage-professional (kula kalaithittam) scheme." The pupils were compelled to practice father's inherent, traditional
profession. The pupil had no choice but to select the kulakaui. Thereby 6,000 primary schools were closed down by the Congress government. Hence Periyar struck a severe blow through his agitation and broke this kulakalvi scheme into pieces.

The Karunanidhi government was probably one of the few in India which earmarked nearly one-fourth of its revenue for education. A commendable progress was witnessed in elementary education in the early stages of the Plan period. Small villages with three hundred persons also had elementary schools. As a result of such ceaseless efforts of Karunanidhi government as also the people's participation, the literacy percentage in the state has increased. Details of the progress of general education are given in the following table.71 (Please see next page)

The state has been successfully discharging the primary responsibility of providing free and compulsory primary education to all school-going-age children, in particular with a scheme of free education, up to PUC
## Types of Institutions. 1966-67 1975-76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>1966-67</th>
<th>1975-76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary schools</td>
<td>31,157</td>
<td>42,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>2,799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Colleges</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polytechnics</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Colleges</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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<td>Technical Schools</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of College going students: 94,000 2,00,000

Estimated Budget: Rs. 44 Crores. Rs.118 Crores.
level. Tamil Nadu is probably the only state where English was taught compulsorily from standard III. The children in Tamil Nadu schools were not burdened with the three-language formula. Tamil and English were compulsory but not Hindi. The new syllabus to suit modern conditions on par with other advanced countries was introduced in a phased programme.

The government 'grant' was increased from 50 to 66% to all the Corporation and Municipal schools. A provision of over Rs.110 crores on education for the year 1974-75 as against Rs.11 crores spent in 1956-57 is an indication of the keenness of Tamil Nadu government in the progress of education. The allocation for education was the largest single component in the budget. The expenditure on education has been steadily rising. A comparative study of the figures of the Budget Estimates for 1974-75 and those for 1973-74 are given in the Tables to follow.

Both in the percentage of literacy and in the percentage of investment on education, Karunanidhi
government was the leading in the country. In fulfilling the constitutional directive of providing free education up to the age of 14 for all children, this state was ahead of most of the states.

**Primary Education:**

Adopting the 1971 census figures, the population of the age group 6-11 in 1973-74 in Tamil Nadu was 60.24 lakhs. Of this 54.38 lakhs were actually going to schools. The enrolment percentage thus worked out to 90.2 for this age group. During the year 1974-75, there were 2 lakhs of pupils in this age-group. The population for the age-group 11-14 in 1973-74 was about 27.11 lakhs, out of which 14.19 lakhs were actually enrolled in schools which worked out to 52.3%. During 1974-75 there was an additional enrolment of one lakh.\(^7\)

With a view to maintaining a high standard of instruction in schools, steps had been constantly taken to improve the teacher-pupil ratio and about
1200 B.T's were appointed as Head Masters of Higher Elementary Schools, with a view to tone up the quality of instruction right from the early stages. Besides about "428 higher and secondary grade teachers were appointed in 1973-74. The total number of teachers working in the 32,499 elementary schools including upper primary schools during 1973-74 was 1,73,175. The total number of pupil in the Elementary Schools was 59.72 lakhs. The teacher-pupil ratio thus worked out to 1:34."74

As a special step towards ensuring improvement in the quality of instruction, 33,500 posts of Higher Grade teachers had been converted into Secondary posts. To promote physical education activities about 800 Physical Education Teachers were appointed. Tamil Nadu had the pride of being the first in the country to introduce the Mid-day Meal and improvement scheme and it had earned the praise of educational administrators all over the country. About "19 lakhs of poor pupils in Standard I to VIII in elementary schools, forming about 1/3rd of the total enrolment.
in these schools, received free midday meals under this scheme. The provision for this in the Budget for 1974-75 was Rs.2.35 lakhs.\textsuperscript{75} The expenditure incurred by the State government was supplemented by commodity assistance from the CARE organisation to the tune of Rs.6 Crores per annum.

To facilitate hygienic preparation of the mid-day meals and to facilitate scientific storage of food stuffs, 100 central kitchens with electrical equipment and 10 regional godowns respectively were constructed.

More than 12 lakhs of pupils are receiving free text books from Tamil Nadu Text Book Society. With a view to encouraging women teachers to reside in rural areas, one thousand six hundred quarters had been constructed and a provision of Rs.17.50 lakhs had been made in 1974-75\textsuperscript{76} for this purpose under the Community Development Budget.

**Secondary Education** :

There were 2,699 secondary schools with 7.14 lakhs
of pupils on rolls in Standards IX to XI in 1972 as against 2,372 schools 6.08 of pupils in 1966-67. There are 2,823 High Schools in the state. The percentage of enrolment of pupils in the age-group 14-17 was 35.7. During the two year period 1969-70 and 1970-71, 2,510 new B.T. teachers were appointed. During 1971-72 1,500 new posts of B.T. teachers were sanctioned and in 1974-75 again 15,000 B.T. teachers were appointed for an additional enrolment of 60,000 pupils.

Of about 2,800 high schools, nearly 1,200 were badly in need of adequate accommodation. In 1974-75 a provision of Rs.19 lakhs had been made for grants to municipal schools and aided schools and about Rs.60 lakhs for government and Board High Schools for repairs to the existing buildings.

School education in Tamil Nadu was free at all stages. The award of rural talent scholarship at the rate of Rs.1000 per annum for each boarder and Rs.500 per annum for each day-scholar at the rate of two per panchayat union was introduced in 1971-72. Besides
this, generous educational concessions continue to be offered to the children of Burma and Ceylon repatriates, ex-service and defence personnel, backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, gold-smiths affected by the Gold Control Act and political sufferers.

A pilot project for the medical check-up of students was introduced in the city of Madras. As a result of voluntary effort" 39 lakhs of pupils were given uniforms at a cost of Rs. 2.54 Crores." Tamil Nadu Text Book Society had been entrusted with the responsibility of producing and distributing text books of high quality at reasonable prices. It printed and distributed 232 lakhs copies of school books." The production programme for 1974-75 envisaged the printing of about 200 lakhs copies. Non-language text books in minority languages (Urdu, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada) were also brought out.

"108 Teachers Training Institutes were functioning, of which 58 were run by government, and 50 by private agencies."
There were 28 schools for the handicapped children, 12 for the blind, 13 for the deaf, two for children suffering from leprosy and one for the orthopaedically handicapped children. More than 2900 students were studying in those schools. 379 orphanages with a strength of nearly 67,000 run by private organisations had been admitted to grants-in-aid from state funds. Adult Literacy Centres and Farmer's Education and Functional Literacy Centres were founded. The total provision made for 'adult literacy in 1974-75 was Rs.11.36 lakhs.'

There were 400 Range Officers in-charge of academic control and inspection of Elementary Schools under Directorate of Schools.

Collegiate Education:

In 1975-76, "183 colleges were functioning as against 59 in 1961-62. The number of students in colleges had also gone up from about 45,000 in 1961-62 to about 2 lakhs in 1975-76."
Of the 183 colleges in the state, 106 were affiliated to the Madras University and 77 to the Madurai University. Of the total Budget of Rs. 14.28 Crores for collegiate education for the year 1975-76, a sum of Rs. 3.51 crores was spent on 1.45 lakhs of students in 130 aided colleges and for 51,000 students in 53 colleges run directly by the government. The scales of pay and other allowances to which the teaching staff in government colleges were eligible had been made applicable for the teaching staff in Aided colleges, for the purpose of computing the grants-in-aid. The scales of pay of Principals and Professors of postgraduate colleges had also been extended to Aided colleges. A significant achievement has been the extension of the liberalised pension scheme to the teaching staff in Aided colleges also.

Tamil Nadu was one of the few states in the entire country where education at the PUC level was free. The scheme of PUC education cost the exchequer about Rs. 2 crores per year. Besides this, there were generous awards of scholarships and stipends under various. The
most important of which were:

1. National Scholarship Scheme 2,480 in nos in '71.
2. National Scholarship to children. 264 " "
3. National Loan Scholarship scheme. 5,284 " "

The National Cadet Corps organisation in Tamil Nadu covered itself with glory with several successes. The strength of the "cadet corps was 51 Senior Division Units with 32,300 cadets and 723 Junior Division troops with 72,300 cadets, 5 Girls Sr.Divisions and 57 Jr. Division Troops." The strength of the Law colleges increased from "1,045 in 1968-69 to about 2,527 (1,830 in regular degree courses, 610 in evening colleges and 87 in ML courses) in 1973-74." M.L. courses were also started for evening college students in 1969-70.

The provision for Technical Education "in 1974-75 was Rs.4.97 lakhs as against Rs.4.04 lakhs in 1972-73. The Department had its control over 7 Engineering colleges, 35 Polytechnics (including 3 women Polytechnics and 5 special Diploma institutions) and 14
technical institutions, and 3 Arts and Crafts Institutes. The government were offering an annual grant of Rs.3.5 lakhs for the Institute of Mathematical Science set up in Adyar which is an autonomous institution run with the help of the Central and State government.

Cultural Activities:

Iyal Isai Nataka Manram (Dramatic, Music and Dancing Society) an autonomous body entirely financed by the state government has been rendering valuable work in fostering dance, drama and music. Besides playing host to international troupes visiting Tamil Nadu under the Cultural Exchange Programme of the Government of India, the Manram has also been encouraging the production of regional plays and sponsoring the visits of cultural troupes from Tamil Nadu to other states. The Manram has also been honouring eminent artists with Kalai Manani awards. About 259 artists who were in difficult circumstances were receiving a monthly pension under a scheme jointly
sponsored by the Central and State governments. As the Centre had regretted their inability to extend the scheme to cover more artists, the State government had taken upon themselves the responsibility to give pensions to more artists from out of their own funds. Provision had also been made in 1974-75 for reviewing the Tamil Nadu Nun Kalai Kuzhu for fostering the development of plastic and graphic arts. Tamil Nadu Arasu Isai Kallogi (college of music) when has a strength of about 150 students and 22 eminent musicians on the teaching faculty, offers courses in vocal and instrumental music and in Bharatha Natyam. The college has acquired all-India reputation and students from several other states and from foreign countries study in the college.

Tamil Nadu is one of the few states in India which was enacted a 'Library Act' and giving continuing support to the 'Public Library Movement'. The Connemara Public Library is the State Central Library and during 1974-75 a special provision of about Rs.3 lakhs had been made for purchasing books for the library.
There are 13 District Central Libraries, 1,457 branch libraries and 1,882 Delivery Stations in the state. The Local Library Authority has introduced special library services like Mobile Libraries.

The Government was anxious about the policy of adopting Tamil as the official language of Tamil Nadu and decided to implement it with full vigour at all levels. The work of translation of Acts, Codes and Manuals was at an advanced stage. Glossaries of administrative terms and special terms for technical departments, a bibliography of the Tamil books published from 1867 were compiled. The International Institute of Tamil Studies was established in October 1970 with the object of promoting research in all aspects of Tamil studies and allied fields with the active co-operation of international scholars interested in such studies. The institute gave intensive coaching in Tamil to foreign students with the aid of a language and audio-visual equipment gifted by the UNESCO.
There are present 2.39 lakhs of teachers working in the schools of Tamil Nadu. The statement below gives detailed figures of the number of teachers allocated to different categories of schools in the state for the academic year 1974-75. The figures include teachers for both middle schools and high schools. The breakdown of teachers by gender and category is also provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>1,49,934</td>
<td>89,200</td>
<td>60,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle schools</td>
<td>45,810</td>
<td>20,149</td>
<td>25,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>36,716</td>
<td>13,824</td>
<td>22,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,32,460</td>
<td>123,165</td>
<td>1,08,293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Progress of Education in Tamil Nadu 1974-75.*
The Demand 'M' for Education includes besides the Provision of Rs.108.55 Crores under education, Provision for Public Libraries, Archaeology, Museums and other allied items as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-plan</th>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>277 Education</strong></td>
<td>1,01,99</td>
<td>6,56</td>
<td>1,08,55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>278 Art and Culture</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives &amp; Museums</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Libraries</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>288 Social security and welfare schools for handicapped etc.,</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Total Demand**: 1,03,28 6,84 1,10,12

17 Education

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Non-Plan</th>
<th>Total - 1973-74</th>
<th>1975-76</th>
<th>Total - 28 Education</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>4,53</td>
<td>3,62</td>
<td>2,54</td>
<td>996,32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Training Institutes</td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Education</td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Education</td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total - Education</td>
<td>1.01.79 - 3.08.79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Education perhaps is the most powerful weapon in the hands of a government to mould and shape the thinking of the people. This was better understood and handled by the Karunanidhi government.

'Thozhilar Mala Arasu' (Workers' Welfare Government):

Karunanidhi's socio-economic theory is based on safeguarding the interests of middle class and labourers. He often used to claim: "D.M.K. party is the only party that is representing fully the voice of labourers and the non-gazetted staff of the government on its own initiative." 88

The Congress government sanctioned only Rs.5 Crores under the First Pay Commission for the state employees. In spite of the Trade Union leader's request, the Congress government failed to establish a Second Pay Commission which was expected since 1965. On 4-9-1969, Karunanidhi ordered a Second Pay Commission. He granted with retrospective effect the commission's
recommendations which involved a fabulous amount of Rs.47 Crores of expenditure. He was the first Chief Minister in the history of Tamil Nadu who gave retrospective effect to the recommendations keeping in view of the welfare of the N.G.O's.

The Dearness Allowance was granted for the first time to the state employees on par with the Central government employees. Merging of D.A. in the pay right from 1974 was given effect in order to benefit 7 lakhs of state employees and many of the Class IV staff were benefited and this scheme involved an expenditure of Rs.24.5 Crores.

Since soaring prices insidiously undermine the real content of worker's wages, Karunanidhi held the price-line only to a limited extent, as his powers were limited. He also reduced the rate of Sales-Tax from 7% to 3.5% in the case of edible oils and pulses. His introduction of the scheme for worker's participation in management had given the employees a new sense of involvement and spirit.
The pension scheme was extended to "cover 35,000 transport employees. From 1972 onwards the pension benefits were changed from 30/80 to 33/80 to all the employees." Pension scheme was made applicable even to temporary employees from 1-10-1969 and the lowest was Rs.30/- which was increased to Rs.50/- in 1973. The government relaxed the ceiling of Rs.1,800 for pensioners. As per the 1960 Act, to determine average pay, 12 months' pay was taken was the basis, but Karunanidhi reduced it to 10 months' pay through which a sizeable number of N.G.O's were benefitted. Pension scheme was also extended to Corporation workers. As per the rising of price index, the D.A. benefits were given to pensioners also and Rs.5 was given as increment in 1975.

Karunanidhi solved the chronic problem of "55,000 workers belonging to 80 mills on the 'Bonus issue' and they were paid to the tune of Rs.4½ Crores as Bonus." The government sanctioned medical and marriage loans upto Rs.2,000. It had also increased the house building loans through societies from Rs.75 lakhs to 450 lakhs.
The government sanctioned the Travelling Allowance to all the state government N.G.O's. As per Chief Minister's direction, Rs.2.75,000 was given as loan to barbers.

Confidential Report:

The classical dictum of I've Lee is that "confidential report in any administration is but 'ethics writ large' to find a place for commendable and meritorious service of the employee." But this was misconceived. Instead of giving recognition to the services of an employee without bias the ruling class was using this as a subtle weapon to give vent to their likes and dislikes. Karunanidhi ordered a committee to examine one hundred years' confidential reports of the N.G.O's. He was given to learn that confidential report had been used by one group of elites to harm the backward and scheduled caste people. In the history of India, he was the first Chief Minister who courageously abolished the confidential report from State Administration at all levels. Prior
to D.M.K. leadership, the trade union leaders with various interests had represented to the then Congress Ministers; but they paid no heed to the problem and it went unrecognised and unnoticed.

The government increased Gratuity from "15 months' salary to 16½ months' salary at their superanuation."^3

Karunanidhi's socialistic measures were intended to benefit every one. A salient scheme for the benefit of N.G.O's was introduced. "When an employee expires on duty or otherwise during his service i.e., before retirement, the widow or widower or his or her natural or dependent heir family of the deceased would be paid immediately Rs.10,000/-."^2 The total number of employees benefiting under this scheme was 2,275 till 1975. The scheme was the first of its kind in India. A similar insurance scheme was also given to the public. For instance "if a subscriber pays his premium of Rs.10 for 25 years continuously he will be paid Rs.100/- as pension for the rest of his life. Besides this pension, Rs.9,500 to 15,000 will be paid at its maturity."^3 In an interview, Karunanidhi
said categorically "that 80% of job opportunities will be provided to the people of Tamil Nadu. One should not mistake here that 80% is for Tamilians and 20% for those who are 15 years old residents of Tamil Nadu." 94

Welfare of the Police:

The police, revenue and subordinate judiciary are the arms of a government, taking care of the rural and urban law and order administration and of the over-all administrative departments. But the police department is a necessary arm of the government to handle any situation in connection with law and order, though all the three departments are involved in a mutually complimentary exercise of functions. The police lodge complaints of violations of criminal laws with the judiciary. It is the custodian of law and order. The police also extend protection to the innocents. It regulate people without infringing on their given rights and freedoms.

The staff of the police department prior to 1967
was in a deplorable and destitute condition; but with the advent of the D.M.K. Government, the life of the policemen became more tolerable and secure. Karunanidhi had not overlooked the staff of the police department, who face risk in discharging their duties. A Commission was set up to look into their grievances. Its proposals and recommendations were fully accepted. Tamil Nadu Pay Commission for policemen was the first of its kind established in India. Out of 134 recommendations more than 40 were approved which involved an expenditure of Rs.1 ½ Crores. One of the recommendations favoured new appointments. Government recruited 4,309 Grade-I policemen in the grade of Rs.200-300 which also eradicated unemployment amongst the SSLC candidates. Karunanidhi granted series of concessions to the policemen, the most important of them was to the families of policemen killed during clashes with anti-social elements. They will henceforth receive unconditionally a pension of 50% of the maximum salary drawn by the deceased.

"When a policeman becomes disabled on duty, he was awarded a grant of Rs.3,000/-. As per the
recommendations of the Pay Commission the Karunanidhi Government changed the pay scales of Grade-I policemen from Rs.90-100 to 210-325, Asst.Sub-Inspectors from Rs.110-140 to 250-400. In case of Sub-Inspectors the pay scale was revised from Rs.140-200 to 300-500 and a new Dy.Inspector's grade was created. The pay scales of Inspectors were revised from Rs.225-375 to Rs.425-700. The government not only revised the basic salary of those categories but also sanctioned Dearness Allowances as per rise in the price index. The Tamil Nadu Welfare and Insurance Scheme of awarding Rs.10,000 in case of death while performing duties was also extended to policemen. About 200 policemen's families are benefited under this scheme every year.

The Government had increased the Travelling Allowance to the policemen from Rs.1.75 to Rs.4.50 and also sanctioned the House Rent Allowance. Till the year 1967 the Inspectors residing in Madras city received Rs.80/- as allowance, and no allowance was paid to the Inspectors residing at out stations. From 1974 onwards Rs.150/- in case of city dwellers and Rs.100/- to out-station residents were paid by the
government. In case of Sub-Inspectors Rs.100/- in city area Rs.50/- to out-station residents and Head-constables received Rs.40 and 20 respectively. The pay scale for Grade-II policemen was also revised from Rs.70-95 to Rs.150-225.

To facilitate the early detection of crimes in the state, the police department was equipped with microwave instruments worth Rs.40 lakhs. Tamil Nadu was the first government among Indian states to take initiative in modernising the equipment. The total amount spent for purchasing modern equipment was Rs.1,25,00,000/-. The total number of police stations in Tamil Nadu was 863 with a staff 55,000. The position of the staff was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff position</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendents of Police</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dy. Superintendents of Police</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Inspectors</td>
<td>1,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>28,891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of the staff was as follows: 97
The government had also introduced the scheme of Lady-Police Department in December 1973. In order to detect the smuggling of statues and jewels of the temples, the Inspector General of Police, Tamil Nadu created an infant and young men detective bureau. About 1,200 volunteers from various parts of Tamil Nadu appeared for selection. For meritorious and gallant services of policemen the State Award - Anna Gold Medal - was given. Besides, a cash award from Rs.1,000 to Rs.3,000 were made according to the merit of the case. Free electricity was provided to police quarters. To the Fire Service Welfare Fund, the government contributed an increased donation raising it from Rs.5,000 to 15,000. The estimated budget for police in 1970 was Rs.13,66,000 but in 1976 it increased to Rs.34,00,000. Karunanidhi thus gave a vital attention to improve the hopeless position of these custodians of law and order.

Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes:

With all his modesty and simplicity, Karunanidhi
set forth his testament of faith in his very first address to the State Assembly as Chief Minister, as follows: "As one coming from the most backward community, I will stake even my very life for the upliftment and improvement of the backward and the downtrodden. I will also do my best to care for the interests of the forward communities as well." 98

Karunanidhi created a new department, first of its kind in India, to look after the welfare of the backward classes and entrusted it to the charge of a separate minister. He also formed a separate administrative wing for planning and suggesting backward classes welfare programmes. He further ordered the formation of a Backward Class Commission under the chairmanship of A. N. Chatanathan to recommend ways and means of 'improving the conditions of the backwards.'

In regard to the privileges to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and Backward castes, he said .... "under this present atmosphere in society, certain privileges must be given to them. Excuse me please,
instead of calling them as privileges, I must call them as rights." Karunanidhi included the following Kongu Vallalar communities in Backward Classes:

1. Vellar Gowendar
2. Natu Gowendar
3. Mirambukutty Gowendar
4. Thirumudir Vellalar
5. Ihodu Vellalar
6. Bala Gowendar
7. Poisary Gowendar
8. Anuppa Vellala Gowendar
9. Padaitiation Gowendar
10. Senthalai Gowendar
11. Pavazhkaty Gowendar
12. Kurumba Gowendar
13. Pallavalalla Gowendar
14. Sanguvalla Gowendar
15. Rathnagiri Gowendar

Besides, the Tamil speaking Muslims in Tamil Nadu were also included as Backward classes. The privileges in education, reservation in appointments etc., of
Backward Castes were officially extended to the above sub-communities. Manaradiar, former Minister of Tamil Nadu, while thanking Karunanidhi said "What Subbarayan and C.Subramaniam failed to do by this community, Karunanidhi came forward to solve this age-old dream..."

To his critics Karunanidhi replied: "I am the last person to pull the legs of those who have already come forward; in the meanwhile I do not hesitate to upgrade those who are in a depressed state. I am not afraid of those who are affected by the improving the conditions of the Backward Castes and Scheduled Castes. At the same time I am not expecting any sort of gratitude from Backward Castes and Scheduled Castes because it is my sacred duty to comply with their needs and welfare as I myself come from the ordinary simple and most backward family."
Hindu religion." Dr. Sathiyavani Muthu from the opposition bench, asked him what the D.M.K. had done for the Scheduled Castes. Karunanidhi furnished detailed statistics in his reply, as follows: (Please see next page). He also said that, these figures will reveal to those who are thinking that his government is neglecting the Scheduled Castes. It is nothing but a motivated criticism. 104

Karunanidhi also extended State Aids, concessions, and privileges "to Christian converts from Scheduled Castes as granted to the Hindu Scheduled castes. About 10 lakhs Scheduled Caste - Christians enjoyed these privileges. 105 Through this gesture to the Christian converts he had removed a grave injustice towards them, and thus won their confidence and gratitude. He gave a lead to other states in such matters which would do well to follow his example and thus inspire confidence in the hearts of minority communities like Christians.

President Fakruddin Ali, Governor K.K. Shah, Cardinal Gracious of Bombay, Bishops of Ernakulam,
Bellary and a host of socialists sent Greeting Messages to Karunanidhi, appreciating and admiring his bold steps towards socio-economic justice.

On 25-10-1975 in a felicitation function, Valampuri John, a Christian sitting M.P., said, "Jesus mitigated the wounds of 10 lepers, of whom only one came to Jesus to show his gratitude. Even Lord Jesus was aching for the well-being of the remaining nine. Today 10 lakhs of Scheduled Caste Christians are heartfully revealing their gratitude to Karunanidhi and his help will never be forgotten by this community." 106

From the same platform Karunanidhi replied, "Neither I am as great as Jesus nor I am comparable to Jesus. One of my friends said that I am a resurrection of Jesus. I am not at all believing in rebirth. So let me request my friends to praise me with limitations. Where is Jesus? Where am I?" John pointed out that Jesus had enquired with that one person about the remaining nine. In regard to that, let me say, I will not feel surprised even if 'that one does not come." 107
From 1967 to 1974, about "112 candidates were from Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes from the total number of 122 Class-I selected posts in Tamil Nadu Service Commission."¹⁰⁸

Karunanidhi in a moving tone said "Scheduled Castes are my worshipful Gods and the Homes of Lepers, Beggars and slums of Scheduled Castes are my pilgrimage centres."¹⁰⁹ He also got a resolution passed at the all-party conference that a Scheduled Caste belonging to Tamil Nadu to be nominated for the post of Vice-President of India.

Through the leadership in the person of Karunanidhi, who claimed not only a paternalism for the Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes but also lifted them in their socio-economic status.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>State Grants</th>
<th>Central Grants</th>
<th>Total Expenditure on Backward Castes</th>
<th>Total Expenditure on Scheduled Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>Rs. 4.97 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 5.81 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 10.78 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 16.59 Crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>Rs. 5.37 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 6.25 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 11.62 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 17.57 Crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>Rs. 5.07 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 7.02 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 12.09 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 19.11 Crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>Rs. 5.48 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 7.18 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 12.66 Crores</td>
<td>Rs. 20.24 Crores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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