KAMARAJ AS CHIEF MINISTER
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Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Madras after the exit of Rajaji over the much agitated and controversial issue of Kulakkalvi Thittam (caste based Education scheme). Kamaraj's election as the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party against C. Subramaniam, a follower of Rajaji proved his wide influence among Party Legislators. There was no other suitable leader who could fit into the role of Chief Minister. Kamaraj's Leadership for over ten years both in the Party and Legislature gave him this opportunity to become the Chief Minister.

Kamaraj's election as CLP leader evoked mixed reaction. His close followers and admirers were jubilant over his choice, whereas his critics wondered, whether he could carry on with the work with little formal education that he possessed. But to the surprise of every one Kamaraj proved to be one of the great administrators.

Kamaraj served as Chief Minister of Tamilnadu for three terms, spread well over nine years from April 13, 1954 to October 2, 1963. It was indeed the longest period for any Chief Minister in Free India until then.¹ Kamaraj took oath of office on April 13.

¹ V.K. Narasimhan, Kamaraj A Study (Bombay, 1967), p.51.
1954, the Tamil New Year Day, along with his Cabinet colleagues. In constituting the first Cabinet he was free to select Ministers without other's interference or influence. This he maintained even during his two other terms. It was an outstanding instance of his control over Party in the Legislature.

Kamaraj at the time of his election as the leader of the Party in the Legislature was representing Srivilliputhur Parliamentary Constituency. Though it was easy to get himself elected through the upper chamber i.e. the Legislative Council, he chose to be the member of the popular body, the Legislative Assembly. Even for the Assembly there were many safe constituencies as suggested by his followers. But Kamaraj chose to contest from Gudiyatham (General Constituency) in North Arcot District, where there was a vacancy. Kamaraj was of the opinion, that as Chief Minister he should represent the whole State of Madras. So he decided to contest from Gudiyatham, even though it was not his native constituency.

When he decided to contest from Gudiyatham, he was supported by all parties except the Communists who fielded an opponent. E.V. Ramasamy Naicker openly announced his support by addressing Kamaraj as 'Pachai Tamizhan' (True Tamilian).

2 G.O.No.520, Public (Special) Miscellaneous, 13th April 1954.
C.N. Annadurai extended his support through a series of articles which he wrote in his Party journal Dravida Nadu.  

Kamaraj received such an overwhelming support from his own Partymen and other opposition parties that he registered a remarkable victory, over his rival candidates.

Kamaraj, true to the overwhelming support extended by the electorate of Gudiyatham and well wishers all over Tamilnadu, began to discharge his duties as a popular Chief Minister. Rajaji was considered by far the ablest administrator known for his intellectual sharpness and Parliamentary abilities. It was the general opinion that no one could be a match to his calibre. The critics of Kamaraj viewed that lack of sound and proper education was a great handicap for Kamaraj. However, Kamaraj proved to be a good administrator.

After reorganisation of the States, Kamaraj became Chief Minister of Madras State which was strictly confined to Tamil speaking areas. He was accessible to every one. He took decisions after making a thorough study of any problem. This correct and simple approach had earned him a good name in the Party

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4 Dravida Nadu (Tamil Weekly), 11th July 1954, p.2.
5 G.O.No.1484, Public (Elections), 30th August 1954;
organisation and it stood him in good stead to tackle the administrative problems.

He was very shrewd not only in taking quick decisions but also in the selection of his colleagues. He never hesitated to include capable and experienced persons into his Cabinet though they belonged to his rival group as in the case of C. Subramaniam. The selection of M. Bakthavatsalam and A.B. Shetty of Rajaji Ministry explained the fact that Kamaraj stood for efficiency and excellence in administration.

In the formation of his Ministry on the first occasion itself, he exhibited his shrewdness by allocating the Hindu Religious Endowment Department to B. Parameshwaran, a Harijan Leader. By this he achieved the objective of giving importance to the Harijan community, a striking move against untouchability. It also helped him to win the sympathy and support of the Harijans all over Tamilnadu.

In the composition of the Second Ministry soon after the significant victory in the Second General Elections held in 1957, Kamaraj again exhibited his balance of mind. His team of Ministry included 4 new faces. They were R. Venkataraman, P. Kakkan, V. Ramaiah and Lourdammal Simon. The inclusion of R. Venkata-

Raman helped Tamilnadu to achieve diversified industrial development. P. Kakkan, a Harijan leader known for his integrity, ability and sacrifice added strength to Kamaraj Ministry. The inclusion of Lourdammal Simon was to give representation to women, to the Christian minority, fishermen community and to give representation to the newly constituted Kanyakumari District. With the small and compact team of able and efficient Ministers Kamaraj's second term of Chief Ministership again proved successful.

Kamaraj formed his Third Ministry soon after the 1962 Third General Elections. Again four new faces were included in the Ministry. They were Jothi Venkatachalam, N.S.S. Mandradiar, G. Boovaraghavan and S.M. Abdul Majeed. Even this time Kamaraj maintained his aim of keeping a small and compact Cabinet.

Although Congress under the Leadership of Kamaraj could win the elections with required strength to form the Government, the D.M.K. which had barely 15 seats in the previous Assembly, enhanced its number to 50 and attained the status of a recognised opposition Party. Kamaraj realised the need to check the growing influence of D.M.K. and to formulate his policies so as to challenge and check the further growth of the D.M.K.

9 Interview with P. Ramachandran at Madras, on 3rd January 1993.
10 Madras Information, April 1962, p.18.
After one and a half years from the formation of his Third Ministry, Kamaraj decided to quit the Chief Minister’s post to give a fillip to the declining fortunes of the Congress, which became evident in the 1962 General Elections and the subsequent By-elections held in different parts of the country.

The size of Kamaraj’s Cabinet during his long rule as Chief Minister was small with just 8 Ministers. But it was compact enough to carry on the work and it presented a picture of homogeneous body. 12

Kamaraj was able to achieve a lot as he made good use of the Five Year Plans. It was fortunate that the introduction of the Five Year Plans coincided with the assumption of the office of Chief Ministership by Kamaraj in Madras State.

Kamaraj assumed office while the First Five Year Plan was being implemented from 1951. The implementation of the Second Five Year Plan coincided with the election of Kamaraj as Chief Minister for the second term in 1957, while the Third Five Year Plan coincided with the third term of Kamaraj from 1962. Utilising the Plan proposals Kamaraj strove hard to make the State a progressive one. The Plan schemes were fully executed under the stewardship of Kamaraj and that made Tamilnadu the “best

administered State in India" as appreciated by Jawaharlal Nehru.  

Another reason for Kamaraj's success as administrator was that he never gave place for personal ambition; nor was he carried away by dubious proposals. He was very keen that public funds should be properly spent for the benefit of the common man rather than to cater to the needs of a few vested-interests.

Kamaraj maintained cordial and harmonious relationship with the civil service personnel who bore the brunt of the administration. Kamaraj by his simple and straight forward approach to the problems won the respect and regard of the secretaries. If he found that his Ministerial colleagues were not maintaining good relations with the civil servants he was never reluctant to correct them. When Kamaraj quit the office in 1963 he was given a warm send-off by almost all secretaries of the Departments.

Kamaraj as Chief Minister set up a committee known as the 'State Development Committee'. It included all the

14 Thuglak (Tamil Fortnightly), 1st October 1992.
15 The Hindu, 1st October 1963.
16 Madras Information, January 1959, p.12.
Ministers, Secretaries and Heads of Departments. This committee met once in three months to review the progress and the performance of every department in respect of the Plan proposals and targets.

It helped the Secretaries and Heads of Departments to ascertain the progress or failure of the schemes. It was also useful to sort out any delay in the execution of the schemes. This sort of dynamic action on the part of Ministers, Secretaries and Heads of Departments helped the State Government to earn the reputation of being number one State in utilising the Plan outlay and in the execution of the schemes well before the end of the period. 17

Topmost priority was given by Kamaraj to education. In fact it was the controversial Educational Policy introduced by Rajaji that led to the succession of Kamaraj as Chief Minister. Kamaraj took the first step of dropping the scheme introduced by Rajaji. 18

True to the spirit of the directive principles of the State Policy enshrined in the Constitution of India, the Ministry of Kamaraj decided to impart compulsory and free education for

all children till they completed 14 years of age. For this purpose the Government of Madras constituted a committee under the Chairmanship of Dr.R.M. Alagappa Chettiar to examine and suggest the ways and means of implementing the compulsory primary education.

To begin with, the Madras Government headed by Kamaraj proposed to open schools in all villages with a population of 500 and above. In the year 1954-55 there were 13,703 villages and small towns each with a population of 500 and more. Of these 12,967 villages and small towns were provided with minimum one or more schools by the end of the year. After five years the Government set up more schools. By the year 1961-62 another 12,267 centres with a population of 500 and more were provided with one or more schools.

In 1962-63 Kamaraj Ministry took steps to provide schools in villages with a population of 300 and above. It is astonishing to note that the number of school-going children enrolled in the schools got almost doubled within a period of 8 years. In 1955-56 enrollment in Elementary Schools was about 1,924,874 whereas the figure almost doubled in 1962-63.

20 Madras Information, January 1955, p.80.
21 Madras Information, March 1963, p.11.
The Government of Madras adopted the scheme proposed by the Government of India to promote Primary Education in rural areas by creating Single-Teacher schools. Under this scheme relief was provided to unemployed youth force in the rural areas. Kamaraj Ministry made considerable progress in promoting primary education by creating more single teacher schools in schoolless centres.  

To meet the demand for secondary education, consequent on the opening of more number of primary schools it became necessary to open secondary schools all over the State by the Madras Government headed by Kamaraj. A notable feature in this expansion of secondary education was that majority of the new schools were located in rural areas.  

Another noteworthy achievement of Kamaraj Ministry was the reorganisation of secondary education. The new scheme provided opportunity for a student to learn mother-tongue or a classical language and Hindi besides English. Diversified courses were also introduced in the secondary schools with the object of providing technical education at the secondary level. This made secondary education not merely academic but also technically oriented. Under this scheme Engineering, Textile  

24 Madras Information, March 1958, p.3.
Technology, Agriculture, Secretarial course, Home Science were included.  

The Government of Madras also implemented the proposals made by the State Secondary Education Implementation Committee headed by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. The new scheme provided for a new pattern for the secondary education which came to consist of 11 years, of which 7 years were spent at the primary level followed by 4 years of higher secondary stage. This new pattern provided for subjects like Mathematics, General Science and Social Studies under compulsory subjects.

The Government of Madras realised the need to provide for more trained teachers to meet the demand in primary and secondary education. It came forward to open more number of training schools both for men and women. In 1953-54 there were 140 training schools of which 76 were for men and 64 for women with a total intake of 19,250 scholars of both sexes.

26 Ibid.
Though there was no marked rise in the number of Teacher Training Institutes by the years 1962-63 there was a steady rise in the intake of scholars showing a rise of nearly 4,000 in number. The expenditure also rose from 19 lakhs per year in 1954-55 to 38 lakhs in 1962-63. 29

The Midday Meals Scheme launched in July 1956 unofficially on voluntary basis under the guidance of the then Director of Public Instructions, which later became a good incentive for the promotion of education in the State, was another noteworthy change brought about by the Government of Madras under the leadership of Kamaraj. 30 The School Midday Meal Scheme was approved of in November 1957 as a voluntary movement eligible for Government assistance and was also included in the State's Second Five Year Plan with a total provision of Rs.164.77 lakhs. The scheme was also eligible for Central assistance upto 50 per cent of the cost. 31 It created a congenial atmosphere in the rural areas for learning.

It became recognised as a successful incentive in registering regular attendance of pupils enrolled. It also helped to increase

29 M. Vanan, Op.cit., P. Appendix Table No.III.
the enrolment in rural areas. Pupils of different communities sat together and ate together. Thus it helped to break the caste barrier and led to a silent revolution. In the long run, it was hoped that it would bring about a united, well-integrated society devoid of the consciousness of caste difference. Since the Government of Madras came forward to open primary schools in all centres where the population exceeded 300 and above, it became necessary to feed more children in the age-group of 5-10 and above. One of the major factors in preventing rural parents in sending their little wards to schools was their inability to feed them regularly. Moreover they could earn a meagre income by employing the children on the field. Therefore it became obvious that at least one meal provided in the school in the afternoon, would increase the enrolment in the schools. Kamaraj's thinking proved to be right when the enrolment showed a steady rise in the schools within two years of the implementation of the scheme. "There is no doubt that to Kamaraj midday meals are part of a philosophy of life and that being so, he and his colleagues have pursued the programme with a missionary zeal".  

The zeal shown by his administration was well supported by the public and the scheme received the help of a number

32 Madras Information, March 1963, p.36.
of philanthropists and donors from all over the State. In some
villages rich landlords came forward to contribute in kind or
feed some children for a specific period by turns. In certain
areas the public contributed willingly a handful of rice at
intervals for this purpose. Donations collected in cash and
kind were also used to manage the feeding of poor children through
local committees constituted for this purpose.\footnote{Madras Information, March 1963, p.36.}

The Madras Government watched the voluntary school scheme
for over a year. The public reception was enthusiastic and
the benefit extended to poor children was immense. It was
decided in November 1957 to extend financial assistance to the
extent of 60 per cent of the total expenditure while the remaining
40 per cent was expected to be borne by the local public.\footnote{Ibid.}

The benefits of the scheme were felt very early in the
State. It helped to increase the number of school-going children
in the rural areas, who did not enjoy the privilege of attending
schools for want of one meal in the afternoon. It helped to
prevent the wastage caused by the drop-outs from school. It
also encouraged a new social outlook among the old and the young,
a sort of awareness in community development. Again it directly
helped the State Government in making the universal free
educational policy a success.\textsuperscript{36}

The supply of uniforms free of cost to school children also formed a part of the policy of Kamaraj's Ministry to augment the process of learning in the State. In 1960 the Education Department provided necessary funds to supply free uniform to school children.\textsuperscript{37} The scheme grew with the generous public support and the number of children receiving free uniform rose three-fold within five years. The scheme started with 3.6 lakhs children in 1961 and increased to nearly 9.4 lakhs, in 1966.\textsuperscript{38}

The Government of Madras also initiated the School Improvement Movement.\textsuperscript{39} It was a scheme where the involvement of the local people was seen at a higher degree. The local population took part in the movement by contributing money, clothes, materials for midday meals, gift of lands, buildings, construction of quarters for teachers, provision of furniture and equipment for schools, supply of books to the library, etc.\textsuperscript{40}

In 1958 for the first time the scheme was tried as an experiment at Kadampathur, in Chengleput district. On the

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Madras Information}, February 1963, p.15.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid.}, p.17.
success of the first movement and further encouragement extended
by the public nearly 159 school improvement conferences were
held all over the State upto February 1963 covering 24,565 schools.
The total benefit derived from the movement fetched almost 793
lakhs worth of tools for furthering the cause of education at
the primary level. 41

Under the scheme the school became an integral part of
the locality for which every one had responsibility. This
movement indeed helped in a great way to bring about social
and economic awareness among the local public about the dire
needs of the school. No wonder the success of the scheme made
the then Prime Minister Nehru to congratulate the authorities
for organising such a scheme with a good response from the
public. 42

The Ministry of Kamaraj was also keen on promoting the
welfare of the teachers. For the first time in Asia, the
Government of Madras implemented the triple benefit schemes
of pension, provident fund and insurance for teachers from
1.4.1955. 43 In order to extend the benefit of free education
to the wards of teachers half fee concession was also granted
to the wards of school teachers working in secondary and primary

41 Madras Information, February 1963, p.16.
42 Ibid.
43 Madras Information, October 1963, p.8.
Another concession given to teachers was the education advance to meet the expenses of higher studies of their wards.

Besides primary education, secondary education also made considerable progress during the time of Kamaraj's rule as Chief Minister. In 1954-55 there were 1031 secondary schools all over Tamilnadu. But by the year 1962-63 the number rose to 1820, a sharp rise indeed. The number of pupils learning in the schools also shot up proportionately. The total number of school children at secondary level was around 3.82 lakhs in 1954-55. The number almost got doubled in 1962-63 to 6.20 lakhs. This was due to the compulsory primary education introduced by the Government of Madras.

Even in Collegiate Education considerable progress was achieved following the effective steps taken by the Government of Madras during this period. The total number of colleges in 1953-54 were only 53, with a total strength of 39 thousand inclusive of male and female scholars. After a period of 9 years i.e. by the end of 1962-63 the total number of colleges rose to 63 with a total strength of 49,000 scholars.

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47 Ibid., p.75.
expenditure for higher education rose from 82.80 lakhs to 1.74 crores almost a two-fold rise. The same spurt of growth could well be noticed in Technical Education and professional colleges. The Government of Madras also extended beneficiary measures to the teachers of higher education. Pension benefit with Family pension was provided to college teachers from 1962-63.\(^{48}\)

The second major sphere that received the attention of Kamaraj as Chief Minister was irrigation. It was with two primary aims that Kamaraj wanted to devote more attention to this Department - one was to provide irrigation facilities for the vast track of lands at the river beds with a view to increase food production; the second aim was to utilise the power generation that the vast hydel-projects could deliver as a result of the construction of new dams and reservoirs for the purposes of agriculture.

Electrification and irrigation, in his opinion were the two key factors which would raise not only agricultural production but also the industrial output of the State.\(^{49}\)

The proposal for planned development as outlined in the Five Year Plans, served as a blessing and Kamaraj's Ministry

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\(^{48}\) Budget Speeches 1962-63, Government of Madras, pp. 262-263.

did not miss the opportunity to utilise the funds towards achieving an all-round progress.

In the First Five Year Plan period nine schemes were taken up. Lower Bhavani Project was planned at a cost of Rs.10 crores with the aim of providing irrigation for 2.07,000 acres of lands. Mettur Canal Scheme was again a part of the First Five Year Plan to provide irrigation facilities for about 45,000 acres of lands in the Salem and Coimbatore districts. These two plans were finished ahead of time. The other seven schemes - Cauvery Delta Drainage Improvement Scheme; Manimuthar Araniyar, Amaravathi, Vaigai, Sathamur and Krishnagiri were completed before the commencement of the Second Five Year Plan. All the schemes put together cost Rs.29 crores with extended irrigation facilities for about 3,34,000 acres of lands in various districts.

In the Second Five Year Plan period four major schemes and two minor schemes were taken up. Of these New Kattalai High Level Canal Scheme and Pullambadi Canal Scheme were completed in two year time i.e. by the middle of September 1959.

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50 Budget Speeches 1960-61, Government of Madras, p.156.
51 Ibid.
Vidur Dam was completed in December 1959. The other schemes were completed before the announcement of the Third Five Year Plan. Thanks to the elaborate irrigation facilities provided by the new schemes vast acres of lands amounting nearly to 2.92 lakhs were brought under cultivation. 54

With the completion of projects under First and Second Five Year Plans nearly 90 per cent of the potentialities of the rivers in the State had been availed of. 55

In the Third Five Year Plan period, since all the rivers had already been harnessed, the Government of Madras took up minor irrigation schemes, such as Tank improvement, Desilting, Reclamation of tanks etc. The schemes also contributed in a greater way for the improvement of irrigation and in turn for agricultural production. 56

Kamaraj through his long-term of office as Chief Minister strove hard to provide new dimensions to the rapid growth of the State through power generation and electrification of the rural areas. The Government of Madras under the leadership of Kamaraj systematically carried out power generation projects

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54 Ibid.
55 Madras Information, February 1959, p.17.
56 Budget Speeches 1959-60, Government of Madras, p.100.
and electrification of rural areas to increase agricultural production.

The Periyar Hydel Project was the biggest of the four schemes of the First Plan period and it was completed during the Second Plan period. It was carried out at a cost of Rs.10.09 crores and it increased power generation considerably.\textsuperscript{57} The second major scheme which helped the process of power generation in the State was the Kundah Hydel Power Project.

It was taken up during the Second Five Year Plan period in Kundah Hill Basin of Nilgiris district. It was the biggest scheme planned to develop power generation.\textsuperscript{58} With such clear planning the State could achieve rural electrification at a greater speed. At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan only 813 villages had the advantage of electrification. By the close of Third Five Year Plan in 1966 nearly 22,103 villages had the benefits of electricity.\textsuperscript{59}

During the same period Madras State witnessed rapid increase in the number of pumpsets receiving electricity for agricultural purposes. It was roughly 14,626 pumpsets in the beginning and it rose to nearly 75,193 pumpsets in the Second

\textsuperscript{57} Madras Information, November 1958, p.11.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.

It increased three-fold by the end of Third Plan period in 1966, when the number of pumpsets rose to 2,60,000. Thanks to the extended electrification in the rural side, the agricultural production reached new heights and the State could boast of a surplus food produce by the time Kamaraj quit the office in 1963.

Another remarkable step taken by the Madras Government under Kamaraj's leadership in the field of power generation and its proper distribution and maintenance was the creation of the Electricity Board. It was constituted with the purpose of managing day to day administration of the department on commercial lines, but under Government control. The great enthusiasm and interest bestowed by the Government of Madras made the State stand first in the matter of utilisation of power for irrigation purposes and in the number of consumers in the year 1963. It was placed in the second rank in the field of hydro-electric output. Thus Madras State marched steadily towards greater generation and utilisation of electric power.

The Industrial progress of the State was remarkable during the 9 year rule of Kamaraj. The State was primarily dependant on agriculture but had more potential for Industrial growth. The Second Five Year Plan that commenced from 1956-57 gave prominence to Industrial growth. In tune with the National Policy, Government of Madras under Kamaraj properly utilised the scheme and planned for the rapid industrialisation of the State. Of the various measures taken to promote industrialisation, establishment of Industrial Estates at different centres of the State was given priority. Industrial Estates were established in Guindy and Virudhunagar in the first instance. Under this scheme Small Scale Industry received much encouragement. Similar Industrial estates were established in the Third and Fourth Plan periods also at the places such as Ambattur in Madras and Ranipet in North Arcot.

In accordance with the Five Year Plan Scheme heavy industries also got established in the State during the tenure of Kamaraj. With the available raw-materials such as coal, iron, limestone and china-clay, the State could achieve progress with proper planning. For rapid industrial growth the State

65 Budget Speeches 1957-58, Government of Madras, pp.41-42.
67 Madras Information, May 1963, p.5.
adopted new devices such as the constitution of new industrial zones to start industries related to the available raw-materials and lending financial assistance through agencies such as the Madras Industrial Investment Corporation.⁶⁸

The five Industrial zones - Madras, Neyveli Project Area, Tuticorin Belt, Salem - Pallipalayam, Coimbatore-Pollachi and Trichirapalli zone - became the centres of New Industrial Units. Because of such cautious and careful planning many multi-purpose heavy industries such as Neyveli Lignite Corporation got established in the State. The establishment of Avadi Heavy Vehicles Factory, Bharath Heavy Electricals Limited, Trichy, Raw Film Factory, Ooty, Integral Coach Factory, Madras, Atomic Energy Plant, Kalpakkam, Teleprinters Factory at Guindy and Seshasayee Paper Mills, Pallipalayam, India Cements, Sankaridrug, and Sugar Factory marked the Industrial growth of the State.⁶⁹

A noteworthy feature of the Ministry of Kamaraj was the same amount of encouragement extended by the Government to Small Scale Industries. As a result, a remarkable transformation had taken place in the Madras State. Along with Heavy and Medium Industries like manufacture of Rail coaches, Goods Wagons, Cars, Trucks, Motor cycles, Scooters, Diesel Engines, Small Scale

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⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.14-16.
Units producing Motor pumpsets, Lamps, Meters, Batteries also developed. Within a period of 9 years the total number of Small Scale Units alone touched the figure of 4500 in the State. In the All India ranking it was second to Maharashtra and West Bengal.\(^70\) When Kamaraj left office, the Madras State was placed in the third position in the All India Industrial map.

Kamaraj was not merely an idealist; he was a realist and he knew well that country like India depending on monsoon and Agrarian Economy should concentrate more on improving the standard of Agriculture. His determination to harness all the major rivers in the State and to improve the power generation and its proper utilisation for Agricultural purposes was directed to achieving the objective of improving the condition of Agriculture and the peasant folk involved in the profession. He was also aware of the fact that Indian Economy was until then wedded to Agricultural production and its distribution.

Having provided the necessary means to improve production through irrigation and electrification, his Ministry concentrated on improving the condition of Agricultural labourers.

The Madras Cultivating Tenants Act 1956 ensured the rights of the tillers. The Madras Land Reforms Act of 1962 enabled

\(^70\) Ibid.
the Government to fix a ceiling on Agricultural land. It also helped the Government to grab excess lands from big landlords and distribute the same to the landless.  

Such combined measures enabled the Madras Government to achieve the target of self-sufficiency in food within a short duration of a decade.  

Notable progress was made during the rule of Kamaraj in the field of housing for Government servants, police officials and weavers. City Improvement Trust was formed to encourage House Building and the development of urban areas.

Panchayat Raj and Community Development were the two other features of the rule of Kamaraj. Panchayats were given due share in the administration of the local areas and the community development scheme proposed through Panchayat Unions also paved the way for greater development of the rural areas. Social Welfare Schemes were implemented for the betterment of the Depressed Classes, such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Much was done to protect the interest of the women

72 Madras Information, October 1963, p.7.
74 Budget Speeches 1957-58, Government of Madras, p.44.
75 Madras Information, October 1963, p.10.
and to improve the condition of women labourers.\textsuperscript{76} In the field of Family Planning also, a Board was constituted even before the Central Government proposed a scheme to implement Family Planning.\textsuperscript{77}

Of all the services rendered by the Government of Madras during the rule of Kamaraj, the services to promote Tamil language deserves special mention. Kamaraj always did things without much fanfare. It was as early as 1955 that the Budget Speech of the State Legislature was presented in Tamil.\textsuperscript{78} The Tamil Academy started in 1947 was entrusted with the task of preparing an encyclopaedia in Tamil. After 14 years the Tamil Academy published its first volume in 1962.\textsuperscript{79} Again it was during the rule of Kamaraj that Tamil was introduced as a medium of instruction in colleges from the year 1961.\textsuperscript{80}

Another noteworthy achievement of Congress Government under the leadership of Kamaraj was the constitution of the Tamil Research Council in 1958. It was established to improve the usage of Tamil and to implement the Official Language Act which

\textsuperscript{76} Madras Information, October 1963, p.10.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{79} Madras Information, February 1963, p.31.

made Tamil the Administrative Language. Tamil Typewriters were also put into official use from January 14, 1958. In the same year and on the same day Tamil became the official language of the State. But at the same time to maintain National Unity and to achieve National integration the Congress Government passed the three language formula which was misunderstood by the public and misrepresented by the main opposition party, the D.M.K. as an indirect means of Hindi imposition.

When his fame had reached the pinnacle and his name had become almost a household name in Tamilnadu, Kamaraj resigned his office of Chief Minister in 1963 to take up a greater role at the National level, as the President of the AICC.

"Kamaraj's dominant influence in shaping events and policies of Tamilnadu as Chief Minister earned for him an abiding place in the history of free India's first two decades".

81 Madras Information, February 1958, p.27.
82 The Hindu, 4th October 1975.