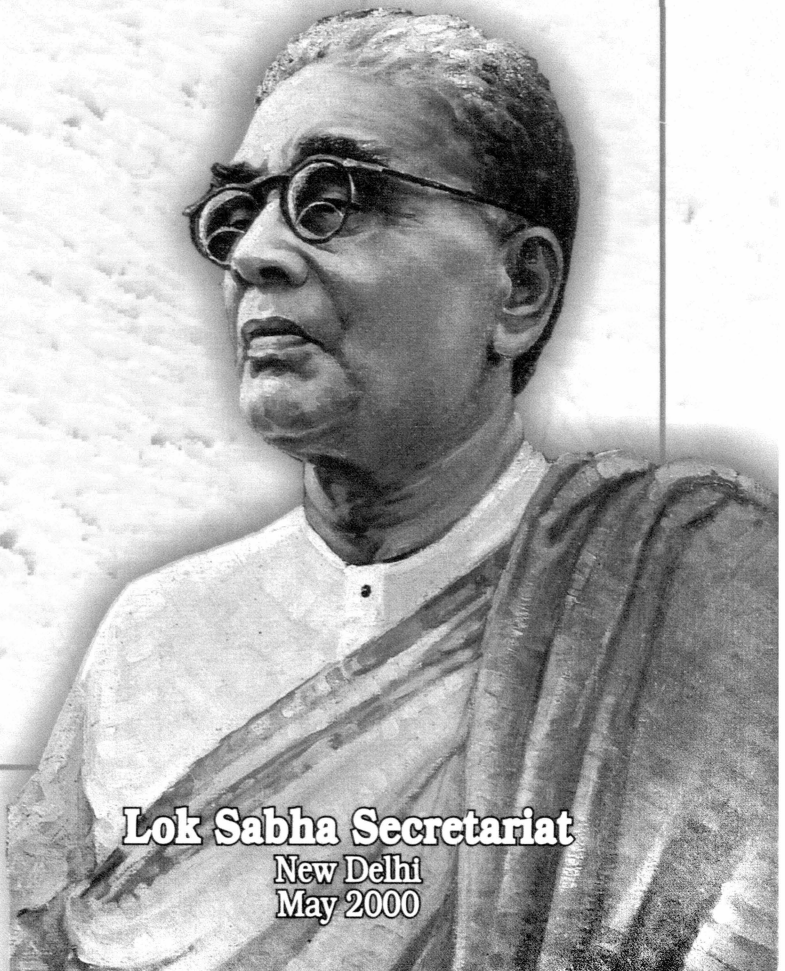


*Andhra Kesari  
Tanguturi  
Prakasam*



**Lok Sabha Secretariat**

New Delhi

May 2000

*ANDHRA KESARI*  
TANGUTURI PRAKASAM

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI

MAY 2000



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## PREFACE

*Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam was one of the outstanding leaders in the nation's socio-political firmament. By his limitless courage, infinite wisdom and inimitable pragmatism, he endeared himself to the people of the country. His was a multi-faceted personality—a valiant freedom fighter, eminent parliamentarian, erudite scholar and a brilliant administrator. The modern State of Andhra Pradesh is a shining example of his vision.

A grateful nation honours the memory of the *Andhra Kesari* on 5 May, 2000 when the Hon'ble President of India will unveil Prakasam's statue in the Parliament House. The initiative for installing the statue which came from the Government of Andhra Pradesh was warmly endorsed by the Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri G.M.C. Balayogi.

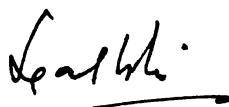
The statue of T. Prakasam, sculpted by the eminent sculptor, D. Sankar & Brothers and made of bronze, is 7'8" in height and is placed on a 9" platform. The statue has been donated by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

To mark the occasion, the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out this publication which carries *Messages* from several dignitaries, a profile of Prakasam, his views on various aspects of our national life and some select photographs. An Exhibition depicting the life and times of the *Andhra Kesari* is also being organised by the Parliamentary Museum and Archives.

We are grateful to all the dignitaries who have sent *Messages* for this publication. We are beholden to the Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, for his inspiring guidance in organizing this function. We also express our grateful thanks to the Government of Andhra Pradesh and various other agencies for their unstinted cooperation.

This publication is a humble tribute to the memory of one of the greatest builders of modern India. We hope it will be found useful and informative by all.

New Delhi;  
5 May, 2000



G. C. MALHOTRA,  
SECRETARY-GENERAL,  
Lok Sabha

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# MESSAGES

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PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

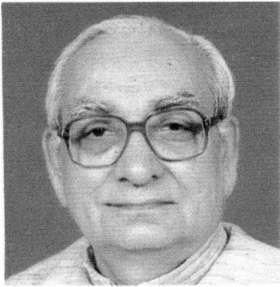
## MESSAGE

A many splendoured personality, Shri T. Prakasam combined in himself the sterling qualities of a freedom fighter, eminent journalist, able administrator and statesman. He was the first in Andhra to give up legal practice at the call of Mahatma Gandhi and join the freedom movement. The daily newspaper *Swarajya* that he established in 1921, became so popular that there were persistent demands for it to be published in other languages as well. His administrative abilities were reflected in his important decisions in manifold areas of statecraft. The Jamindari Abolition Report prepared by him for Madras Province became the precursor of the Government of India's efforts to abolish the system in the rest of our country. Shri Prakasam's contribution to the formation of Andhra Pradesh is a legend in itself. His life and deeds indeed constitute a new era of progress and prosperity not only for Andhra Pradesh but also for the entire country.

It is fitting that a statue of the *Andhra Kesari* be unveiled in Parliament House.

New Delhi;  
26 April, 2000

(K. R. NARAYANAN)



VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA


## MESSAGE

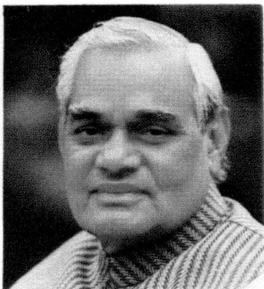
I am happy to know that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* Shri T. Prakasam is being unveiled in the Parliament House premises on 5th May, 2000.

T. Prakasam was one of the tallest personalities of India's freedom movement and post-Independence India. A staunch patriot, legal luminary, journalist and above all a tireless champion of the masses, Shri Prakasam's life was an inspiring saga of service and sacrifice for the nation and its people. He was the first to propound the thesis that land should belong to the tiller. As the first Chief Minister of Andhra, Shri Prakasam established an efficient, responsive, honest and people-friendly government.

This statue of Shri T. Prakasam in the Parliament premises will be a reminder to us all and to the new generations of the life and work of one of India's greatest sons.

New Delhi;  
19 April, 2000

  
(KRISHAN KANT)



PRIME MINISTER

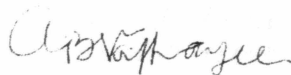
## M E S S A G E

I am pleased to know that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* T. Prakasam is being unveiled in Parliament on May 5, 2000.

Shri Prakasam was one of India's leading freedom fighters. He rose from a humble background to become one of the towering statesmen of the land, both before and after independence. He was also a good administrator, both as Chief Minister of the composite Madras State and later as the first Chief Minister of Andhra, in the creation of which he played an important role.

Shri Prakasam's statue in Parliament will continue to remind us of his life and his work, both of which are an inspiration to all of us.

New Delhi;  
21 April, 2000

  
(A. B. VAJPAYEE)



SPEAKER, LOK SABHA


## MESSAGE

*Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu was one of the outstanding leaders of our Freedom Movement. He was an important source of inspiration for the people of Andhra Pradesh in joining the Movement in large numbers during a crucial phase of its history. As a lawyer, journalist, freedom fighter, parliamentarian and administrator, he left an indelible imprint of his personality in every area he chose to tread in life. Through the remarkable leadership he provided to the State of Andhra Pradesh as its Chief Minister in its formative years, and through the pathbreaking initiatives he took in office, he earned a legendary image for himself during his life time itself. The impact he made on the socio-political life of Andhra Pradesh is unparalleled. Our nation, particularly the people of Andhra Pradesh, owe a lot to the memory of this great leader.

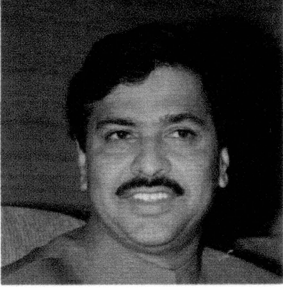
It is a fitting tribute to the memory of Prakasam Panthulu that his statue is being unveiled in the precincts of the Parliament House by the Hon'ble President of India on 5th May, 2000.

I pay my respectful homage to Prakasam Panthulu on this occasion.

New Delhi;  
28 April, 2000

  
( G. M. C. BALAYOGI )





MINISTER OF  
PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS &  
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

## MESSAGE

I am very happy to know that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* Shri T. Prakasam will be unveiled in the Parliament House premises by the Hon. President of India on 5th May, 2000.

Many people in our country are not aware that in terms of patriotic services during the struggle for Independence, Shri Prakasam's contribution was second to none. He attained national stature and fame during the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920-22. He was the towering figure in the movement from the province of Madras. He was a member of the Central Assembly and his contributions to the fields of journalism and administration can never be forgotten. It was befitting that when the State of Andhra came into being in 1953 he was prevailed upon to head the first Andhra Ministry.

Shri Prakasam always remained an idol of the masses. The heroic deeds of the man, his unparalleled services in the nation's cause and his hold on the affections of millions of people are now part of legend. The unveiling of his statue in this new millennium is indicative of the special position accorded to him in the annals of our national history.

New Delhi;  
28 April, 2000

प्रमोद महाजन

(PRAMOD MAHAJAN)

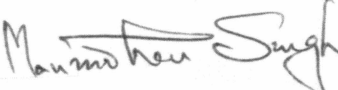


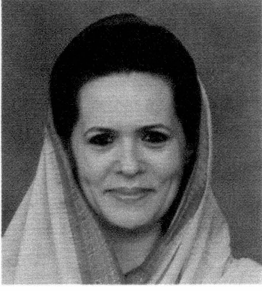
LEADER OF OPPOSITION  
RAJYA SABHA

## MESSAGE

I am very pleased to learn that the statue of *Andhra Kesari* Shri T. Prakasam will be unveiled in the Parliament House premises by the Hon'ble President of India on 5th May, 2000. Shri T. Prakasam was a distinguished leader who played a very important role in India's freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As a Minister in the Congress Government which came to power in the composite Madras State in 1937, and, later, as Chief Minister of this composite State, he pioneered a spate of revolutionary reforms inspired by the Gandhian constructive programmes involving, in particular, programmes relating to the uplift of Dalits, Handloom Weavers and other deprived sections of the community. The programme of rural development that he introduced came to be looked upon as a precursor of the community development project that was later to change the fate of rural India. Shri T. Prakasam was a great champion of the cause of a separate State of Andhra Pradesh formed on linguistic basis. It was a fitting tribute to his qualities of head and heart that he was prevailed upon to head the first Andhra Ministry in October, 1953. His thirteen months' administration was packed with significant events and the launching of major irrigation projects. Shri T. Prakasam's life and work will continue to inspire the coming generations of people of our country who will remember with gratitude the magnificent services he rendered first as a great freedom fighter and then as a distinguished administrator. I pay my homage to the memory of this great son of our country.

New Delhi;  
20 April, 2000

  
(MANMOHAN SINGH)




LEADER OF OPPOSITION  
LOK SABHA

## MESSAGE

*Andhra Kesari* Shri T. Prakasam was one of the giants of the Freedom Movement, a highly esteemed follower of Gandhiji's and a towering source of strength to the Congress in South India. A distinguished lawyer, who sacrificed his promising career to the cause of the Independence of his Motherland, Shri Prakasam combined unremitting patriotism with outstanding organizational abilities, rare courage, sharp political acumen, a brilliant mind and a facile pen. His powerful advocacy took him to the editorship of *Swarajya*. He earned rich accolades becoming, in succession, President of Andhra Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee, Chief Minister of the erstwhile composite State of Madras, and later first Chief Minister of the new State of Andhra. He dedicated his life to the service of the people and they, in turn, gave him abundantly of their affection and esteem. It is a privilege to pay my tribute to his memory, on my behalf and on behalf of the Indian National Congress.

New Delhi;  
26 April, 2000

  
(SONIA GANDHI)



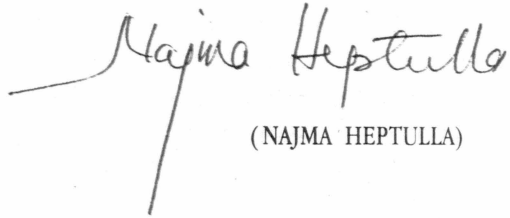
DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON,  
RAJYA SABHA  
AND  
PRESIDENT,  
INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

## MESSAGE

Tanguturi Prakasam, popularly known as *Andhra Kesari*, had a multi-faceted personality. He was an eminent freedom fighter, astute politician, great journalist and an able administrator. He endeavoured all his life to change the face of rural India. People hold him in high esteem. He is remembered for his heroic deeds and unparalleled sacrifices made by him for the cause of the poor people.

The statue of this great son of India, I am sure, would continue to inspire us to serve our nation selflessly.

New Delhi;  
18 April, 2000

  
(NAJMA HEPTULLA)

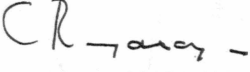


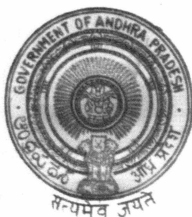
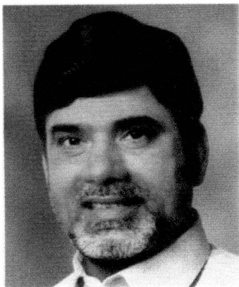
GOVERNOR  
ANDHRA PRADESH

## MESSAGE

I am extremely happy to know that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* Shri T. Prakasam will be unveiled in the Parliament House premises by the Honourable President of India on May 5, 2000. This is a fitting tribute to one of the most courageous personalities of the freedom struggle. A foremost leader of the Independence Movement, it was Shri Prakasam's dauntless courage and sacrifice that won widespread admiration. His act of bravery exhibited during the Simon Commission Boycott Movement earned him the title *Andhra Kesari*. He was the first Chief Minister of Andhra. The people of Andhra Pradesh have derived much inspiration from his life and achievements as a leader and administrator. May his memory continue to govern our actions.

Hyderabad;  
19 April, 2000

  
(C. RANGARAJAN)



CHIEF MINISTER  
ANDHRA PRADESH

## MESSAGE

I am happy to learn that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* Shri Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu is being unveiled in the premises of the Parliament House on 5th May, 2000 and a commemorative volume is being brought out on the occasion.

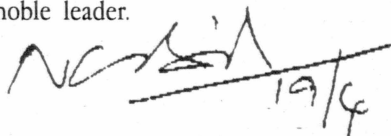
Shri Prakasam Panthulu has been the colossus on the political firmament of the country and a zealous protector of the rights and interests of the Telugu speaking people. As the first Chief Minister of the then Andhra State, he inspired a generation of leaders in public life. He was a role model politician of all times.

An architect of modern Andhra, Prakasam Panthulu strode the political scenario like a colossus with strong willpower and perseverance and identified himself with the trials and tribulations of the State to such an extent that his life was entwined with the history of Andhra. Hailing from a poor family, he rose to dizzy heights as the most accomplished legal luminary, distinguished editor of *Swarajya*, a staunch freedom fighter and a veteran Parliamentarian. His 'firka development' concept during the early 50s would continue to serve as the strong focal point for rural development at the micro-level.

*Andhra Kesari* Prakasam left an indelible impression over the public life and his life itself was a message for generations to come.

I pay my humble tributes to the noble leader.

Hyderabad;  
19 April, 2000

  
19/4

(N. CHANDRABABU NAIDU)



DEPUTY SPEAKER  
LOK SABHA

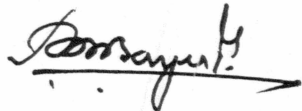
## MESSAGE

I am very happy to learn that a statue of *Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu is being unveiled by the Hon'ble President of India in the precincts of the Parliament House on 5th May, 2000.

Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu was among the distinguished leaders of our Freedom Movement. A man of extraordinary courage and determination and a true patriot, he strode the political horizon like a colossus for nearly four decades. As the Chief Minister of Andhra, he made remarkable contributions towards the socio-economic reconstruction of the new State. His ideas on land reforms and cooperative movement are as relevant today as they were nearly half a century ago.

The statue of Prakasam Panthulu in the premises of our Parliament House will help us all in reminding ourselves of the lofty values and ideals that this great son of India championed through a life-time.

New Delhi;  
27 April, 2000



(P.M. SAYEED)

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*ANDHRA KESARI* TANGUTURI PRAKASAM  
— A Profile

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*Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam was a colossal giant who played a valiant role in the national freedom struggle. A great visionary, a legal luminary and an able administrator, Prakasam dominated the political scenario of South India in general and the Andhra area in particular by the sterling qualities of his personality for long years. He brought to bear on his work the force of his unique personality and earned a permanent place in the hearts of his countrymen, particularly the Telugu people who hold him in utmost respect with a profound sense of pride in the legacy he left behind.

## **His early life**

Prakasam was born on 23rd August, 1872 in a middle class family at Vinodarayudupalem, a hamlet of Kanaparti in the Ongole taluk of Guntur district in the then Madras province. He had his early education at Valluru, Addanki and Naidupeta where his schooling was in traditional curriculum. At Naidupeta, he was admitted into an English medium school. While studying there, Prakasam lost his father. This sudden bereavement left the family in financial difficulties, and compelled it to shift to Ongole town, with a view to earning a living. While his mother was running a tiny hotel, Prakasam was getting education in a Government School.

After completing the Fellow of Arts course at Rajahmundry, Prakasam proceeded to Madras and qualified himself as a Pleader. He returned to Rajahmundry, an important town and a centre of many socio-political movements on the banks of Godavari, to set up a lucrative legal practice. In course of time, he developed interest in the local politics and continued to be active in the affairs of the town till his departure for the United Kingdom for higher studies. His association with some of the leading social reformers and other prominent figures at Rajahmundry broadened his horizon and widened his perspective, thereby making him free from the prejudices of his times.

Prakasam left for the United Kingdom in 1904 to study law. He qualified with distinction and returned to India, settling down to practise law in the Madras High Court. He brought to bear upon his profession a robust common sense, perseverance and dynamism. Before long, he became one of the leading lights of the Madras Bar, commanding a lucrative practice. He lived in affluence but became increasingly sensitive to the misery around him, a result of the oppressive policies of colonial rule bent upon ruthless exploitation of India. His heart yearned for action and he was soon drawn into the vortex of the freedom struggle. While in the United Kingdom, for the first time Prakasam came in contact with top Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Shyamji Krishna Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai and became familiar with their views.

### **A man of honesty and integrity**

Prakasam's first foray into public life occurred in Rajahmundry when he was elected as a Municipal Councillor in 1900. He became the Chairman of Rajahmundry Municipality in 1903 which he resigned a year later on the eve of his departure to England. During this brief stint in public affairs, Prakasam showed rare honesty and great impartiality.

Prakasam was in the administration of the municipality both as Councillor and as Chairman. He strove hard to bring improvement in the conditions of the town. Among the numerous problems with which municipalities of the day were confronted, the problem of removal of public encroachments on municipal properties was the most serious. During his association with the municipality, Prakasam firmly refused to entertain any requests for, or claims over, municipal lands from his own ward and objected to the sanctioning of such requests from any area in the town. He brought to the notice of the municipality various instances of encroachments and sought their clearance. Similarly, when he was the Chairman, he refused to entertain any appeals for public land recommended by other councillors.

As Chairman, Prakasam did not try to use his power and influence to consolidate his position in the Council. On the contrary, he did not hesitate to antagonise his own friends when it was necessary to uphold the principles dearer to him. This insistence on principles, especially in the face of determined opposition, cost him dear in the Council. Yet, he stood his ground and remained firm.

## His philosophy

Prakasam unfolded his own manifesto as Chairman of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Apart from explaining his stand on the question of land reforms, this manifesto was his first political statement which comprehensively spelt out his viewpoint on various national issues. On the question of linguistic provinces which was a sensitive issue with the Telugus at that time, Prakasam asserted that without their formation it would not be possible to conduct administration in vernacular languages which was essential for the successful functioning of provincial autonomy.

Prakasam dealt with caste disputes at great length in his manifesto. He felt that the controversy between Brahmins and non-Brahmins was mainly due to the selfishness of certain vested interests. Therefore, he urged that the genuine interests of non-Brahmins should be protected though he was a Brahmin himself.

In fact, by upholding the cause of the common folks, Prakasam was one with Lokmanya Tilak who said that the Indian working class should be organised and the workers should be treated on par with the capitalists. Indeed, Prakasam went further and suggested that the Indian working class also should have a Labour Party and a labour research department on the lines of the British working class movement.

Both Prakasam and Tilak expressed similar views about the improvement of agriculture and pleaded that agricultural schools should be established in each district with rural banks helping farmers. On other matters like the *Swadeshi* movement and the establishment of industries also, their views were identical and their programmes were pragmatic.

On the question of complete independence, Prakasam asserted that 'Independence is the birthright of every citizen'. Prakasam fully agreed with Gandhiji that mere announcement of an objective was of no use unless it was followed up by proper action.

In spite of his strong political beliefs, Prakasam was always ready to accommodate alternative view point in the national interest. He was initially opposed to the Sabarmati Pact in 1926 between the Congress and Swarajya Party. However, he exhibited a pragmatic approach and relented his stand in the interest of unity.

By temperament as well as training, Prakasam was a man of grit and firm determination. However, his concern for the unity of the Congress Party made him resilient which is evident from the following incident:

In 1931, the Reception Committee of the annual meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (A.P.C.C.) named Prakasam for the Presidentship of the A.P.C.C. However, some Congressmen proposed the name of the Kumararaja of Gampalagudem. Eventually, the controversy took a communal colour, with most of the non-Brahmins from Krishna, Guntur and West Godavari districts supporting the Kumararaja of Gampalagudem. Despite this, Prakasam won the election. However, at the next meeting of the A.P.C.C. at Visakhapatnam, Prakasam handed over charge of the A.P.C.C. Presidentship to the Kumararaja of Gampalagudem.

These events indicate not only Prakasam's enlightened attitude but also his concern for unity among Congressmen.

### **Prakasam as a nationalist**

Prakasam was a true nationalist. His nationalist perspective has come about through personal interaction with the leading lights of the Freedom Movement during his stay in England as a student and subsequently when he practised law in Madras High Court by the nature of the cases he took up. The establishment of the nationalist newspaper *Swaraj* in 1921 brought him into the centre stage of nationalist politics and endeared him to Mahatma Gandhi.

During the Gandhian era, he was one of the few who tried for a reconciliation between Gandhiji and the Swarajists and later between the Gandhians and the Socialists in the Congress Party. Prakasam always pleaded that it is only through united action that freedom could be achieved. And to achieve unity, he felt, there must be concessions from all sides and a programme of action acceptable to all must be evolved and pursued. For the sake of achieving unity, he did not hesitate to oppose even Gandhiji.

## Prakasam as a parliamentarian

Prakasam distinguished himself as an outstanding parliamentarian in all the representative bodies of which he was a member. He was elected to the Madras Legislature, the Central Legislative Assembly and the Andhra State Legislature. He was also a member of the Constituent Assembly. In all these bodies, he would impress everyone with his razor sharp analysis of issues, cogent arguments, deep insight and above all with his oratorical skills.

For Prakasam, principle always stood far above positions for which he never craved in any case. He was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly as a Congress member and when the Congress decided to withdraw from the Assembly, in 1929 Prakasam duly resigned even though he personally disapproved of the Party decision. Since he was convinced that the Assembly is the right forum to highlight the issues confronted by the nation, he contested as an independent and came back to the Assembly to do his duty by the nation. His hour-long passionate speech during the Budget discussion on Gandhiji's demand for abolition of salt-tax has come to be considered as one of the memorable speeches ever made in the annals of that Assembly. That famous speech concluded with Prakasam saying thus:

"I hold it, Sir, relying upon the authority of some of the greatest jurists and constitutional lawyers of Great Britain, who refused to administer bad laws when they were called upon to administer them, that it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to ask the Government to revoke such a bad law. If they do not do it, then I consider it will be the duty of every one to break such an oppressive law."

## Rare courage

Prakasam displayed unique courage when the Simon Commission visited Madras in 1928. While leading the boycott against the Commission, Prakasam roared like a lion and bared his chest to meet a British bayonet that was pointed at him. The British officer was so much struck by this act of bravery that he ordered the mounted police to withdraw. Recounting the incident, Prof. N.G. Ranga, later remarked:

"I drew special satisfaction that the title of *Andhra Kesari* that we conferred on Prakasam in 1923-24 at a meeting in Guntur, under the inspiration of *Andhra Ratna* Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, former Professor in the Government Arts College, had been vindicated by the lion-like front presented by him six years later."

## **As an administrator**

When the Congress contested in the provincial elections in 1937 and came into power in the Madras Province, Prakasam accepted office in the Ministry formed by Shri C. Rajagopalachari and became the Revenue Minister. In that capacity, he headed the Zamindari Abolition Committee that eventually produced a voluminous report recommending that the tiller of the soil should become the owner in supersession of all intermediaries. This recommendation could not be implemented for some reason. Years later, when the question came up again, the Government had to look to the Prakasam Report for guidance in this matter.

By virtue of the valiant role he played in the freedom struggle, particularly during the anti-Simon Commission agitation in which he bared his chest to the British bullets, Prakasam rose to great heights in political stature, eventually becoming the Chief Minister of the Composite Madras Province, of which Andhra was a part, in 1946. It was the first time that a Telugu became the Chief Minister of Madras Province. He remained in office for about thirteen months. That brief period witnessed a spate of revolutionary reforms, set in motion by Prakasam in various spheres of administration, inspired by the Gandhian constructive programmes. The uplift of the weaker sections, the popularization of the *Charkha* (spinning wheel), the establishment of Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operatives and *Firka* Development Schemes were some of the most important measures introduced by him. The last-mentioned came to be looked upon as the precursor of the Community Development Project that was to change the face of rural India after Independence.

## **Prakasam and economic policy**

Prakasam's views on economy were largely inspired by the Gandhian perspective. Like Gandhiji, he also visualised the village as a simple and self-sufficient economic unit of the system. He laid great emphasis on agriculture and the development of cottage industries to lift this country from the throes of poverty and the mire of backwardness. He advocated decentralisation to give power to the villages which formed the foundation of our social system. For him, reformation of the rural economy held the key to the overall economic prosperity of the nation and, therefore, improving life in the village was a matter of immense concern for him.

Although Prakasam did not consider the machine an evil, he was convinced that the Indian conditions did not give much scope for the mechanisation of Indian Industry. He felt that the Western type of capitalist society, which developed simultaneously with the growth of science and technology, had many disadvantages. He, therefore, believed that a system which was basically Indian should be evolved and the Western achievements in science and technology could be adapted to Indian conditions.

The most important of Prakasam's efforts to better the lot of the peasants was the establishment of Producers-cum-Consumers Co-operative Societies. From the beginning of his political career, Prakasam was pleading for the establishment of a cooperative credit system in rural areas to provide easy credit and other facilities to farmers, in order to achieve greater productivity in the agricultural operations. He was acutely aware of how the Indian farmer often fell a prey to the greedy machinations of money lenders out of sheer helplessness. He wanted to rescue the average illiterate Indian from the clutches of money lenders.

### **Prakasam's perspective on education**

Prakasam was an eminent educationist who understood the pre-eminent need to spread elementary and adult education to liberate the teeming millions of India from the darkness of ignorance and the pangs of poverty. In pursuance of the Nagpur Congress (1921) resolution on constructive programme, of which the setting of national schools was an important feature, Prakasam established several national schools in different parts of the Andhra region. Of these schools, special mention must be made of the school at Ongole for which the entire expenditure was met from his own resources without taking a penny from the Congress funds.

Prakasam laid a great emphasis on the goal of education. For him, education is a process by which the individual sheds his selfishness in order to live for the common end. He says: "selfishness is far removed from self-fulfilment. There could be difference of opinion about the method of education. But about the object of education, there could be no diversity of views". He had a definite view even on the method of education on which he said thus:

"I am of the opinion that every student who passes through a school, college or university must be given compulsory military training to meet all eventualities and be able to defend himself and to have also the necessary discipline in life".

Prakasam did not believe in insulating the student from the environment in which he lives. Elders often do not appreciate the youngsters taking interest in politics. He deplored such exclusivist tendencies and said thus: "It is my desire that no student should be ignorant of the political and economic conditions of the country". He wanted the educational institutions to produce spirited young men because 'we need all the talent and all the spirit of service in the land to build our future'.

Prakasam deplored the attitude of the educated who 'think themselves a class apart from the uneducated, because this leads to the widening of the gulf between the village and the town, between the agriculturists who form the backbone of the country and the educated who live on the soil but give nothing back to it'. Therefore, he once exhorted the student community thus: 'To rescue our India from this morass of poverty and make the country once again happy, smiling and prosperous, once again a nation with honour and dignity in the comity of nations, is your plain duty and you should deem the doing of that duty a proud privilege'. This requires a purpose-oriented education and not mere bookish knowledge. So he once told a gathering of students:

"as education has so far proceeded on far too academic lines, it has been divorced from the needs of the land. The emphasis hereafter must be shifted from academic learning for its own sake to learning in order to fulfil the needs of the country. The Indian village must dominate all schemes of education and the day must soon come when the educated would go back to the villages, dedicating their gifts freely at the altar of the countryside."

### **His views on religion**

Though Prakasam was born into a traditional Brahmin family, he had developed a broad outlook and enlightened perspective in matters of religion. He was remarkably free from religious rituals and superstitious beliefs which are important factors in obscuring one's outlook. His early contact with leading social reformers and literary figures in Rajahmundry stood him in good stead and inculcated a secular outlook in his perspective. He wrote thus in his autobiography: 'On my return from England, I was advised to perform *Prayaschitta*, a religious ceremony to cancel the evil effects of my overseas visit. They said that I would lose my caste otherwise. I refused to yield to their threats'. He was not irreligious. He once said thus: "I feel that a student should be taught the essence of all religions from the formative age to bring about a happy state of affairs".



At a time when the country was going through the trauma of communal passions running high, Prakasam exhorted that all educated men should understand what true religion is, what its basic principles are, what there is in common in the different religions of the country. He deplored that 'it is in the name of religion that elemental passions are roused and in its name the country is carried through blood-bath'. He bemoaned that:

"religion is debased for the most unholy purposes and wanted all those educated by the universities and colleges should get a real insight into the different religions in our country, understand the essential oneness of them, become tolerant of each other and teach tolerance to the masses to whom they stand in the position of guides and mentors. This is the need of the hour. Statesmen may think of other remedies to combat communalism. But, the remedies are bound to be superficial and mechanical. The real remedy must come deep from the heart and it is to the educationist that this privilege of transforming the heart of man and spiritualizing him is given".

### **Prakasam as a journalist**

During the freedom movement, there was a perception that the Press did not play the kind of aggressive nationalist role that the freedom fighters wanted it to. This was attributed to the fact that the papers were owned by either moderate businessmen or foreigners. The result was a lack of adequate publicity to the programmes organised for the cause of freedom. This dissatisfaction with the Press led readers like Nehru to start the *National Herald* and Prakasam the *Swaraj*, a daily in English. The *Swaraj* was started when the freedom struggle was gaining a national momentum under the leadership of Gandhiji, whose *Young India* was not enough to cover the entire country in those days.

The papers in Madras were run by moderates who generally supported the Government and were "afraid of writing anything about freedom, nationalism and sacrifice". Prakasam had a taste of the attitude of the Press very early. When he made a public announcement at a mammoth meeting on the Madras beach that he had given up practice as a lawyer in response to the call of the Congress, the news was published by the papers in small letters in an insignificant corner. This had irked Prakasam and he thought "there was no use depending on such a timid press when a lot more was

expected of it in the future programmes of political action. Without proper publicity and unequivocal support of the press, I thought that it would be impossible to conduct a great movement all over the Province.” Prakasam and his associates realised that it would be difficult to run the Congress movement unless a nationalist newspaper was started as a powerful organ of publicity. They felt the urgent need for the support of a newspaper so that the public could come forward to contribute substantially to the success of the movement.

And that was how the *Swaraj* was born in 1921 as a nationalist English newspaper published by a limited company floated by Prakasam and friends. Of course, Prakasam was spurred by leading figures of the time who told him: ‘You have been practising as a lawyer and earning money for the last several years in Madras! Can’t you afford to publish a small paper of four pages in English?’ Prakasam took a vow to start the paper, before he went to attend the Ahmedabad Congress Session in December, 1921. He kept his vow by starting it in October that year. The paper became a big success in spreading the message of the Congress to the people and the circulation reached 8000 in the very second month. Prakasam did not have direct access to Mahatma Gandhi till then, but this paper brought them together and built bridges of brotherhood and bonhomie between these two outstanding personalities. *Swaraj* soon saw a Tamil edition and a Telugu edition to spread the message of freedom to the people.

As a pressman, Prakasam was adept at making his paper speak his mind clearly and concisely, so much so that *Swaraj* became a close competitor to *The Hindu*. After Independence, Prakasam started a weekly called *Praja Patrika* to carry on the crusade for a separate State of Andhra. It championed the cause of the people and fought against many evils.

### **Prakasam: Man of the Masses**

Prakasam endeared himself to the people by the sterling qualities of his personality—unimpeachable integrity, courage of conviction, firm determination, untold bravery and a generous disposition. He wrote in his autobiography about his relation with the people thus: ‘By frequently touring the various districts and taluks of Andhra, I learned one thing in particular. I could realize that every village and hamlet of this province belonged to me and every person was my friend. I established such an instant rapport

and a close identity with the people that I could say with confidence that the word Andhra meant Prakasam and Prakasam meant Andhra.' On another occasion, he proudly declared thus:

"I was determined to serve the country and my people, whatever the consequences. It did not matter, even if I lost everything, including my properties in the bargain. In fact, all my money came from the people. It would be pre-eminently proper that this money should go back to its original source—the people themselves. I had the satisfaction of utilizing all my money and material possessions for the service of the country".

### **On linguistic organisation of States**

In his first political manifesto, Prakasam stated that the provinces should be reorganised on the basis of language. He held that complete independence can be achieved only when the administration is conducted in the vernacular languages of the country. He asserted that it would strengthen national unity by eliminating all forces that were exploiting the linguistic feelings to undermine national unity and national liberation. As C.R. Reddy, an eminent educationist once remarked, Prakasam rose above party politics and justified the faith of Andhras that what Gandhiji was to India, Prakasam was to Andhra.

However, his insistence on the linguistic States did not clash with the struggle for Indian Independence when he exhorted thus: "We will have to forget all about our differences until we come out victorious in the struggle for freedom of the country...." On the question of linguistic States, he explained his position in the following words:

"when we demand separation we do not mean, and we cannot mean that we cut away from our brethren altogether. Separation is only for the sake of administrative convenience and development of each area. All other bonds of business, friendship and relationship remain intact."

### **Prakasam as Chief Minister of Andhra**

Even before he became a whole-time politician in 1921, his concern for the formation of a separate State for the Andhras was evident. However, after Independence, Prakasam renewed his efforts to achieve the demand of the people of Andhras for a separate State. He moved the matter both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly. Following persistent demands from various linguistic groups in the country, the central leadership constituted the Dhar Commission in 1947-1948 and the J.V.P. Committee in 1948-1949.

Dissatisfied with the delay in realizing their demand for a separate statehood, the people of Andhra took to the Gandhian method of agitation. Potti Sriramulu sat on a historic fast-unto-death for 58 days and eventually laid down his life for the cause of the Telugus. Eventually, the Central Government conceded the demand for a separate State of Andhra which came into existence on 1 October, 1953 under the Chief Ministership of Prakasam with Kurnool as the Capital of the new State.

It was but fitting that *Andhra Kesari* was prevailed upon to head the first Andhra Ministry. With a lion-hearted Chief Minister at the helm, a stream of good and great things flowed from his administration—the launching of a major irrigation project—the Nagarjunasagar, a Barrage-cum-Regulator on river Krishna at Vijayawada, which is now called the Prakasam Barrage, a High Court for the State, and a new University (Sri Venkateswara University) at Tirupati. His 13-month administration from Kurnool was packed with significant events. To crown them all, he declared a general amnesty for over 2,000 convicts all over the State, to mark the State's first anniversary in 1954. This action, which was shocking to the bureaucracy, is still looked upon by sociologists as an experiment in criminology. Contrary to the general expectations, the released prisoners turned a new leaf and settled down as reformed members of the community.

### **His death and tributes**

Prakasam died on 20 May, 1957 at the ripe age of 85, a few months after the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh, a consummation which he largely wished for. His life and times reflected the tumult of the era when the foundation for a modern nation State was laid. His towering personality brought him closer to the people and dearer to the leaders of his times. Therefore, it is little wonder that he rose to be the first Chief Minister of Andhra and laid firm foundation for the future development of the State.

When this colossal giant breathed his last, glowing tributes were paid to him. He was praised for his courage as a constructive genius who devoted his energy and talents to the service of the people of Andhra primarily and of the entire country generally. Appreciating his qualities, the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

“There is no doubt about the certain tremendous dynamic energy which he possessed.... A great figure has passed away, not only great in terms of Andhra State of which he might well be said to be the founder in a sense, but a great figure in the all-India scene.”

Grieving the loss caused by his death, the then Minister of Home Affairs, Pandit G.B. Pant said:

“His life was devoted to the service of the country. He took a prominent part in the struggle for Independence, suffered privations and hardships and was always in the vanguard of the struggle.”

Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the then Speaker of Lok Sabha, praised Prakasam in the following words:

“He started with humble beginnings and rose to the position of the foremost statesman in Andhra. He was a person of indomitable will and courage.”

This in brief is the story of *Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam, the like of who one may come across but rarely.

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# A PICTORIAL TRIBUTE TO THE LEGEND

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*Andhra Kesari* Tanguturi Prakasam



The School where Prakasam studied



The Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, where Prakasam was a student





The Rajahmundry Municipal Council where Prakasam held his first public office as Councillor and Chairman



Prakasam as Barrister



Prakasam's wife Smt. Hanumayamma with their son



Prakasam in middle age



Prakasam's residence in Madras

#### 10. TELEGRAM TO T. PRAKASAM

[March 8, 1922]

GLAD TO LEARN VENKATAPPAYYA'S ARREST.<sup>1</sup> HOPE  
THERE WILL BE NO HARTAL, NO DEMONSTRATION,  
NO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, NOT EVEN MENTAL  
ANGUISH, BUT A GRIM DETERMINATION TO PURSUE  
THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME. MOST EFFECTIVE  
DEMONSTRATION WOULD BE FOR EVERY ANDHRA  
WHO LOVES VENKATAPPAYYA TO DISCARD ALL FOREIGN  
CLOTH, TAKE TO SPINNING AND REMOVE UNTOUCH-  
ABILITY. ATTENDING YOUR REQUIREMENTS.

GANDHI

*Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 257

*Constructive Programme with Determination*

A Telegram from Gandhiji to Prakasam



Prakasam in the forefront of the anti-Simon agitation in 1928, Madras



Prakasam baring his chest to the British bullets during the anti-Simon agitation (an artist's impression)



Prakasam leading the Salt Satyagraha in 1930

Published by this office at such times and at such places as may be required.


TELEGRAMS: SWARAJYA

PHONE NO. 2564

POST BOX NO. 69

T. Prakasam, Editor, Swarajya appeals for article and message for its Special Number

THE POPULAR NATIONAL DAILY



*26th Anniversary*  
*October 31-10-1930*

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

It is proposed to issue a special number of "Swarajya" on its 11th Anniversary Day, the 26th of November next. I shall be grateful if you can kindly contribute an article and also send us a message for publication in that issue, so as to reach us before the 10th of November.

Thanking you,

I am  
 Yours sincerely,  
*T. Prakasam*  
 Editor.

Prakasam appealing to the public for articles to Swarajya, a Nationalist English daily he established in 1921

గ్రామస్వరాజ్యం యొక్క లక్ష్యం ఏమిటో తెలుసుకోండి

GRAM SWARAJYAM : Editor, T. Prakasam

Reg. No.

GRAMA SWARAJYAM

16 పేజీలు



జాతీయ దౌరపత్రిక.

సంపాదకులు : టి. ప్రకాశం

VILLAGE

REPUBLIC

Editor:—T. PRAKASAM.

PRAJA PATRIKA

ప్రజాపత్రిక

కలెక్షనరు : టి. ప్రకాశం

Grama Swarajyam — a Telugu Nationalist Weekly  
established and edited by Prakasam

DOCUMENT No. 95

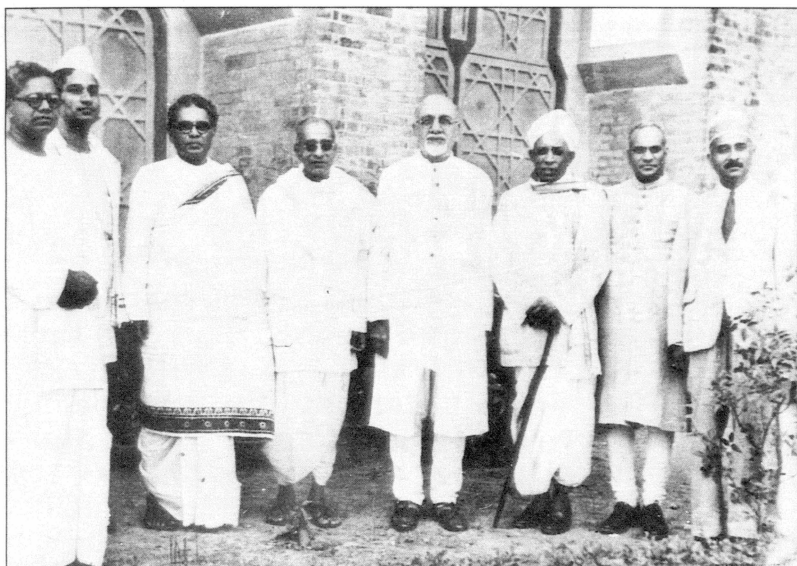
*The Hindu*, dated 20th January, 1937

Mr. Prakasam's Appeal

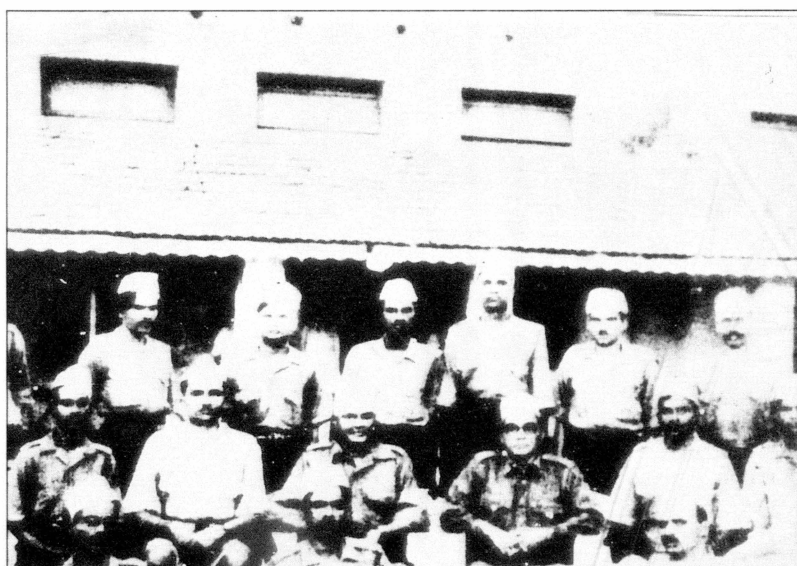
Mr. T. Prakasam has issued an appeal to the electorate and the people, in the course of which he says:—

At 3 p.m. today the time for withdrawal of nomination was over. We know who are all the candidates in each one of our constituencies. We also know the electorate. There is no parallel to our struggle for freedom in the history of the world. No people in the world have proved their fitness to govern themselves better than our women, youth and men during the last sixteen years. No people in the world ever made such huge sacrifices on a non-violent basis under the guidance of a national organisation and under the leadership of a single man. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was the result of our success in the non-violent battle of 1930. Although the pact did not concede Purna Swaraj, the substance of freedom agreed upon was in it, except with regard to Army and foreign relations. If the British Government has been sincere and some of our countrymen had not betrayed our cause at the psychological movement, the Reforms Act, would have been written on a quarter sheet, in not more than 25 sections, and we would have been enjoying full provincial autonomy and even Central Responsibility, though partial for some years, now. But the British have gone back on their pledges. Mahatma Gandhi has said, more than once, that we were within an ace of success and yet failed.





Prakasam with ministerial colleagues in the Rajaji Cabinet  
of the Madras Province, 1937



Prakasam as Congress Sewa Dal activist (third from right in the sitting row)  
in 1940

# MR. PRAKASAM'S STATEMENT

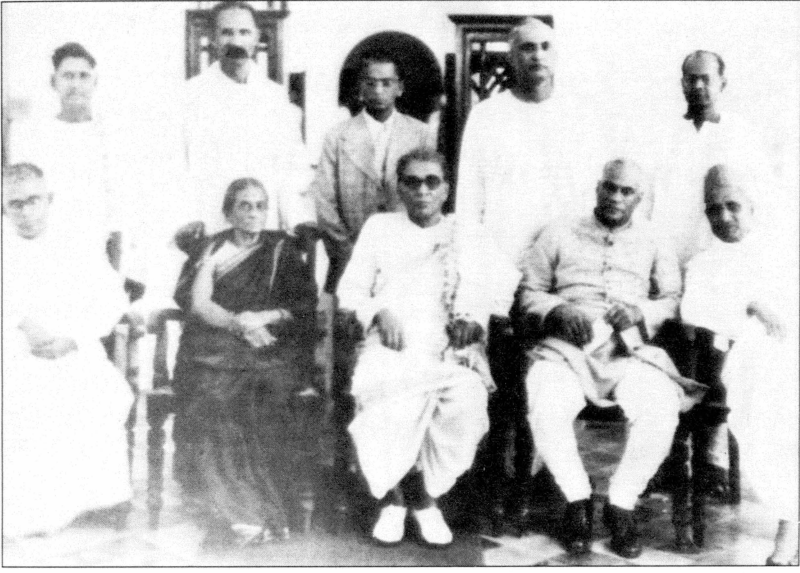
27.6.42 MADRAS, June 27

"The Indian National Congress was founded 57 years ago in 1885 both by the Muslim and Hindu leaders. It is with great effort that the Indian nation has been built up for centuries before 1885 and particularly during the last 57 years. It has succeeded in convincing the world and even Britain that the people of India constitute one nation.

Prakasam's famous statement on Hindu-Muslim Unity in 1942



Prakasam as head of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee



Prakasam as Premier of the Madras Province in 1946 with Cabinet colleagues

## అంధ కేసరికి

పుట్టిన రోజు కానుక

ఆగస్టు 23, 1946

శ్రీ విశ్వనాథ సత్యనారాయణ

నీవు నాకిది 'తలం గవర్నరు స్వతంత్రాండ్ర క్షమామంత్రి లే  
నాదో : నేడు ప్రకాశ' మయ్య వలన గాదన్న స్వాతంత్ర్య మే  
నాదో లేదో : స్వతంత్రత చటుల గాంధీవలన సారించు ప  
మోచొద్దొక్కరుమహా : నయోనది, జగమందాళిమో జహ్వరన్.

ఇన్ని కష్టములు యెన్నాళ్ళ తెన్నాళ్ళ

కేన్ స్వతంత్ర తా ప్ర మొసగెనందు

నల్పుడు, ప్రదాని తెచ్చిమిలేర్ల

సాక్ష్యముల్ని శౌర్య స్వామిచేసె.

ఈ కథ స్వతంత్రత కథ

నీ కథయు స్వతంత్రత చుపిసాకథమే

ఈ కానుక యాండ్ర ధరి

త్రీకోమల రావరేల తెచ్చిన గురుతై .

[ 'కడిమివెట్టె' అను దుఃశ్రావ్య వసరను అప్పట్లో విశయవాదక  
కారణం ప్రానాంత్రోపన్యాసకులుగానున్న శ్రీ విశ్వనాథ సత్యనారాయణ  
గారు చదివి, ఆంధ్రకే రికి పుట్టినరోజు కానుకగా వచ్చునాడు. ]

A Citation by the renowned Telugu poet Viswanatha Satyanarayana  
(a Gyanpeeth Award winner) in honour of Prakasam on his birthday in 1946  
(For a free rendering of the Telugu Citation in English, see page no. 56)

पान ते पाने लक्ष्मीला पण पुढे ते प्रत्यक्ष ते प्रत्यक्षच हो लागत

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**THE**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

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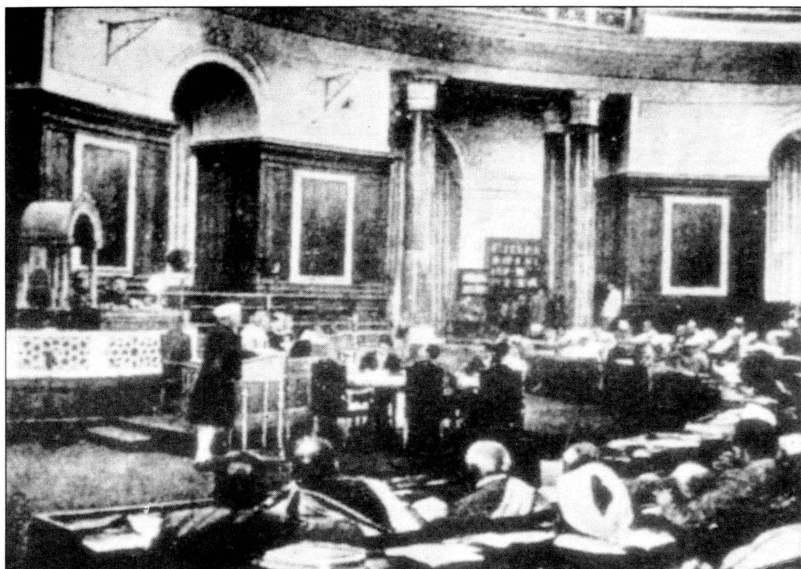
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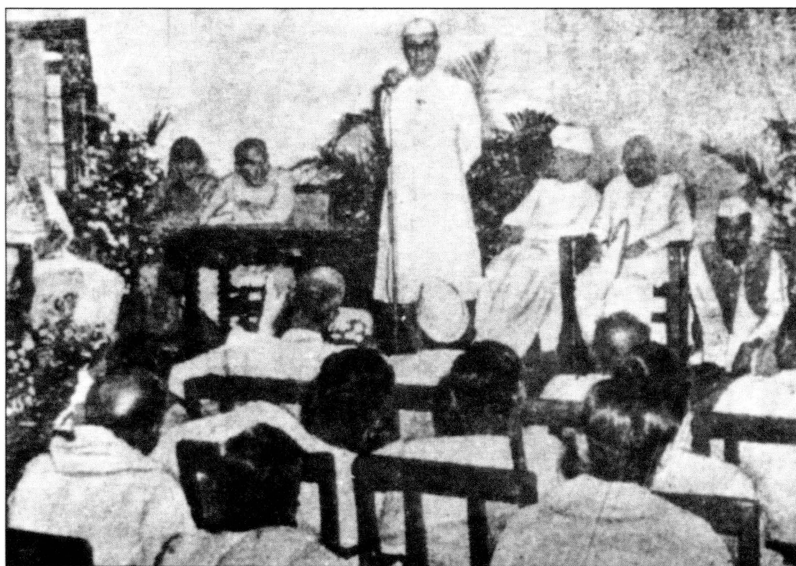
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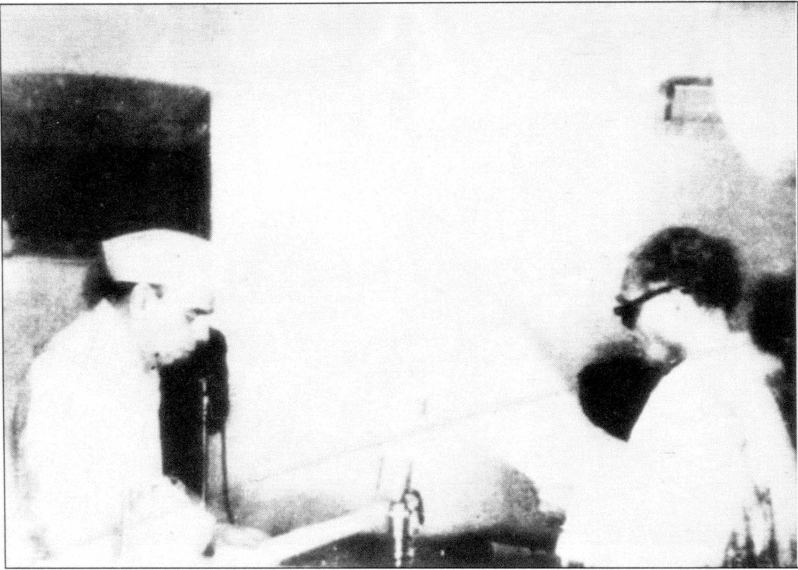
An Appreciatory Letter written by Archibald Nye, the Governor of Madras,  
after Prakasam resigned as Premier



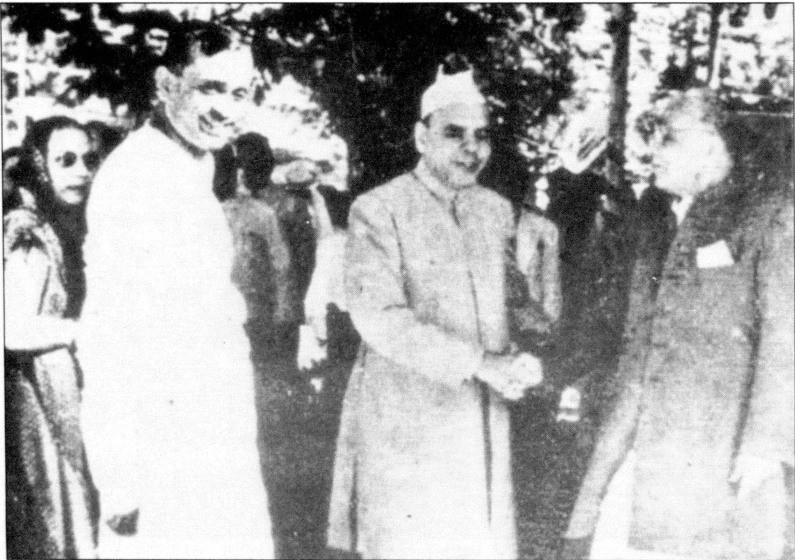
Prakasam in the Constituent Assembly (second from left in the front row)



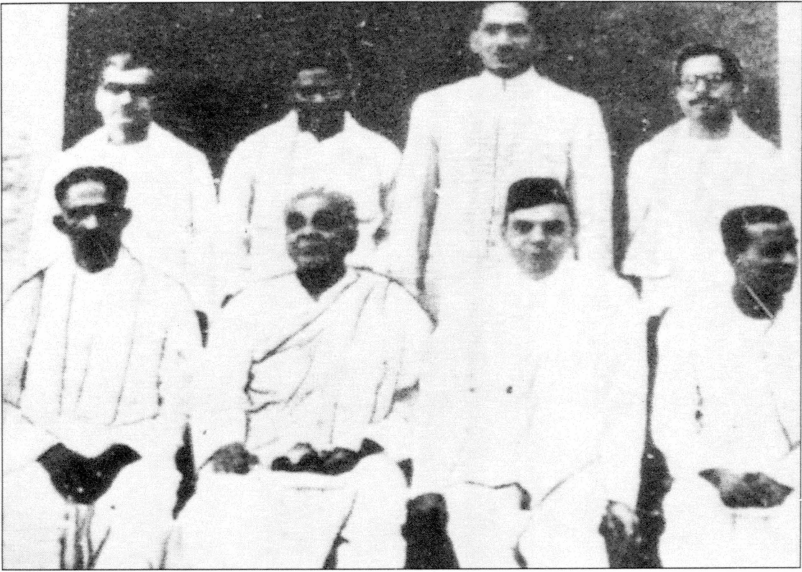
Prakasam (extreme left) at the Inauguration of the Andhra State  
by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1953



Prakasam taking oath as the first Chief Minister of  
Andhra State on 1 October, 1953



Prakasam being greeted by the Governor after the swearing-in ceremony



Prakasam with his Cabinet colleagues in 1953



Chief Minister Prakasam listening to villagers' problems

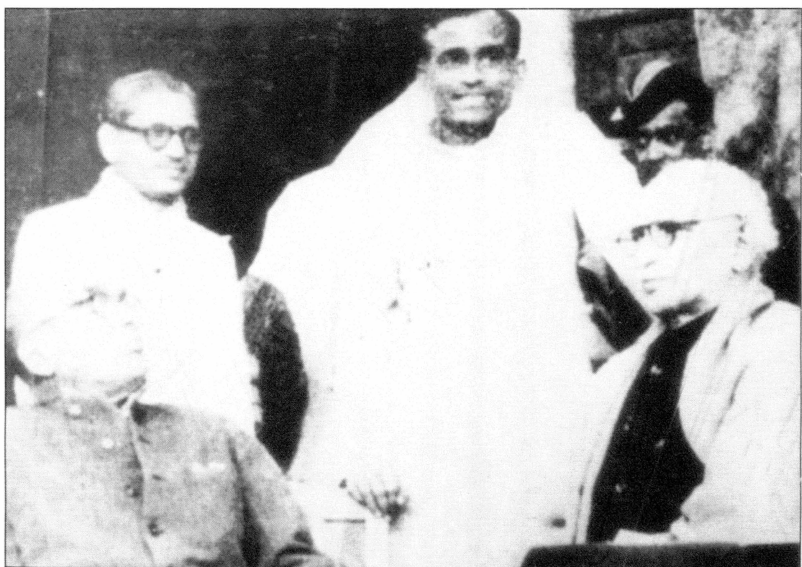


Prakasam with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru





Prakasam with Rajaji



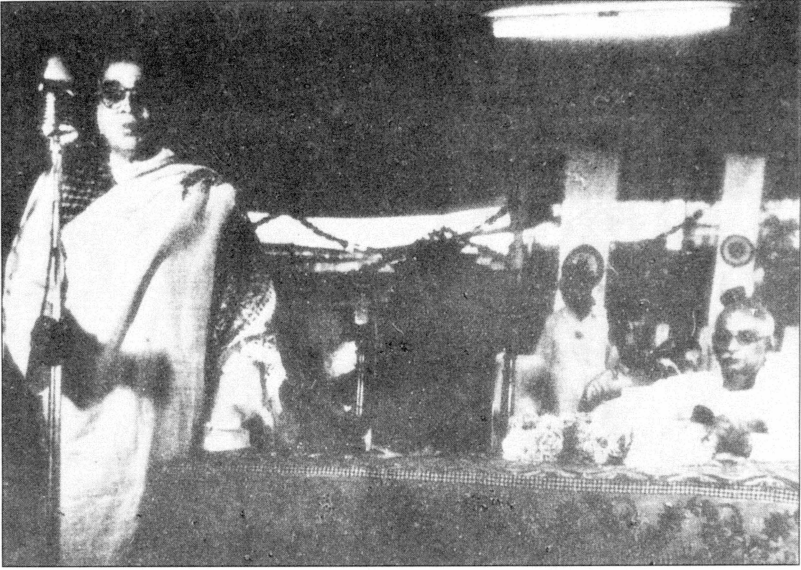
Prakasam with Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy



Prakasam with Babu Jagjivan Ram



Prakasam with Rajaji and V.V. Giri (extreme right)



Prakasam addressing the Silver Jubilee function of the  
foundation of the Andhra Bank



Prakasam through R.K. Laxman's brush



Prakasam as an elderly Statesman

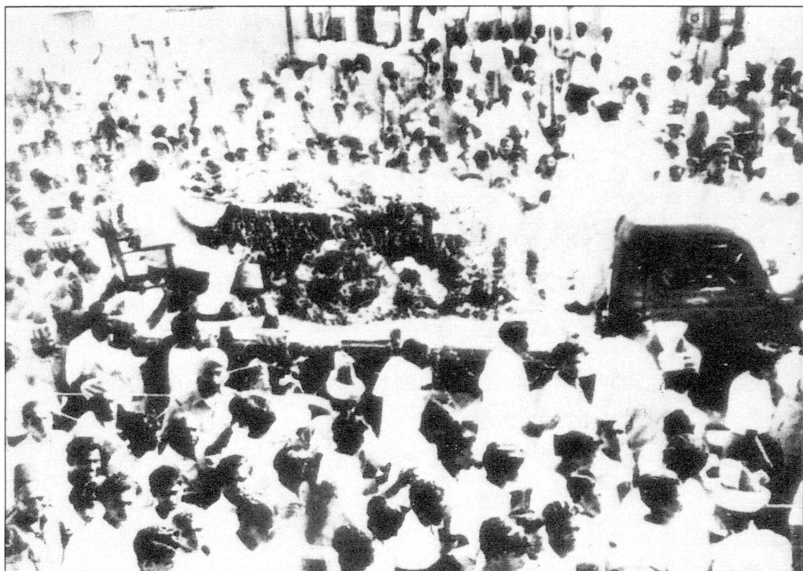


Prakasam as a grand old man

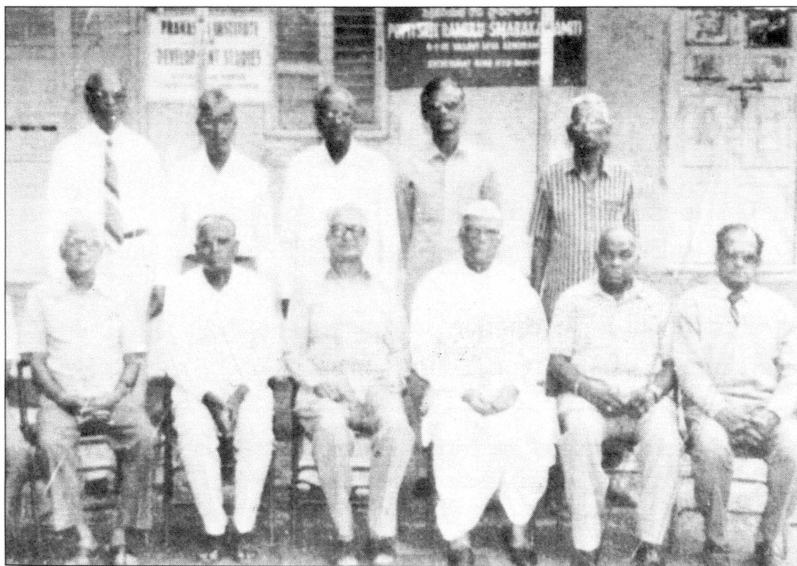


The End of a Saga—Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, placing a wreath on Prakasam's body on 20 May, 1957





The Final Journey — funeral procession of Prakasam



Managing Board of the Prakasam Institute of Development Studies,  
Hyderabad, 1990-91

*A TRIBUTE TO  
ANDHRA KESARI  
on his Birthday  
by*

*VISWANATHA SATYANARAYANA  
(Poet Laureate and Gyanpeeth Award Winner)*

Of all the towering personalities that the Land of Andhra  
has given birth to,  
Prakasam shines as the personification of all the glory  
That the Telugus cherish and pride themselves in.

Today, Prakasam stands as a glittering Emerald  
Alongside Jawahar in the struggle against Imperialism.

At long last, after many hardships,  
When the Fragrance of Freedom is in the air,  
Our seventy-five year old Premier walks tall as  
a shining example of courage.

This is the story of Freedom,  
Your story also is a saga of our struggle for Freedom.

This tribute is an emotion sweeping all through  
The Land of Andhra as a sweet memory.

A free rendering of the original Citation in Telugu in honour of  
Prakasam on his birthday in 1946



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# PRAKASAM'S PERSPECTIVES

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## **On the Indian Ethos**

The British hoped that the illiteracy of the Indian people and their own policy of intimidation were favourable factors for them. Although there was some substance in their thinking, it must be said that they could not adequately assess the strength of the people and their faith in non-violence. In spite of their illiteracy and lack of training in discipline, the Indian people magnificently rose to the occasion and expressed their readiness to make any sacrifices for the country.

## **On our Ancient Democratic Heritage**

Adult suffrage is not a new thing, as imagined by some of our friends, handed down to us by Great Britain. Adult suffrage you will find inscribed on the stone walls of a temple in the village of Uttaramerur, twenty miles from Kanjeeveram—the whole structure of democracy of those days just a thousand years ago—many of us imagine that it is Great Britain that has given us the democratic process of election; that is not so... It is the misfortune of this country that we have fallen on evil days and come under the rule of different kings. All our ancient things disappeared and we have become slaves, as it were, and whatever has come to us, we imagine as having come from Great Britain.... The ballot box and the ballot papers were described in an inscription on the walls of a temple in the village of Uttaramerur.

## **On the Constitution of India**

A very serious situation was created by not making the village republic or the village unit as the real basis of the Constitution. It must be acknowledged on all hands that this is a construction which is begun at the top and which is going down to the bottom. What is suggested in this direction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself was that the structure must begin from the foundations and it must go up. That, Sir, is the Constitution which the departed Mahatma Gandhi indicated and tried to work up for nearly thirty years.

## On Nation-building

You cannot organise world society on the basis of inequality and exploitation, and at the same time hope to educate the young of all nations to love the world as one. Two World Wars have taught us that.

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Our country is on the threshold of a great beginning. We need all the talent and all the spirit of service in the land to build our future... Ignorance, poverty and ill-health must be liquidated.

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Your country has a claim on you before you have a claim on your country, because the country as a whole is in a more deplorable state than you as individuals are in. This is a moment in our history when we should rise above our little selves and help to create the India of our dreams, where there is no exploitation of class by class, of group by group, of caste by caste, of man by man.

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To rescue our India from this morass of poverty and make the country once again happy, smiling and prosperous, once again a nation with honour and dignity in the comity of nations, is your plain duty and you should deem the doing of that duty a proud privilege.

## On Gandhian Philosophy

It is only right and proper that this Constituent Assembly which has been sent by the people of this country should take particular care to see that this Draft Constitution...is so amended that it would really become a Constitution for the benefit of the masses and the millions of people for whose sake the battles have been fought by that great friend who has gone away leaving us here to get along with our work. When he was alive his system and his schemes were not supported by us whole heartedly or by the millions in the country. If that had been done, as he said, within twelve months we would have established freedom. That man of vision was with us and with all the betrayal made by us, he managed to educate us and keep us calm and fought all the battles until he succeeded and

gave us a scheme for the construction of the future Government. Having been the man who roused the millions of people who had been in ignorance at the bottom when he came here and lifted them up, he made them understand that 'you are all men having soul force in the same manner in which I have got. If you educate yourself and carry on my programme, you will carry out everything and you will establish freedom'.

### **On Panchayati Raj**

There will have to be a village panchayat for each village selected on adult franchise, the village being divided into wards for convenient sections for the purpose. The panchayat will have direct responsibility, in regard to all village services, such as village roads, village water-supply, village education, village dispensaries, village sanitation, administration of justice within certain limits, village lighting, etc. These services will have to be compulsorily provided for in every village. If the revenue raised and allotted is not sufficient to provide for these services the deficit should be borne by Government.

### **On Rural Development**

The educated think themselves a class apart from the uneducated, and in a country like ours which is based so largely on an agricultural economy, this leads to the widening of the gulf between the village and the town, between the agriculturists who form the backbone of the country and the educated who live on the soil but give nothing back to it.

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If our country is to be put on her legs again on a solid foundation, the villages must be rehabilitated through cooperative effort and industries should be decentralised on a cottage scale, as has been done in countries like Switzerland and Japan, and only such industries as admit of large scale planning should be centralised.

### **On Social Justice**

One great service that this Constitution has done is by way of removing untouchability and making...Scheduled Castes feel that they are brought on an equal footing with the rest of the population.

## On Religious Tolerance

India is spoken of as a land inhabited by people professing different religious faiths, and it is stated that religion here determines not only their behaviour in matters of strict religion but also their political, economic, social and even human relations. In such a country and in the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, the greatest need is that all educated men should understand what true religion is, what its basic principles are, what there is in common in the different religions of the country. They must realise that all religions are essentially one. In no country is sympathetic understanding and toleration so much needed as here.

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I feel that a student should be taught the essence of all religions from the formative age right up to the university stage to bring about a happy state of affairs. Is it too much to hope that our universities will move towards this direction early?

## On Education

Education is the process by which the individual sheds, and is made to shed, his selfishness, in order to live for the common end. And selfishness is far removed from self-fulfilment. There could be doubt, uncertainty and difference of opinion about methods of education. But about the object of education there could be no diversity of views.

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As education has so far proceeded on far too academic lines, it has been divorced from the needs of the land. The emphasis hereafter must be shifted from academic learning for its own sake to learning in order to fulfil the needs of the country...the Indian village must dominate all schemes of education and the day must soon come when the educated would go back to the villages, dedicating their gifts freely at the altar of the country side.

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Examinations call for immediate reform. Examinations should not continue to be the sole or the only test. The success or otherwise of a student in any course should be judged not by the result of the examinations but on the basis of his day-to-day record and progress in studies, and other activities.

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If basic education is important as part of the permanent and long range plan, adult education is of more extreme urgency for, without taking on hand the immediate education of the village adults whose percentage of literacy is very low, we shall not secure the intelligent cooperation of that very section of the village community without which no single item of our programme can be worked successfully.

### **On Ethics in Public Life**

It is only the desire for office, the desire for profit, the desire for encroaching upon other's rights dislodging others and taking possession that has brought about ruin upon this country. It is that thing that this national movement and struggle started under Mahatma Gandhi has tried to harness, check and focus into one.

### **On Himself**

I was determined to serve the country and my people, whatever the consequences. It did not matter even if I lost everything, including my properties in the bargain. In fact all my money came from the people. It would be pre-eminently proper that this money should go back to its original source—the people themselves. I had the satisfaction of utilising all my money and material possession for the service of the country.