

TUBERCULOSIS CHEMOTHERAPY CENTRE, MADRAS
The Beginning

PROLOGUE

Two happenings, separated by over five decades have provided the inspiration for this booklet, describing the early years of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre. The first was a mock fight with bamboo sticks that was organised by our innovative laboratory assistant Jayaraj on the occasion of an annual day celebration of the Centre. This displayed an unequal fight in which one individual (a weak patient) is trying to stave off unsuccessfully blows from a hefty individual (representing tuberculosis) until a third individual (representing chemotherapy) enters the fray and pulverises the individual representing the bacillus.

The second happening was the block-buster movie 'Bahubali' that I saw recently. There is a fierce war between a hitherto unvanquished tribal army of the Kalakeya chief and the Mahishmati army of the hero Amarendra Bahubali; in this, the foot soldiers may be likened to patients with smear-positive lung tuberculosis receiving a combination of PAS plus isoniazid. The Kalakeya chief's army on the left (symbolised by sanatorium treatment, comprising of a well-balanced diet, ensured drug compliance and plenty of rest in airy well-ventilated wards) was pitted against a weaker opposition of the Bahubali army on the right (home treatment, with a poor diet, greater physical activity and poorer drug compliance). When defeat seemed imminent for the home treatment series, Fox (like Bahubali) did some out-of-the box thinking, and challenged the bacillus (see picture), by devising some novel mechanisms to overcome it The victory though was not his alone but that of several others as well, and their pictures are shown on pages 4 and 5. The back drop for this historic saga was the old building of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre. I have tried to get this concept across pictorially on the cover, and hope it provides some topical amusement!

S. Radhakríshna

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PREAMBLE

I believe I am the last surviving Titan of 1956, the year the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre was established, and with me will pass away a lot of history regarding the Centre. The spirit of the early tempestuous and torrid days of the Centre was partly captured in two earlier booklets, one on the suave and smooth - operating physician Wallace Fox and the second one on his dynamic and imaginative bacteriologist Denis Mitchison. But there were several other events and persons who sweated it out and they are listed below, unfurling the full story of the Centre as it happened over six decades ago.

S. Radhakríshna

INTERNATIONAL STAFF AT THE START OF THE CENTRE



Wallace Fox



R H Andrews



D A Mitchison



K Daniels



C M Lomasney



A M Gerhardson



Elsa Holst



Ernborg

NATIONAL STAFF AT THE START OF THE CENTRE



S Velu



C V Ramakrishnan



S Devadatta



P R J Gangadharam



A L Bhatia



T V Subbaiah



S Radhakrishna



P R Somasundaram



M Samuels



M Jayalakshmi

OTHER STAFF WHO WORKED DURING 1956 - 1961

CLINIC

- 1. M.O.Y. Nazareth
- 2. Thangamma George
- 3. Parvathy Raghavan
- 4. Leelavathi Aaron
- 5. E.C. Williams
- 6. M.K.Murugesan
- 7. Mary Amalambal
- 8. Navamonie Paul
- 9. T.N.Paul (Registry Clerk)
- 10. Krishnan (X-ray Technician)

LABORATORY

- 1. S.Subbammal
- 2. Sarah Joseph
- 3. Alexander
- 4. K.Prema
- 5. S.Kailasam
- 6. P.Venkataraman
- 7. R.Raghunathan
- 8. V.Devaki
- 9. R.Radha
- 10.G.P.Appaswami
- 11. Jayaraj

STATISTICS

- 1. George Jacob
- 2. R.Saroja
- 3. K.Ramachandran
- 4. N.G.K.Nair
- 5. B.Janardhanam
- 6. S.Sivasubramanian
- 7. A.S.L.Narayana
- 8. D.Rajappa
- 9. S.Sambamurthy

ADMINISTRATION

- 1. R.Noronha
- 2. Sherman

TUBERCULOSIS CHEMOTHERAPY CENTRE – THE BEGINNING

In the 1950s, India's TB disease burden was 2½ million active cases, of which 1½ million were infectious. The accepted method of treatment was isolation in sanatorium, but only 23,000 sanatorium beds were available for country, and resources for the TB control programme were scanty. In this scenario, treatment at home with effective anti-TB drugs was an attractive proposition. However, the Government of India was concerned that inadequate or ineffective therapy might result in large numbers of chronic excretors of drug-resistant bacilli, engendering a serious public health risk. It therefore sought advice and assistance from the World Health Organization (WHO), which sponsored a visit to India of three representatives of the British Medical Research Council (BMRC), Drs. P.D'Arcy Hart, J.G.Scadding and Wallace Fox, in October 1955. The trio had several discussions with Indian authorities, attended a meeting of the Tuberculosis Sub-Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), and visited numerous venues in India. It was then decided that, in the existing state of knowledge, it was premature to initiate immediately a mass domiciliary treatment programme, and that controlled comparative trials needed to be undertaken in patients and their contacts. Madras City was chosen for the purpose as the local authorities were proactive, and English was widely spoken in the City. A research project named Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre (TCC) commenced activity in May 1956, with Dr. Wallace Fox (MRC Tuberculosis Research Unit, London) as the WHO Senior Medical Officer-in-charge until January 1961. Its initial mandate was for 5 years, and the first randomized control trial, often referred to as the Madras Classic, was a comparison of domiciliary chemotherapy with treatment in sanatorium, commenced September 1956, with a wide array of objectives, and in namely:

- Determination of the success rates of home/sanatorium treatment with a standard daily regimen of isoniazid plus PAS for one year, and the relapse rates over 4 years.
- 2. Measuring the extent to which the infectivity of patients treated at home can be reduced by standard daily chemotherapy.

- 3. Estimation of the prevalence of TB in close family contacts, and the incidence of tuberculous disease over a 5-year period thereafter, with special reference to the drug sensitivity of the strains.
- 4. Determining the identity and virulence of the causative organisms, and comparing with strains of tubercle bacilli from England.
- 5. Evolving practical procedures in the mass application of chemotherapy, for sputum collection and monitoring drug compliance.
- 6. Evaluating the impact of traditional factors such as a well-balanced diet, plenty of rest and airy, well-ventilated accommodation on treatment outcome.

At the invitation of the ICMR and the WHO, the BMRC undertook scientific responsibility for the trial, and the WHO provided eight international staff and equipment and supplies (jeeps, ambulances, anti TB drugs). The local State Government provided the premises for the clinic and the laboratory and 100 beds in Government Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Tambaram, and shared the expenses with the ICMR. A Project Advisory Committee, comprising representatives from the four collaborating agencies (WHO, ICMR, BMRC, Madras State Government) and the WHO Senior Medical Officer, met at periodic intervals to guide the research activities.

To ensure universal acceptance of the findings of the Madras clinical trials, great efforts were made to preserve high quality in all aspects. Thus, detailed study protocols and procedures were drawn up with advice from Dr.I.Sutherland (MRC Statistical Research Unit, London). As bacteriology constituted a key index of progress, a first-rate laboratory was set up by Prof.D.A.Mitchison (MRC Group for Research in Drug Sensitivity in Tuberculosis, London), with assistance from WHO technician, Ms.E.Holst. Indian nationals who pitched in to this task were P.R.J. Gangadharam, A.L.Bhatia, and T.V.Subbaiah. X-rays were initially taken at the neighbouring State TB Institute, until an in-house X-ray unit was set up by WHO X-ray Technician Mr.Ernborg. The clinical assessment of patients was undertaken by Dr.Wallace Fox and Dr.R.H.Andrews, besides two national doctors initially, Dr.S.Velu and

Dr.C.V.Ramakrishnan, and later joined by Dr S.Devadatta. Efficient appointment and reminder systems and an effective domiciliary visiting service were put in place by two meticulous WHO public health nurses. Ms.C.M.Lomasney and Ms.A.M.Gerhardson, and their effervescent national counterpart Ms.Jayalakshmi, a tireless health visitor Mrs.Samuels, and a young statistician S.Radhakrishna, and the overall administration and liaison activities of the Centre were looked after by a dynamic WHO Administrative Officer, Mrs. Kay Daniels. A graphic description of the domiciliary chemotherapy set-up in Madras was published in 1958 by Dr.R.H.Andrews, a TB physician who initiated the proceedings with Dr.Fox (see Page 15). Its historic relevance at the time has been discussed in detail by Bharat Jayaram Venkat, a research scholar in his PhD. thesis (2014) of the University of California, Berkeley.

There were many difficulties faced by the TCC in the early days. First, there was staunch scientific criticism from Dr.J.H.Frimodt-Moller (Director, Arogyavaram TB sanatorium, Madanapalle) to Fox distributing American CARE milk powder to all patients and putting in place checks and counter checks to ensure drug compliance of home patients, because he believed they muddied the pure comparison, a view apparently shared by Dr. Johannes Holm, Head of WHO's Communicable Diseases Division. Secondly, there was local competition from a TB expert, Dr.M.Santosham, who ran a TB-bedded hospital less than 500 metres from the Centre. Thirdly, there was a certain amount of professional animosity from established TB experts in other parts of the country such as Delhi and Calcutta. And lastly, on the social front, (a) there were swabs from the Centre that crows carried and dropped in neighbouring residential compounds, much to the ire of worried inmates and (b) an unanticipated problem of infidelity of wives of 'sanatorium' patients, some of whom ran away with their neighbours. But Fox faced all the problems with sangfroid and aplomb and came out on top, as he was wont to do in most situations

The results of the first trial demonstrated that domiciliary chemotherapy was by no means inferior to institutional treatment in terms of therapeutic

efficacy during drug intake¹, relapse during a 4-year follow-up period², and incidence of TB over 5 years in close family contacts³. One of the surprising spin-offs from the classic Madras trial was that a good diet⁴, diminished physical activity and plenty of rest were not essential for a good treatment outcome, as long as chemotherapy was taken regularly, a finding that bemused many a nutritionist of the time.

These startling findings peremptorily dismissed several time-honoured beliefs, and laid the foundation for India's policy of mass domiciliary chemotherapy. Next, as many medical authorities had recommended monotherapy with isoniazid for developing countries and as this was being widely practised in the country in any case, the second randomized trial compared three regimens of isoniazid alone with a control regimen of isoniazid plus PAS. This study established substantial superiority of combined chemotherapy, but suggested that isoniazid in a single dose was more effective than in two divided doses⁵. (The latter finding led to the evolution of a fully supervised twice-weekly regimen of high-dosage isoniazid plus streptomycin, the precursor of WHO's current Global DOTS strategy). However, despite these major achievements and against all expectations of a proclamation of an extended mandate for the Centre, newspaper headlines in Madras (now Chennai) flashed on one dark morning in 1961 announcing the imminent closure TB Centre in Madras and its transfer with staff to the National Tuberculosis Institute, Bangalore (see Annexure 1). Protests in newspapers by various agencies and by medical fraternity ensued in plenty, together with trenchant editorials in the local newspapers such as 'The Hindu' and 'The Mail', and deputations met the Union Ministry of Health (Annexure 2). As a last nail in the coffin, it was reported that there was an intervention at the level of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by no less a person than Dr.P.V.Benjamin, the Government of India's TB Advisor, and this put a fullstop to this whole idea of immediate closure.

Subsequently, in 1964, the Centre was made a permanent establishment under the ICMR. Thereafter, in conformity with the general

policy of the WHO regarding the provision of technical expertise, WHO staff members were gradually withdrawn as and when national counterparts were identified and trained. The last WHO Medical Officer and the last WHO bacteriologist left the Centre towards the end of 1965. In April 1966, the staff members initially recruited by the Madras State Government were absorbed by the ICMR, and the last WHO Senior Medical Officer (Dr. Hugh Stott) was withdrawn in July 1966, whereupon the scientific direction of the research became entirely a national responsibility. WHO, however, continued its active interest in the Centre's research activities, and arranged for consultants and supplies that were not readily available within the country.

Looking back over six decades, something that started off as a temporary clinical unit with a staff of 80 in May 1956 and a one-point inquiry regarding the efficacy of domiciliary chemotherapy has grown over the years into a mammoth research institute with approximately 590 staff members and a plethora of activities. Throughout this period, the most important cause of success has been team work, a trait generously gifted by the Centre's founding father, Dr.Wallace Fox, and best described by Henry Ford's famous quote:

"Coming together is a beginning. Staying together is progress. Working together is success".

Team work was all the more important because four organisations were involved in running the Centre, namely, the Madras State Government (local body), the Indian Council of Medical Research (the national scientific research apex centre), the British Medical Research Council (globally well-known scientific body) and the World Health Organisation (international organisation). This type of coming together that does not quite fit in with the saying in St.Mathew's gospel (Chapter 6, Verse 24) "No man can serve two masters", was published subsequently by Kay Daniels, the first Administrative Officer, in the London School of Economics Society Magazine, as 'a model of collaboration and cooperation' (see Annexure 3)

After 5 successful years at Madras, Fox returned to his unit in London, and could well have proclaimed, like Julius Caesar did after vanquishing the king of Pontus, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici' (in Latin) that means 'I came, I saw, I conquered'. But Fox was modest and admitted that while he may have put Madras on the global TB map, it was just as true that the Madras experience, a baptism by fire, had led to his evolution as a mature research worker and prepared him for stiffer challenges in later years. A grateful horde of TCC staff bid him a very warm and memorable farewell at Hotel Woodlands on 20th January 1961 (see Page 20 and Photograph on the back cover).



BACKROOM SUPPORT IAN SUTHERLAND

Amidst the razzle-dazzle and sound and thunder produced by Fox and Mitchison of the early days, two persons who provided invaluable silent support have not got sufficient acknowledgement and publicity for their contributions. One of these was a Quaker by faith, a phlegmatic statistician of Scottish descent by name Ian Sutherland, who worked very silently in the background, designing experiments, drafting research protocols and suggesting appropriate analytical tools to the local staff, and editing the scientific reports. So good was his knowledge of paraphrasing and editing that all who came into contact with him improved their skills in these aspects substantially, apart from their pragmatic understanding of statistics. I had the good fortune of having him as my internal mentor for over 30 months while working on my Ph.D. thesis. When I eventually submitted my thesis, my external examiner, Dr. Cedric Smith remarked "Before I ask you any questions about your thesis Mr.Radhakrishna, I would like to congratulate you, on your English. Why, even our local lads do not write such excellent English"! I have been left wondering to this day whether it was my statistical skills or command of the English language that got me my Ph.D! The other task Sutherland gave me was to climb King Arthur's heights in Edinburgh on a Sunday morning in spring when I had not even crossed a puddle in all my life. On the happier side though, he was the one who introduced me to Hay Market and its ballerina gueens such as Maya Plisetskaya. The most impressive aspects of his personality were his phenomenal memory for detail and his poker-faced Scottish ability to regale his colleagues with anecdotes from different walks of life.

GAYE FOX

Behind every great man there's a great woman-Meryyl Frost (1945)

The achievements of Wallace Fox are known globally but very few know these were made possible by the unstinted cooperation of his wife Gaye Fox. Gaye left London alone, starry eyed, one day in early 1956 with the intent of marrying Fox in India, but unfortunately one of the Rolls Royce engines of her BOAC plane developed a major snag and the plane was grounded in Beirut during the Suez crisis. In those days, no replacement engine was available locally and so another had to be flown all the way out of London, a process that took three days. During this period, she was put up in a posh hotel with good food and *belle dancers* to boot, but no communication was possible with her irate husband-to-be in Madras. Eventually, she landed in Madras on 8th August 1956. She had first met Fox at a supper party in February 1956. The two of them didn't let much grass grow under their feet and got married in a synagogue in Cochin on 9th September.

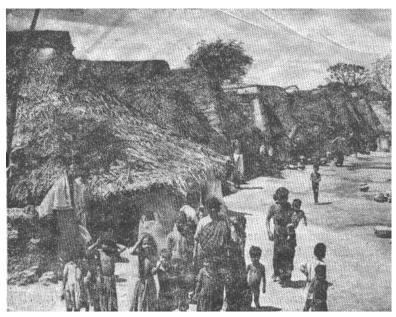
It is to her credit that Gaye understood the importance of the research her husband was involved in, and assisted him in situations when most wives would turn sour. For instance, on one occasion, when he was reading 70 mm x-rays for a fellow research worker (as a return favour) during breaks at home, she did the recording of his assessments scrupulously! She promoted bonding amongst the technical staff by hosting periodically parties in their mansion in Harrington road. She had to find her own methods of amusement (because Fox had no time), and these included visits to the Indian School of Fine Arts in Egmore for painting and culture shopping, and evolving a social circle of her own. She told me in one of her franker moments that she was horrified when she first came to Madras by the abject poverty and deplorable living conditions of its slum and pavement dwellers, but as time went on she got used to these until they stopped 'worrying her' and that was the moment she decided that 'enough was enough' and the time had come for her to go back. Accordingly, she left the shores of Madras in 1961, not to return, although her husband made annual visits until 2013, when she came with her second son Jason for a holiday trip by rail to many pilgrim centres of Tamil Nadu and Goa. This was followed by a memorable visit to the Centre next year in connection with the installation of a plague of Fox in 2014 in the new state-of-the-art clinic building of the Centre, an event attended also by two of her sons and two grandchildren, besides innumerable staff of the Centre, which was then renamed as the National Institute for Research in Tuberculosis.

While it is hard for most people to think of a Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre without Fox, it is impossible for me to think of a Fox without Gaye!

S. Radhakríshna

DOMICILIARY TREATMENT IN INDIA*

by R.H.ANDREWS



Patients' homes in Madras City.

DELEGATES to the *NAPT* Fourth Commonwealth Conference in 1955 heard Dr. P. V. Benjamin, *Adviser in Tuberculosis to the Governme*nt *of India,* describe the problem of tuberculosis in the country and the measures, preventive and therapeutic, being made to control it. He estimated that there were in the region of 2,500000 cases of tuberculosis causing some 500,000 deaths per year. These figures may be revised as a result of the national survey of the disease now being undertaken, but it is evident that the number of available beds—some—20,000—is quite insufficient to offer in-patient treatment to the majority of cases, and that in the field of treatment the only immediate and practicable approach is some form of mass domiciliary chemotherapy. This method of attack upon tuberculosis in under-developed countries has been much discussed, but little experience has been obtained in practice; moreover each country presents its own peculiar problems-and it was felt that, before embarking upon a nation-wide scheme, further information should be obtained relevant to its use in India.

^{*}Reproduced from NAPT Bulletin, June 1958, Vol XXI, No.3

It would first be necessary to know whether domiciliary treatment of tuberculosis under normal living conditions in India could be expected to produce results in any way comparable with those of standard hospital treatment, and if so, what would be the most effective and acceptable type of drug therapy. It would be important to discover what proportion of cases could be made non-infectious, what might be the rate of infection among contacts in the highly crowded conditions which prevail, and whether infection with drug resistant organisms might be a problem.

It was in the hope of providing an answer to these and other related questions that the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre was established in Madras in 1956. Four bodies are concerned in this project – the Government of India (through the Indian Council of Medical Research), the Government of Madras, the World Health Organization and the British Medical Research Council. The staff of over one hundred is predominantly national, eight members being from abroad. An out-patient and domiciliary service is provided from the Centre which includes a department for social welfare, facilities for full-size and miniature radiography and tomography, and a laboratory, with animal house, where much bacteriological research is proceeding, in addition to the routine techniques of sputum culture and sensitivity tests. A records and statistics section provides for analysis of the clinical studies. Most patients are treated at home, but there are facilities for admitting up to a hundred to a sanatorium.

Using the Indian health visitors as interpreters, the WHO doctors and public health nurses seem to be able to communicate well and to build up a good relationship with the patients, practically none of whom speak English; and in the clinic and the home the language problem has been less than was anticipated. On the other hand it was soon evident that the most competent nurse, driver or other staff member was of limited use if unable to converse with the international members, and many months were spent in building up an English-speaking staff.

Patients are referred following diagnosis at local chest clinics and come entirely from the poorest section of the city community. The average family numbers five or six and, even when the earning member is well, have to manage on the most meagre income; all too often he is the patient and has been too ill to work for several weeks before reporting to a doctor. A life so close to the border of existence no doubt affects the attitude of these patients to disease; probably never having known perfect health, they accept

a gross degree of ill health before seeking advice—and even if they realise they are ill, they may see no alternative to working until they can work no longer. As a result, the majority have on diagnosis extensive and cavitated disease.

The patients and their relatives are much more co-operative than might be expected considering their outlook upon life, the conflicting advice they may receive from neighbours, and some of their customs and beliefsand they are usually open to persuasion. We do not object if a patient asks to delay the start or finish of his treatment to avoid an 'inauspicious' day, but we cannot accept his belief that he must not take any internal medicine for three or four weeks after measles or any of the other exanthemata. They seem to have little idea of time, and while it does not matter much if they cannot recall their age or when their illness started, it can be more of a disadvantage that they often do not grasp what a year of treatment and three or four years of observation entail. We feel that constant reiteration that their disease is not yet healed, and that they must go on taking medicine, is an essential part of their management and prevents many patients stopping treatment as soon as they feel better. It has become clear that to get any domiciliary patient to take medicine regularly over many months is in itself a major problem; ways must be devised to discover irregularity, and its cause, in each patient and to correct it. Here we find a further reflection of poverty in that a patient may stop taking his medicine because he finds it increases his appetite and he cannot afford to buy more food.



"Bed rest" at home

A public health worker visiting India is probably impressed most by housing conditions. While some of our patients live on the pavement, which is at least well ventilated, and a few in two-roomed brick buildings,

the majority occupy single-roomed mud or thatched-leaf huts without water or sanitation and usually without windows. Public taps and latrines are available within a few hundred yards of most dwellings and, although sanitary facilities are often not used and spitting is universal, the houses are remarkably clean inside with few flies. Closely packed groups of huts exist side by side with modern business and residential premises throughout the city, and one has only to turn off from any main thoroughfare to arrive in the middle of such a 'village'. Overcrowding is usual and one may find six or more people of all ages sleeping in a room ten feet by six feet, so that it is almost impossible to suggest adequate segregation. In the hot season the patient may be persuaded to sleep outside, but in the cooler weather or rainy season he will join the rest of the family inside, and one can only improvise some sort of screen between the patient and contacts. Neighbours live so close together and intermingle so freely that the difficulty is not to discover who are contacts, but to decide who are not. In practice we follow up all members of the patient's household, and have been able to get a high proportion of re-attendances for three-monthly examinations. From the start we stress that we want to look after the whole family and not just the patient; they are encouraged to discuss domestic or other problems with the social worker, health visitors and doctors, and seem to welcome home visits, whether by Indian or European staff. A patient pays weekly visits to the Centre throughout the first year of treatment and is visited at home at least once a week during the first few months – less frequently thereafter.

Bearing in mind the use to which it is hoped to put the results of the work, it is important to retain a sense of proportion regarding the facilities available in a project such as this. The large staff, the comprehensive radiological and bacteriological facilities, the detailed documentation are all required for the accuracy and completeness of a controlled clinical study, and would not be available or even necessary for a mass therapy campaign. Regardless of any research going on, the regime of treatment adopted for study must be simple and capable of application on a wide scale. Nor must the standard of living of the individual patient under study be altered from what would be found in a mass campaign.

The studies are likely to continue for several years yet. No attempt has been made here to describe them in detail and it is far too early to draw conclusions; these will be reported later. The findings will be related directly to tuberculosis in India but we hope that information will emerge which will be of value to workers elsewhere.

'A MODEL OF COLLABORATION AND CO-OPERATION'

by KAY DANIELS - EXCERPTS*

'No man can serve two masters' is a well-known biblical quotation that the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre had defied for over 25 years, by coordinating successfully its research programme with four diverse agencies, namely, the Madras Government, the Indian Council of Medical Research, the British Medical Research Council and the World Health Organization. This is a shining example of national and international collaboration and cooperation. An extremely valuable appraisal of the modalities of achievement was made by Mrs. Kay Daniels, the first Administrative Officer of the Centre in 1962 in a paper published in the London School of Economics Society Magazine. Some excerpts from her paper are reproduced below.

This rare cooperation between the four agencies was possible because each one was genuinely concerned about the finding to the problems concerned. Regulations which might have interfered with the day-to-day operation of the Centre were often waived by the individual agencies. The lessons to be learnt from Madras are applicable to a wide range of international work. First, the Centre was established in response to a felt-need. Secondly, the possibility of research was assessed in advance. Thirdly, precise protocols were undertaken for each study undertaken. Fourthly, a vitally important role was played by the Statistics Department. Finally, it was established early that the staff was to operate as an integrated unit under a single chain of command without reference to which of the four cooperating agencies was the employing authority. This made possible a real delegation of responsibility linked to authority – the administrator's dream.

Less precisely defined, but very significant, was the insistence on maintaining high standards of work. In Madras, no concessions were made in any department – in the clinic, the laboratory or statistics department - to the highest standards of achievement that were conceivably possible.

Institution building in international work means leaving behind in the aided country a reservoir of techniques and attitudes which will be applicable in other fields or to other tasks.

The Madras experience provides encouraging evidence of what can be achieved by well-planned and suitably directed programmes of international aid. Professional, scientific and technical staff willingly submitted themselves to the strict discipline and demands of a co-operative effort. Their spirit was reflected in a sentence inside the medicine cabinet of one of the local medical officers (for his own rather than public observation) "Our best work is done not in isolation but in collaboration with others".

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^{*} For full text, see Annexure 3

EXCERPTS FROM FAREWELL ADDRESS TO FOX**

Dear Dr.Fox,

When you came to India, you were already an established expert of the British Medical Research Council, fresh from the triumphs of the East African studies. It is difficult to imagine why you chose to come to India, other than the thrill of helping the country in its problem of tuberculosis, and the satisfaction of establishing a first-rate tuberculosis project in India. How well you have succeeded in your mission is now known to workers in the field of tuberculosis all over the world.

It has often been said *no man can serve two masters* but you have won the admiration of not one, or two but four organisations.

With the publication of another 20 good reports from this Centre in the next 6 months, you will have acquired for it a permanent place of importance in the field of tuberculosis. During your term of office, the X-ray department has won prizes for the quality of films it produces and the laboratory has gained the reputation of being one of the finest in the world. Your contributions to the advancement of the treatment of tuberculosis are no doubt immense but a more important achievement of yours is that you have moulded and trained the national staff so successfully that, in the years to come, the Centre will acquire more fame.

The great personal interest you took in seeing that the patients attended the clinic regularly and the numerous and tedious trips you made with health visitors and social workers to persuade the patients will remain green in the memory of all of us. As a scientific worker, you thrilled us with your superb logic and clear exposition. Your readiness to discuss even the minutest of details concerning laboratory experiments and the practical suggestions you often made have been invaluable.

In your eyes, no one was unimportant or insignificant. You always had a disarming smile, a boisterous greeting and a mischievous comment for everybody. Your indefatigable interest and your insistence on perfection at this Centre were exemplary. Your magnanimity in giving people the impression that they were doing you a great favour, even when you were doing a major part of the work, certainly needs to be emulated.

On the personal side, your name will always conjure up in our mind the vision of a tall handsome man with long strides, a button-less handloom shirt, a basket containing three flasks of tea, a pocket bulging with correspondence and a mouth full of chewing gum.

We feel that the best way in which we could express our appreciation of all that you have done for us and our country is to maintain the very high standards you have set for us.

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^{**} For full text, see Annexure 4

EPILOGUE

There can be no formal end to a research Centre that has grown exponentially over six decades, but if we regard 1961 as the end of the Fox era, perhaps the group photograph taken at the Farewell party given to him at The Woodlands Hotel, Mylapore, in January 1961 may be regarded as a symbolic end of the first phase. It has captured very many happy faces, and is reproduced on the back cover.

On this historic occasion, the staff presented to Dr. Fox a very touching 'Farewell Address', printed on a silk scroll (see Annexure 4).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are now three informative and significant publications of the TCC/TRC/NIRT. The first was the outcome of a felt-need by over 500 staff members for a write-up of the life and achievements of Wallace Fox⁶, who not only founded the Centre, but nurtured it over several decades by short-term consultant visits and reams and reams of detailed correspondence with its staff members. When this booklet was released, the Director-in-charge Dr. Srikanth Prasad Tripathy requested me to produce a similar one on Denis Mitchison⁷, Fox's fellow knight-in-arms. This was a more onerous responsibility considering that Mitchison's contact with the Centre was intermittent, and many of his fellow companions of the early days had passed away. But this was still done, against all odds, by assiduously tracing old stories and photographs from retired staff and his children. In my mind, though, there was always a feeling that the early history of the Centre was not all documented, and it is to meet this felt-need that I took up this task.

It is not possible for me to mention the names of all those who gave a helping hand, but some that deserve special mention are Paul Somasundaram who helped in assembling this booklet, Gaye Fox for jogging her memory along to recall incidents of by-gone years, and my son Prasad for his skill in designing the pictorial cover page. To all of them and my other TCC colleagues, and gen-next personalities Jason Fox, Terence and Clare Mitchison, and Maia Sutherland for providing me rare photographs, I express my gratitude, and hope this booklet will throw light on the early history of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre.

To conclude, Fox (physician), Mitchison (bacteriologist) and Sutherland (statistician) constituted a remarkable trinity that immensely developed treatment procedures in tuberculosis research in India and globally over several decades. Their contributions must be etched in letters of gold in the annals of TB history, and provide inspiration to all TB research workers, reinforcing Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's famous lines in his 'Psalm of Life' (1838):

"Lives of great men all remind us We can make our lives sublime, And departing, leave behind us, Footprints on the sands of time"

The Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre was established in 1956. My lone surviving companion of that year is Gaye Fox, and I have great pleasure in dedicating this booklet to this vivacious personality.

S. Radhakríshna

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DECISION FOR CLOSURE

The MAIL 10-7-1961

MONDAY, JULY 10, 1961 MADRAS TB RESEARCH CENTRE TO BE CLOSED **Work to Be Carried** on in Bangalore EXPERTS PERTURBED OVER GOVT DECISION By A Staff Reporter

By A Staff Reporter

MADRAS, July 10.

Frace five-year-old, internationally known, Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre at Egmore is to be closed by the end of the year.

The reported decision of the Union Health Ministry is a sequel to its desire to centralise all higher research in TB in Bangatore.

This decision, if given effect to would mean throwing away five years valuable research in the Beauty freezament of the field of domicillary patients and istabilishing basic principles in the treatment of tuberculosis in India from the coonomic aspect.

The decision of the Health Ministry has saused sariens missivings in medical circles in India from the coonomic aspect.

The decision of the Health Ministry has saused sariens missivings in medical circles in India from the Balling out by means of controlled in the country in a suitable method and discovering a suitable method and discovering an estimated 2 million suffering a suitable method and discovering an estimated 2 million suffering an estimated 3 million suffering an estimated 2 million suffering an estimated 3 million suffering an estimated 3 million suffering an estimated 4 million suffering an estimated 5 million suffering an estimated 4 million suffering and check the first sufficient suffi

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The MAIL 10-7-1961

REASONS FOR CLOSURE

Madras Refusal to Bear Expense

From Our Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 10: The TB Chemotherapy Centre in Madras will be closed in October and the staff engaged in the centre will be moved to Bangalore where research in tuberculosis therapy is centralised.

A Union Government official today said that he was aware of
the criticism of the move to close
down the centre in Madras. The
Union Government had considered the matter carefully. The original research programme for
which agreements with the WHO
and the British Medical Council
had been entered into for a fiveyear period, had been completed
and any further research could
be carried on at the institute in
Bangalore. The work still left in
Madras was only to check up
periodically the patients who had
been treated. The number of
such patients was about 700. A
small staff was being retained in
Madras for the purpose.

It is stated that the move for shifting the Madras centre started only after the Madras Government had said it could not continue to bear the expenses on staff, etc. which it had been meeting. The Central Government con-

sequently fett there was no use in maintaining a small unit in Madras when research #in TB was being carried out on a big scale in Bangalore and those engaged in research in Madras could very well carry on work from Bangalore.

The Central Government spokesman said that no member of the staff of the Madras centre would be affected, except two foreigners. The WHO had given some equipment to the centre. These would be shifted to Bangalore if the WHO agreed. Otherwise the equipment would be returned to it.



The HINDU 12-7-1961

T.B. Chemotherapy Centre

When the first report of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy project in Madras was made public, it was hailed as a significant contribution to the treatment of this dread disease inficant contribution to the treatment of this dread disease in underdeveloped countries. Jointly sponsored by the World Health Organisation, the British Medical Council, the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Government of Madras, the project studied the effect of modern anti-bacterial drugs in the treatment of TR patients in their homes in crowded areas in cities. The experts inding was that such domiciliary treatment as it is known, approximated closely to sanatorium treatment, even though the environmental conditions in urban alums appeared hostile to the patient's recovery. Equally important was the conclusion that, under proper supervision, the risk of infection of other inmates of the patient's home was negligible. In a country where there are hearly 23000 assatoria or In a country where there are hardly 23,000 sanatoria or hospital beds to tackle some five million sufferers, the Madfive million sufferers, the Mad-ras project's report brought new hope of controlling the a scourge in this country. The present decision of the Go-vernment of India to shift the Chemotherspy Centre has to be judged in the light of the importance of the work done therein and what effect it will have on the con-tinuity of the research work. Though the project has run its appointed term of five years, the follow-up programme re-lating to the patients who had the follow-up programme re-lating to the patients who had been under supervision has to be continued.

The National Tuberculorla Institute at Bangalore to which the Madras Centre is to be shifted, no doubt, has the same sima as the Madras Centre-and may provide a wider base to the task of facilitating the to the task of facilitating the new approach to tuberculosis on a community basis. But it is for the experts associated with the Madras project to judge whether the research done so far will suffer in any way by the shift. The immeway by the shift. The imme-diate decision of the Union Government seems to have been influenced not so much by expert opinion as by the unwillingness of the Madras unwillingness of the Madras Government to continue to bear their share of the cost. It is not within the compe-tence of the administrator to decide whether all this ad-mittedly high-quality research mittedly high-quality research should be allowed to be inturrupted. Considering the comparatively small cost to the Madras Government, it state Government to provide, may be but penny wisdom to bossibly at greater cost, should let the Centre be shifted, have persuaded them to pay Apart from the global significance of the Centre's work, their contribution. Failure to the fact that about a thousand do so only shows the low priority that public health scennsting effective treatment which to have in the thinking of our it is otherwise the duty of the administrators.

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The HWOU 12-7-196

PROTESTS OVER CLOSURE

PROTESTS). TW MAIL The Research

Though Mr Manickavela.

I the Madras Health Minister, was not quite explicit in the matter, there is no ground to believe earlier reports that one of the contributory reasons for the decision to close down the themotherapy centre in Emmere is lack of support from the State Government. While Mr Manickavelu's announcement that the Madras Government will pursue the matter is welcome, the Madras Tuberculosia Association has made its view quite clear that valuable research work done at the centre will be lost to science if the Central Government persists in its decision and that the proposal to shift the chemotherapy centre to Bangalore "is not in the best interests of the people and research." There is certainly need for greater and more intensive research in problems connected with a disease that has scourged India in relentless fashion for centuries; the experience gained by the Madras centre during the last five years is a valuable contribution in the battle against tuberculosis, and the research centre should be saved for Madras.

How there can be any conflict between the Madras centre and the proposed National Tuberculosis Institute in Ban-TB RESEARCH The MAIL The Mail 18-7-1961 19-7-1961 tre and the proposed National Tuberculosis Institute in Bangalore it is a little difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, work in these two places should be complementary in nature. Dr Sanjivi pertinently pointed out that work in the Madras centre was concentrated on research problems connected with the practical aspects of using modern antituberculosis drugs suitable to Indian socio-economic conditions, whereas the Bangalore institute, though concerned with the same disease, was for a different type of training and epidemiological research. It is admitted that the Madras centre has justified the confidence reposed in it by experts and case should be emplained from one particular plane. But that time is not yet. It will come when the present at Madraw fraction a particular term. It must be flush there is no metal thing as a flush there is no metal thing as a flush there is no metal thing as a flush certainty one particular that must come in an end when it would be perfectly reasonable to change the vernie if it is found absolutely proposery. The fact that the WHO, the British Medical Bressarsh Council and its indian counterpart are willing to confine the experiments at Madray at he little coat strongly connects that the Centre should not be removed elsewhere. it is to be sincerely hoped that the Central Government would drop the proposal to close it down and transfer its work to! Bangalore. It will be a serious loss to science if the valuable follow-up work undertaken by the Madras centre cannot be completed successfully. The Mark

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CONTINUANCE OF TB RESEARCH CENTRE

Madras Medical Men's Bid

By A Staff Reporter

LEADING medical men in L'ADDING medical seen in the cits, agitated over the proposal to time the Tuber-existia Chemistherapy Centra at Egmurs within the next three months, are making strengous efforts to persuade the Union Government to re-

Queries in Vain

Centre's Stand

Shifting of Madras Centre to Bangalore Opposed

By A Staff Reporter

MADRAS, July 28.

THE Tuberculosis Ansociation of Madras yesterday, Mr M, A. Manickavelu, Bealth Minister, presiding, urged the Madras and Union Governments to retain the Domiciliary Chemotherapy Centre at Madras as a permanent research centre. The association felt that the decision to shift the centre to Bangalore was "not in the best interests of the people and research."

The reported decision to close down the centre in Madras and shift it to Bangalore dominated the discussions at the 2nd annual meeting of the association at the Medical College. The Minister said the decision had come as a surpuse both to the State Government would pursue the matter, and suggested to the memers of the association and the medical profession to represent he matter, and suggested to the memers of the association and the medical profession to represent Minister who would be in the city in connexion with the Maisriologists' Conference.

Expenditure

The Minister said that the centre had been started on the memers of the association and the medical profession to represent Minister who would be in the city in connexion with the Maisriologists' Conference.

Expenditure

The Minister said that the centre had been started on the matter, and been started on the understanding that the expenditure was to be anaced by the State and the Centre had been started on the people on their diet and other habits.

Mrs Clubwala Jadhay wellowed the Minister and others according to the new pattern of research schemes, it was entirely the responsibility of the Union Government freezeming the centre, and had promised to send a plan about the future of the institution. So fart, nothing had been research work at the Madras centre, and had promised to send a plan about the future of the institution. So fart, nothing had been research work at the Madras centre, and had promised to send a plan about the future of the institution. So fart, nothing had been research and the government recarding the centre, and had promised to send a plan about the future of

28-7-1961

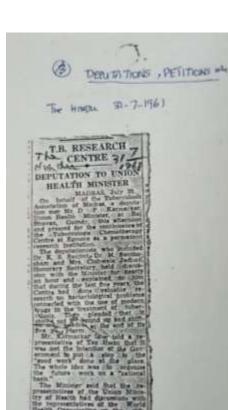
Preventive Aspect
Dri Sanjivi appealed to every
citizen to contribute to the
T.B. Seals sales.
The Minister atressed the
need for a tuberculosis eradication programme. He asked
the association to pay attention
to the preventive aspect, and
advise people on their diet and
other habits.
Mrs Ciubwala Jadhav welcomed the Minister and others.
Dr B. V. Sundara Babu proposed a vote of thanks.

28

CHEMO-THERAPY CENTRE

27-7-1961

SHIFTING FROM CITY OPPOSED MALIRAS, July 27 The Tongraphole Association



The Mail

TB RESEARCH CENTRE

Minister's Reply to Representation

Representation

By A Staff Reporter

MADRAS. July 31: The Tuberculosis Association of Madras, yesterday, pleaded with Mr D. P. Karmarkar. Union Health Minister, for
the continuance of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre at Egmore.

A deputation comprising Dr K.
S. Sanjill, Dr M. Santhosham and
Mrs Clubwala Jadhav, M.L.C. and
honorary Secretary of the Association, conferred with the Minister
for over an hour. They explained
to him that the centre had done
valuable research work and pleaded
that it should not be moved from
Madras.

Mr Karmarkar later told Pressmen that the Government's intention was not to put a stop to the
good work of the centre. The idea
was to organise future work on a
rational basis. The representatives
of the Health Ministry had discussed the subject with WHO officials and there was general agreement that so far as the immediate
work was concerned the spill-over
of the five-year experiment should
be continued. There was no question of closing the centre. In fact,
many more such centres should be
started.

29

FOLLOW-UP WORK AT TB CENTRE

Continuance Suggested by Madras Govt

By A Staff Reporter

MADRAS, Aug. 28.

THE State Government is trying to see whether turther follow-up work cannot be carried on at the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre at Egmore.

Mr M. A. Manickavelu, Heatin Minister, who disclosed this during question-time in the Assembly today, said the Union Government: had Astated that the centre might be wound up by the centre had concluded.

The said the centre, which was particular aspect, hamely, who of the domiciliary treatment. That research, according to experts, had been concluded and other kinds of research were going to be conducted at Bangataried in 1955, was conducting to Costly Work

Costly Work

Asked whether the Government proposed to utilise the buildings and other materials 'Arliable at the centre; the Minister said that would arise only when it was actually closed.

To a question whether the State Government would come forward to take over the centre, the Minister said research work was a costly bushness. Especially when the research was going to be carried on at Banquore on a large scale, he did not taink it would be worthwhile to continue the research at Madras. 'Let us wait. We have not given up hope.'

The State Government felt there was further scope for fellow-up work. It had drawn the attention of the Union Government to this.

T.B. RESEARCH CENTRE T.B. RESERVED TO AT EGMORE (96)

The State Government have drawn the attention of the Government of India that there is scope for "follow-up" of the research done at the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre at Egmore and are trying their best to see if the "followinis-up" work could not be carried on there.

Mr. M. A. Manickavelu, Minister in charge of Health, gave the information during question time in the Legislative Assembly to day.

information during question time in the Legislative Assembly today.

Replying to questions tabled by Messrs. A. A. Rasheed. N. K. Palaniswami and M. P. Sarathi, the Minister said that the Government of India had stated that the research centre might be wound up October 1961 as the Chemotherapy experiments conducted there had concluded.

The Centre, which was started in 1956 had conducted research as to how effectively the new anti-bacterial drugs could be used in treating Tuberculosis patients in their homes as compared to the treatment in hospitals. The study was also utilised to ascertain the prevalence of Tuberculosis in family contacts as well as the attack rates in subsequent years. Many papers embodying the results of the researches and surveys undertaken at the Centre were published in Indian and foreign medical journals.

Replying to a number of sup-

Replying to a number of supplementary questions, Mr. Manickavelu said that when the Union Minister for Health was in Madras, a deputation waited on him and made representations to him on the question. The Centre was started for a specific purpose and it was over. But the State Government felt that there was scope for further follow-up in the matter.

The HINDU 30-10-1961 WORK OF MADRAS T.B. CENTRE The Hundry 30-10-1961 BRITISH TRIBUTE LONDON, Oct. 28. The work of the Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre, founded in Madras a few years ago in an effort to develop new techniques of treatment and prevention of tuberculosis, is praised in a three-column article in the current issue of the "I ish Medical Journal." "This infaginative and far-sighted enterprise is a remarkable example of international co-operation," the journal said. "Within a few years, it has produced results of great importance, not only for India but for every country in which tuberculosis is not under control." The journal said: "All the Governments and agencies concerned deserve high praise for the success of the Madras experiment... while, in additional research, the highest scientific standards have been applied." "But perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the Madras team," the article concluded, "is to have followed up all the patients now for more than three years."—NAFEN. BRITISH TRIBUTE

A MODEL OF COLLABORATION AND COOPERATION

A MODEL OF COLLABORATION AND CO-OPERATION

No man can serve two masters - St. Matthew, chapter 6, verse 24.

This is a well-known quotation from the Bible that administrators mention frequently and laymen sometimes employ, in a light-hearted vein, as an argument against bigamyl For over 25 years, however, the Tuberculosis Research Centre has proved that an institution can serve the interests of 4 diverse agencies (the Indian Council of Medical Research, funded by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India; the Tamil Nadu State Government; the World Health Organization; the British Medical Research Council), and yet bring all of them and itself great glory. This is a remarkable achievement in itself, and a shining example of national and international collaboration and co-operation.

An extremely valuable appraisal of the modalities of this achievement was made by Mrs. K. Daniels (WHO), the first Administrative Officer of the Centre, in 1962 in a paper published in the London School of Economics Society Magazine. Some abstracts from her article are published below, and afford much food for thought.

"It would be unrealistic to think the unit's success derived from a single factor. The extraordinary co-operation achieved by four independent agencies, each functioning under its own regulations, was certainly the key, and this rare co-operation was possible only because each of the agencies was genuinely concerned about finding the answer to the problems posed. Regulations which might have interfered with the day-to-day operation of the Centre were often walved by the agency concerned. When the Medical Research Council, acting as recruiting agent for W. H. O., were not satisfied with the calibre of candidates for the post of Director of the Unit, they seconded a key worker from their own Tuberculosis Research Unit to do the job. It has been suggested by some that the success achieved was directly attributable to that man, and it is undoubtedly true that it is difficult to imagine the work having been done without him. His scientific integrity, his indefatigable

energy, his ability to imbue staff with a sense of the worth of the effort, were sustained over a period of almost five years. But even his effectiveness was dependent on many other people. How to assess the contribution of the senior health visitor who has served the Madras Government for 25 years, who seemed to know all the tuberculous patients in the city and all the members of their families, including those still in the village to which the patient could be traced if he absconded? There was the young Indian statistician, with a fresh postgraduate degree, who created a first-class statistical department from very raw material, with an occasional consultant's visit from the M. R. C's Statistical Research Unit and frequent correspondence with London to help him. There were also the London public health nurse who vitalized the clinic, the Norwegian public health nurse who established the principles of a home visiting service that bears comparison with any in England, the \$ 10-a-month local clerk who willingly undertook any responsibility thrown on him, the brilliant bacteriologist loaned by the Post-graduate Medical School, London, who designed and set up a laboratory and animal house on a site which was mere rubble and maintained a watchful eye on the bacteriological work even after he returned to London, the local medical officers and dozens of junior local staff who, in contrast to the normal government working conditions of six hours a day and 30 to 35 official holidays a year, worked from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. or not infrequently later, throughout the twelve months of tropical heat and humidity, and settled for ten to twelve official holidays a year.

"This was, and no doubt still is, the spirit in Madras. But the achievements are attributable, I believe, to more specific causes. The lessons to be learned from Madras are applicable to a wide range of international work. First, the Centre was established in response to a "felt need". This need was acknowledged by the Government and appreci-

ge Object

ated by the agencies asked to help. Secondly, the possibility of carrying out the research was assessed in advance. A three-man M.R.C. team visited India very briefly in the autumn of 1955, studied the problem and made recommendations about specific limited goals which they felt confident could be achieved (all of which have been more than fulfilled), and their recommendations were accepted. Thirdly, precise protocols were prepared for each study undertaken; and these protocols were strictly adhered to; if it was thought necessary, brief and very limited pilot studies were undertaken. Fourthly, a vitally important role was played by the statisticians; they were involved from the very beginning in all planning and were not, as often regrettably happens, called in at the end of a study, handed volumes of data, and asked to analyse them. Fifthly, in the operation of the Centre, the principle was early established that the staff was to function as an integrated unit, under a single chain of command, without reference to which of the four co-operating agencies was the employing authority. This made possible a real delegation of responsibility linked to authority-the administrator's dream, In a situation where, even as between Central and State Government employees called upon to do equivalent work, widely differing salaries, conditions of service and security of tenure often applied, this was a principle of some importance.

"Less precisely defined, but very significant, was the insistence on maintaining high standards of work. There is a tendency today, a kind of perverted paternalism, to excuse any failure in the "developing" countries on the grounds of their economic backwardness. To the lack of certain natural resources, hydro-electric power, irrigation facilities and other advantages found in the technically advanced countries, are attributable some of the difficulties encountered in the less technically advanced countries. There are, however, opportunities for development where the quality or standard of work done is not dependent on the availability of anything but discipline. In Madras no concessions were made in any department-in the clinic, the laboratory or the statistics department to the highest standards of achievement that were conceivably possible Loss of a patient from the follow-up was never accepted; 100 per cent follow-up of patients was set as a goal and has been achieved in each of the

studies. Even among contacts over 95 per cent follow-up has been achieved.

"Accuracy in statistical recording can be insisted upon even in the absence of expensive equipment. In order to help the senior medical, laboratory and administrative staff to appreciate fully the value of the statistical aspects of the work, the senior statistician gave two courses of lectures in elementary statistics, using Professor Bradford Hill's classic as a text. One direct benefit was that this staff, with no prior statistical background, were able to read and criticise intelligently draft reports prepared at the Centre. This kind of training and experience is extremely valuable for scientific workers; many a scientist's best work may be undervalued because of his inability to communicate his ideas and his findings in a scientifically acceptable way.

"Institution building in international work means leaving behind in the aided country a reservoir of techniques and attitudes which will be applicable in other fields or to other tasks. This was certainly achieved in Madras. The doctor who, while exercising his enhanced clinical acumen, has learned to distrust "scientific" conclusions based on solely clinical impressions, the laboratory technicians who know and aim at the minimum contamination rate possible to achieve in traditionally difficult tropical conditions-even the typist who now, in pride, refuses to prepare a badly set-out letter-all are part of the enrichment of India, achieved by one relatively small programme of international The few W.H.O. international staff who had the privilege of working on the project have been similarly enriched, and benefit from the experience in the same way as the national staff. Institution building may, in fact, be a multi-directional function, creating techniques and attitudes which are applicable to other international tasks.

"The Madras experience provides encouraging evidence of what can be achieved by well-planned and suitably directed programmes of international aid. Professional scientific and technical staff willingly submitted themselves to the strict discipline and demands of a co-operative effort. Their spirit was reflected in a sentence posted inside the medicine cabinet of one of the local medical officers (for his own rather than public observation), "Our best work is done not in isolation but in collaboration with others."

FAREWELL ADDRESS BY STAFF

FAREWELL ADDRESS BY STAFF

FAREWELL ADDRESS PRESENTED TO

DR. WALLACE FOX

Some Manded Officer

ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE TO LONDON

Dear Dr. Fox.

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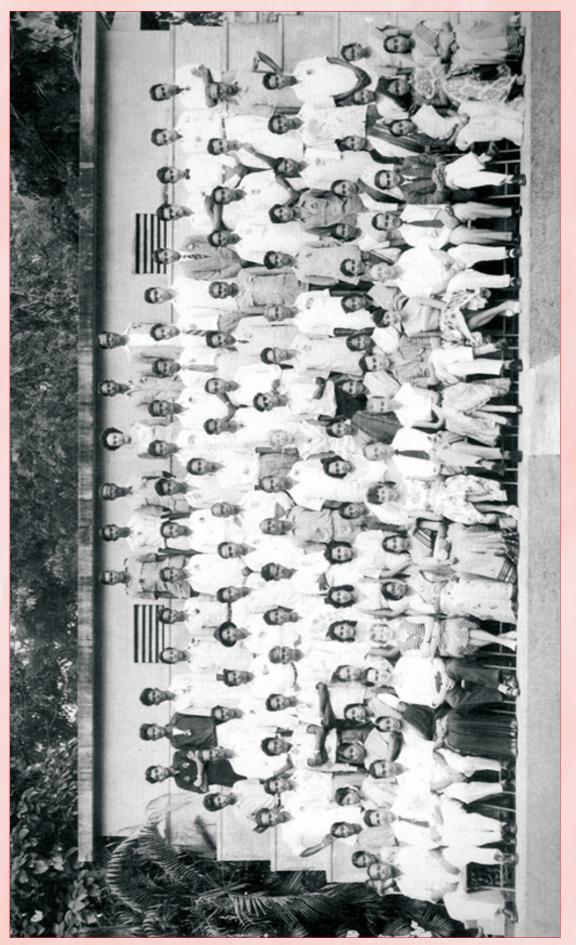
ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE TO LONDON

Dear Dr. Fox.

ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE TO LONDON

WHEN YOU came to clude know how to expose our gratifule and intellectations for at the his part of the East African stades. It is similar to images why are also accordanced and suddened that we do not quite know how to expose our gratifule and intellectations for at the his part of the East African stades. It is similar to image with your school to complete the history of the East African stades. It is similar to image with your school to the triumph of the East African stades. It is similar to image with your school to the triumph of the East African states the broad with the information is now known to workers in the HIS WHEN YOU when the condition is now known to workers in the HIS WHEN YOU when the condition is now known to workers in the HIS WHEN YOU was a consequent. It has a site been said blind in your mission is now known to workers in the HIS WHEN YOU was a consequent world-wide renown. I add the mission is now known to workers in the HIS WHEN YOU was a consequent world-wide renown. I add the mission is now known to workers in the his particular to the part

a. December 1981 in 1981



Tuberculosis Chemotherapy Centre, Spur Tank Road, Madras