



Madras Universitas

பேரறிஞர் அண்ணா பவளவிழா நினைவு மலர்
" Peraringar Anna Pavazha Vizha Ninaivu Malar "

Dr. C. N. ANNADURAI'S
PLATINUM JUBILEE SPECIAL NUMBER—1984
(75th Birth Anniversary on 15th of September, 1984)



DR. C. N. ANNADURAI
(15-9-1909—3-2-1969)

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
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MADRAS UNIVERSITAS

அண்ணா பவளவிழா நினைவு மலர்

Dr C. N. Annadurai's Platinum Jubilee

Special Number — 1984

INSIDE

Page

- | | |
|---|-------|
| i. Messages from Vice-Chancellor and Registrar ... | iii—v |
| ii. Department of Journalism & Communication—
A brief survey ... | 1 |
| iii. Editorial ... | 4 |
| iv. Anna — The Architect of an era in Modern
Tamil Nadu ... | 7 |
| —by Dr D. Sadasivan | |
| v. Arignar Anna — An Intellectual In Indian Public
Life ... | 27 |
| —by Dr Vedagiri Shanmugasundaram | |
| vi. Arignar Annadurai's Talents as Publicist and
his skill as a Journalist ... | 35 |
| —Rao Saheb N. Murugesu Mudaliar | |

STUDENTS' SECTION :—

- | | |
|---|----|
| i. Peraringar Anna : A Multifaceted Personality ... | 45 |
| —by Ms Chandrika Somasundaram | |
| ii. Sir A. T. Panneerselvam and Peraringar Anna ... | 49 |
| —by Ms Vasughi Thiruselvi | |

DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES :

i. Internship	... 55
ii. Film Shows	... 56
iii. Communication Practice	... 57
iv. Study papers completed during 1984	... 58
v. Study Papers under progress	... 59

Research Programmes :—

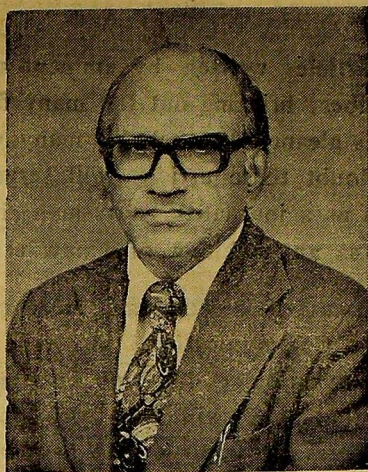
i. M.Phil	... 62
ii. Ph.D	... 62

PUBLICATIONS :—

i. Completed	... 64
ii. Under Progress	... 64

REVIEW	... 65
---------------	--------

Editor Dr. D. Sadasivan, Professor and Head, Department of Journalism and Communication, University of Madras.



Dr M. SANTAPPA

Ph.D. (Lond.), Ph.D. (March.)

F.N.A., F.A.Sc., F.R.I.C.,

Vice-Chancellor.

Phone: 843074

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
CHEPAUK, MADRAS-600 005.

27th June 1984

MESSAGE

It gives me great pleasure to learn that the Department of Journalism and Communication of the University of Madras is bringing out its Annual Number, *The Madras Universitas*, as "Dr. C. N. Annadurai's Platinum Jubilee Special Number. This special number is to mark the occasion of the 75th birth day of this great son of Tamil Nadu which falls on the 15th of September, 1984 which is being celebrated by the Government of Tamil Nadu as his "*Pavazha Vizha*".

Anna was a great writer of merit, and a journalist *par excellence*. He was the forerunner of a style of writing in Tamil which came to be known as "Anna nadai" and inspired many talented writers to follow suit. In short, Anna left behind his indelible mark on the pages of the history of Tamil Journalism, which will be a source of inspiration to generations of aspiring journalists and others. It is only appropriate that the Annual Number of the Department of Journalism and Communication should be brought out to commemorate his 75th birth anniversary.

I note many articles written by eminent men and teachers appear in this number, bringing out the many faceted personality that Anna was, as gleaned through his many writings, speeches and action. No doubt these articles will serve to highlight the greatness of Anna as a journalist, statesman, intellectual with a mass appeal and as an architect of a new era in Tamil Nadu.

I must congratulate Dr. Sadasivan, Head of the Department of Journalism and Communication, his staff and students on their achievement in bringing out this fine piece of work. I hope and trust that they will keep this up in future also, exploring new avenues and opening up new *vistas*.

M. SANTAPPA

To

Dr. D. SADASIVAN

Prof. & Head

Dept. of Journalism & Communication

University of Madras.

Prof M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A., M.S.,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
June 20, 1984.

MESSAGE

The Department of Journalism & Communication brings out its annual number, *The Madras Universitas*, as Dr C. N. Annadurai's Platinum Jubilee Special Number in memory of his 75th birth anniversary celebration on 15th of September, 1984.

This is quite but natural for, there cannot be a fitting reward than this from the department of media study to one whose acclaimed avocation had been Journalism.

I am also aware of the fact that Anna, being such a phenomenon person, no single work could exhaust all his traits, much less in a work of this kind which is being brought out under various constraints with the avowed aim of contributing their mite as journalists towards the renowned person of their fraternity. More so in English language so that non-Tamils could be inspired to know about this great genius who stand comparison to charismatic leaders of the world. The spirit and the spontaneity with which this special number has been brought out deserve our unreserved appreciation and admiration.

The students of the department are always in the vanguard to be of service to keep aloft the name and fame of the University.

I hope and trust that the Department under Dr D. Sadasivan, Professor and Head, should strive to bring out such special numbers in future on great journalists of Tamil Nadu such as Periyar E.V.R., S. Sadanand, T. S. Chockalingam and others on special occasions like the present one.

It gives me a great pleasure to offer my best wishes for this lofty venture.

M. S. SRINIVASAN

Department of Journalism and Communication

A BRIEF SURVEY

I. Post-Graduate Diploma in Journalism :

The genesis of the Department can be traced to the year 1947 when the University of Madras had started for the first time a P. G. Diploma course in Journalism. This had been a full time course extending for a full academic year. The responsibility of running the course was entrusted to the Head of the Department of Economics. The lectures for the course were delivered by part-time experts drawn from various fields of specialisation.

The suggestion to start a Post-Graduate Course in Journalism and to create for the purpose, a separate Department of Journalism received willing support and prompt attention of the then Vice-Chancellor Dr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu. D. Sadasivan, then Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, who had an aptitude for Journalism, having taken a research degree, M.Litt. on Public Opinion, an allied subject of Journalism and also with 15 years of P.G. teaching experience, had been deputed to qualify himself in Journalism and Communication at the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi, for the same purpose.

II. Bachelor of Journalism :

Subsequently, a comprehensive scheme of two year Post-Graduate course with a purposive syllabus was drawn up by a Committee of experts. Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah had set up a separate departments of Journalism in the academic year 1975-76 and the B.J. Course was introduced.

III. The B.G. Verghese Committee :

The next milestone in the march of the Department of Journalism had been the constituting of an expert Committee

under the Chairmanship of Mr. B. G. Verghese to advise the restructuring of the Department. Consequently a new Board of Studies in Communication in the place of Board of Studies in Journalism was constituted which drafted a broad based syllabus for M.A. (Communication). The same was approved by the Academic Council and the Department of Journalism was well prepared for the M.A. (Communication) course in the place of the B.J. Course.

IV. M.A. (Communication):

It had been left to the pleasure of the Engineer-cum-Educationist, Vice-Chancellor Dr. G.R. Damodaran to introduce the M.A. (Communication) from the academic year 1979-80. It is indeed a good augury for a course of much job-oriented in its nature was to be instituted by the Vice-Chancellor who blends in himself both technology and academic. His name will ever be remembered in the annals of the Madras University not only as one who had associated himself with it for well over thirty years in various capacities culminating to his well merited Vice-Chancellorship but also as the architect of the course in Communication.

V. M. Phil. & Ph. D. Research Programmes :

The Department was thus well poised for launching upon research programmes leading to M. Phil. and Ph. D. Degrees. The syllabus for the M. Phil. course had been approved by the Board of Studies in Communication and the other authorities concerned. There was also much avidity on the part of the students to take up higher studies to cope with the growing demand for competent staff to run the courses in Journalism and Communication at the ancilliary and major levels.

The credit for providing this much needed facility to the Department from the academic year 1982-83 goes to our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. M. Santappa, who is a champion of the inter-disciplinary courses of studies.

It is trusted that the UGC, UNESCO agencies and others interested in the promotion of Communication studies would come forward with assistance towards providing all the necessary infrastructure so that the students passing out of the Department might be at their best in the matter of academic excellence both theoretical and practical and also that the Department would blossom in course of time into an Advanced Centre of Learning in Media Studies.

Editorial

The academic year 1983-84 commenced with the first batch of M.A. students with the restructured syllabus under non-semester pattern with proportionate theory and practical involvement.

Madras Universitas Annual Number - 1984

This year's Madras Universitas Annual Number-1984, has been dedicated to Dr. C. N. Annadurai - a name synonymous with popular Journalism of Modern Tamil Nadu - who said "I am a Journalist, will be the answer to any one who asks about my profession", marking the platinum Jubilee celebration of his 75th birth anniversary on Sep. 15, 1984.

The contributions to this include, besides staff and students of the department, from Dr. V. Shanmugasundaram and Mr. N. Murugesu Mudaliar, who are the great patrons and well wishers of the department. We are beholden to them.

The department as usual received all help, encouragement and guidance from visiting members of the faculty and the willing co-operation from local newspapers, AIR and Doordarshan for the internship of our students. The USIS, Madras and media units of the Tamil Nadu Government also extended their help whenever our students approached them for getting materials for their project studies. Our grateful thanks are due to them.

It is, however, our fervent hope that the rules and regulations of AIR and Doordarshan would be liberalised to

* The word 'Universitas' originally applicable to any corporate body became appropriate to a learned corporation - Pollock and Maitland - *History of English Law*. - p. 1.

allow the students to be involved in the programmes of the AIR and Doordarshan instead of being mere observers in view of their commitment to the profession.

Communication Practice Classes

Intensive communication practice classes were conducted to the students of the I M.A. classes to develop in them the skill of oral communication as detailed *inter alia*.

Madras University Bulletin

The Department has brought out regularly the Madras University Monthly Bulletin including special numbers with the help of the Advisory Committee.

Research Programmes

There was much avidity for joining the research programmes of the M. Phil. and Ph.D. Degrees in Communication. Five students for M. Phil. course have been admitted during the academic year from Sept. '83 to Sept. '84. The M. Phil. students will take their examinations in Sept. '84. One full time scholar has joined the department for the Ph.D.

The UGC and Tamil Nadu Government should encourage the research studies by granting adequate fellowships and stipendiary in view of the fact that this is the first of its kind and there is a possibility of great demand for persons to take up teaching assignments in Journalism and Communication departments in the country with research and basic qualifications in Journalism and Communication on a par with other academic disciplines.

Other Activities

The activities of the Department narrated in the following pages will give an idea of its achievements despite its inadequate resources and insufficient infrastructure facilities. It is trusted that basic minimum staff requirements, items of

infrastructure such as teleprinter, Photographic Lab. and Printing Press and the corresponding technical staff needed to man them would be provided to the Department immediately so that the Department could blossom into an advanced centre of Communication studies.

The Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Syndicate and Registrar were always sympathetic and helpful in the progress and functioning of the department for which we will ever be grateful.

ANNA:

THE ARCHITECT OF AN ERA IN MODERN TAMIL NADU

BY

Dr. D. SADASIVAN

C. N. Annadurai, affectionately addressed by his followers and admirers as Anna (Brother) was born on the 15th of September, 1909 in a poor family of the Mudaliar Community at Kancheepuram, a city renowned for its temples, about 40 miles to the North of Madras, in Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu.

I

His father, Natarajan, was a handloom weaver and his mother Bangarammal was the younger sister of Rajamaniammal who had been the foster mother of Annadurai. Rajamaniammal adopted him and brought him up from his early days. Annadurai after his early education in Kancheepuram, joined the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, and passed M.A. Degree examination of the Madras University in Economics and Politics with a first class. Earlier, as a student, he married in 1930, Tmt. Rani, a close relation of him.

He joined the Law College after his M.A. degree but had to abandon it on account of his father's sudden death. Then he tried to become a teacher in a college. Annadurai could not get a job in college and he could become only a teacher at Govindappa Naicker's Secondary School in George town under the management of Pachaiyappa's charities where he taught for a year. He then took up a job in the war propaganda board of the Madras Provincial service. He could not resist the temptation to take to politics and Journalism and the awaited opportunity came to him rather unexpectedly.

He was attending a meeting addressed by the leaders of the South Indian Liberal Federation popularly known as the Justice Party after the official English newspaper called '*The Justice*'. The speech was in English and it was to be translated into Tamil for the benefit of the audience. They were looking out for a person who could translate the speeches into Tamil. Anna from the audience came forward to do the task. His translation captivated the audience more than the original speech. This talent enabled him to come into close contact with the leaders of the Justice Party such as Sir P.T. Thiagaraya Chettiar, Mr T. M. Nair and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.¹

Anna's political activities, however, could be traced from his collegiate days for even as a student, he had associated himself with the Justice Party and even served as the Sub-editor of '*The Justice*', the English Daily.²

II

E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, widely known as 'Periyar', occupies a place of pride in the annals of Tamil Nadu of modern times as a connoisseur, a great social reformer and a champion of Self-Respect Movement. Periyar, however, earlier had been one of the powerful leaders of the Congress Party of Tamil Nadu. He became prominent as "*VAIKOM HERO*" on account of his Satya graha at Vaikom, a small town in Travancore State where the Sudras and untouchables were not allowed into the street leading the temple, let alone entering it. Periyar personally led the satya griha and got imprisoned

1. Anna publicly acknowledged Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar as his intellectual mentor and when a statue was proposed to be erected in Anna's honour, commemorating DMK party coming to power, Anna, who hesitated initially agreed to it only on the condition that it was to be unveiled by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. Ramaswami Mudaliar was too glad to accept the offer inspite of his advanced age and unveiled the statue that adorns today at the heart of Madras in Mount Road.
2. Mr. C. Basudev, then President of Justice Party, formally inducted him into Justice Party.

twice. Immediate provocation for Periyar's parting with the Congress came from the so called *Gurukulam* affair. Having utterly disillusioned by the lethargic, indifferent and communal outlook of the Congress leaders of Tamil Nadu, he left the party and became one of the foremost leaders of the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party.)

Anna was impressed by the qualities of Periyar, particularly his undaunted courage and fearless exposition of atrocities of the higher castes men on the illiterate majority of masses who form mostly the Non-Brahmins. Periyar was also struck by the talents and promising qualities of Anna and took him as his principal political follower. Anna and Periyar companionship marks a distinct stage in the political career of Anna which lasted from 1935 to 1949.

Anna from the beginning was conspicuous from others and proved to be a rare specimen with striking qualities of simplicity, humility and readiness to suffer for the upholding of social justice and a deep knowledge of the helplessness and backwardness of the Non-Brahmin masses of South India and he rightly felt that without enhancing their social status and making them conscious of their self respect, there could be no real political independence and such an independence would also be meaningless. Anna thus viewed the interests of the people foremost without caring for his personal advancement.

A trait which equally speaks of Anna's individualistic phenomenon was his outspokenness and candid exposition of his views and opinions without fear or favour. No doubt he was a shrewd politician of rare specimen and also understood that such a frankness would be a hindrance to his political progress and popularity. Nevertheless he considered that indiscretion is not worthy for a politician of his kind. Endowed with the greatest gift of captivating oratory coupled with a sincerity of purpose, he justified his frankness. One of his rare political virtues was not being offensive and aggressive even to the opponents of his political ideology. It is no secret that he was admired

even by his critics for this cultured and lofty quality of honouring the sentiments of those differing from him and never attacking anyone with rancour, malice and hatred on personal consideration. He opposed only the ideals, principles and policies to defend his party and to uphold the principles of his political philosophy. To quote him: 'I do not oppose Brahmins but Brahminism' and he claimed that among his greatest teachers who moulded his character and equipped him with excellent educational background were Professors belonging to Brahmin community. He publicly acknowledged them by names and expressed his gratitude even after becoming the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

• Anna imbibed the great quality of voracious reading from his younger days and his great hobby had been reading. He was a voracious reader of all kinds and spent a major part of his life like Karl Marx, in reading and writing. His voracious and deep reading reflected in his emotional speeches and writings. His imprint among the lakhs and lakhs of people was through this vast reading resulting in prolific writing, enchanting journalism and everlasting editorials. The younger elements attracted to the movement of Periyar and Anna because of their demand for social justice, self-respect and emancipation from superstitious beliefs and meaningless ceremonies and sacrifices. He treated and addressed his followers as his "younger brothers" and ever willing to fulfill the desire of his followers. He never hesitated to spare his time to be at their disposal.

III

He knew the value of press as the powerful medium of masses. So side by side with his public oration, he equally bestowed his attention in journalism and edited a number of periodicals both in Tamil and English. In Tamil, he edited such as '*Kudi Arasu*', '*Nathigam*', '*Viduthalai*', '*Kanchi*' and '*Nam Nadu*'. In English such as '*Home Rule*' and '*Homeland*' besides his earlier stint as a student in English daily '*Justice*' and a weekly journal called '*The Sunday Observer*' edited by

a young and stormy petrel of Dravidian movement, Balasubramanian. His significant role as a journalist came to be recognised when he served as a sub-editor of the Tamil daily called '*The Viduthalai*' by Periyar which became the official organ of the Dravida Kazhagam. '*Viduthalai*' commanded phenomenal popularity among the rising population of Non-Brahmin youths because of the appeal and powerful arguments against the meaningless habits, customs, sentiments, ceremonies and superstitious beliefs. Periyar extolled that 'Self Respect' alone would make one to rise in social and political influence. He called this as "Discrimination".* Anna's bewitching editorials came to the forefront as sub-editor of '*Viduthalai*'. In one of the editorials, Anna decried the Congress men ruling the Madras Corporation not as the representatives of the people but as 'the lords of the Ripon building' a phrase which he coined to describe their high-handedness. The popularity of his writing reached the pinnacle as readers began to read his editorials avidly for his pungent and satirical criticisms on the misdeeds of the Congress members of the Council.

Anna felt that he should start papers of his own and the Tamil weekly called '*The Dravida Nadu*' was started by him in 1942. All his views propounded in it, served as an intellectual feast to his followers. They were moved by both the style and content which had no precedent till then in the annals of Tamil journalism. The young generation purchased the weekly, read and preserved it as a sacred text. They read word by word and many of them byhearted and made use of them for personal references in their speeches and writings.

Anna edited another Tamil weekly '*Kanchi*' which lasted until 1967. '*Kanchi*' sought to draw attention to his home-town Kancheepuram, a great pilgrim centre and had been a centre of learning about which the famous Chinese traveller Huan

* பகுத்தறிவு.

Tsang mentioned as early as the 7th century AD. Kanchi's main attraction had been Anna's letters to his younger comrades whom he called by the family paternal connotation 'Thambi' (Younger brother). 'These letters were his clarion-call, observation on current affairs, pen pictures of leading personalities of the day, replies to attacks from Periyar, Kamaraj and other political opponents'.³

In 1953 Anna started a daily in Tamil 'Nam Nadu' and assumed its editorship. Anna never hesitated to express his views and opposed the Central Government and urging it to give priority to the economic uplift of the Dravidians and grant of autonomy to Tamil Nadu. He opposed the imposition of Hindi. Anna had to court imprisonment several times for the sake of his principles. He was imprisoned in 1950 for his alleged seditious writings in his book 'Arya Mayai' and the book was proscribed.⁴ In this book he described how the early Aryans of the North, dominated the Dravidians and exploited them economically and politically.⁵

Anna, a prolific writer, not only in Tamil but also in English. His English weekly 'The Homeland' began in 1957 speaks his unmatching calibre of his mastery over English language. This was continued for some years. In 1966 he revived 'The Homeland' under the new name 'The Home Rule'. It is true that Anna did not run any of these periodicals for long because he never bothered about their economics. Commercially they were a heavy burden because he could not concentrate on advertisement which is a vital factor in modern journalistic enterprise. No periodical or newspaper can flourish on the strength of its circulation alone for, newspapers are produced at a higher cost and sold at a lower price, still making a huge

3. Anna — 'The Dravidian Demonsthenes' by A. P. Janarthanam, Ex. M.P. in the *Fifth World Tamil Conference Souvenir* — Page LIX.

4. The ban was lifted later on.

5. It is indeed a strange coincidence that Periyar was already then in prison for objectionable writings in his book 'Pon-mozhigal', and they were kept in different cells, side by side, in the Madras Central Jail.

profit. This magic was possible because of the income derived from advertisement.

It is not surprising therefore that Anna incurred a heavy loss in all his journalistic ventures. It should, however, be conceded that Anna started his journals for propagating his principles. He took to the profession not for a livelihood but to serve society and secure for its emancipation from political, economic as well as social bondages. Anna, like Jawaharlal Nehru, regretted the utter contempt shown to journalists by the beaurocrats. He deplored the lack of journalistic freedom in the country and worked hard to train many a young journalists, inducting his own adopted sons such as Elangovan as editor of '*The Kanchi*' and another son, Goutaman as the Managing Editor of '*The Home-Rule*'. He encouraged E.V.K. Sampath, a nephew of Periyar, to get trained in journalism. He sincerely believed in Press freedom and as Chief Minister for, though less than a couple of years (1967-69), he never interfered with the freedom of the press. He had great reverence for intellectuals and sought their services in the reconstruction of the state. He encouraged Tamil scholars and offered them all possible assistance for literary work. His style had a peculiar charm and literary flavour enhanced by such embellishments like alliterations and telling metaphors.

In spite of all his crowded and multifarious activities, Anna thought that more serious writings like novels and short stories should have a social purpose in a country in transition, so he started writing short stories and dramas with a social purpose. This was again a new innovation and caught the imagination of young people; actors and film makers.

Anna's fame as a short-story writer can be traced to his college days when he contributed many short stories to magazines and periodicals. Anna's early family circumstances might have influenced him to read and write during the night which became his habit even during his later life. He wrote late into the night and consequently he was a late riser.

He was a prolific writer and had more than 200 books to his credit and most of his short stories were based on the themes of social reform and emancipation of the downtrodden. '*Vellai Vetti*' (The white Dhoti), '*Roti Thundu*' (A piece of bread) and '*Chevvazhai*' (the red plantain) may be mentioned as being significant among his short stories. In his '*Panathottam*, (Garden of wealth), he condemned the idle rich who flourished at the expense of hard working labourers. His novels are rich in such ideas of reform as to rank him along with Charles Dickens. A particular mention has to be made in this context – as a student Anna participated in an essay competition and his essay '*Moscow Mob Parade*' was adjudged the best and earned for him a reputation as a writer,

Anna was both a talented playwright and a gifted actor. Kalki (R. Krishnamurti) compared Anna for these qualities with Bernard Shaw, Ibsen and Galsworthy. In one of his dramas '*Sivaji Kanda Hindu Rajyam*' (an Indian Kingdom of Sivaji's dreams) he ridiculed the caste hierarchy. In another drama '*Oru Iravu*' (One night) also filmed, he highlighted the sufferings of the poor. In a third drama, '*Velaikari*' (servant maid) subsequently filmed; he condemned feudalism. In another drama, '*Parvati B.A.*' he mocked at educated women blindly aping the west. His other works such as '*Rangoon Radha*' '*Kumarikotam*' and '*Kalinga Rani*' were based on social themes with the object of exposing injustice to the ridicule of the people in order to eliminate them. In this way, Anna created a great social awakening among the masses. Anna proved his mettle in every field of activity as a versatile genius.

He made use of his silver tongue, his gifted penmanship as well as his histrionic talents to achieve his political ascendancy. He and his party were the pioneers in making use of the stage and the silver screen to propogate their policies and programmes, veiled in dialogues, stories and pictures; sharp and satirical expressions served to bring to the fore the ennobling DMK principles. His first drama '*Chandroodhayam*' was of great significance for Anna himself

acted in it as Raja Guru. The story was based on the history of the great Maratha Warrior Sivaji. It brought him fame as early as 1943. He also acted as Ravana in a drama '*Neethi Devan Mayakkam*' (Dilemma of the God of Justice). He formed a dramatic troupe in Kancheepuram in his Dravida Nadu office and thus gave a political, professional and social status to the participants of the drama and the film—world like any other profession. Till then, there was a social stigma attached to those who participated in the dramas and films. The credit of producing great actors and actresses to disseminate his message among people may rightly be assigned to Anna. The leading actors of Tamil film world such as V. K. Ramaswami, N. S. Krishnan, S. S. Rajendran, Sivaji Ganesan and other matinee idols including M. G. Ramachandran were all inspired by him. In fact, through oratory and screen, the party gained a firm hold over the middle and lower classes who still remain the loyal voters of the party. In particular the freedom of women and the championship of their causes, formed the themes of many a pictures which have fostered an unquestionable faith in the leadership of the person who played the hero in the picture.

The down-trodden and the poor came to realise that a change in their condition was possible by voting these heroes to power. Though in general, it was a vote for all silver screen heroes, they gained a status as leaders of the masses, the hero who proclaimed these ideals captivated the audience and came to be considered as a champion of their ideology. It was long before television came into use in India. This approach as a mass medium was phenomenal and later copied by men with lesser talents.

Another remarkable legacy that was left behind by Anna to his political followers was the powerful oratory of distinction with a clear and impressive diction which was something rare, different and unique. Anna thus set in motion a significant role for public speech as a powerful mass medium. Anna's style of public speaking came to be established which even today is

being adopted by successive batches of his followers. Anna could speak on any subject without previous intimation. Once when he was told at a meeting that there was no topic laid down for him, he reeled off a talk on 'The world-new and old'.

It is interesting to learn that it was DMK party under Anna's inspiring leadership which for the first time collected funds by selling tickets for admission to its meetings.

Anna's oratory was proverbial even during his collegiate days and won trophies and medals in debates and oratorical contests. His popularity was such that among the students, he had been Secretary of the College Union and Chairman of the Economic Association during his Collegiate days.

Another legacy that Anna had bequeathed to his followers was the conception of 'brotherhood' among his rank and file. The credit goes to Anna for having given a family connotation to the members of the party which came to be emulated by his political inheritors. Dr M. Karunanidhi, leader of the DMK, addresses his followers as members of his own family⁶ and Dr M. G. Ramachandran, founder of the AIADMK, the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, calls his followers as 'the blood of his blood'.⁷

Even the members of the opposition party try to imitate his alliterative style which has become a model for all orators in Tamil. They emulated the style of Anna, which was basically mob-enchancing.

His Political Debut :

Anna's role as the politician is more enduring and everlasting. His political debut was made in 1935 when he contested for the Madras Corporation Election as a candidate of the Justice Party against the Congress candidate Mr T. Chengalvarayan but was defeated. It is interesting to learn that Anna and

6. உடன் பிறப்பு.

7. இரத்தத்தின் இரத்தம்.

Chengalvarayan were very friendly and sometimes even had their breakfast together and started out to campaign. They remained friends until Anna's death and the latter is still alive with many nostalgic memories of Anna. Their political differences did not affect their personal relationship. Another Congressman like Chengalvarayan who remained a close friend of Anna was K. Vinayagam. Both cherished their friendship despite their political differences. This sterling quality of respecting and treating political opponents as friends entitles Anna to a place of greatness among leaders of mankind. This trait which had once been conspicuous in Indian politics has slowly and gradually disappeared giving way to animosity, hatred and eternal bickerings leading at times to fatal consequences. Though Anna was an inveterate enemy of Hindi imposition and Northern domination of the South, he often proclaimed in Tamil that "Jasmine of the neighbour's garden would be as fragrant as the jasmine of one's own garden."⁸

This great quality of Anna brings out, in a nutshell, his political tolerance and his catholic outlook which honoured the spirit and sentiments of those who differed from his political ideology. It is indeed worth recalling of what '*The Hindu*' had said of Anna of this facet of his personality:—

"The greatest of Annadurai's assets perhaps was that classical Greek virtue of moderation which came into play often, and invested his administrative decisions with an understanding of the other side of the case and helped pull into the extremist elements in the party. It is this moderation as much as his spell-binding leadership that kept the DMK a closely knit party even in the midst of transparent personal rivalries and with the lack of a clear cut economic programme".⁹

Anna's political activities could be traced to his collegiate days when he took an active part as member of the Justice Party despite initial defeats and setbacks in life. He participated

8. 'மாற்றான் தோட்டத்து மல்லிகைக்கும் மணமுண்டு',

9. R. Parthasarathy - *Ibid.* - p. 767.

in the anti-Hindi agitation of 1938 and courted arrest. It was in 1939 that Anna openly expressed that *Dravida Nadu* for Dravidians¹⁰ and followed Periyar as his devoted follower. Anna accompanied Periyar on his North Indian tour in 1941 and translated his Tamil speeches into bewitching English to the awed amazement of the North Indian audience. Periyar and Anna understood that the Justice Party could not become the mass party and at a conference held at Salem in 1944 they named their party as *Dravida Kazhagam* (Dravidian Federation) under the leadership of Periyar. This could be considered as an epoch making event marking a significant milestone in the political history of Tamil Nadu. Anna who moved a resolution for this change described the event as the 'change from palace to public (plat form) place' since Justice Party still remained in the ivory tower and its leaders were more of aristocratic in habits, bearings and less inclined to identify themselves in any form with the ordinary followers. The *Dravida Kazhagam* also dropped the Pro-British attitude of the Justice Party.

So the birth of the *Dravida Kazhagam* with ideals and principles closer to the commoners and the approach of its leaders appealed in particular to the non-Brahmin student community who became ardent followers of the *Kazhagam*.

Anna, as the leading spokesman of the party and next in command to Periyar, became the intrepid interpreter of these new ideals to the learned and laity, soon became popular among the non-Brahmin populace and was in great demand for public speeches at colleges and public places where the listeners used to overflow and were spell bound by the oratory of Anna. Soon the *Dravida Kazhagam*, popularly known as *DK* gained phenomenal popularity among the non-Brahmin community of South India. But Anna and his close associates had to part company from Periyar on account of his marriage to a lady against the canons of the party. Parting from Periyar, Anna founded the new party called '*Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*', known as *DMK*,

10, Anna said: "Dravida Nadu is the music of my heart".

On the 17th of September, 1949. Anna's parting from Periyar was not surprising for, he never hesitated to differ from anyone including Periyar for upholding the principles and policies of the party. In fact when Periyar called upon DK members to observe the India's first independence day (15-8-1947) as a day of mourning, Anna not only refused but even wrote an editorial contradicting his political preceptor and justifying why should people celebrate the day as a day of great significance. Similarly Anna who had been a critic of Gandhi did not hesitate to pay a glorious tribute when he was assassinated on 30th of January, 1948.

Founding of the '*Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*' by Anna heralds an era of great political significance in the annals of Tamil Nadu politics of Modern times. It also proved to be a turning point in the political career of Anna for it gave him opportunity to display his innate qualities of leadership and also to take decisions freely without the tutelage of Periyar.

The DMK party under Anna's leadership decided to contest at the Second General Elections of 1957. This was one of the bold decisions taken by Anna for, earlier Periyar did not allow DK party to involve in the political activities of South India. The DMK, however, could not make conspicuous success at the General Elections of 1957. It could get only 15 seats. But for the first time the DMK party entered the Madras Legislative Assembly with Anna as its leader. The DMK party's debut into Madras Legislative assembly contributed in no small measure for the political liveliness of the Assembly sessions thereby creating a scene of activeness among the members of the treasury benches. In 1959 DMK contesting the Madras Corporation election captured it with a thumping majority and the first DMK mayor took the office on 24-4-1959.

In the Third General Elections held in 1962 the DMK party won fifty seats as against fifteen at the earlier 1957 elections. But a shadow cast over the DMK, inspite of having gained 50 seats for, its leader Anna was defeated in his home town Kancheepuram by a Congress candidate Natesa Mudaliar,

The saying that 'failure is a stepping stone to success' proved to be a quite matching to the political career of Anna.¹¹ What had been a loss to the Madras Legislative assembly proved to be a gain to the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) for Anna was elected by his party members of the Madras Legislative Assembly to the Rajya Sabha in 1962.

Anna as a Member of the Rajya Sabha :

Anna's membership of the Rajya Sabha must be considered as marking the commencement of the golden period in political life of Anna. His membership of the Rajya Sabha gave an opportunity to the national leaders of the country, including the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, to understand the greatness as well as his patriotic feelings. They could understand Anna's inherent inclination to sacrifice anything for the honour and solidarity of India. His love for the country as second to that of none, could be generated through his soul-stirring speeches at the Upper House. This understanding by the National leaders was a great boon for the *DMK* party, for Anna could establish a climate of good-will and cordiality and a feeling of friendship of the National leaders towards the *DMK* party. Anna was admired by the leaders of the Congress party for his apparent sincerity and readily dropping the demand for *Dravida Nadu* when Parliament passed the Bill against it, as a defender of democracy and whole heartedly supporting the idea in letter and spirit that India as a Nation. So his membership of the Rajya Sabha should be considered, which was possible on account of his defeat at the Madras Legislative Assembly as the divine ordain to have this preparation for the later rule of his party as the ruling one.

In the Fourth General Elections held in 1967 *DMK* swept all the 25 seats it contested for the Lok Sabha and 138 seats out of 178 seats contested for the Madras Presidency. It is pertinent to point out that many leaders and freedom fighters

11. "Verily good often cometh out of evil" - proved to be a blessing in disguise.

like Rajaji got disillusioned by the Congress administration and supported the *DMK*. In fact Rajaji had a warm corner for Anna and openly gave his unstinted support to *DMK* in the general election. Along with Rajaji, the intelligentsia and enlightened elitist also extended all possible help, encouragement and support in unseating the Congress. This change of outlook and coming forward to support the *DMK* party should be considered as a great reward to Anna's traits of leadership. Anna, thus did his best to make *DMK* to take into its fold, not only the poor illiterate and downtrodden but also of sober, enlightened and members of the higher strata of society. The Madras electorates are renowned for their political maturity and winning their support was no mean achievement. That marked achievement was able to be achieved by *DMK* under Anna within two decades—1947 to 1967—when it could become a ruling party replacing the Congress party which had been in power since India's independence in 1947.

Anna, naturally became the first non-Congress Chief Minister of Madras Presidency and the *DMK* party could form the ministry on 6-3-1967. *The Hindu* considered the formation of the *DMK* ministry in Madras in 1967 "as a notable event in South Indian politics. For a young party, which made its electoral debut in 1957 to be swept to power within a decade, defeating a well established national party is no small achievement"¹⁰ Also added "if the guiding hand of Rajaji and the unique leadership of Mr. Annadurai have enabled the *DMK* to unseat the Congress, it will perhaps need the combined wisdom and leadership of both to ensure that the new ministry fulfills the hopes raised among the electorate"¹²

Analysing the results, *The Hindu* said: 'India's Fourth General Elections will go down in history as one of the most significant landmarks in the evolution of democracy in Asia and the World. Never has a ruling party, so well entrenched in office for two decades over so vast a country been administered such compelling shocks by a resentful electorate. What

12. R. Parthasarathy - *A Hundred years of the Hindu*, P. 766

not agonising reappraisal of its policies and performance the Congress may make in examining the reasons for its reverses, it will have to realise that the electorate has shown in unmistakable form its dissatisfaction with Congress rule in many states and the Centre'.¹³ This general statement brings out as a common voice of the electorate for, in the elections the Congress has administered a severe drubbing and in Madras under *DMK*, it was almost wiped out.

"The meteoric rise of the *DMK* which he headed from what appeared to be a communal mass movement to a potent political party that could ride to power in the state in the course of the first three general elections is surely a tribute to his leadership in the face of heavy odds", *The Hindu*, added. ¹⁴ & ¹⁵

Anna's assuming office as Chief Minister of Madras Presidency marks the crowning part of his political career. Anna displayed his supreme quality of statesmanship within the short span of a couple of years of his Chief Ministership during 1967-69. He could carve out a clear policy for the progress and development of Madras Presidency and enabling his successors to tread on the path that he had left behind.

Anna undertook his first foreign visit to South East Asian countries and Japan in 1965 for a month. In 1967, he went to the U.S.A. for a fortnight when he had been the proud recipient of the Sub-Fellowship at the Yale University, USA. The Annamalai University conferred on him the Doctorate degree in 1968. One of the greatest achievements was, of course, the naming of the then Madras Presidency as "Tamil Nadu". The change in name proved to be a strong booster for Tamil

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.* - p. 767.

15. In the Fourth General Election in 1967 all the cabinet members of the Congress Party of Madras Presidency except one, including the Chief Minister, K. Kamaraj, were defeated. One Union Cabinet Minister and two Union Deputy Ministers were also defeated. Thus the Congress party which had lost its sway in Tamil Nadu has never recovered from it till this day.

Nationalism as opposed to the party regionalism of certain other states of India.

Anna, one of the greatest sons of Tamil Nadu of modern era, the architect of a new chapter in the political horizon of Tamil Nadu, was attacked by cancer. This was a rude shock to his teeming followers and more so, to the people who reposed confidence for conspicuous changes in the administration of Madras Presidency under the dynamic and talented leadership of Anna, for the full term of five years. The rank and file of the Madras Presidency sunk their differences and appealed to the Almighty for the recovery of Anna. Anna went to the USA for the treatment of cancer and underwent two major surgical operations, and returned to Madras. He ignored all the precautions that he was advised to follow by doctors. He was asked to take complete rest and use air conditioned car for his movements. Anna, who wanted to be one among the poor, and cherished as one among the commoners, did not mind death if that was the price he had to pay. His health deteriorated¹⁶ and he died after a brief period of acute pain, on Feb. 3, 1969, at the cancer Institute, Adyar, Madras.

His body was kept for public homage at the Rajaji Hall, Madras. An unprecedented crowd of mourners thronged from every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu. *The Hindu* gave a wide and minute coverage of Anna's illness. "*The Hindu* gave extensive coverage to the news, making it as its lead story on page one on many days. It published hour to hour bulletins on his health and when the DMK leader passed away in the early hours of Feb. 3, 1969, it announced the sad news on page one in a banner heading with a three column 'Intro' to the story and a double column picture of Annadurai. It carried a pageful of pictures of the lying in State and the funeral which was reported in great detail".¹⁷

16. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indra Gandhi, talking to newsmen expressed her concern over the health of Mr. Annadurai. She said "Mr. Annadurai is one of the finest leaders of the country" - *The Hindu*, p. 1., 25-1-1969.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 766 - 767

The Hindu, wrote on his death:- "If a leader in this part of country could be described as truly charismatic, it was Annadurai whose speeches cast a spell on the thousands of his followers who flocked to hear him and worshipped him as their guide, philosopher and friend, long before there was even a remote possibility of his holding the reins of power."¹⁸

The *Guinness Book* records that "the funeral of Anna (which took place in Madras on 3-2-1969) was attended by the largest number of people in the world".

India could obviously claim of that kind of funerals during this era to B. G. Tilak at Bombay in 1920, to Mahatma Gandhi in New Delhi in 1948 and to Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi in 1964.

His successor and the then Chief Minister, Dr. M. Karunanidhi, laid to rest his body at a public place on the Marina which became Anna's mausoleum, right opposite the Madras University. It stands as a reminder to the generations of students, who form the cream of society, passing through the University, of the great sacrifice made by the popular leader to bring back the glory and greatness of Tamil Nadu and it is the duty of the intelligentsia to preserve and promote it at any cost.

Anna's works, policies and writings have formed subjects of interpretation and research at a number of universities for the highest degrees of M.Phil and Ph.D's. Already many have done a deep study on Anna. Dr. R. Janardhanam and Dr. Sethu have done research on his dramas and short stories respectively for their Ph. D's. Foreign scholars like Dr. Asher of Edinburgh have made a deep study of Anna's works. Many research works are being done on Anna's different aspects. Scholars like Dr. M. S. Udhayamurthy and Dr. Muthu Sithambaram have popularised Anna's works in USA. Recently on the eve of Post-Centenary Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Madras University, Dr. M. G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu,

presented an endowment of 15 Lakhs to the Madras University to have a Department with full-time faculty members to do a thorough study on all the aspects of Anna.

Anna was a broad minded, independent and gifted journalist of an admirable type who introduced a sharper bite into the languid Tamilian rather Dravidian intellectual scene and offered to his successors a prose which is a model of clarity and energy.

His writings and speeches did more to de-hypnotise a complacent and slumbering people. His writings and speeches in English have always been remarkable in scholarship particularly in politics and economics and a mastery of an oratorical idiom. For example in his maiden speech at the Rajya Sabha he had stated "Socialism is not mere welfare, because socialism is something other than guaranteeing welfare. It works to create inequality. I am aware, according to Laski, that equality is not identity of treatment, but affording equal opportunities for all".¹⁹

Again, in another context he said at the Rajya Sabha "Sir may I, even at the expense of being misunderstood point out that the very term 'National integration' is a contradiction in terms? People integrated become a nation and if they become a nation, where is the necessity for integration? Therefore the term 'National integration' shows the poverty of ideas which has been holding us up all this time"²⁰ This is an illustration of his exceptional trait of political acumen and clarity of thinking—a rare (combination) indeed !

As Anna was a multi-faceted personality comprehensive in himself all the best qualities of head and heart, it is not an easy task to assign him a place in the annals of mankind. It may be apt to conclude that "Anna shone and shone all alone as a star in the political horizon of modern Tamil Nadu".

19. Rajya Sabha, April 1982 as quoted in S. Ramachandran (Ed) *Anna Speaks*, pp. 6-7.

20. *Ibid* - p. 8.

The life of Anna is of importance not only to academics and Journalists. No doubt he reminds to them as the model and inspiring pole star of their role in society, still Anna belongs to one and all, in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere, the endowment and the corpus set apart should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind but a completely integrated human being.

As we are celebrating the Platinum Jubilee of Anna, efforts should be made on the day of this 75th Birth Anniversary (15-9-84) to erect a four storey building with all his relics at Anna square in Madras adjacent to the Anna's mausoleum overlooking University of Madras and the Bay of Bengal at the rear. The memorial would be a permanent memento reverberating the lofty ideals of this great man crossing the barrier of time and tide.

Arignar Anna: An Intellectual in Indian Public Life

Dr. VEDAGIRI SHANMUGASUNDARAM*

I

Widely acclaimed as Arignar Anna - Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai - has his schooling in the historic and intellectual city of Kancheepuram (KANJI) where as tradition has it, Kautilya of *Arthasasthra* was educated along with men who came from all quarters of the globe in the days by gone. The sky line of Kancheepuram has in bold relief the majestic temple towers Kanchi on the banks of Vegavathi river is like Cambridge on the Cam River or Oxford on the side of river Lais. In those centuries of intellectual combat in search of the unknown realms of knowledge, there were scintillating debates on matters temporal and spiritual. The clash between exponents of Jainism and Buddhism, the debates between philosophers of varied schools of Hinduism, the interaction of sculptural, aesthetic and architectural traditions of Southern India were witnessed by the muse of history in that intellectual city of Kancheepuram. In this long lineage of great men is Anna who in the second half of the twentieth century became a legend in his own times, a hero among heroes of the political arena and more than all, the suave and subtle sweet and scintillating philosopher, statesman in the early phase of Independent India.

Those who have known Anna in his life time and had the added honour and privilege of seeing him grow to meteoric heights from the status of a quiet and brilliant academic of the Pachaiyappa's College to that of an unrivalled hero of near 50 million Tamils in India and abroad, and many times the

* Professor and Head, Department of Economics and former Head of Journalism Department, University of Madras.

number of Indians, it is a spectacle of graceful ascendancy that remains in the mind's eye rather than some achievements in the political career, or the offices that he filled. Prof. R. Krishnamurthi, an eminent Shakespearian scholar and Prof. C. D. Rajesvaran a stormy patriot and prof. of Economics' both Principals of Pachaiyappa's College in later years, were teachers of Anna and were also my teachers a decade and a half later. I recall many meetings with Anna both in Pachaiyappa's College and Sir Theagaraya College during 1940's and 1960's. Recalling the student days of Anna, Prof. Krishnamurthi bears testimony to his mark as an "effective speaker in English and a forceful in Tamil"¹ and that his teacher thought that he would "command the applause of listening senates".² This greatness Anna did achieve. His speeches in the Rajya Sabha were listened to with respect by the tallest in the land including Pandit Nehru who paid encomiums.

What Burke said of the British constitution one could affirm in a biographical sketch of the making of Anna. His achievement is not the hasty product of a day; it is the fruit of wise and ceaseless endeavour. He often told his close friends that he worked without undue concern for the calendar or the clock and his endearing audience, often in lakhs, would wait for hours in rain or shine for his arrival at public meetings.

II

We may delineate significant spells of success which attended his career and only one to the contrary. The only account of loss was that he did not live long enough; it was nature's fault. After he entered the Rajya Sabha where he had opportunity for service, and the Chief Ministership for all too brief a period, he swiftly laid foundations for (i) Cordial and yet self-respecting Union-States relations (ii) the strengthening of a Tamil and English as languages for political, and scientific

1. Krishnamurthi, Rao Sahib, R. "Anna's college days" in *Anna*, 1960. Editor, A. P. Janardhanam (Madras, 61).

2. *Ibid.*: This quotation is from Principal Chinnathambi Pillai.

purposes and in (iii) a large political following for social and economic advancement. Had he lived longer – an eternal theme of “ifs” and “buts” in history – perhaps he would have added several feathers to his cap.

III

Anna came to the scene long after his mentors Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy (Periyar E.V.R.) and Dr Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar (Dr.A.R.) with whose editorial offices of *Kudiyarasu* or *Viduthulai*, and *The Justice* respectively, he was familiar. Of those two mentors, the former continued to become almost a centenarian in the public life of Tamil Nadu, and the latter moved to Indian and International administration and diplomacy. And yet he continued to cherish their intimacy and had high esteem for them because they were his political preceptors in formative years. When his own statue was unveiled in the city of Madras, it was Anna's wish that Dr AR should be invited for that purpose. In becoming humility and characteristic oratory, Dr AR hailed Anna on that occasion as a great leader of men and thought of his times. One is tempted to compare Periyar, *Justicites* and Anna to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Socrates was a rebel in thought.³ He was charged for corrupting the youth of his days though what he did was precisely to lead his contemporaries to debates, and to use dialectics, in search of truth. His successor Plato wrote *The Laws* and *The Republic* and sought the compromise between the ideal of rule by philosopher and the declining stages of rule by (i) timocracy; (ii) oligarchy, (iii) democracy; and (iv) tyranny.⁴ Plato was for a just state, under a just man. The *Justicites* of India were men of affluence, education and leisure. They came to politics to participate in the transfer of power from the timocratic state of which Sparta was a conspicuous example in the past and the British Empire in their times. Anna

3. Socrates lived at a time when several gods were worshipped by the Greeks and the disputes about established ideas meant his being poisoned to death by the court of justice.

4. Lindsay, A. D. (TR) *The Republic of Plato* (London, 1950) p. xl.

metamorphosis from that of a campaigner for Periyar of Dravida Khazagham (DK) to that of a theoretician of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) which he founded and led, was in harmony with his intellectual tradition. He was firm in conviction, soft in his expression and persuasive in logic. His mentor Periyar was an iconoclast. His disciple Anna was all sweetness and kindness; Periyar revelled in destroying evil, injustice, social obscurantism, superstition and religious bigotry and insisted on non-participation in government and in elections, as a condition of success in his social mission.

Anna was Aristotlian and a believer in the maxim that the price that good men pay for non-participation in Government is bad government. "Man by nature is a political animal" is the maxim of Aristotle.⁵ Anna believed, as did Aristotle "Plato is dear to me but dearer still is truth". His separation from Periyar was a terrible wrench. Elections and the attendant evils, compromises and social dissensions contributed to a package which Periyar rejected; but Anna seized it as an inevitable challenge to remove evils. He came to power within a decade and a half after the founding of the DMK. The politics of Zamindars, of Rajahs, and of title leaders under limited franchise based on property ownership gave place to leaders of the masses and of the poor, the hungry and the downtrodden. Before the DMK captured the Legislative Assembly, and had its leader elected as Chief Minister of Madras Presidency (later Tamil Nadu), the DMK swept the civic poll and held the Mayoralty of the city of Madras appealing to the educated but poor; urban but also poor slum dwellers. Periyar as leader of the D.K. thundered forth as ever before for social reform, and the leaders of the Justice Party like Sir P. T. Rajan, without a single member in the Legislative bodies, and with a lonely member Rao Saheb T. R. Kothandarama Mudaliar in the Corporation Council, continued in political abnegation or retirement, but proudly supporting the political wisdom of Anna.

5. Aristotle : (384-322 B.C.) *Politics*, 1.2,1253. Edited by W. A. Newman.

IV

Among the books and writers whom Anna used, quoted and re-read – they were countless – the works of Fabians like Bernard Shaw, Guaham Wallace and H. J. Laski had profound influence on him. I recall one of my brilliant students of Economics Mr. Subbiah to whom Anna was very much attached during his Delhi stay. Laski's *A Grammar of Politics*, was as much a guide book to Anna as it was to Pandit Nehru, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in London school of Economics. Equally so to Prof. C. D. Rajeswaran who had been the chosen pupil of Prof. H. J. Laski and Prof. C. D. Rajeswaran had been the beloved teacher and political guide of Anna in his student days at Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. The works of Edmund Burke, John Bright, Dadhabhai Nowroji, Palme Dutt, B. R. Ambedkar and the whole set of works by the Thinkers Library and rationalists like Aldous Huxley and Bertrand Russel formed the intellectual diet of Anna. This much many of his contemporaries and many of the outstanding personalities like Dr A. R. Mudaliar, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dr. C. R. Reddy, Dr R. K. Shanmugam Chetty and others could also claim. The additional claim of Anna was that he used Tamil as the medium of communication with masses and drew profusely from ancient Sangam classics and works of immense value like *Thirukkural*. His fervour for English was constructive and global in vision. He defended English as the widest spoken scientific language in the world and gave the authorised version of the Government of Madras (later Tamil Nadu). "English will be link language because", he affirmed "at present English is the only language which satisfied the definition of link language".⁶

Anna's rise in the esteem of his followers was because of the literary, cultural and intellectual twist that he gave to his movement. The Congress dominated by Mahatma Gandhi's ideals had taken deep root in India in the thirties and forties,

6. Nedunchezian, V. R. *Convention on the Place of English in our Educational System* (Madras, Nov. 1967) p. 166.

and the *Justicites* were defeated in elections. With his roots in history, Anna believed that independence of 15th of August, 1947 was a matter for rejoice from the political angle whereas his mentor Periyar from the social angle called it a day of mourning. Socialism was advocated by a section of the Congress led by Nehru and not by all followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Anna and his followers in the DMK argued for a socialistic, casteless and egalitarian society. Anna was a federalist. When external threats were frequent, he gave up his earlier cessationist stance to a federalist option. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognised cultural nationalities and rights of the States and Anna had sympathy for such economic and cultural rights of states and nationalities, as did Periyar, an admirer of USSR. One of the life long followers of Periyar and Editor of *Viduthalai*, Mr. S. Guruswamy had given his daughter, the name *Kunchitham Guruswamy* RUSSIA. Such was the Socialistic fervour of Periyar's followers, outstanding among them being Anna.

V

A marathan speaker, playwright, dramatist, actor, embodiment of affection and unchallenged leader, Anna was the maker of an era. From the nineteen forties when I heard him in the days prior to the formation of his DMK party to his last days, one I could easily witness is his increasing popularity. Thiru Vi-Ka, C. Rajagopalachari and K. Kamaraj of the Congress, P. Jeevanandam of the Communist Party and all other political leaders were his amiable friends. He respected his opponents and their thoughts without giving away his own articles of faith. His esteem for his teachers and his *Alma Mater* the Pachaiyappa's College was unique. In an address to the Pachaiyappa's College shortly before he passed away, he said that after retirement from political life he would be happy to serve that institution on the Board of the Pachaiyappa's Trust to create men like Dr M. Varadarajanar. He was an intellectual at a time when education has not reached the masses and poverty still prevented the state and individuals to attain universal education.

Intellectual memorials by way of studies in depth in (i) federalism, (ii) the role of culture in social evolution (iii) international awareness of social tension (iv) reforms of economic thought for purposes of poverty removal, were dear to Anna's heart. We are yet have high priority for these issues because the day to day challenges of populism which take heavy toll of time and energy. Anna's vision is wide and far reaching. His intellectual contribution is a price gift to the future generations.

Arignar Annadurai's Talents as Publicist And His Skill as a Journalist

BY

Rao Saheb N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

(Special Adviser to Chief Minister

*Dr. C. N. ANNADURAI (1967-68))**

I

It would be appropriate if I write for this special issue on Arignar C. N. Annadurai by the Department of Journalism and Communication, University of Madras, on a special aspect of his distinguished career as a Journalist and Public Communicator. This is important in the context of the impact of public affairs on modern democracy.

Anna, as he was called, was a self-made man in every respect and so his technique was distinctly different. Every politician has in his making some capacity as a publicist, parliamentarian, orator and journalist. A mere demagogue is not a good publicist and his impact on the public is momentary, transient and would lack depth. Also mere writing is of not much use either in a country where literacy and political education are on the lower side. Addison, Steele and Swift resorted to pamphleteering. Burke, Walpole and Morley came later but they were for the elitists. Similar was the role of Pherozshah Mehta and Gokhale in our own country.

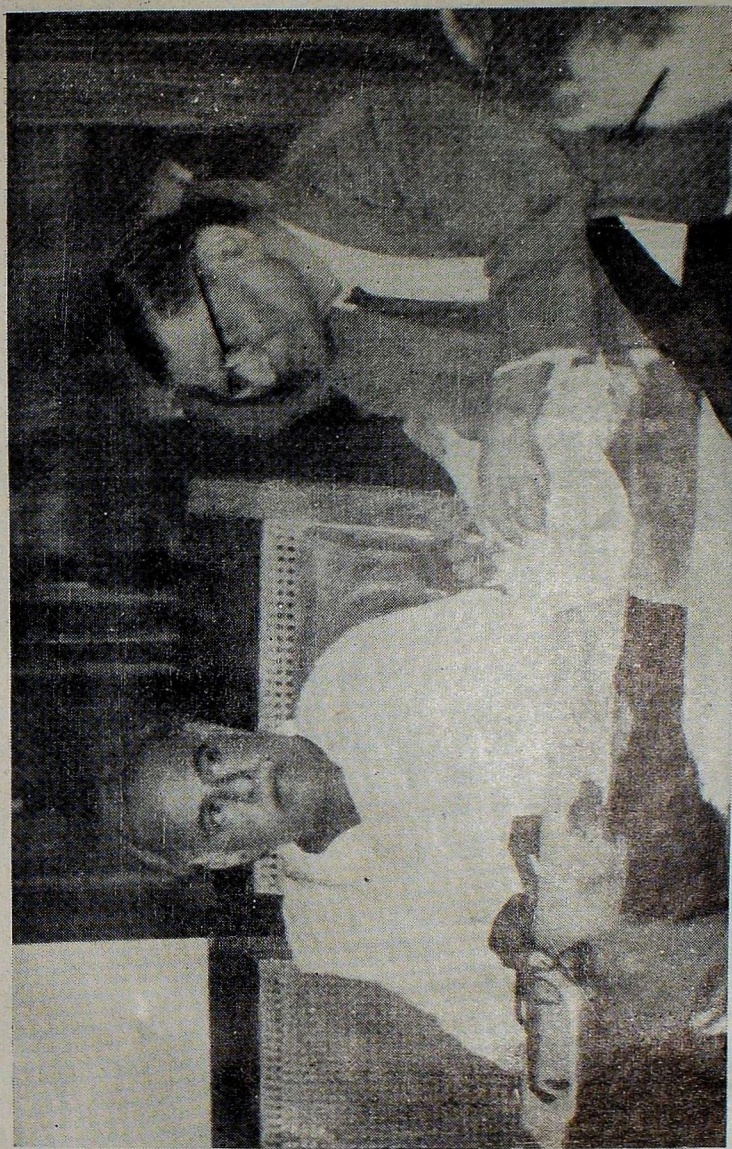
The very genesis of Journalism in India speaks of the necessity for a medium accessible to the common man at an affordable level. Kelkar, Tilak and Subramanya Aiyer tried to create popular Journalism. Mahatma Gandhi Commenced two periodicals for the communication of his ideals and beliefs to his country men and the ruling class. The common man

* Former Part-Time Faculty member of the Department.

spurned *elitist* Journalism as snobbery. This was the case in England also, where popular and Sunday newspapers attained more popularity. In India, except a few vernacular papers, the press as a medium of popular vehicle was solely piloted by the Anglo-Indian newspapers. *The Hindu*, *The Leader* and *Swarajya* were the notable dailies which posed considerable challenge to the Anglo-Indian press. The breakthrough was achieved mainly with the advent of papers in regional languages particularly Hindi, Bengali and Tamil. This was the stage when popular agitation erupted for the constitutional reforms for the country leading atleast to Dominion status, if not Home-rule.

Annadurai's political perception and sensibility found awakening with the advent of this new era. It was marked by the birth of a new movement in the south which fought for social, economic and political progress of all communities while the British were still in the country and because brown imperialism would be worse than white imperialism. There was, certainly no conflict of interests or purpose as there was also the tempo of the moderate elements in the Indian National Congress. The situation would perplex any young man in the backwoods of social advantage or affluence like Anna. It is here that western education would help and indeed helped Annadurai. He was in many respects a man of deep perception.

Annadurai after schooling in his native, Kanchipuram (famous for the Pallavas of Kanchi), took up higher University education at Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. He hailed from a lower middle class family but his aspirations were high. He took his Master's Degree in Economics of the Madras University with distinction. He was a student of Prof. C. D. Rajaeswaran of the London School of Economics at Pachaiyappa's. Prof. C. D. Rajaeswaran himself was the student of Prof. Harold Laski and he was steeped in the knowledge of the Fabian School of Socialism of which G. B. Shaw and Webles were the arch priests. Naturally, Annadurai's public reflection on socio-political problems also revolved around this school of thought.



Peraringar Anna and Rao Sahib N. Murugesā Mudaliar

Not being a man of influence or means, Annadurai took up a teaching job in a middle school. Anyone else with more influence would have secured a gazetted job under government. But he was profoundly influenced by the movement led by Sir P. Theyagaroya Chetty, Dr T. M. Nair, Dr C. Natesa Mudaliar and others who fought for rightful placements in higher education and government appointments for backward communities - compendiously called non-brahmins, not as a favour but against the growing monopolism which was exposed by the facts and figures of Sir Alexander Cardew, ICS, Member of the Governor's Council in 1918 in his memorandum to the Royal Commission on Public Services.

II

Periyar E. V. Ramaswami who became Anna's mentor very soon had not been in the thick of the campaign as he was earlier in the Indian National Congress as a top-level leader till he was himself got disillusioned by the caste distinctions perpetuated in the Thiruchengode Ashram for students supposed to be trained in Gandhian ideals.

Anna's first exposure to the political scenario was his introduction to the leaders of the Non-Brahmin party known popularly Justice Party. The party had started three daily newspapers - *Justice* (in English), *Dravidan* (in Tamil) and *Andhra Prabha* (in Telugu). They had talented editors who side by side pleading for devolution of more political powers to the people fought against monopolism. It had very effective public speakers both in Tamil and English. Anna was attracted to work for short time, on the editorial staff of *Justice*. At the same time, there was developing a group of powerful Tamil Journalists, whose shining light was Thiru Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar who was a nationalist and was opposed to the Non-Brahmin movement. He opposed the Non-Brahmin movement not because it was anti-national but because, he thought it would delay the transfer of power from the British hands. Thiru Vi.Ka. was a very refined speaker and writer of a fine literary Tamil.

Anna had to adopt a different style and so he started weekly journals of his own - *Dravida Nadu*, *Nam Nadu*, *Kanchi* etc., They were popular. He adopted the style of 'bedside' talks (ie) that he addressed his writings as appeals or letters to his comrades (or *thambi*, as he called them). His public speeches were of a unique style unlike the style of Subramanya Aiyer and the Congress school. He spoke in short sentences with alliteration. His guttural voice had a deep impress on the comrades who listened to his apt phrases and cliches and even adopted his style of speaking.

E. V. Ramaswamy was yet to start his paper *Viduthalai* but his public speeches before mass audiences for two and even three hours at a stretch had a peculiar grip on the young and the old. He spoke in short sentences in colloquial Tamil and now and then would supply his own answers to denounce the role of the nationalist-monopolist politicians and the press. EVR wrote devastatingly critical articles with facts and figures in an easy style in his *Viduthalai*. What is important is that Anna was deeply impressed by the radicalism and rationalism of EVR who in his distinct style ridiculed nationalist cant. He appealed for cultivating this rationalism - '*pagutharivu*' so that the new generation could stand up and uphold its self-respect or '*suyamariathai*' and self-confidence (*than-nambikai*). EVR's new movement was accordingly called *SELF-RESPECT* movement and his followers were called rationalists. Just as Swami Vivekananda evoked the divinity in everyone, high and low, so also EVR evoked self-respect to keep one's head high and face all challenges. Making of Annadurai was a good combination of the sophisticated western style of the Justice party leaders and the clever and blunt speaking of EVR. EVR adopted a sort of socratic style with short questions and answers. Annadurai's style captivated the people and the press and used it on platform and in his journals also.

Yet another device of Annadurai, who was a good short story writer, was literary works - Novels, plays and short stories - to spread the new message of social justice and anti-

monopolism and anti-superstition. His perception of the function of literary works was to evoke the free thought of the people to emancipate them from the slavery of centuries. The TV. had not yet then come into vogue but his short plays on the stage in which he himself acted became more popular (eg. *Velaikari*, *Panathottam*, *Rangon-Radha* etc.).

Annadurai rarely contributed to the English daily press which was the close preserve of the monopolists. But he was pained at the mis-representation of the socialist movement (which he called as scientific socialism). So he started an English weekly *Home Land* wherein he wrote some penetrating articles on politics and public affairs. But it did not last long. There was lack of integrated effort to run one well-edited English paper on business lines. In no country, no party papers achieved commercial success but they served as a record of party's protest against injustices. This was the role Justice party's paper could perform in its limited field. It was a crucial period when Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were under discussion. The Justice party was ahead of others in this notable era.

III

The period 1947 to 1982 was a period of ineffectiveness. A central government with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was set up. In the states advisers were appointed from the ICS cadre with the defeat of the Justice party in 1932. The party chose EVR as the new leader and the party was called *DRAVIDA KAZHAGAM*. EVR, himself, like Gandhi, was not prepared to lead the party on political lines in order to fight elections and form government. The party carried on its socio-economic propaganda and did not recapture the parliamentary tradition of the Justice party.

During this period, a strange event occurred. EVR had decided to marry in his old age after being a widower for a long time and he did not choose to separate party funds and personal funds.

Annadurai chose not to oppose him but start a new party under the name of *DRAVIDA MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM* which soon gathered a large following of younger elements not accustomed to hero-worship and charisma of the leader only.

EVR had gathered strength with his charisma and strong mass base. He resembled Charles Kingsley in his leonine face and bushy beard and even in his socio-democratic doctrines. EVR, no doubt, ridiculed the splinter groups (*Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*) as his dear eye-drops (*En-arumai kan-thooligal*). Nevertheless, Anna did not foresake his loyalty to EVR and his debt to training for mass leadership.

Annadurai's DMK party contested the 1952 elections and secured a small number of seats. His party contested the Madras Corporation election and obtained a majority which was encouraging. Annadurai lost state legislative election in his home-town. But Anna stood for the Rajya Sabha elections and won. This is a great turning point in his political career and in the history of Tamil Nadu. His maiden speech in Rajya Sabha was admired by Jawaharlal Nehru and other north Indian members to whom Anna was painted as a fire-eating politician working for a separate *Dravida Nadu*, soon reversed their opinions. The Congress Swarajya party was in power in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of C. Rajagopalachari. Rajaji was a forcible critic of the corruption and the swarajists. He lost popularity in Tamil Nadu in spite of his efficient administration by his ill-advised and ill-stared advocacy of primary class students being trained in their parental occupation. This made Kamaraj to succeed him as chief minister.

IV

A most welcome and laudable victory was achieved by Annadurai in the 1967 elections and he formed a compact government and started with well chosen programmes for action. For example, ending corruption in the civil supplies department, reforming the community development and panchayat centres, cutting down public expenditure and so on. Rajaji had

started for himself a weekly paper called *Swarajya* for his anti-congress campaign and used it devastatingly. Annadurai had no paper in support of his party and he had to depend on what is called the nationalist press. Annadurai's election manifesto was faithful to the cause of upliftment of poor and even his critics could not attack it. He pledged to supply rice at fair price and fought for prohibition at all costs. He also stood for the nationalisation of bus transport as fleet owners were the people who supplied the money for the defeated congress party. His advent as Chief Minister was hailed by one and all, as he had a clear record in financial and administrative matters.

One of his first acts was to write me to assist him as an administrative consultant. One of his first tasks, he gave me was to work out a scheme of nationalisation of bus transport in stages and the reforming of the community projects which have fallen into disrepute by corruption. Being an economics man, he had the idea that malpractices in the community projects would ruin the rural economy, create village factions and above all affect agriculture. He deputed me to Madhya Pradesh where the community projects was entrusted to the revenue departmental staff working directly under their heads of departments and not as extension officers. Anna had an open mind on the subject and he did not give me an inkling of his views on the subject. As desired by Anna I submitted a report. I had suggested many reforms and one particular recommendation was that the present adhoc staff should be replaced by revenue department staff. Anna asked me to explain the salient points of my report to his colleagues in the cabinet room. He afterwards placed the report and it was discussed by the special meeting of the panchayat union presidents. He also convened a meeting of party leaders and eminent personalities like Dr A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, K. Balasubramanya Aiyer and R. Balasubramaniam (CPI). They were all unanimous that the recommendations were acceptable. It seems that Mr P. G. Karuthiruman (Cong.) said that the report was a "denigration of non-officers". Anna asked 'who

said so? I have read the report line by line twice". Later he placed the report before a session of collector's conference which approved the report. Meanwhile some papers ill-disposed towards the party were critical of the recommendations of the report.

Indian Express flashed the report on a full page while *The Hindu* made a short summary. The report was placed at a conference of Chief Ministers convened by the Ministry of Agriculture, New Delhi as the Lok Sabha was very critical of the community development projects. At a time when it wanted the community development projects to be wound up, Anna placed the meticulously prepared report. The Chief Ministers, particularly the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, was fully appreciative of the report.

V

What I wish to point out is that as a publicist and Journalist, Anna was not afraid of publishing reports and did not neglect or give unauthentic versions. The report was immediately taken up for action and north Indian papers gave a good report of Anna's action.

Mr B. Sivaraman, ICS, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture praised Anna's efforts in elevating community development as a scheme of people's welfare. Leaders like Nehru, S.K. Dey and others have said so much about the development of material resources at the village level as an essential condition for the progress of ruralites who form the vital elements of Indian population.

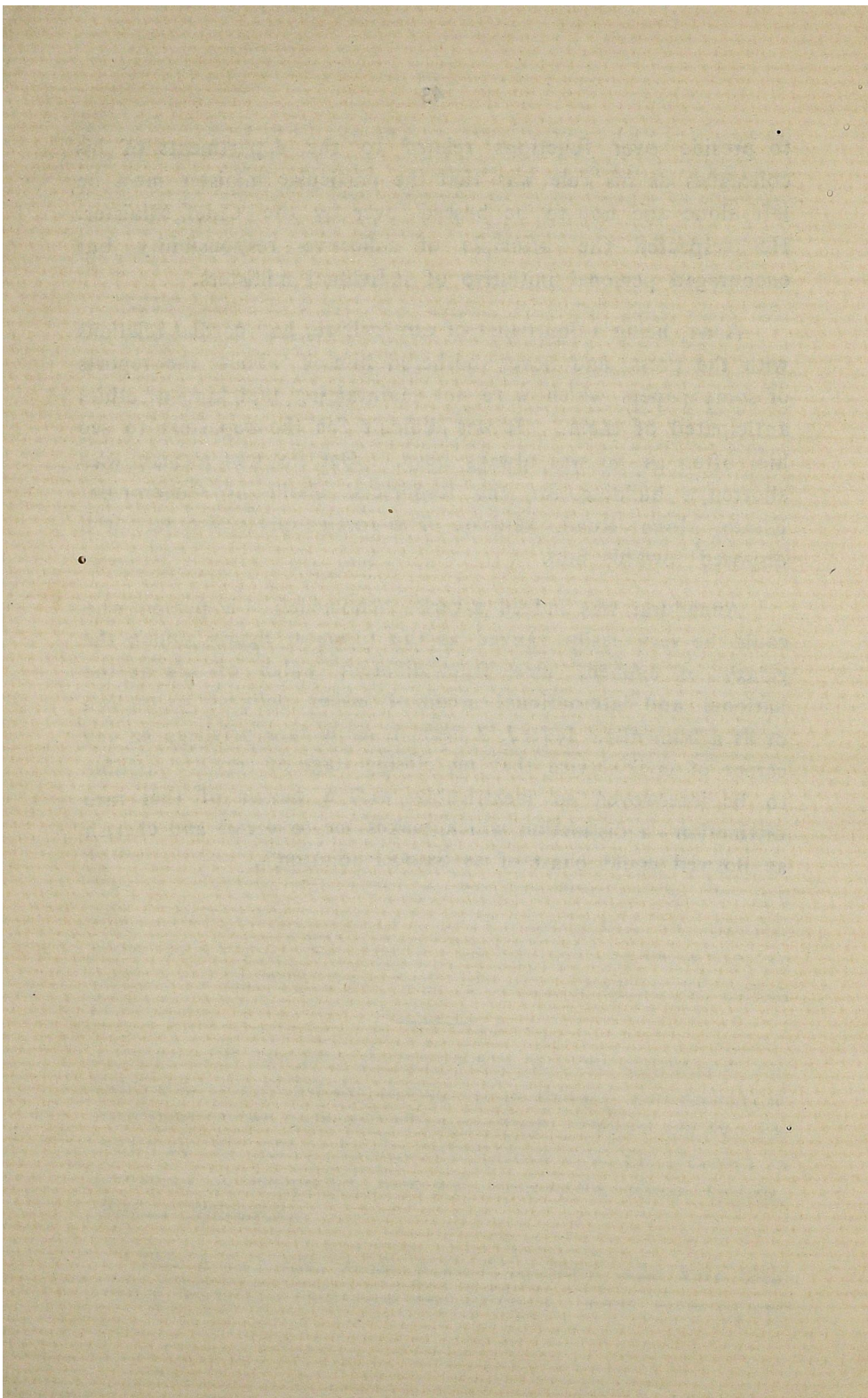
Anna did not give up his efforts for the acceptance and implementation of his pet scheme of community development as developed by me with meticulous care and intrepid efforts. He continued his efforts for its enforcement and his speeches in favour of its acceptance were published in the official bulletin, *Madras Information*.

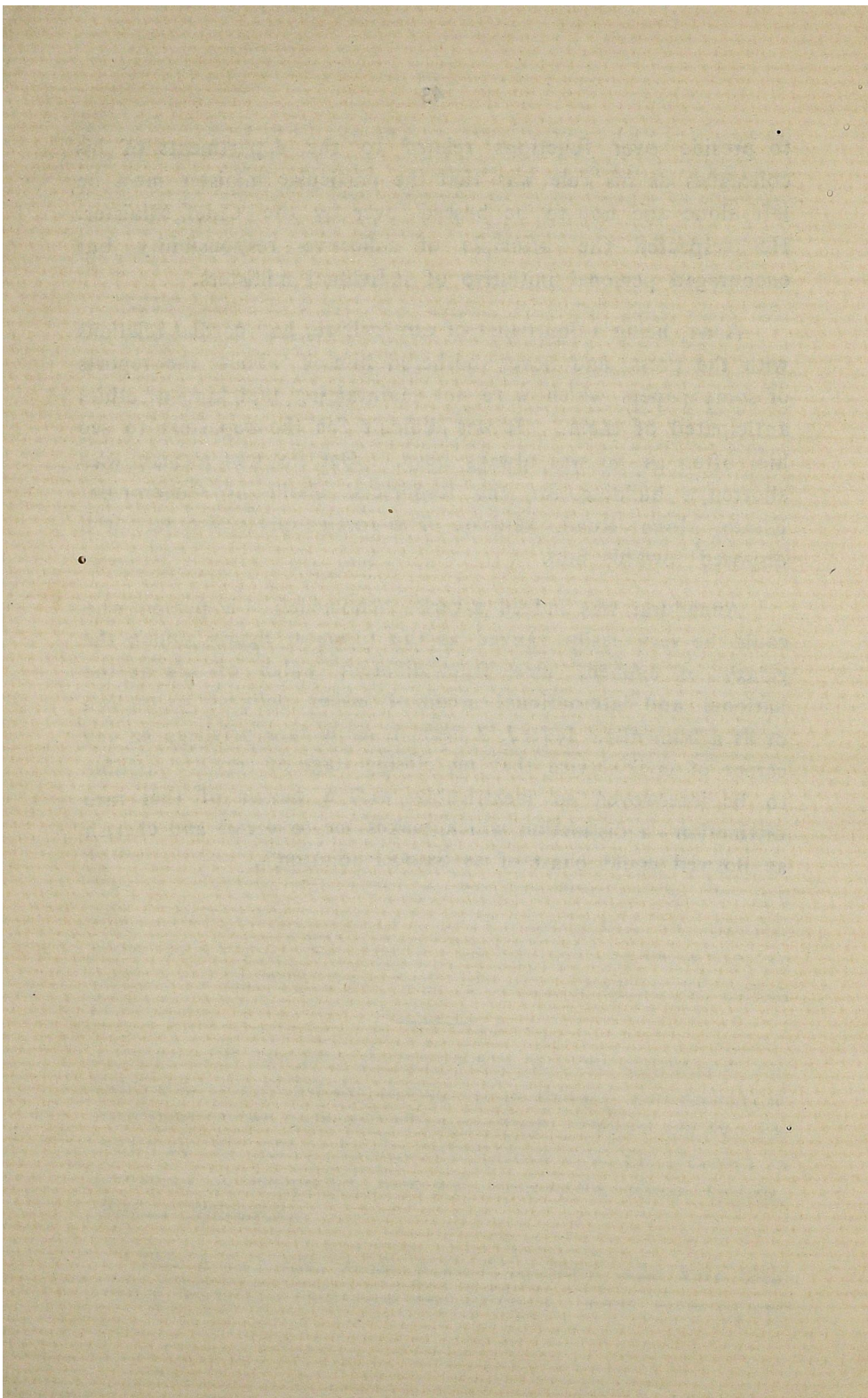
This is technique in all western countries who have their central office of information and publicity. Anna never agreed

to preside over functions related to the departments of his colleagues as his rule was that the particular minister must be left alone and not to be bossed over by the Chief Minister. He respected the principle of collective responsibility but encouraged personal initiative of individual ministers.

Anna, being a Journalist of rare calibre, had cordial relations with the press and never bothered himself about the reports of some papers which were not maintaining that kind of ethics anticipated of them. It was difficult for the reporters to see him often as he was always busy. But he was a man who allotted a building for the Reporters' Guild at Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras. The foreign press also was well disposed towards him.

Annadurai was indeed a rare phenomenon - a person who could be very easily ranked as the foremost figure among the galaxy of eminent men from different walks of life at the national and international arena of either politics, journalism or as a humanist. Indeed, I deem it as a rare privilege in my career of civil service that my closing stage of service was able to be interwoven so inextricably with a person of that rare distinction - a distinction which makes me to recall and cherish as Boswell could boast of as Samuel Johnson's.





Peraringnar Anna: A Multifaceted Personality

BY

Ms. CHANDRIKA SOMASUNDARAM*

An Indian youth, Mohan Ranade, was released from Portuguese prison after 14 years of imprisonment. He was imprisoned for having raised the banner of freedom for Goa, Diu and Daman against the portuguese. On the day of his sudden release, he was informed about the good samaritan who among others urged for his release to the Pope, who inturn used his benevolence for his freedom. Mohan on his return^o to India, wanted to meet the great personality and convey his gratitude in person. But alas by that time, the cruel hand of death had snatched him away from his near and dear. Whom he wanted to meet was no other than our 'Anna'. Anna on his way to the U.S.A. met the Pope in Rome. His meeting the Pontiff had two immediate benefits. One was of Mohan Ranade's release and the other was of introducing, the immortal Tamil classic '*Tirukkural*' to the Pope. The release of Mohan Ranade is indicative of the great impact Anna could have on a great personality of the world faith and Anna as a great humanist. The other one constitutes Anna as a lover and promoter of Tamil, which had been so dear to him. It is no exaggeration to say that but for Anna, the acclamation of Tamil as one of the world languages and success of Tamil conference at the international level would have been difficult, if not impossible.

I

Anna - the versatile genius of Tamilnadu, is known all over India as a great, fluent and fervent, extempore, silver-tongued orator; an erudite scholar, playwright and an actor who captivated the hearts of millions. A writer of eminence both

* M. A. Student of the Department.

The change of Government in Tamilnadu was smooth and the people proved worthy of democracy.

II

The D.M.K, the brain child of Anna, entering the political arena in 1957, having been founded in 1949, and unseating by 1967 the Congress Party, which continued to enjoy the suzerainty since independence, all with in a decade and half is no mean achievement, particularly for a leader, who cannot claim political or economic backing by virtue of birth. As in the case of the great leaders, even in the case of Anna, a defeat in 1962 state election proved to be a blessing in disguise. This defeat led to his becoming a member of the Rajya Sabha which in turn gave him an opportunity to widen his horizon politically and Jawaharlal Nehru to understand and appreciate his stand and principles. This period can rightly be regarded as laying the foundation for the later day amity, understanding and sympathy in the relations between the state and the centre.

III

Anna's interest in journalism was later developed through his relationship with E. V. Ramasamy. He edited and published journals such as '*Dravida Nadu*', '*Kanchi*' and '*Homeland*' in Tamil and English. These were ^{we} principle oriented and not profit oriented, hence his losses were not surprising. His prolific writings in both Tamil and English were rare specimen exposing the odium of social evils. All journalists are not good writers and all writers are not good journalists but Anna made his mark in both ways.

"Who 'mid the taught are learned called
produce their learning unappalled"

—722—*Kural*.

states the quality of the scholar and Anna epitomises it, his high intellectual performance and spirit of enquiry made him to apply his scholarly qualities even in practical life, to uphold the cause of humanity, as has been seen in the release of the youth.

His command of English language has been admired and accepted as a rarity. Dr. A. E. Ashir of Edinburgh University, commented on Anna's speech at the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, "A great performance mingling humour with sentiments, wit with profoundity in a way that no native speaker of English present on the occasion could have surpassed or even equalled." As Chief Minister, he served for a brief period, but proved to be a benefactor of the people by rising above narrow party considerations and set a model which enabled his successors to cherish and chalk out programmes for social, economic and cultural uplift of the people.

The glorious triple codes—*Duty-Dignity and Discipline* can be found in the words of Norman D. Palmer, Professor of Pennsylvanian University, "as a charismatic leader who had the 'gift of grace', the ability to inspire and win the loyalty of millions of people. A man of unquestionable integrity and high personal and political standards, he was above factionalism and petty partisan quarrels".

History can rarely come across such a humane leader with a many sided personality like Anna. He rose to the heights of eminence in what ever field he entered because of his intelligence, integrity and industry. He is a leader to be remembered. More than anything else his lofty catholic conception of universal brotherhood, that he could establish cutting all sorts of barriers, indeed speak the unique trait of Tamil culture which Anna—identified both in letter and spirit. His soul will amply be rewarded with peace if unity and real brotherhood prevail among his followers. Let the great soul be given this solace by every loyal and true son of Tamilnadu, who claim Anna as his mentor and Preceptor.

Sir A. T. Panneerselvam And Peraringar Anna

BY

Ms. VASUGHI THIRUSELVI*

Whom the Tamils love, the Gods love even more; that is why *They* took both A. T. P. and Anna during the prime of their lives. Both A.T.P and Anna like elder and younger brothers, though with a slight generation gap, were of the Tamil family, reared and raised by the great father - Periyar E.V.R. What Periyar preached, both A.T.P. and Anna, achieved in practical terms. Self-Respect, based on the foundations of Duty, Discipline and Dignity, was what enabled both A.T.P and Anna, to prove that the Tamils, were second to none, on Earth.

I

Born in 1888, in an agricultural family in Thanjavur district in the South, Panneerselvam weaved through his studies and became a Barrister-at-Law and returned to India in about 1912. It was natural for Panneerselvam, with his background and heritage to be drawn to the great Dravidian movement.

Panneerselvam entered politics and served in local bodies, for initial training. Gradually with the experience gained at each successive level, he ascended step by step in the party. After having served as Public-Prosecutor in Thanjavur for three terms, Panneerselvam was elected as District-Board President, Thanjavur and later as Member of the Legislative Council, when he attended the Round Table Conference abroad. He was chosen as Home Member of the Governor's Executive Council, during the transitional Dyarchy form of Government, by which the British had decided to bestow self-government by stages to the Indians. This suited the Tamil leaders like

* II M.A. Student. She writes the glimpses of her grand-father late Sir A. T. Panneerselvam, narrated by her father Mr. A. A. Selvam, Advocate, Madras High Court. She has gone to the United States for higher studies in Communication.

Periyar, P. Theagaraya Chettiar and Dr. T. M. Nair who were beginning to tear asunder and expose the hollowness of the superstitious beliefs, instilled by the vested interests to dominate over the poor downtrodden.

II

Panneerselvam and other *Justicites*, served this State, under the Justice Party for seventeen years from 1920 to 1937, Anna was a junior member then, but had already been ear-marked as a born leader. He was one of the few M.A. graduates in the party and his flair for language, both English and Tamil was patent in his speeches and in the articles he wrote. Panneerselvam was a powerful speaker in English and the many speeches and debates recorded in the Madras Legislature, bear ample testimony to his skill in the verbal duels with powerful political rivals like Rajaji and others. The standard of debates in the Assembly even in those formative years, won the admiration and approbation of even the British observers, who had been deputed to watch how the new system of self-government was functioning. But of course there were some sub-standard politicians, who adopted unfair practices and hurled slanderous abuses, from political platforms to gain cheap approbation. Though they went to the extent of calling the *Justicites* as British boot-lickers, none of them dared to call any *Justicite* as corrupt, even till and beyond 1937, when the Congress was voted to power.

During the Rajagopalachari Ministry in 1937, Panneerselvam was in the forefront of the attack from the Opposition benches, in the Assembly. Many of his best speeches were recorded during this period. Then came the first great anti-Hindi agitation and the political resolution of the Justice Party at the Vellore Conference in 1938. As Anna and Periyar were arrested and were in prison, Panneerselvam was called to read Periyar's address at the Conference.

World-war II broke out in 1939. Hitler's armies were sweeping through Europe. His planes were trying to bring Britain to its knees, through the Blitz bombardment upto 1940.

Just then Panneerselvam was offered the post of Member of the Advisory Board of the Secretary of State for India. What a dilemma? Was it worth the risk of going to England at this stage? But if the cause of the Tamils could be advanced better at the seat of power, what risk could deter duty? At first he thought of taking his two younger sons, E. T. Selvam and A. A. Selvam, who were then in Montfort High School, Yercaud, with him, to educate them also in England, as he has educated his eldest son L. G. Selvam for seven years, but then he decided to take them the following year. He departed alone from Karachi on March 1, 1940 in the ill-fated 'Hannibal' plane, which disappeared somewhere over the Gulf of Oman and was never found again.

The whole of Tamilnadu wept over the loss of one of its beloved sons, the late Sir A. T. Panneerselvam. It was then that the younger brother Anna took over the flag in the political field. The Tamils had a long wait, from 1937 to 1967. During this depressing period of trial, it was Anna alone who kept the flag flying, despite discouragement, occassionally even from his mentor Periyar. Therein lies the true greatness of Anna. He not only kept alive the flame of the Tamil spirit, but also trained a battalion of worthy followers. He imaginatively used the popular film media, to carry over to the illiterate masses, his poignant message of Self-Respect being the greatest respect, which a human could attain.

This account may appropriately be concluded by recalling Anna's first utterance in public on assuming office as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1967, which reflects the noble Tamil tradition of gratitude to our forbear. The sentiments expressed were to this effect: 'We have come a long way, after a long wait. We travel now in comfort over the road laid with sweat and tears of our forbear. They bore many a burden to lay this road and I believe that the heaviest of them all, was to have been called bootlickers, which they bore stoically, for our sake and for our children. I say this, lest we forget, our obligations, to those heroes of Tamil history'.

DEPARTMENTAL
ACTIVITIES

DEPARTMENTAL
ACTIVITIES

Internship

- a. The first year students underwent their internship for a month at the following newspapers :
 - i. THE HINDU, Madras.
 - ii. INDIAN EXPRESS, Madras.
 - iii. NEWS TODAY, Madras.
 - i. EDHIR OLI, Madras.
 - ii. DINAMALAR, Madras.
 - iii. DINA MANI, Madras.
 - b. The Second year students had their internship for a fortnight each at the following media centres :
 - i. ALL INDIA RADIO, Madras.
 - ii. DOORDARSHAN KENDRA, Madras.
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Special Lectures

1. Prof. William Francois, a veteran Journalist, teacher and author from Drake University School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Iowa visited and addressed the students on 22-11-1983.
2. Ms. Patricia D. Norman, Vice-Consul & Program Officer, U.S.I.S., Madras, visited the Department on 22-11-'83.

Scholarships

Students of M.A. in Communication are eligible for Scholarships of the Government of Tamil Nadu and Government of India, like students of other courses of studies in the University of Madras.

P.A. Seshan Shastiabdapurthi Foundation Scholarship

There is also P. A. Seshan Shastiabdapurthi Foundation Scholarship to two deserving students.

Gold Medal

Sri S. A. Goindarajan Memorial Gold Medal

The University of Madras awards the Sri S.A. Govindarajan memorial Gold Medal to the student who stands first at the M.A. Degree examination in Journalism and Communication of the University of Madras.

Journal

An annual Journal *MADRAS UNIVERSITAS* and a bi-lingual fortnightly *Madras Universitas* are brought out by the Department.

Communication Practice Classes for I M.A. Class (1983 - 84)

Sl. No.	Date	Subject	Participants
1	27- 9-'83	J. A. Hicky's Claim as the founder of Indian Journalism.	1. Mr. Parameswaran, P.S. 2. Mr. Shurajit, G.K. 3. Mr. Ravindran, D. 4. Mr. Sekar, T.
2	4-10-'83	Freedom of the Press in India.	1. Ms. Aarti Raina 2. Ms. Rajini Padmanabhan* 3. Mr. Palanisami, K. 4. Ms. Chandrika Somasundaram.
3	11-10-'83	English Language Press vs Vernacular Press in the National Development.	1. Ms. Nahida Fathima Huq 2. Mr. Sampath Kumar, K.C. 3. Ms. Mini Manoharan
4	15-11-'83	"Technological Changes in the Mass Media vis - a - vis Communication for human relations".	1. Ms. Vijayalakshmi, S. 2. Ms. Dhanalakshmi Chittibabu. 3. Ms. Harini Ratnam
5	29-11-'83	"Technological Changes in the Mass Media.	1. Ms. Padma, K. 2. Ms. Aarti Raina 3. Mr. Sampath Kumar, K.C.
6	7- 2-'84	Media: A Study	1. Mr. Asokan, C. 2. Mr. Shurajit G.K. 3. Ms. Anuradha, P. 4. Ms. Bindu Manoharan

* Since left to take a job.

* The students had evinced not only interest to participate but also displayed their skill to communicate their views objectively.

Study Papers Completed

(1983 - 84)

NAMES	SUBJECTS
1. Ms. Ambika, T.	... Corporate Public Relations : Private Sector.
2. Mr. Andavan Arul Prasad, N.	... Popular Theatre : A Study
3. Ms. Asha Rajabooshanam	... Communication Policies in U.S.A. & India : A comparative Study.
4. Mr. Balamurugesan, T.	... Photography and Advertising
5. Mr. Chakaravarthy, V.	... The social aspects of District Newspapers.
6. Ms. Revanur Hitha	... The role of Documentary films in the Development of India.
7. Mr. Kadiresan Adityan, R.	... Contemporary Newspaper Design.
8. Mr. Mullainathan, N.	... Newspaper Management — A Study.
9. Mr. Natarajan, K.	... Rural Development through Mass Media.
10. Mr. Senthil Kumar, S.	... The Impact of Cinema on Tamil Society.
11. Ms. Sunitha Bamini Narain, C.	... Social themes in Indian Cinemas.
12. Ms. Usha Vaddi	... Decoding Advertisements
13. Ms. Vasughi, T.	... Role of Television in India
14. Ms. Vijayalakshmi, D.	... Programme potential of Indian Television.

Study Papers Under Progress

(1984 - 85)

NAMES	SUBJECTS
1. Ms. Aarti Raina	... Investigative Journalism in Modern English magazines and newspapers.
2. Ms. Anuradha, P.	... Mass Media (General Survey).
3. Mr. Asokan, C.	... Rural Communication for National Development.
4. Ms. Bindu Manoharan	... Commercial Advertising in Magazines - An Evaluation.
5. Ms. Chandrika Soma-sundaram	... Tmt. Lakshmi's novels - A Study.
6. Ms. Dhanalakshmi Chittibabu	... The Newspaper as an Advertising Medium.
7. Ms. Harini Ratnam	... Advertising: A Study.
8. Ms. Mini Manoharan	... Photography as a tool of Communication.
9. Ms. Nahida Fathima Huq	... Portrayal of Women in Hindi Films.
10. Ms. Padma, K.	... Khasa Subba Rau: As a Journalist.
11. Mr. Palaniswami, K.	... Public Relations: A General Study.
12. Mr. Parameswaran, P.S.	... Technology Development in Mass Media.
13. Mr. Ravindran, D.	... Tamil Cinema as a medium of Communication.
14. Mr. Sekar, T.	... Therukoothu (Street Plays).
15. Mr. Sampath Kumar, K.C.	... Public Relations - Administration a Channel.
16. Mr. Shurajit, G.K.	... Fine Arts - An effective Medium of Mass Communication.
17. Ms. Vijayalakshmi, S.	... Dance as a Medium of Communication.

Courses of Studies Offered

I. M.A. in Communication: Non-Semester of two years duration.

The M.A. Course in Communication was introduced replacing the B.J. course during the academic year 1979 - 82.

	<i>Semester System</i>	<i>No. of students</i>
I Batch	1979 — 1981	6 (Six)
II Batch	1980 — 1982	10 (Ten)
III Batch	1981 — 1983	14 (Fourteen)
IV Batch	1982 — 1984	14 (Fourteen)

Non-Semester System

V Batch	1983 — 1985	17 (Seventeen)
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Research Programmes

II. Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Journalism & Communication.

Full-Time

The Department at present offers only full-time programme in M. Phil which is open to the Post-Graduates in Journalism & Communication and also on Inter disciplinary basis to the media personnel with basic Masters degrees in Arts and Science of one academic year comprising of two parts. Part: I—Course work with three papers namely:—

- (i) Research Methodology.
- (ii) Public Opinion and Research.
- (iii) Paper on an elective with the background relating to the subject of Dissertation.

Part: II—Dissertation.

The examinations for Papers I, II and III shall be held at the end of the year. The duration for each paper shall be three hours carrying a maximum of 100 marks. Papers I and II will be examined by the examination conducted by the University. Paper III will be examined internally by the Department.

The M.Phil course in Journalism and Communication was commenced by the Department during the academic year 1982-83.

First Batch : Five Students

(1982 - 83)

1. Mr D. Boopathy : Integrated Use of Folk Media for Mass Communication - Puppet Theatre : A Model.
2. Mr N. Mathiyalagan : Advertising through Radio - A case study of the Commercial Broadcasting of All India Radio, Madras.
3. Mr G. Ravindran : Economics of District Newspapers
4. Mr V. S. Sitharthan : Electronic Media and National Development.
5. Ms D. Sumathi : Advertising and Social Change.

Qualified for M.Phil. degree during 1983 were three out of five. Mr. V. S. Sitharthan had failed in Dissertation and Ms. D. Sumathi has yet to submit her dissertation.

II Batch : Five Students

(1983 - 84)

1. Mr S. Bakkiyaraj : Public Relations in Modern Society.
2. Mr P. Govindarajan : Public Relations in Insurance Sector : Life Insurance Corporation of India - A study.
3. Mr N.A.K. Durrani : Broadcasting in India - A study.
4. Mr T. Premnath : Doordarshan Kendra (Madras) : A Study.
5. Mr H.S. Abdullah Khan : Evaluation of some major determinants in Organizational Communication.

Supervisor : Dr D. Sadasivan.

All these five candidates will be taking their examinations both Part I - Course work and Part - II Dissertation together in September, 1984.

Ph.D. Programme (Full-Time)

A candidate qualified for the Master's degree in Journalism/Communication of this University or of any other University recognised equivalent thereto is eligible to undergo the course.

The candidate can apply for registration for the Ph.D. degree through the department and on satisfaction, the candidate will be provisionally registered.

At the end of one year after provisional registration an examination, written and oral, carrying 100 marks maximum for both, will be conducted to assess the fitness of the candidate for research in the subject selected by the candidate. Only after having found the candidate's avidity for research by this process, the provisional registration will be confirmed.

The candidate has to work full-time under the supervisor for a minimum period of three years from the date of provisional registration before presenting himself/herself for the Ph.D. degree.

M.Phil to Ph.D. (Full-Time)

A candidate who has qualified for the M.Phil degree in Journalism and Communication may undergo the course of the Ph.D. after working for a minimum period of two years under the Supervisor from the date of provisional registration. Such a candidate will not be required to take an examination at the end of the first year.

Not less than three months before the submission of the thesis and not more than six months before it, the candidate must submit a synopsis of the thesis.

Normally no candidate will be permitted to submit the thesis after a period of five years from the date of provisional registration.

Ph.D. (Part- Time)

A teacher continuing to work in an affiliated College or a Department of the University who possesses the qualification stated above may undergo the Ph.D. course under part-time working under the supervision for one year more than the period prescribed for a full-time candidate. Other regulations are the same as for full time candidates.

Stipends

At present no stipends are available. But efforts are being made to obtain the same.

Attendance : Research scholars, stipendiary or Non-stipendiary, have to attend the University on all working days between 10-30 a.m. and 5 p.m.

The UGC stipendiary Research Scholars are eligible for 30 days in a year in addition to general holidays. The general holidays do not include vacations - Summer, Winter and festival holidays. So the UGC stipend-holders have to work also during vacations.

The Stipendiary Research scholars of the University of Madras are eligible for summer vacation and all public holidays besides 15 days casual leave.

The department undertakes both Part-Time and Full-Time Ph.D. Programmes.

M.Phil. - Ph.D. Full-Time : Non-Stipendiary

Mr G. Ravindran, M.A., M.Phil is working for his Ph.D. under the broad field of research: Mass Communication and Public Opinion and has been registered for the Ph.D. degree from 1-4-1984.

Ph.D. Part-Time

Ms. Josephine has been provisionally registered for the Ph.D. degree from 1-2-1982 and is working on the broad area on Communication and Films.

Supervisor : Dr D. Sadasivan

Publications

(1975 — 1984)

1. Hand-Book of the Department - 1975-1976.
2. Madras Universitas Annual Number, March, 1976.
3. Madras Universitas Annual Number, March, 1977.
4. Madras Universitas Annual Number, April, 1978.
5. Madras Universitas - Bi-centennial of Indian Journalism Special Number, 1980.
6. Madras Universitas, 125th Year Celebration of Madras University and Subramania Bharati Centenary Special Number, April, 1982.
7. Madras Universitas - The Post-Centenary Silver Jubilee and Thiru V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar Centenary Special Number, June, 1983.
8. Madras Universitas - Dr C. N. Annadurai's Platinum Jubilee Special Number, September, 1984 (Anna's 75th birth anniversary Special Number).

Brochures :

1. Journalism in Madras in the Pre-Mutiny era.
2. Journalism as a career.
3. Common Curricula for Journalism Courses.
4. Code of Ethics on Indian Journalism : Its Relevance.
5. *Idhal Iyal Pani : Thani Iyalbugal* (Tamil).

Books :

1. The Growth of Public Opinion in the Madras Presidency (1858 - 1909) Price - Rs. Seven.
2. *Chennai Maghanathil Podhu-Makkal Karuthu Valarchi* (Tamil) (1858 - 1909) Price - Rs. Twenty.

Under Progress :

1. March of the Press in Madras.
 2. Research Methodology in Communication.
 3. Who is who of Madras Journalism : Biographical sketches of eminent Editors series.
 4. Leading Newspapers of Madras—The Mail, The Hindu, Indian Express, Swadesamitran, Dinamani and Dinamalar.
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REVIEW :

PIONEERING EFFORT

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN TAMIL NADU :

D. Sadasivan : Madras University Post Centenary Silver Memorial Jubilee Publication. Rs. 20.

Dr. Sadasivan has done complete justice to the theme on hand, namely, "Growth of Public opinion in Tamil Nadu." Indeed this is a pioneering effort. He has traced the growth of public opinion from the beginnings of British rule through various medias such as the Press, social service organisations, local associations and newspapers. What is really admirable in the book is that he has quoted such eminent authors as Walter Lippmann, Lord Bryce, Phillips Davison, E.R.A. Seligman and others to give us an insight into the concept. His explanation of "What is Public Opinion" is so clear that even a layman could understand it.

In the second chapter, he has beautifully dealt with the role of public opinion and Governmental reforms. People's organisation and their views find a significant place in the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals with public opinion and economic reforms. In the last chapter there is a beautiful account of public opinion and society.

Thus Dr. Sadasivan looks at the concept not from any one angle but from various angles. The book should be welcomed by all students of political science and public administration.

C. S. MAHADEVAN

—*The Hindu*, dated 21-8-1984.

