TOWARDS MATURITY (1934 - 1944)
At an organisational and political level, the period between 1934 and 1944, represented an important epoch in the SRM’s work and growth. During the period, a formal association of the SRM with the Justice Party was recognised. When efforts to increase the activities of the SRM in co-operation with the Justice Party were undertaken, the leadership of E.V. Ramaswamy had become an unanimous choice. C.N. Annadurai had emerged as the most influential personality of the Justice Party and the SRM. For the first time the communication media of the SRM introduced a reform in several Tamil alphabets. An outright encouragement was given to the Adi-Dravidas, several among whom had converted into Islam. A vigorous anti-Hindi agitation, rather a collective effort of the non-Brahmin communities, irrespective of their party affiliation was spearheaded by the SRM. Efforts concomitant to this to revive Tamil nationalism, to desanskritise Tamil literature and culture and to demand separate Dravidades comprising all the four linguistic groups, spreading over, almost the entire Madras Presidency, were taken by the followers and sympathisers of the R.S.R.M. against the Brahmins who were branded as Aryan...
and foreigners and against north India on similar grounds. Everything Tamils, southern or Dravidian was highlighted with pomp and pride. For the first time in the history of the SRM, separate wings of the SRM for youth, students, teachers and advocates were formed all over Tamil Nadu. In addition to Viduthalai, Panuthariva, Kudi Arasu, the policies, programmes and work of the SRM were given publicity by C.N. Annadurai's Dravidinadu, Manavai, Thirumalaivel's Nagarathopan, P.M. Pulavar's 'Sunday Observer' (English) and Dr. Krishnaswamy's 'Liberator' (English).

In a situation where the working plan, sent by E.V.R. to the Justice Party was yet to be approved, the leaders as well as the activists of the SRM were either threatened or coerced by those who were in power. For an article of Bhagat Singh entitled, "Why I am an atheist?" translated by P. Jeevanandam into Tamil and published by the then editor of Kudi Arasu, E.V. Krishnaswamy, both the translator and the editor were arrested by the government of Madras on 20th and 21st February 1935 respectively on charges of sedition. After they were released on 23rd March 1935, E.V.R., the leader of the SRM, having decided
not to earn the ill-will of the government any longer, by wiping out its suspicion over the party's ideological commitment to Socialism and its leaning towards Russia, explained its stand towards the government in future thus:

The Self-Respect Movement is loyal to the Government and bound by its laws. It preaches social reform only; not financially supported by Russia, the party will not propagate for it against the interests of the Government here. It stands by the Government. ¹

Subsequently, in contrast to the explanation given by the party's leader, a book entitled, 'Pathirigalin Brahmanagary Lokadeham' (The exploits of Father-Priests), translated from English and published by the 'Unmai Vilakkam' Press of the Kudi Aray, was proscribed by the Government. This testified to the fact that even literature against the religion of the rulers was considered anti-government at that time. However, P.Jeevananda, like leaders were able to do the socialist propaganda at least on a small scale under the banner of SRM. In an

¹. Kudi Aray, 31-3-1935, PRLRC.
atmosphere where the loss of the socialist section to the 
ARM seemed more evident, partly due to Government's 
strong anti-communist measures and partly as a result of 
ARM's declared disassociation with the socialists, the 
burden of being the leader of the . . . ARM, . . which was 
highly centralised and against the opposition of the 
different sections of the society to the . . it . . E.V.A. 
found that the ultimate survival of the . . ARM . . was 
rested in the hands of the Government than any other 
force in the State that would come to the its 
rescue. So, he came out with a final say to the govern-
ment as well as to the self-respectors regarding the 
changed stand of the . . ARM . . towards the government thus:

If the Government feels that the Self-Respect 
Movement had been voicing the communist propa-
ganda, that is not correct. It had stopped such 
a propaganda ever since the government announced 
the banning of communism in India. In connection 
with this the members of this Movement were 
already instructed through the columns of Kudi 
Arasu to stop this propaganda.²

² Kudi Arasu, 16-9-1935, PRLRC.
The Justice Party having seemingly convinced by the
SRM's changed attitude towards communism gave a
formal approval to E.V.R. 's working plan and to the
entry of the SRM into the Justice Party, at its Executive
Committee Meeting held at Madras on 14th November 1935. 3
Thereafter both the self-respectors and the Justicites
worked jointly in the social and political fields, the
former, however, as a principle had obtained from
contesting elections.

During the period, three district
conferences in Tanjore and Madras, four in Tiruchirapalli,
each in Madurai, North Arcot and Salem and one each in
Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli were held. 4 Separate
Tamil Conferences were also held at Ramanathapuram,
Coimbatore, Madras, Tirunelveli and other parts of Tamil
Nadu to espouse the cause of the Tamils against the
Brahminical culture and exploitation. Holding the first


4. Information collected from the back members of the
Kudi Aramu of the period 1934-1944, PRLRC.
Adi-Dravidic Political conference at Tanjore, a conference to justify the S.R.M.'s demand for a separate Dravida
nadu from the Indian union, and other women's conferences in Madras and elsewhere were part of the programmes of the
S.R.M and the Justice Party. Simultaneously, the self-
respected and the Justicites were asked to enrol as many
as one lakh members before 13th April 1937. In addition
to that, it was requested to make efforts to increase the
subscribers to the Kudi Aramu to five thousand.

The period 1935 had represented one of the
several important phases in the history of the Dravidian
Movement. It was in the year 1935, an attempt to intro-
duce reform in Tamil alphabet was openly made and
practised by the self-respected. It was during this
period, a stalwart of the Dravidian Movement, C.N.Ama-
durai's formal entry into the Justice Party had been made.
These two instances, had helped to popularise the S.R.M.
in the years to come among the more and more literate and
illiterate masses in Tamil Nadu.

5. Kudi Aramu, 21-2-1937, PRLRC.
Since 1920, S. Guruswamy, one of the lieutenants of the SRM, had been demanding a reform in the use of Tamil alphabets in order to make it easily learnt with a few letters like English.  

Ch. Murugappa, a staunch follower of the SRM from Karaikkudi and an editor of the Tamil Weekly *Suman* from 1920 onwards was insisting on the necessity for introducing reform in the Tamil alphabets. He expressed his hope, if the readers and publishers volunteered and used at least some of the reformed alphabets suggested by him in their writings and publications, such letters would ultimately get the public approval in due course.  

It was E.V.R. who took up the issue in question first and started using them, in the beginning, the following seven letters were written as  

in *Nudi Arasu* from 13th January 1935. No other media than *Pasutharivu*, *Nudi Arasu* and *Viduthalai* to which E.V.R. was either the editor or the proprietor, had used


7.  *Kumaran, 4-9-1930, ML.*
this reform in Tamil alphabets till his death. This small attempt of reducing the total number of Tamil alphabets considerably had not only benefitted the press but also had given a separate identity to papers and to persons who used them as the followers of the SRM in Tamil Nadu.

C.N. Annadurai emerged as an able lieutenant of E.V.R. and the SRM, but with a different family background and brought up. However, both these leaders developed more or less identical ideologies against a background of a socio-political economic condition of the society that warranted reform and regeneration.

C.N. Annadurai, born in a socially and economically backward family in Kancheepuram (Tamil Nadu) in 1909. He did his B.A. (Honours) Degree in Economics at the Pachchaliyappa's College, Madras. As a student, he watched with interest, the non-Brahmin politics, the trade union movement, the growing nationalist movement and the ideals and work of the SRM in the Madras Presidency. While in college, he used to contribute articles to the college magazines and had actively participated
in college and inter-collegiate debates. One of his Professors and a retired Principal, R. Krishnamurthy, recalled Annadurai's days in the Pachchaimappa's College thus:

He (C. N. Annadurai) had a small coterie of followers and admirers and I believe he used to speak to them with passionate conviction about his views, some of which were then considered to be heterodox.

In fact he developed a good command over English and the Tamil language. His association with C. Basudev, a trade unionist and a Justicite, to whom he was a translator from English to Tamil at his public and workers' meetings, even before he finished his B.A. (Honours) at Pachchaimappa's College, had brought him in contact with the other Justicites, workers and journalists. When E. V. R. and the SRM after severing their connection with the Communist group in Tamil Nadu were about to join hands with the Justice Party, C. N. Annadurai made a formal entry into it in 1934. Besides, C. Basudev, T. A. V. Nathan, the

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Editor of 'Justice' (an English weekly) and P. Ramasubramaniam, the editor of "Sunday Observer" (an English Weekly)* and the Raja of Bobill, the then Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency, had encouraged him to work for the Justice Party. 9 Right from his student days, being an admirer of E.V.R., C.N. Annadurai came in contact with the founder of the Self-Respect Movement at a Senguthars' Youth Conference (Caste Association) held at Tiruppur in 1935. 10 In the same year, on the Justice Party ticket, he contested the corporation election from Puducherry, Madras, for a seat in Corporation, when the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi at the national level and under the regional leadership of Thiruvilayakam Pillay, Dr. P. Kanagalingam, C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthy and other patriots, was growing from strength to strength. Despite the best efforts of the Justice Party, C.N. Annadurai had to lose the election against M. Subramaniam a Congress candidate. However, in this election, for the

* Both of them were the communication media of the Justice Party.


10. Ibid., p. 87.
first time, the Justice Party gave a ticket to C.N. Anna-ndral, a man of poor means. This privilege was hitherto given to moneyed section of the Party. Howsoever small the election may be, its results failed to open the eyes of the Justice Party, hence its debacle in the 1937 elections. It was a period when the Indian National Congress was successfully sowing the seeds of patriotism in the minds of the masses against British imperialism. The Justice Party had been sticking to its Brahmin-non-Brahmin ideology then. It did not feel it necessary to restructure the party on an egalitarian basis so that it would emerge as a viable alternative political party to the Indian National Congress. They party instead of joining hands with the growing nationalist feeling against the British, it felt that the British would leave India, more out of historical necessity than out of any pressure from any political parties in India. Thus "it committed a mistake of not joining the national freedom struggle". 11


* K. Paramasivam happened to be the General Secretary of the Justice Party at the time of releasing this Souvenir.
When efforts were made by the well-wishers of the Justice Party to revitalise it, C.N. Annadurai became the Editor of Navayugam (Modern World), a Tamil weekly. This carried some of his progressive ideas on labour, God, religion and Brahminism, besides taking up the cause of the Justice Party. When C.N. Annadurai found in S.V.R., a man working for a similar cause, and a leader who could give a lead to the Justice Party in its twilight days, joined hands with him as a follower and an active co-worker. When the new constitution based on the White paper was passed in 1935, the elections to the Legislative Councils, under that were held in early 1937. The SRM campaigned for the Justice Party against the Indian National Congress which had decided to contest the elections then.* The Justice Party could not win the elections. In the midst of many leaving the party

* At the Fiftieth Indian National Congress held under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru at Lakshmanapuri in 1936, it was decided that the Congress should contest the ensuing Provincial Legislative Council elections. - Information collected from S.A. Rahim’s Congress Vaiga Vizha (The Congress’ Diamond Jubilee Celebrations), Madras, 1946, p. 106.
in disappointment after its defeat, the responsibility of working for the ideals of the Justice Party lay in the hands of the S.I.M.

After winning the elections in eight of the eleven provinces, with a majority strength, the Indian National Congress, had decided in March 1937, that the Provincial Congress Parties would accept the offices if only the respective provincial Governors give assurances to the effect that they would not exercise their special powers over their ministerial legislations. After being assured of the Governors' non-interference in the ministerial affairs, the Congress Ministry in the Madras Presidency as also in other five provinces, was sworn in on 14th July 1937. This gave an opportunity to the S.I.M. and the Justice Party, when the former as a sympathiser and collaborator to the latter and the latter as a party which ruled the Madras Presidency under the dynarchy system since 1920, were assessed and viewed critically of their role and work by the Congress Party, to prove themselves in their turn as an able opposition. At this

juncture, C.N. Annadurai made his presence and work felt and respected by all.

After associating himself with the SRM, C.N. Annadurai, for the first time presided over the Tiruchi District Third Self-Respect Conference held at Thuraiyur on 22nd August 1937. Aryan-Dravidian racial feeling was extolled by C.N. Annadurai during this and other meetings and conferences that followed, in a scholastic manner. He was made the editor of the Viduthalai, the Tamil daily from Erode in the year 1938. It upheld the ideologies of the SRM and the Justice Party.

The Congress Party under the Premiership of C. Rajagopalachari was in office till 27th October 1939. In accordance with the decision taken on 22nd October 1939, by the all India Congress Working Committee to the effect that the British Government arbitrarily involved India in their war against Germany without consulting the Indian National Congress, the Government resigned.  

13.  **Kudi Arasu**, 29-8-1937, PRLRC.
Right from the assumption of Office of the Congress Ministry in the Madras Presidency, as an immediate and close alternative of considerable popularity, both the SRM and the Justice Party, had been the staunch critics of it. They doubted the credibility of the Ministers in Office and criticised the deliberate inclusion of four Brahmins from the minority community, that too giving them important portfolios, in the ten membered cabinet. The Congress’ tax legislations were attacked on the ground that they aggravated the sufferings of the merchants, middle class and the rural poor depending on agriculture.\footnote{Namaswamy, E.V., \textit{Aacharivar Aatchiyin Kodumaiga} (The atrocities of Rajagopalachari’s Rule), Kud\% Arasu Publications, \textit{Erode}, 1961, (2nd Edition), pp. 5-38.} Even the motive behind the introduction of Prohibition and the Temple entry legislations, with a restricted jurisdictional feasibility, were apprehended. Above all, the educational policy and the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject of study, more particularly the latter one, was protested and opposed by the self-respectors, Justicites, Tamil literateurs and scholars, professing
different ideologies. The communists, on the other hand, though opposed to the study of Hindi as a compulsory subject, did not like to see the problem being politicised.\(^\text{16}\)

For the first time, the Congress Party's language policy had faced a large scale resentment from the sensitive educated middle class section of Tamil Nadu, the ARN led by S.V.R. could only exploit the regional sentiments of the people in order to give a cultural identity to the people lived in the Presidency, as distinguished from the other parts of India. Hindi was introduced as a compulsory subject of study for students studying first, second and third forms in the whole of the Madras Presidency by a legislation passed on 22nd February 1938. The law came into force from 25th April 1939. Later, anticipating popular resentment, only sixty schools in Tamil Nadu were authorised to teach Hindi as a compulsory subject by the Congress Ministry in the Presidency.

\(^{16}\) Interview with Nagai K. Murugesan, op.cit.
Starting with individual protests, the anti-Hindi agitation was undertaken by the SRM and the Justice Party along with others in an organised manner since 1938. It lasted till the withdrawal of the legislation in 21st February 1940, by the then Advisor’s rule headed by the British Governor, by an order. A conference was convened in February 1938, in Kancheepuram by the self-respectors and the Justicites and other like-minded people to protest against the imposition of Hindi in Tamil Nadu. K.V.Raddi Naidu, the Justice Party leader presided over the conference. E.V.R., C.N.Annadurai and others attended the conference where a logical and rational approach was advocated to wipe out the socio-cultural dominance of the study of Hindi that would bring to South India and more particularly to Tamil.

Yazhpanathu Adigal, a Tamil Scholar, Maraimalai Adigal who spearheaded the pure Tamil Movement in Tamil Nadu, and his family, Thiru.Vi.Kalyanasundaram, Somasundara Nerathi and a section of the educated Muslim and Christian community had either jointly or in isolation with the SRM and the Justice Party encouraged and influenced the agitation. E.V.R., C.N.Annadurai, K.A.P. Viswanathan and others, took up the cause in an organised
way for more than two years. E.V.R., like Gandhi, had advocated passive resistance against the oppressor and had believed in the resistance employed to be within the constitutional limits like the old guard of the formative years of the Indian National Congress. Accordingly by way of observing fast, of picketing and at a series of public meetings convened specially for the purpose and through the columns of Kudi Araj, Viduthalai, Navasakthi and through pamphlets and booklets, the anti-Hindi agitation was undertaken in Tamil Nadu. The Congress Government in Madras, had tried to suppress the upheaval with the help of the police force. C.N. Annadurai, who eloquently took up the anti-Hindi cause to the educated youth of Tamil Nadu was arrested and convicted to four months imprisonment in 1938. Simultaneously, E.V.R., for his participation in the agitation was arrested in November 1938 and put in Jail till May 1939. And a host of others belonging to the S.I. and the Justice Party were also arrested and several among them were even put to torture and death by the Government during the period. Besides these arrests, efforts were made to paralyse the communication media of the SRM.
The anti-Hindi agitation and the Congress rule, had brought into focus several physical and ideological changes that occurred to the SMM under the leadership of E.V. .. The readership of both the Kudi Aragu and Viduthalai had registered a phenomenal increase from the year 1938. That testified the SMM's growing popularity in the Tamil districts.17 E.V... was made the President of the Justice Party in 1938, while he was undergoing prison life for his participation in the anti-Hindi agitation. Thereafter the SMM functioned under the banner of the Justice Party, a recognised political party in the Madras Presidency. K.A.P.Viswanathan and C.U.Anna- durai were the General Secretary and Organising Secretary of the Party respectively. The Party during the period became more Tamilianised when the Telugu hitherto holding the reins of the Party with their timely financial assistance to it, had left disillusioned and discouraged by the manner in which the organisation under the leadership

17. A discussion with Mr. Saravanaan, (Tanjore District), a participant of the agitation and an activist of the Self-Respect Movement at Madras.
of E.V.R. functioned. It was during the anti-Hindi agitation, E.V.R. was honoured with the title 'Periyar' (the Great Man), by a Women's Association in Madras in the year 1938. Henceforth, he was called and remembered as Periyar by his followers, admirers and sympathisers.

The anti-Hindi struggle had accentuated the Aryan-Dravidian feeling in the propaganda of the party and ultimately a demand for separate Tamil Nadu was made first in December 1938 at a Provincial Tamil Conference and was later celebrated on 10th December 1939 in Tamil Nadu by the self-respectors and the Justicites. By this time Bharatidasan from Pondicherry became the poet laureate of the S.M. When the Justice Party's 15th Provincial level conference was held in Tiruverur on 24th and 25th August 1940, under the Presidentship of E.V.R. "Dravida Nadu for Dravidians" demand was again made to enlarge the concept of Tamil separatism (Tamil Nadu for Tamils) and to accommodate the other sister cultural units of Tamil, namely, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu speaking people of the same Dravidian race lived

* Dravida Nadu means Dravidian State,
in the Madras Presidency. With this demand and consequent ill-feeling that developed against Brahmins and their Brahminical way of life, the Justice Party incorporated as one of the foremost ideals, in its programmes, the attainment of Dravida Nadu as a separate racial and cultural entity against the supremacy of the Aryans of the northern India. Surprisingly it is an historical coincidence that Muslims, the minorities, who were harbouring for secession from the Indian sub-continent, right from the 1920's, had in 1940, given a call for 'Pakistan' a land for the Muslims, which is analogous to that of Dravidanadu demand. Though the claimants emerged from different historical backgrounds, they desired to exist as a separate cultural sovereignties independent from Hindus and Brahmins. Also in both of the organisations namely, the Muslim League and the self-Respect Movement, ever since their formation, seeds of alienation or secession were thrown either deliberately or as the events necessitated it.

Meanwhile, the Congress Ministry resigned and as expected, it could not devote sufficient time and energy to counter the combined forces of the STRM and the
Justice Party under the leadership of E.V.R., because, the Congress' call for individual satyagraha and an intensified anti-British campaign during the Second World War had preoccupied it.

The Congress, before and after taking up office in the Madras Presidency, and the self-respectors, both took up the cause of the Harijans and Muslims and addressed their meetings, and tried to enlist the support and sympathy of those minority communities for their respective causes. When one erred towards the Harijans or the Muslims, the other opponent made capital out of it. But when several Harijans converted themselves into Islam, in several remote corners of Tamil Nadu, the self-respectors unequivocally gave moral support or encouragement to such conversions on the ground that those and other such conversions could elevate the social status of the Harijans who were denied such status for a long time having been in the fold of Hinduism. Whereas the Congress looked at it with disfavour. In spite of such approaches of these two rivals devout Muslims alone, could match Gandhi in his sincere belief in the upliftment of the Muslims like any other communities in
In the years ahead, ever since the decision to work for the separate "Dravidanadu" was taken by the Justice Party, its followers paid more attention to the achievement of that ideal and other ideals were given secondary importance. When offers were made to form and head a Ministry of his liking, in the Madras Presidency, E.V.R. refused to accept it on the ground that such a situation would stand in the way of working for the avowed ideals of the Party. At the Tamil Nadu Social Reform Conference, convened by the self-respectors at Madras on 22nd December 1940 and presided over by C.N. Annadurai, the proper implementation of communal G.O. and the necessity of obtaining separate Dravidanadu were stressed, and the practice and display of caste distinctions and differences at public places were attacked. Accordingly, E.V.R. made an appeal in December 1940 to the Railway authorities to cease from the practice of allotting separate places


20. Kudi Arasu, 29-12-1940, PRLRC.
for Brahmins and non-Brahmins in restaurants. Subsequently, at Tiruchirappalli, he with his followers led a peaceful agitation which resulted in the removal of such a distinction in the Railway restaurants.  

E.V.R., the new President of the Justice Party, was nurtured in the belief that the social change could be carried on by continuous propaganda coupled with passive resistance. He was looked down by some Justicites as incapable and politically unreliable as long as his social reform ideals were given utmost priority. He was criticised for his showing scant respect for convening the executive committees to discuss about the party’s policies, programmes, strategies and matters pertaining to the party’s future prospects and other organisational matters against a background of changing political conditions.

Evan K.A.P. Viswanathan, a devoted activist of the party, developed differences with E.V.R. and served the party upto 1942 only. By ignoring the criticism levelled against him he (E.V.R.) emerged as the only leader who could lead the party in need. C.N. Annadurai, another activist leader,

21. The Mail, 5-12-1940 and 26-5-1941.
had to accept his leadership and had eked out a following for himself among the youngsters, thus gave an impression that a second-line leadership was being forged ahead in the party. However, C.N. Annadurai had reservations about the Justice Party's attitude and approach towards the national freedom struggle. Though bound by the Party's rules and regulations, he was more than sympathetic towards the Congress' tirade against the British Government in India, as a symbol of naked imperialism.  

The period between 1942 to 1944 was the period of regeneration and consolidation to the Justice Party. Even the nomenclature of the branches of the Justice Party were being transformed gradually into *Dravida Kazhagam* (Dravidian Associations). During this period E.V.R. along with his followers, had emerged as the mainstay of the party with himself representing the nucleus, undisputed. With C.N. Annadurai and others the party tried to expand its activities with a view to build an egalitarian base for it. Individual activists of considerable influence, namely, C.N. Annadurai,

Dr. Krishnaswamy and M. Karunanidhi, came forward to carry the party's message in the columns of Dravidanadu (Dravidian State), 'Liberator' (English) and Muragoli (The Sounds of the Drum), respectively. These communication media of the Party by encouraging more and more young and old men and women writers brought out the essentials of social reform, rationalism and the Dravidian nationalism in their columns. In this way short stories, novels, dramas, political reviews and other articles and satires were published in the media. Tamil dramas conceived and written by Bharatidasan, C. N. Annadurai and other literates, were taken to the stage at various places in Tamil Nadu both for the purpose of collecting money for the Party and for propagating its ideals to the public.

C. N. Annadurai like leaders and other activists of the Party, personally played roles in the dramas. By 1942, the student community at the national and provincial level had organised to play a considerable role in the national independence struggle and in the causes that affected their regions. A section of this youth led by C. N. Annadurai and Thavamani Rajan in Tamil Nadu had injected a new lease of life among the party workers and the new aspirants.
Emboldened and encouraged by the Party’s substantial popular background, E.V.R. along with some of his rich associates of the Justice Party, put forth the demand for Dravida Nadu to Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942, when he came to India to explain to the Indian leaders about the British proposals to grant the Dominion status to Indians after the war came to a close.  

The “Quit India” Movement launched by the Indian National Congress from 1942 and the consequent mass support the Movement had secured in Tamil Nadu had forced the Justice Party to introduce several changes at the structural level of the Party with a view to give a much more accommodating and appealing colour to it so that it could develop into an effective counterpoise to the Indian National Congress at the regional level. Accordingly, a formal change in the name of it into “Dravida Kazhagam”, along with the necessity of the followers of the Federation renouncing the titles and position bestowed by the British government were introduced at the Sixteenth Provincial South Indian Liberal

23. Information collected from Mr. Saravanam, op.cit.
Federation's (Justice Party) Conference held at Salem in August 27, 1944. The deliberations of the conference consisted of other resolutions, initiated by C.N. Annadurai and approved by E.V. Ramaswamy, the President of the Federation, were passed in the midst of insiders' stiff opposition. Since, C.N. Annadurai seemed to be the mentor of these resolutions, they were named after him. The Self-Respect Movement formally merged into the new Dravidian Federation, had lost its separate identity but not its ideals which were incorporated into its parent body then. The emergence of the new Party had as a consequence seemed to increase the image of C.N. Annadurai as an important and indispensable leader and personality on whose initiative, suggestion, strategy and work among the youth E.V.R. had to rely and depend in his mission.

The study and development of an organisation from its genesis, growth and maturity, has been chronologically phased over different stages of a twenty-year cycle from 1925 to 1944. The emerging issues the S.R.M. grappled with and its responses of the people towards goals like the abolition of caste, reform in
marriages, women's emancipation and the establishment of a national Dravidian society free from God, religion, superstitious beliefs and caste influences revealed not only a process of modernization but also a search for identity.