CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As Dr. Radhakrishnan rightly observed the present generation is a bewildered and tormented one. Varieties of antagonism, friction, jealousy, suspicion, and hatred stand in the way of unity or fellowship among people. He also says that in art, we "have the universal language, which transcends all barriers of races and nations, where politics and economics may divide people, art and literature make for fellowship, bring people together and if we are to establish one world, it can be established through the spread of cultural knowledge of different parts of the world." 1 Radhakrishnan further says that, "it should be our endeavour to look for the virtues of other individuals, of other cultures and if we do that, we will get together." 2

As pointed out by Radhakrishnan, in achieving world fellowship or forming a world community, without which the tension-stricken world cannot hope to last long, literature, besides visual arts, has got a significant role to play. But it is apparent that each nation is differentiated from the others, first and foremost by language and literature besides other factors. But this apparent difference will prove to be a mirage if we make
a close study of literatures in different languages, for under the seeming differences lie truths and virtues of universal value aiming at the welfare of humanity as a whole, just as different religions with different methods and principles ultimately teach the virtuous path that leads to the realisation of the Great Truth.

"Literature is composed of those books and of those books only which in the first place, by reason of the subject matter and their mode of treating it are of general human interest and in which the second place the element of form and the pleasure which form gives, are to be regarded essential."\(^3\) Thus literature necessarily has two distinctive qualities namely artistic excellence and the quality of serving the interests of humanity. It has a sense of beauty and it also serves humanity.\(^4\)

It is only those criteria that bring different genres like poetry, drama, fiction, short story, essays and other forms of writing and also speeches whose content and form possess the above mentioned qualities into the realm of literature. Literature in one language belonging to one nation may appear to be different in the subject it deals with from those of the other languages of other nations. But there cannot be any
difference between literatures of different languages of different nations in respect of the ultimate beauty and truth for which each literature stands. Comparative Literary Studies enable us to bring to light these underlying universal virtues, truths, and aesthetic excellences which each literature possesses, irrespective of the language or nation it belongs to and the subject it deals with. The understanding of these "Universals", which will be the outcome of the comparative study will certainly help the nations to sink their differences and realise that they are only different families of one community, i.e. the human race. The Comparative study of literatures is, in fact, a new method introduced in recent years in the field of literary criticism. Referring to this Dr. K. Chellappan in his introduction to his thesis "Shakespeare and Ilaano as Tragedians - a Comparative study", says, "Comparison is a source of knowledge and a method of enquiry used by all sciences and a comparative study of literatures across cultures is only an extension and intensification of healthy critical procedures adopted by sensitive readers of literature in all periods and cultures." Speaking about the usefulness of the comparative study of literatures Dr. K. Chellappan says "so far as all great literatures are concerned with the universal man, they
have a common core and comparative literature can enable us to see national literatures as part of a universal culture." René Wellek points out that "it will study all literatures from an international perspective with a consciousness of the unity of all literary creation and experience. In this conception, comparative literature is identical with the study of literature independent of linguistic, ethnic and political boundaries." Referring to the value of Comparative Literature, Ulrich Weisstein also in his Comparative Literature and Literary Theory: Survey and Introduction says, "Comparative Literature is capable of finding there a sure opportunity for contributing to the history of ideas and feelings, of which the writers were always the most vocal and the most persuasive exponents".

In this study an attempt is made to make a comparative study of some works of Edmund Burke, the English orator, writer and statesman with those of C.N. Annadurai (popularly known as Anna) an orator, writer and statesman of Tamilnadu with a view to arriving at their common views of universal value for the progress of
human society. While the earlier comparative studies by eminent scholars relate to the works of Western poets and works of Tamil poets, the present study relates to a Comparative study of the political speeches and writings of an English scholar - statesman with the political speeches and writings of a scholar - statesman of Tamilnadu. As none has so far attempted to make a comparative study of the political speeches and writings of an English political leader with those of a political leader of Tamilnadu, the present study is a pioneer work in this field.

Edmund Burke who was Irish by birth lived in England in the Eighteenth century. Writing about Edmund Burke George Sampson in his The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature says, "He [Burke] remained the only orator whose speeches have secured a permanent place in English literature beside what is greatest in our drama and in our poetry". The political speeches and writings of Edmund Burke have survived the last two centuries and are studied with keen interest by both students and general readers for their valuable thoughts and the unique mode of
presentation.

So also the political speeches and writings of C.N. Annadurai who lived in Tamilnadu in the twentieth century are studied with keen interest by students and general readers for their valuable thoughts and their impressive style.

A casual study of the political speeches and writings of these two great orators revealed that there was some underlying similarity in their thoughts in many respects, though they lived in two different centuries and in different countries. Therefore, with a view to bringing out the underlying similarity in the attitudes, the thoughts and the style of these two great men, the present comparative study of their political speeches and writings has been undertaken. This study seeks to assess the value of their contribution to the progress of human society.

The works of Edmund Burke are voluminous. The political speeches and writings of Burke from 1765 (the year in which he entered Parliament) to 1794 (when he retired from Parliament) can be broadly classified as relating to the political affairs of England,
America, Ireland, India and France. There were also other writings and speeches of Burke, dealing with various other subjects but the present study is restricted to his important works which find a place in Oliver Elton's A Survey of English Literature and which deal with the affairs relating to the above five nations namely England, America, Ireland, India and France. His A Letter to a Noble Lord is included in this study as it relates to his political career.

The works are as follows:

I. Works relating to the affairs of England:

1. Observations on a publication entitled 'The present State of the Nation, 1769'.

2. Thoughts on the cause of the present Discontents, 1779.

3. Speeches at Bristol at his Arrival and on Being Elected to Parliament for the City, 1774.

4. Burke's Economical Reform, 1782.

5. Speech at Bristol Previous to the Election, 1780.


II. Works relating to the affairs of America:

1. Speech on American Taxation, 1774.

2. Speech on Conciliation with America, 1775.

3. Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, 1777.
III. Works relating to the affairs of Ireland:
   1. Two Letters to Gentlemen in the city of Bristol, 1778.
   2. A Letter to the Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1782.
   3. The Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, 1792.

IV. Works relating to the affairs of India:
   1. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, 1783.
   2. Speech on the Nawab of Arcot's Debts, 1785.

V. Works relating to the affairs of France:
   2. A Letter to a member of the National Assembly, 1791.
   3. Thoughts on French Affairs, 1791.
   4. An Appeal from the New to the Old Union, 1792.
   5. Present State of Affairs, 1792.
   7. On the Conduct of the Minority, 1793.

VI. General:
   1. A Letter to a Noble Lord, 1796.

Among C.!!! Annadurai's works the study is restricted to the following:

1. Annavin Sattasabaji Cornelivugal 1 to 3 Vols. in Tamil.
2. **Thambiku Annavin Kadithanakal**, (Letters to Younger Brother) 1 to 10 Volumes in Tamil.

3. A Collection of Miscellaneous speeches and writings as Chief Minister (Translated into English by A.K. Moorthy and Sankaran) 1 to 6 Volumes.

4. Anna Speaks: At the Rajya Sabha 1962-66 in English

The political speeches and writings of both Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai may warrant consideration of various aspects from a student of politics, but the present study undertaken by a student of literature has limited its scope to only a few aspects of general interest.

(1) The intellectual and political milieu and background of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai.

(2) Their concept of society and government.

(3) Their political philosophy and statesmanship.

(4) Their humanism and

(5) Their prose style.

For each of these five major items of study
a chapter is devoted.

The intellectual and political milieu and background of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai is dealt with, in the second chapter of the thesis. This chapter is divided into three sections under the headings 'Edmund Burke', 'C.N. Annadurai' and 'Conclusion'. The first two major divisions 'Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai' have two subheadings under each. Under the first subheading 'Edmund Burke 1729-1797' a sketch of the Life of Edmund Burke is given. Burke's early life, his education, his interest in acquiring wide knowledge and his early writings are discussed in detail here. His experience as Private Secretary to William Gerard Hamilton who gave no freedom to Burke to pursue his literary activities and his giving up that service and becoming Private Secretary to Rockingham, a Whig leader, to whom Burke owed his parliamentary membership are detailed. Burke's significant role as a member of the English Parliament championing the causes of the people, who were in adverse circumstances in Ireland, America, India and France is outlined in the short sketch of his life.
Under the second subheading, the intellectual and political environment and background of Edmund Burke is discussed. A reference is made to the Renaissance and the consequent introduction of various Greek and Latin literatures in England and in other European countries. The significant role played by the printing press, which made innumerable books in various branches of knowledge available for the curious readers like Burke is also pointed out. A detailed account of the political situation prevailing in various countries with whose affairs Burke was concerned is given. Regarding England the fact that George III wanted to assume more powers than his predecessors and Burke's opposition to his absolutism through his speeches and writings are discussed. Mention is made of the Penal Law which caused unbearable hardship to the Catholics in Ireland and the trade restrictions which affected the interests of the Irish and Burke's efforts in this context, to alleviate the sufferings of the Irish. The agitation of the American Colonies with their slogan 'No taxation without representation' and England's obstinate policy
towards them and Burke's suggestion to the British administrators to overcome the difficulty are analysed. The condition of India and the sufferings of Indians under the cruel administration of Warren Hastings and Burke's efforts in this context to set right things are discussed in detail. The outbreak of the French Revolution and Burke's condemnation of it, through his powerful writings are also discussed in this section.

Under the first subheading in the section 'C.N. Annadurai' a short sketch of C.N. Annadurai's life is given. Anna's early life, his education, the hardship experienced by him during this period, the influence of the Justice Party leaders and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy on him, even during his college days and the major events in his political career are discussed.

Under the subheading 'Intellectual and political milieu and background' relating to C.N. Annadurai, a reference is made to Anna's voracious reading which enabled him to acquire a good knowledge of men and things of the world. The principles of the Justice party which championed the cause of the down-trodden in Tamil Nadu and the principles
of the self-respect movement of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy and their influence on Anna, who chose to enter politics after the completion of his college studies and his various efforts to strengthen the Dravidian Movement in which he had great hopes for the uplift of the down-trodden in political, economic and social fields are discussed in detail in this section.

Under 'Conclusion' the final division of this Chapter, the early life of both Burke and Anna, their methods of study, the factors that shaped their political thoughts and their political activities are compared and similarities and differences are pointed out and a conclusion is arrived at.

The third chapter deals with the concept of society and government of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai. As explained above, this chapter is also divided under three major headings 'Edmund Burke', 'C.N. Annadurai' and 'Conclusion'. Each major division excepting the third, has two subheadings namely 'the concept of society' and the 'concept of Government'. The sub division 'the concept of society' is further divided under four minor headings ('The Form of Society', 'Religion',...
'Moral Values' and 'Cultural Values'). The sub division 'the concept of Government' is also divided under three minor headings ("The Form of Government", 'Economic Policy' and 'Welfare Measures').

Burke's views on various aspects of society and government are discussed under the respective minor headings coming under the first major heading, 'Edmund Burke'. Burke's view of the origin and the form of society and how it differs from the views of other political exponents of the earlier period and his view of the class system in society are discussed under the minor heading 'The Form of Society'. Under 'Religion' Burke's view of God and his attitude towards religion are explained. Burke's emphasis on certain moral principles and his insistence that they should be strictly followed in society are pointed out under 'Moral Values'. Under 'Cultural Values' Burke's attitude towards customs, traditions and old institutions in society are explained. Under 'The Form of Government' the type of government Burke preferred is mentioned. Under 'Economic Policy' the popular principles of political economy of the eighteenth century and Burke's attitude towards the subject and
his own economic measures as Pay Master in Rockingham's ministry and later in the coalition ministry are discussed in detail. Under 'Welfare Measures', Burke's interest in the Welfare of the people is discussed.

Under the major heading 'C.N. Annadurai', Anna's views on the above mentioned aspects of society and government are analysed in detail. Under 'The Form of Society' Anna's view regarding the society and its class system is discussed. His views on God and his attitude towards religion are explained under 'Religion'. Anna's statements which constitute his moral code are discussed under 'Moral Values'. Under 'Cultural Values' Anna's attitude towards custom, tradition and old institutions in society and also his regard for classical literature are discussed in detail. Under 'The Form of Government' Anna's views about the Central and State Governments, and the changes he wanted to introduce in the structure of the Central and the State Governments are analysed. Under 'Economic Policy' the influence of Socialism on Anna and his suggestions to the Government regarding production and distribution and
his economic policy are discussed in detail. Anna's attitude to the modern concept of Welfare State is discussed under 'Welfare Measures'.

In 'Conclusion' the views of Burke in respect of the form of society, religion, moral values, cultural values, the form of Government, economic policy and welfare measures are compared with those of Anna and the similarities and differences are discussed and a conclusion is arrived at.

The fourth chapter deals with the political philosophy and statesmanship of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai. This also has three major divisions: 'Edmund Burke', 'C.N. Annadurai' and 'Conclusion'. Each of the first two major divisions, 'Edmund Burke' and 'C.N. Annadurai' is further divided into two subheadings 'Political Philosophy' and 'Statesmanship'.

The details relating to the Political Philosophy and Statesmanship of Edmund Burke are discussed under the respective subheadings, in the section 'Edmund Burke'. Under the subheading 'Political
Philosophy' Burke's political philosophy is discussed with reference to his speeches and writings relating to the problems of American Colonies and the French Revolution and his Parliamentary activities in England. Under 'Statesmanship' Burke's principles, his suggestions to the administrators and his prophetic statements which reveal his wisdom and foresight are discussed.

In respect of Anna, his speeches and writings and his political activities which reveal his political philosophy are discussed in detail under the subheading 'political Philosophy' in the major division 'C.N. Annadurai'. Anna's statesmanship is discussed with reference to his speeches and writings, his wise decisions at critical moments and his various activities as the founder leader of the D.M.K. Party under the subheading 'Statesmanship'.

In 'Conclusion' the political philosophy and statesmanship of Burke are compared with the political philosophy and statesmanship of Anna.

The fifth chapter deals with the humanism of
Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai. This chapter also has three divisions under the three major headings, 'Edmund Burke', 'C.N. Annadurai' and 'Conclusion'. Humanism has been defined at the beginning of the chapter. Then Burke's activities which reveal his humanism, have been discussed under 'Edmund Burke'. Anna's activities which stand as evidences of his humanism have been discussed under the division 'C.N. Annadurai'. In 'Conclusion' the humanism of Edmund Burke and the humanism of Anna are compared.

The sixth chapter deals with the prose style of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai. This section is also divided into three major divisions with headings 'Edmund Burke', 'C.N. Annadurai' and 'Conclusion'. The chapter traces briefly the development of prose in English and Tamil. Then the prose of Edmund Burke and that of Anna are assessed with reference to one of the five categories (narration, description, exposition, argument and persuasion) they belong to.

Under the division 'Edmund Burke' his choice of diction, his employment of rhetorical devices and his sentence and paragraph structures are discussed. His
observance of unity, coherence and emphasis is also examined. So also under the division 'C.N.Annadurai' his choice of diction, his employment of rhetorical devices, his sentence and paragraph structures are examined. His observance of unity, coherence and emphasis is also discussed. In 'Conclusion' all the above aspects of Burke's prose are compared with those of Anna's.

The final chapter sums up the thoughts of Edmund Burke and those of Anna, discussed under the 'Conclusion' in every chapter. Various factors that shaped their thoughts in respect of their concept of society and Government, their political philosophy and statesmanship and their humanism are discussed. Similarities in their thoughts and their value for human society at the present time are also discussed. The common features found in their prose style are analysed and the value of their style is assessed.

Thus the thesis consists of seven chapters including the Introduction.
NOTES


2. Ibid., p. 137.


