CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Our study (Chapter II) shows that there are significant similarities in the intellectual equipment of both Burke and Anna. Both followed a wide and deep study which gave them a good knowledge about men and matters of the world and both took special interest in the study of History, Philosophy and Literature. Their intellectual equipment enabled both Burke and Anna to look at all issues in their proper perspective and take correct decisions. The political situation prevailing in their respective countries also shaped their thoughts and inspired their political activities. As a member of Parliament, Edmund Burke championed the cause of the people whose interests were affected in England, Ireland, America and India on account of British Administration. He also condemned the Revolution in France for its inhuman acts and its neglect of old institutions to which he showed great reverence. In the case of Anna, the Justice Party leaders and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, who championed the causes of the down-trodden who were exploited by the privileged class in Tamil Nadu, influenced him
even during his college days through their speeches and writings. As soon as Anna came out of college, he joined the Justice Party and devoted himself to the causes of the down-trodden. Being influenced by Periyar E.V.Ramasamy's self-respect movement, he accepted him as his political guru(Master). Along with Periyar and other Justice Party leaders, Anna worked with full devotion for the uplift of the down-trodden in political, economic and social fields.

In Chapter III we saw that Burke believed in the philosophy of natural evolution for the origin of society and to him no act in society should go against Natural Law which is of divine origin. As one belonging to the twentieth century, Anna did not find any necessity to talk about either the origin of the society or Natural Law the essence of which is embodied in the fundamental principles of modern Democracy. Burke accepted class distinction in society whereas Anna opposed any distinction on the basis of caste or religion. Both Burke and Anna believed in one God and religious tolerance. This was possible because both had great regard for moral values. To Burke,
Justice and liberty were the chief elements of moral code. As regards Anna, his oft-quoted maxims, Kadamai Kanniyam, Kattuppu (Duty, Integrity and Discipline) Marapom, Mannippom (Forget and Forgive) Ethaiyum Thangum Ithayam engalukku undu (we have a heart that will withstand anything) and Yathum Or Yavarum Kelir (Every village is my village and every one is my kinsman) stand for his moral principles. To his moral code can be added simplicity, unselfishness, duty consciousness and sacrifice of self interest for the sake of common interest, which he greatly emphasised in his speeches and writings. Burke's regard for cultural heritage is revealed in his respect for some old institutions like Monarchy, Aristocracy and Church and his love for classical and English literatures. Anna's love for cultural heritage is evident from his regard for certain old customs and traditions, like recognising mutual love between young man and woman and conducting marriages without priestly interference, which were prevalent in the Sangam Age. As regards the form of Government Burke preferred the constitutional Monarchy, while Anna advocated...
Federal structure for the Indian Republic with the Central Government having the minimum necessary powers to deal with Defence, Communication and Foreign affairs and the states having autonomy. Regarding the economic policy of Government, Burke preferred Laissez-Faire policy, while Anna believed in socialistic principles. But both believed that the actual beneficiaries of their economic policy should be the people. The concept of the Welfare State was unknown to Burke. But Anna as a statesman belonging to the twentieth century insisted that Government should look after the education, health and social security of the people.

In respect of political philosophy (Chapter IV) both Burke and Anna believed in Democracy though with slight differences. In rejecting the principle of equality, following Aristotle, Burke made his concept of Democracy to be slightly different from the modern Democracy which Anna advocated. Burke's conservatism was revealed in his viewing the British Constitution as sacred and opposing any amendment to it and in having strong faith in old institutions like Monarchy and Aristocracy which he wanted to continue, with all their privileges unaffected. An
element of Conservatism in Anna was also evident in his supporting certain old customs and traditions of the ancient Tamils of the Sangam Age, which he wanted the Tamils of the present day to follow. Anna insisted that the Tamil people should follow the marriage system of the ancient Tamils, in which the priests had no role to play. It is evident that Anna himself conducted innumerable marriages in Tamil Nadu following the system of the ancient Tamils. Anna also insisted that all the Tamils should celebrate Pongal with pomp and glory, which was celebrated as harvest Festival with grandeur by the ancient Tamils.

We also saw that both Burke and Anna possessed statesmanship of a high order. Burke's statesmanship is revealed in his advocacy of magnanimity in politics and also in his insistence on the principle of Expediency which he wanted the administrators to follow for settling the political issues. His prophetic statements that Britain would lose American colonies if it resorted to war against them and that French Republic established through Revolution, discarding the established old institutions like Monarchy and Nobility, would pave
way for Despotism, also came true, proving his foresight as a statesman. Anna as a statesman also emphasised the need for magnanimity in politics as Burke did. His giving up his demand for Dravida Nadu without standing on false prestige, realising the permanent danger to the security of India from the unreliable neighbour, and his strategic forming of an alliance with all the opposition parties, which brought victory to the D.M.K. in 1967 elections, greatly revealed his true statesmanship. Anna's achievements as Chief Minister within a short period of his office also bear witness to his statesmanship. It is also a mark of his statesmanship that he founded the D.M.K. on sound principles and gave it a democratic structure and gave proper training to his lieutenants who have managed to keep up the Dravidian movement alive, for which dear cause Anna worked with great devotion till he died.

In Chapter V, we saw that both Burke and Anna had great faith in humanism which is revealed through many of their activities in their political career. Burke advocated Catholic emancipation in Ireland, championed the causes of the Indians who suffered
at the hands of Warren Hastings and condemned the French Revolution which mercilessly killed the King, queen and nobles and justified a war against France to put an end to the massacre of human beings by the Revolutionists. Anna as a humanist championed the cause of Tamils who were suffering at the hands of the privileged class. Anna's humanitarianism which is an aspect of humanism, was also evident from the help he extended to the individuals who were in adversity. While opposing Brahminism or Orthodoxy Anna as a humanist never showed any hatred towards any individual member of the Brahmin community. He showed great respect for the individuals belonging to that community, who rendered great service to society.

A close study of the thoughts of Edmund Burke and Anna reveals that Edmund Burke was influenced by the European tradition and great thinkers of the West while Anna was influenced by the Indian tradition and Indian leaders and also by the political thinkers of the West.

To Burke society is the result of natural
evolution and it is an organisation with roots stuck deep in the past. This view is similar to the view of Aristotle (384 BC – 322 BC) who held that "State developed as naturally as a household and it is a natural association for it developed organically from the earlier natural associations". So Burke as a student of philosophy must have been influenced by the thoughts of Aristotle. Burke's work, A Vindication of Natural Society shows that he had deep religious faith from his early days. Burke's political and social speculation roots itself in his religious faith. To Burke nothing should happen against the Will of God, that is Law of Nature. His deep faith in God and religion makes him emphasise that Civil society rests on spiritual foundation. It is evident that his views are similar to those of St. Thomas Aquinas (1227-74 AD) who held the view that the source of all political authority is God, the supreme governor of all things. From God, the legitimate authority to govern passes to the whole community. His religious views are also identical with those of Richard Hooker
Hooker said "That the law of reason which governed the thoughts of men and laws of conduct which turned them into political societies were equally divine in origin and binding in character with the special laws of religion revealed in the Bible". This belief led him to characterise Monarchy regulated by laws as the best practical form of Government. Hooker was a convinced champion of constitutional Monarchy. He preferred a close alliance between state and church. As the eighteenth century England was a Christian community, most educated laymen were greatly concerned about religion. Locke said, "we arrive at the idea of God by a chain of reasoning .... By further reasoning we discover that this Supreme Being is the first cause. So his existence becomes undeniable". Burke's thought relating to moral principles was based on the Law of Nature. Burke considered "the Law of Nature as the moral principles rooted in the universal order of things to which all conditions and race of men were subject". In every important political problem he ever faced, the Irish, American, constitutional, economic, Indian and French affairs, Burke always appealed
to the Natural Law. What is more, by Natural law Burke always meant essentially the same thing and he applied it as the ultimate test of justice and liberty in all human affairs." J.C.Grierson says "Burke is the enemy of the spirit of a Machiavelli and Hobbes who would exempt politics from the control of morality". As one who had studied Philosophy from his early days Burke had naturally been under the influence of high philosophical thoughts. "Philosophy something intermediate between theology and science was more accessible to the well-informed reading public in the eighteenth century than at a period before or since." "The larger aim of most eighteenth century philosophy was to establish secure foundations for morality". "Locke's own moral system is essentially that it is reasonable to obey God's Will as revealed in the Scriptures because to do so will bring reward and happiness and to fail to do so will entail punishment and misery". The moral philosophy expounded by Joseph Butler (1692-1752) is the belief that God wishes to make men happy and that he has bestowed upon them a moral sense called conscience, moral reason
or divine reason. Heart and understanding, intuition and reason are united in the conscience which is the highest principle in human nature. \footnote{14} "Aristotle established a close relation between ethics and politics whereas Machiavelli divorced his politics from ethics". \footnote{15} Naturally, Burke who insisted on adherence to moral principles in all actions of men in politics, must have been influenced by the thoughts of these thinkers on moral principles. Burke's regard for the cultural heritage which was evident in his reverence to Monarchy, Aristocracy and British constitution, was due to the inherent conservative element in him. Burke said "we owe an implicit reverence to all the institutions of our ancestors and that we should consider such institutions with all the modesty in which received opinion should be examined". \footnote{16} He considered that in customs and traditions are hidden the wisdom of humanity and experience of past generations. \footnote{17} It could also be inferred that his regard for customs and traditions and old institutions must have been the result of his knowledge of history and philosophy.
Burke's thought on political economy was based on the Laissez Faire (Free Trade) policy. Naturally he must have been influenced by a body of thinkers called physiocrats in France who opposed State's restrictions on trade and who advocated free trade as their economic policy, and the individualistic philosophy of Locke and others who had influenced the idea of economic liberty, and Adam Smith's (1723-90) *The Wealth of Nations* which advocated the Laissez Faire policy in the eighteenth century.

Burke's faith in Liberalism and in a vague sort of Democracy was due to the influence of Aristotle, who believed in Liberalism and in a Democracy which was different from modern Democracy. Burke did not accept the extension of enfranchisement to the working class influenced by the principles of Aristotle. Aristotle says that the working class is unfit to exercise proper decision in politics as the manual work liberalises the soul and renders it unfit for political speculation. His faith in conservatism which is evident from his regard for old institutions, was due to the influence of Richard Hooker.
(1553-1600) whose "essential conservatism led him to characterize Monarchy regulated by laws as the best practical form of government. Hooker was a convinced champion of the constitutional Monarchy". 23

Burke's humanism must have been the result of his deep study of history and literature which give a picture of humanity with all its sufferings. This naturally would inculcate in the minds of curious readers a great sympathy for humanity.

Anna's thoughts relating to political, economic, social and cultural fields were basically influenced by the principles of the Justice Party and Periyar E.V.Ramasamy's self respect movement. As S.Ramachandran has stated "at college he [Anna] was attracted by the programme and policies of the Justice Party for the large majority of the Non-Brahmins and for their liberation from Brahmin domination in the services and elsewhere". 24 Through speeches and writings of the Justice Party leaders and through the writings of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy in Kudiarasu and his speeches, Anna understood that the Non-Brahmins were down-trodden and they were politically, economically and socially suppressed by the
privileged class, namely Brahmins who "because of education, religious authority, economic power, political influence and social prestige, stood as an exclusive elite in juxtaposition to the illiterate masses, which constituted more than 95 percent of the society". 

From the speeches and writings of the leaders Anna understood that Brahmins had entered in political field and they were the dominating group in the Congress Party in Tamil Nadu and by entering Government service in large numbers they had improved their economic position and in the social field, they had established their status to be superior by referring to "Varnashrama Dharma" and the Brahmin priests had exploited the innocent Non-Brahmins in the name of religion and made them spend on rites and rituals unnecessarily. Anna also understood that both the Justice Party and Periyar's self-respect movement were started to uplift the down-trodden Non-Brahmins in political, economic and social fields. Anna himself had translated the speeches of some Justice Party leaders and thus had come under their direct influence.

In 1934 when Anna met Periyar E.V.Ramasamy in Sengunthar Youth Conference, he was very much impressed
by Periyar, being attracted by his "idealistic zeal in eradicating the social inequities and inequalities" and he began to consider him as his political guru (Master) from then onwards.

As a true follower of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy, Anna opposed caste distinctions. His faith in one God must have been due to the influence of Thiruvalluvar's principle of one God and the Tamil Dictum 'one God and one Creed'. His advocacy of tolerance in religion and the appreciation of values in every religion must have been the result of his comparative study of various religions which differ from one another in suggesting various paths, though their ultimate goal remains the same, namely the realisation of God. His moral principles were based on his study of Thiruvalluvar's Kural and other Sangam literatures which reflect ancient Tamil Culture. His regard for cultural heritage was also due to the influence of classical Tamil literature which he studied with devotion.

As regards the form of Government, Anna's advocacy of the Federal structure with the minimum powers for the government at the Centre and autonomy
for states was only a modified form of the original Independent Sovereign Dravidian Federation of the Southern states advocated by Dravida Kazhagam (Dravidian Federation) under the leadership of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy. Anna's faith in socialism was due to his study of socialistic philosophy which is popular in the twentieth century. As a student of politics he naturally advocated the twentieth century popular concept of a welfare state which finds place in the political writings of the present century.

Anna's faith in Democracy was due to his inherent love for the democratic form of government which he learnt, as a student of politics, to be the best form of government that the human society has ever invented. As a follower of Laski's political thought Anna advocated Liberalism not only in politics but also in social field. An element of Conservatism in him, which is evident from his advocacy of certain customs and traditions of the ancient Tamil people is due to his ardent love for Tamil culture as revealed in the classical Tamil literature which he greatly valued.
Anna's humanism was due to his inherent love for human society, whose sufferings for generations, have been pictured in history and literature. Especially Thirukkural and Sangam Literature, strengthened his faith in humanism and made him champion the causes of the down-trodden and individuals in adversities.

Though the sources of influence for the thoughts of Burke and Anna were mostly different it is significant that there are striking similarities in their views and principles and attitudes as summed up at the beginning of this chapter. This only reveals that great minds, though taking divergent paths arrive at the same truths which are of universal value.\(^\text{27}\)

As the study of their speeches and writings reveals both Burke and Anna stand distinguished as eminent literary men also. In both, style was the man - or the statesman. Their prose belongs to the category of persuasive discourse as it fulfills all the requirements that a persuasive discourse needs. In the choice of
diction and the employment of figures of speech and other rhetorical devices they are similar to each other. Both have used the periodic and balanced sentences, quite appropriate to the nature of their discourse, very effectively. The principles of unity, coherence and emphasis have been very strictly observed by both Burke and Anna in their sentence and paragraph structures. By their successful employment of these essential features of good prose both Burke and Anna have introduced an individual and unique style in their respective languages, namely English and Tamil. Anna's deep study of great masterpieces of English prose also enabled him to give great vigour and beauty to his Tamil prose. Anna was also equally proficient in English. Certain English sentence structures of Anna clearly show that he was very much influenced by Burke's prose.

To conclude, the present study reveals that both Burke and Anna possessed statesmanship of a very high order and though they lived in different countries and in different centuries, they were similar to each other because of their faith in certain basic principles of universal value. Their belief in one God, moral principles,
emphasis on cultural heritage, faith in Liberalism, Democracy and humanism are indispensable 'universals' for the progress of any human society, Western or Eastern at any period of time. The concept of socialism which is a recent innovation in economic field and which Anna advocated for the balanced economic progress in society, is certainly indispensable for the progress of human society. While Burke had great faith in conservatism, Anna being not a radical, also had an element of conservatism in him. As any progressive society cannot completely sever its connections from the past, any regard to the element of conservatism cannot also be discarded as unnecessary. All the above thoughts of both Burke and Anna, being indispensable for the survival of the entire humanity which is much exposed to all kinds of destructive forces in the Modern World, deserve to be ranked as a permanent addition to the existing knowledge that concerns human progress. Just as Burke's prose which carries these thoughts in the best style has been enjoying a unique place in English literature for nearly two centuries, Anna's prose which also embodies these thoughts in the best style has earned a unique place in modern Tamil
literature. Anna's Rajya Sabha speeches in English in which some of the above thoughts find place testify to his remarkable proficiency in English.

The study also reveals the uniformity in their inspiring multifaceted personalities. Both Burke and Anna possessed great natural gifts and virtues. Their knowledge was encyclopaedic and they were political geniuses. As writers they were inimitable in style and as orators they were powerful and eloquent. Both were kind-hearted and free from any kind of meanness or selfishness. Both were uncompromising humanists. Though Burke loved show and pomp in personal life, while Anna loved simplicity, Burke was as thoroughly honest as Anna was.

The present study also reveals a scope for further research exclusively on the art of oratory of Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai. Such a study may trace the various features of the art of oratory in the European tradition since the days of Demosthenes and Cicero and their influence on the oratory of Burke and then make a complete analysis of Burke's oratory, covering all the aspects of stylistics and style, namely (1) Lexicology, (2) Morphology, (3) Syntax, (4) Prose rhythm, (5) Choice of words, (6) Figures of speech (7) the devices (rhetorical and otherwise) (8) The shape of sentences (whether loose, periodic or balanced)
and (9) The shape of his paragraphs. So also the salient features of the art of oratory in Tamil from the earliest period and their influence on Anna and also the influences of the English oratory on Anna (as Tamil prose was very much influenced by English) can be traced. The art of Anna's oratory can also be studied with reference to the above aspects of stylistics and finally the art of oratory of both Burke and Anna can be compared and findings arrived at.
NOTES


2. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

3. Ibid., p. 354.

4. Ibid., p. 217.

5. Ibid., p. 218.


12
13 
Ibid., p.50.

14 
Ibid., p.57.

15 
D.R. Bhandari, p.61.

16 

17. 

18 
D.R. Bhandari, pp.314-315.

19 
Ibid., p.317.

20 
Ibid., p.317.

21 
Ibid., p.57.

22 
Ibid., p.46.

23 
Ibid., p.218.

24 

25 
26
S. Ramachandran, p. XIX.

27
Dr. K. Chellappan, Shakespeare and Ilango as Tragedians: A Comparative Study (Thanjavur; Tamil University, 1985), p. 3.

28

29
S. Ramachandran, p. XXVI.