

**Table: M. Karunanidhi's Rivals/Foils in Political Life\***

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Tentative Period	Rivals/Foils
<b>Pre-DMK leader phase</b>	
1952-53	C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) - chief minister
1954-63	K. Kamaraj - chief minister (state level)
1957-61	E.V.K. Sampath (intra-party)
1963-67	M. Bhaktavatsalam - chief minister (state level)
1967-69	V.R. Nedunchezian (intra-party)
<b>DMK leader phase</b>	
1971-75	K. Kamaraj (state level)
1972-78	Indira Gandhi - Prime Minister (national level) until Mar 1977; and subsequently Leader of the Opposition, from Mar 1977 – Nov. 1978
1972-77	MGR - pal turned foe (state level)
1977-87	MGR - chief minister (state level)
1988-89	Rajiv Gandhi - Prime Minister (national level) until Nov 1989.
1989-91	Jayalalitha - neophyte (state level)
1991-96	Jayalalitha - chief minister (state level)
1996-2001	Jayalalitha - Opposition leader (state level)
2001-06	Jayalalitha - chief minister (state level)
2006-11	Jayalalitha - Opposition leader (state level)
2011-16	Jayalalitha - chief minister (state level)

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\*prepared in Aug 2024 by Sachi Sri Kantha – as a component of book review ‘*The DMK Years*’ by R. Kannan