CHAPTER IV

POLICIES IN ADMINISTRATION
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Between 1920 and 1937 certain fundamental changes occurred in the character of Indian Nationalist Movement in Tamil Nadu in response to developments in the Congress at a national level and to the regional political situation. By 1937, the Tamil Gandhians led by C.R., combined with the moderate nationalist to use the enlarged Congress party to gain power in the constitutional arena.¹ C.R. felt that the Congress should take office to carry out constructive reforms rather than allow Nehru and the Socialists to control the Congress and thereby divert it from nationalism to a class war, that would threaten the stability and tradition of Indian Society.² When the Congress government came to power in Madras in July 1937, the ministry appeared to have a broad public mandate.³

I PHASE 1937-1939

C.R. guided the ministry with a broad coalition of nationalist elements united by a reformist constitutional outlook. Ministry making and thereafter policy making presented difficulties.⁴ His choice of ministers was questioned.⁵ C.R. had chosen ten ministers of whom four were brahmans, one depressed class representative, one Muslim and four non-brahmin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>No. of seats</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Mohammed</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Indian Xian</th>
<th>Macadjustment</th>
<th>Landholders</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Hindus. The composition was objected to on the ground that it was over-weighted with Brahminism and regionalism. C.R’s choice could be explained reasonably as Gopala Reddi representing non-brahmin Reddi community, T. Viswanathan, for his economic expertise, Dr. Rajan was qualified for the portfolio of public health on professional grounds, V.V. Giri was qualified for the portfolio of labour and industry through his experience as a labour leader. N.S. Varadachari a Tamil Brahmin appointed as Parliamentary Secretary due to long career in constructive movement. His most extraordinary appointment was S. Ramanathan whose appointment was ridiculed on the basis of incompetence and C.R. explained that the ministers' role was to enlighten the public on Government's decision and Ramanathan was qualified. The appointment of Raman Menon for courts and prisons was to strengthen the Right in Kerala PCC.

C.R. had taken G. Muniswami Pillai in his cabinet who was a depressed class member. Even the Justice party which was in power for about twenty years under dyarchy had included no depressed class representative in the ministry. C.R’s aim was to have efficiency in administration to face the challenge of British and moreover as it was a party government, he chose the best men from the party to run an able active administrative system. Given C.R’s political principles one would expect him to choose his cabinet and parliamentary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subbarayalu</td>
<td>Reddiar</td>
<td>Education &amp; Public Works (resigned due to ill-health)</td>
<td>C. Rajagopalachari</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Public &amp; Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkata Reddi</td>
<td>Nayudu</td>
<td>Development (1920-1923)</td>
<td>T. P. Prakasam</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Patro</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>Public Works (1923-1926)</td>
<td>Yakub Hassan</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Public Works</td>
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<td>S. Sivagamani</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Development (1923-1926)</td>
<td>Subbarayanan</td>
<td>Vellala</td>
<td>Education, Legal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renganathan</td>
<td>Mudaliar</td>
<td>Development (1926-1928)</td>
<td>V. T. Mundirwan</td>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>Agriculture &amp; Rural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. Arooniaswami</td>
<td>Mudaliar</td>
<td>Public Health (1926-1928)</td>
<td>V. V. Giri</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>Industry &amp; Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Sethuraman</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Development (1928-1930)</td>
<td>S. Ramanathan</td>
<td>Non-Brahmin</td>
<td>Administration &amp; Public Information</td>
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<td>Ithiha S.</td>
<td>Mudaliar</td>
<td>Public Health (1928-1930)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>T. Rajan</td>
<td>Vellala</td>
<td>Public Works (1930-1937)</td>
<td>K. Raman</td>
<td>Malayales</td>
<td>Courts and Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Murugaswami</td>
<td>Reddiar</td>
<td>Education &amp; Local Self-Government (1930-1936)</td>
<td>V. V. J. Varkey</td>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>New L. Bahadur</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Local Self-Government (1932-1937)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Raja of Obbili</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Source: Madras Administration Report 1937-1939
Justice Party Souvenir.

On K. Raman's death V. V. Varkey took over the Education portfolio and Subbarayanan looked after Law, Courts and Prison.
secretaries on grounds either of their service to their conservative leanings but he chose people with reference to their professional competence. C.R. was also criticised that he appointed people belonging to other regions and classes, in police, secretarial service depriving the chances to the Tamils but he disregarded criticism in national interest and created confidence in the Governor and proved his benevolent attitude, to run the Government as it was in the time of Ashoka.

C.R. strongly advocated a political position that Congress had always upheld, namely the separation of the executive from judiciary. He said that the old idea that the judiciary is an arbitrator between the State and the people cannot be permitted any longer to shape administrative policy. Office acceptance in 1937 imposed a few new demands on the Congress and its relationship with the Raj. It is generally believed that in a conflict of loyalties between the party and administration C.R. leaned towards the latter. He elected to take on those burden-some portfolios which had been reserved under dyarchy, (i.e.) Home and Finance. He was most renowned for the higher premium he set on correct administration which led him to insist on a divorce between the party organization. He exercised his considerable power of diplomacy to establish good relations especially with the Chief Secretary C.F. Brackenbury mainly to introduce smoothly and successfully, the reforms planned with a national outlook.
Districts

1. Ganjam
2. Vizagapatam
3. Godavari
4. Kistna
5. Guntur
6. Kurnool
7. Nellore
8. Bellary
9. Anantapur
10. Cuddapah
11. North Arcot
12. Chengleput
13. South Arcot
14. Salem
15. Coimbatore
16. Nilgiris
17. South Canara
18. Malabar
19. Trichinopoly
20. Tanjore
21. Madurai
22. Tinneveli
From 1920 to 1937, Madras operated under a dyarchic system in which the finances of the presidency were under the control of bureaucrats who were accountable to the Government of India and it was not possible for the Madras Government to raise a loan without the permission of the Government of India.\(^{25}\) A Reserve Bank of India was created in 1929 under the Government of India act each province was required to float its own loans on the open money market.\(^{26}\) The Congress ministry under C.R. applied to the Reserve Bank of India for a loan of Rupees one and a half lakhs to be used for electrical and irrigation projects as well as for subsidising local bodies and assisting peasants. The loan was granted quickly because as the Accountant-General of the Government of India said, "the standard of financial administration and control attained by the Government of Madras has been of high order in a province whose finances were the strongest among the Indian Provincial Governments."\(^{27}\) C.R. said that the credit of the Government which he headed was the most valuable thing and the reasons for the secure financial position of the Government was partly a function of an agrarian system which had regular surplus.\(^{28}\)

Equally important was the government of Madras under C.R., who had developed a tradition of administration based on full collection of land revenue demand with comparatively few remissions.\(^{29}\) The secure financial position which C.R. guaranteed was totally contrary to the payment of Rs.34,800,000 yearly to the Government of India a sum equal to 35% of the
Government of India's yearly deficit at the time, by the previous Government. C.R. believed that the government should not allow institutions or practices to continue which debased the moral structure of the community. He felt that certain groups such as untouchables, did not have sufficient moral discretion to withstand the temptation posed by alcohol.° Hence his ideas on the reforming and moral position of government were combined in the first instance by the introduction of prohibition into Salem district on 1st October 1937, which provided for the introduction and extension of the prohibition of the manufacture, sale and consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs. When C.R. argued in favour of legislation he said that introduction of prohibition would deprive the Government of Madras of rupees two lakhs and sixty thousand a year but would put rupees ten lakhs into the pockets of people who ordinarily drank toddy and country liquor. At the same time he noted that the excise money derived from liquor had worked itself deep into the financial structure of the province. He was fully aware that excise from liquor was an important form of government income but believed that the financial position of the province was strong enough and the demands of the welfare of those who drank was sufficient cause. All the labour expanded in producing intoxicating drinks and drugs is unproductive and all the wages paid for production or distribution of liquor represented valuable time wasted which
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue (in Crores)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE VIII**

**TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL DRINK AND DRUG REVENUE OF INDIA**
could have contributed to national wealth. He viewed that no trade can be considered of economic value to the nation if it does not contribute to the conservation of products and energies making its output reproduce the material and labour it represents.

C.R. was considerate to give allowances while enforcing the Prohibition Act. Permits were issued to limited number of persons accustomed to taking foreign liquor, in limited quantities. Licences were issued to non-proprietary clubs for possession of foreign liquor and its sale to members holding permits. Authority was granted to Bishops and Priests for the possession of mass wine for use for religious purposes according to ancient custom. Licences were prescribed for the possession and sale of denatured spirits and rectified spirits. Licences were prescribed for possession of brandy in hospitals for medicinal purposes and for possession and sale on prescription of brandy and medicated wines by chemists etc. All advertisements of medicated wines were prohibited. No opium was issued to any person under 20 years of age and ganja and bhang were altogether prohibited. Transport of liquor from one district to another was prohibited. Gandhian thought was clearly at the basis of the move, and Gandhi's ideas of drinking as morally reprehensible. C.R. argued that licencees were permitted to sell unlimited quantities, and to whomsoever they like barring a few restrictions, and what commenced as

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artificial protection later developed into actual protection. C.R. admitted that the inner restraints of conscience and religion were insufficient without the backing of the police state. C.R. enforced the burden on the police with novel duties to be done with initiative and vigour. He levied heavy fine of Rupees one thousand and imprisonment for six months for sale or consumption and Rupees one thousand for advertising. Erskine states that C.R. brought forth with his natural outlook a huge dimension in the consumption of liquor. It was C.R’s policy to enable a greater integration of the untouchables within the caste Hindu society but the policy met with difficulties among them, with setbacks such as illicit liquor consumption. Raid on illegal distilling equipments migration of toddy tappers to Malaya to be employed in the production of palm oil and their ultimate return due to not finding employment there were found. But as a whole from the point of view of financial administration the policy was successful. During the first year of its working in the district only one thousand three hundred and thirty five cases of offences against the act were brought to light and of these only one hundred and ten related to illicit distillation as against two hundred and sixty five cases in the previous year and one hundred and seventy cases relating to illicit tapping as against four hundred and seventy cases in the previous year, and there were seventy cases of smuggling. Added to it, attendance in factories became regular, quality of health,
work and discipline improved. Workers began to borrow less to effect savings, to pay their debts, purchase ornaments and utensils. The introduction of commercial taxes such as sales tax, entertainment tax, tobacco tax has made good the revenues lost by the introduction of prohibition. Alternative measures such as establishment of co-operative societies, manufacture of jaggery, holding exhibitions, and bhajans, rural uplift schools, thrift movement marked considerable success in the application and marked an improvement in social and economic conditions in rural areas.

E.V.R. opposed the move of C.R. and questioned why prohibition should be implemented. He viewed that to make up the loss of revenue C.R. introduced taxes which was totally unwarranted. The electricity duty, Madras Entertainment Tax, Madras Tobacco tax and increase in registration fees were additional burden to compensate the loss. C.R. increased such fees obviously for the reasons that it would fall on only the affluent and he cared more for the poor who were caught in the temptation of consuming liquor. His outlook was more benevolent and nationalist from the point of view of supporting the lower sections of the people.

In an equally unilateral way C.R. announced that the government would seek to introduce Hindi as a compulsory language for school children in the presidency. In his view Hindustani was the language spoken in North India by Muslims
and Hindus and in many ways combines Sanskrit, Hindu culture with the Persian Arabic Muslim culture. Hindu according to Congress dictum could be written in both the Arabic and Devanagari scripts and should not be associated with any one communal group. In Madras Presidency out of 1,482,191 Muslims, 1,075,395 spoke Hindustani and the remaining 4,06,796 were Tamil speaking Muslims, and the number of Hindustani speaking increasing substantially between 1921 and 1931. There was Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachara Sabha which was established in response to Gandhi's work in the Hindi Sabha Sammelan in 1918 and set up forty centres for its study in the presidency by 1922. The Justice Ministry made Hindi an optional language in secondary schools.

At a time when C.R. introduced Hindi as compulsory language in first, second and third forms of 125 Madras schools, Hindi was already taught in 104 secondary schools run by the local district boards. The background and eminence of the people including C.R. who expounded the need for Hindi were making contributions in various ways. C.R. saw the compulsory Hindi scheme not only as a way of which Madras Presidency could take a nationalist stance and the people of Madras could be integrated with those of north and also give them a popular foundation to get employment all over India. The fact that Hindi was already taught in 104 secondary schools and the cost of the scheme of C.R. government would be
relatively small (only Rs. 20,000/-) but C.R. felt that these arguments could have no bearing on a scheme which was an essential part of a nationalist policy. 75

There was lot of opposition 76 and the anti-Hindi agitation was led by two kinds of leaders. One group composed of older established Justice party leaders K.V. Reddi, and T.A. Paneerselvam members of Madras Legislative Council 77 and the other was on the control of skill of speaking and writing expressive Tamil. 78 A third group including Somasundara Bharathi who published Tamil issues, and tried to demonstrate the cultural independence and anti-quity of Tamil. 79 R.K. Shanmugam Chetty and A. Ramaswami Mudaliar also popularised the goals of anti-Hindi movement, 80 by picketing, demonstration 81 and E.V.R's provocative speeches. 82 C.R. used the criminal law act consistently against anti-Hindi demonstrators. 83 E.V.R. was fined Rupees one thousand and a sentence of imprisonment for one year. 84 Gandhi supported C.R.'s use of police to control the situation by making a distinction between laws which were enacted to protect the foreign government and those which were supported by the Indian public 85 and believed that C.R. would be foolish if he did not use some of the sections of the criminal amendment act. 86 It is possible to attribute the use of police against anti-Hindi demonstrators or even the socialists to C.R.'s view of what was in fact proper behaviour and appropriate political
Despite criticism and opposition to his idea and policy, C.R. was keen on implementing constructive programme which would spread oneness among people.

The same ideology found expression in the centralisation policy during his premiership. The main goal of C.R's legislation of taking over the administration of temples from local temple committees, is to bring the temples choultries, and other charitable institutions under the direct control of the government. Corrupt management, disinterest of the local bodies which were detrimental to the interests of the temples and worshipping public made C.R. implement the process. In the same way district educational councils were eliminated because they were used as network of patronage by local leaders many of whom were important Congress members. It was C.R's view that Government bureaucrats could do the work of dealing with the sanctioning and disbursement of grants of elementary schools under private management. The policy of C.R. was certainly based on the welfare of common people tried to remove intermediary structure, in administrative activity.

In the Congress manifesto for the provincial elections in 1937, there was a clear indication that a main problem of the nation was the size of the rural debt. From 1932, agriculture was largely losing proposition in Madras Presidency. Many individuals found it difficult or impossible to meet
interest charges on agricultural loans. As a result it was almost impossible to repay debts during this period, calculations made by the Madras Banking enquiry committee in 1930, put the entire rural debt of the agrarian population of the presidency at Rs. 1,500,000,000. By 1939 the debt had increased to Rs. 2,719,000,000 which amounted to an increase about 100% in the decade, when the prices were low and the credit position of the small and medium land holders had disintegrated. Creditors asked for more and more security. The increase in the rural debt during the period of 1930s was not the result of the new loans, but rather an increase in old debts through interest. Lands were sold due to insufficient funds, to pay labour, and between 1930 and 1934, 19.5% of the land went into the hands of non-agriculturalists, C.R. favoured the regulation on agriculturist debt relief Act in March 1936 which had a main goal to write off old agrarian debts and fix the rates which money lender could officially charge for loans at 6.25%. Under the provision of this Act compulsory debt conciliation boards were established. During the years that followed rural debts were scaled down by writing off all debts contracted before October 1, 1932, and by reducing the debts contracted during the period between 1932 and 1937 by restricting the legal interest to 5%. Those who expected agriculturists debt relief and to have a dramatic effect on agrarian relations were solely disappointed, but those who expected support for industrial
labour from the Congress ministry were left even more
dissatisfied. C.R. stated that the bill proposed to give
the people who were living on either small bits of lands or
large bits of land a way to begin life, by paying the
principal only and this was objected by the lawyers and
landlords.

C.R. strongly viewed that no policy for the agrarian
economy, would be complete which failed to assist the rural
artisans. In his first budget speech C.R. made two provisions.
Firstly he allocated two lakhs of rupees for the hand spinning
movement, though he remained loyal to the constructive
movement by subsidising khadi. Secondly he introduced a
licence fee on cloth deals exempting those exclusively dealing
in handloom products. T.T. Krishnamachari argued that the
amount of two lakhs for a turn over of five lakhs is atrocious
and the licence tax will have a psychological effect on the
industry and will place a stigma of inferiority on the mill
made cloth. C.R. argued that agriculture was the province's
most important industry and handloom weaving was its next
most important. Protection that has been given to the Indian
mills has enabled the mills to sell their cloth cheaper than
the rate at which the hard worked handloom weaver is expected
to put his cloth in the market.

The revival and protection of rural craft industries
had always been a part of the constructive movement. Rural
Artisans were an integral part of the ideal village India. G.K. who shared this idea was not concerned with altering the structure of rural society. He clearly saw how far actual village life fell below his version. His vision was of India's untouchables integrated within village society. His zeal for reform based on nationalism made him break the social barriers for the down-trodden.

G.K. took up the social disabilities and poverty of the low castes who were evenly distributed in all districts and mostly agricultural labourers. Apart from the share of the benefit that the low classes derived from the general expenditure on education and public health the following was the special additional expenditure on the low classes through the separate Department charged with the particular work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1937-38 Rs.</th>
<th>1938-39 Rs.</th>
<th>1939-40 Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On Education</td>
<td>7,17,872</td>
<td>7,78,764</td>
<td>8,49,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Public Health</td>
<td>1,60,174</td>
<td>1,70,680</td>
<td>1,29,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,78,046</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,49,444</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,78,474</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Special schools for them numbered 1,178 with a strength of 48,947. Grants were refused to any institution which would not admit pupils on the ground of the caste or community to which they belonged or which were so situated as to bring about such exclusion. Free admissions on a very liberal scale, and scholarships, boarding grants, and allowances for books were granted to enable poor students of these classes to pursue
their studies and industrial and technical courses of training. All depressed caste students were given full exemption from payment of any fees whatsoever in university courses. The following scholarships were granted to pupils belonging to the depressed class:

1. 62 residential and 3,159 non-residential scholarships in secondary and elementary schools.

2. 82 scholarships in Arts colleges.

3. 180 scholarships to students undergoing professional commercial industrial and other courses of training.

Besides seven aided hostels, five hostels were run by the special department for pupils of low castes in Madras and three other towns. Added, the harijan sevak sangh received grants towards the maintenance of fifteen hostels under its control. Out of every twelve appointments made to the provincial or subordinate services is reserved for members of the depressed classes. Certain special concessions were granted to members of such classes in the matter of qualification for appointments. The minimum standard attained in the school final examination to qualify for appointment to subordinate posts was lowered for candidates belonging to these classes and the age limit was raised to 27 while the age limit for others was 25. Depressed class candidates who were graduates of a university or who had secured an intermediate certificate were exempted from all age restrictions for recruitment to the
public services. There were nine superior gazetted officers belonging to the depressed class and twenty-nine non-gazetted officers on various salaries above rupees 100 per month. 113

The active role played by C.R. in improving the educational professional qualifications of the depressed castes was a clear revelation of his nationalist attitude aiming at oneness in the society. Though he was vehemently criticised by many he stood a contrast to the inactiveness of Justice party in the previous decade. The untouchables were illtreated, excluded from public places, segregated in schools. It was condemned to the Anti-untouchability conference held at Madras in 1929 through a resolution, and in disgust many of them led by M.C. Rajah left the Justice party. 114 C.R. with his programme of equal opportunity for all communities, removal of untouchability and temple entry through legislation contributed considerably to the growth of depressed classes in the society.

The policy of C.R. in dealing with the labour problems and strikes was absolutely nationalistic with the substantial development of factories and the number of industrial labourers, there was rise in the number of industrial disputes and the amount of trade union activity. 115 C.R's policy was to make the workers and management working out agreements without the intervention of outside bodies like trade union or government, 116 except to maintain law and order with the
C.R. never hesitated to implement his policy of interference if any section disturbed the peace of the land. The arrest of Muthuramalinga Thevar, leader of the labour union of Mahalakshmi Mills, turned militant and resorted to violence. C.R. ordered to arrest him and many of his Kallar followers. C.R. was not averse to modern development if labour-capital relationship could be conducted in a conciliatory style. C.R. did not shy away from the developments born of modernity. But there can be no doubt that his preference lay with an economy weighted in favour of agriculture and rural industries.

C.R. retained a balance between regional interests and national objectives and sought to satisfy legitimate regional demands and needs, so that Madras could be brought into closer coordination with the political nation as a whole and thereby strengthen the drive for national freedom.

The increase in taxation, especially sales tax, to overcome the revenue loss from prohibition has been considered as a milestone in the work of C.R. as Premier but it reveals his nationalist approach as he himself said that "the rich would have to be taxed if the poor were to be saved from the drink of evil." The Madras sale of cloth bill was the first law with a goal to protect handloom cloth by taxing cloth produced in mills. C.R. argued that if there was any group
against whom the bill was aimed it was the Indian and European owned cotton weaving mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad, not the mills which produced almost entirely yarn, much of which was sold to hand weavers in the presidency. \(^{123}\) Taxes on petrol, entertainment, tobacco, electricity and a general sales tax of 1/2 of 1% created discontentment as they aimed largely at the middle classes living in the city. In many ways the sales tax which was introduced to compensate for the losses due to prohibition was the first step by which the government of Madras became less dependent not only on excise but also on land revenue. \(^{124}\) It assured mercantile people \(^{125}\) and C.R. was blamed by many to have shifted the burden from the country to the town. \(^{126}\)

Two years of C.R.'s premiership from 1937-1939 revealed his vigorous reformist attitude, his hope for psychological breakthrough for the depressed peasantry, a social and moral uplift from his policy of prohibition. He worked through sales tax to put an end to the traditional dependence by provincial government on land revenue. His emphasis on incorruptible government and desire for organised social structure reveal nationalism in his outlook in the policy of administration.

**II Phase 1952-54**

The acceptance of office as Chief Minister in 1952, provided a harder ground for C.R., with varied regional,
anti-national fractional disputes at the background. The Congress party organization had broken down, Tamil and Andhra had fallen out. The Andhra Organization was divided between Kamma and Reddi elites, which underlined the old quarrel between Royalaseema and Circar districts such divisions provided a field for the communists who opportunistically latched onto the cause of linguistic state. \(^{127}\) In such circumstances C.R. emerged much against his wish and that of his opponents \(^{128}\) to rescue the party from its misfortune.

C.R.'s concern was to preserve respect for some form of authority and to maintain the superiority of the administration over the legislature. \(^{129}\) The chief concern at the occupation of office was food. Lengthening ration shop queues and soaring open market prices of rice had played an important part in electoral setback. C.R. repeatedly appealed to people to pray for rain \(^{130}\) and being emboldened by rains in May 1952, moved towards the direction of decontrol. \(^{131}\) Convinced that there were stocks in the country side, and confident that they would soon be replenished he decided to remove all controls on the distribution and price of rice. \(^{132}\) Ration shops were converted into fair price shops. The Government retained a hand in the distribution of food. The opposition view of P. Ramamurthy was that the Government stock being rapidly depleted by the time the season ends, there will be practically nothing left with the Government. \(^{133}\) C.R. answered, "We must allow the producer of the food a free market for what
he produces and what he achieves by way of production. If we strangle him by restrictions and regulations, which he cannot bear we make him walk like a prisoner carrying his own produce in order to sell it surreptitiously he cannot have an interest to produce food.\footnote{134}

Another popular policy applied by C.R. was an ordinance later replaced by an act that aided small tenants and farm labourers in Tanjore district. The new law prohibited eviction and put up the labourers' wages.\footnote{135} Property and its incumbent economic and social relationship became C.R.'s dominant concern in the agrarian sector.\footnote{136} The issue came to a head through widespread peasant unrest, in the cauvery delta in Tanjore. C.R. visited the spot and expressed his view to establish cordial relations between the Mirasudar and the tenants so that food production will not be affected.\footnote{137} Lack of share in the catch crops to Mirasudars was brought to C.R.'s attention which he viewed with a sense of reasoning and remedied it by awarding 40% to the Mirasudar and 60% to the tenant also put a limit upon the portion of the land to be cultivated so that the tenants may not put the entire sketch of land under catch crops in order to get greater benefit.\footnote{138} The tenant share of 20% led to eviction supported by communists and led to rural anarchy.\footnote{139} C.R. replaced the ordinance with the Tanjore tenancy and pannayal protection bill which made the share of the produce be divided on 60/40 basis between the
Mirasudars and tenant, and a special machinery to be set up to enquire into the dismissal of farm labourers and for their restoration on just and equitable terms if the dismissal was wrongful.\textsuperscript{140} To the charge against the five year fixing of tenure was no real security for the tenant and that the bill provided no lasting solution to their conflict with the Mirasudars. C.R. replied "the object of the bill is to give for a few years a clear and guaranteed companionship between the landlord and the cultivating tenant and they must get on together.\textsuperscript{141} The programme of gramkalyan appreciated by C.R. included improved agriculture reclamation of all available land and the utilisation of all local resources and making of good feeder roads to make transport easy and speedy and to link up all the villages in the area more closely together.\textsuperscript{142} The projects include the provision of facilities for the fuller education of working children and vocational and technical training to those who have no family craft to follow.\textsuperscript{143} Famine relief work was undertaken in Anantapur, Bellary, Chittoor, Coimbatore, Cuddappa, Guntur, Kurnool, Madurai, Ramnad, Trichy, Tirunelveli by spending 5.29 crores.\textsuperscript{144} Special medical relief, reinforcement of prohibition and establishment of gruel centres for weavers\textsuperscript{145} were some of the measures adopted with a nationalistic attitude.

Left wing ideologies were relatively late entrants in Indian political life. Indeed their early manifestation can be traced to the events that occurred in Russian following
the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. Earlier in the eyes of many Indian nationalists including C.R., the collapse of the autocratic regime represented more of a victory for nationalism and democracy than communism. Later following the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917, the Indians began to hold divergent views. Gandhi was forthright in his condemnation of the new ideology in Russia. The Indian emigrants in Europe and America felt that only a revolution and violence on a grand scale could effectively destroy British rule in India. Recognising the pivotal importance of India in the British imperial system, Russian leaders were willing to give prominence to the task of the ideological penetration of the sub continent. The idea of communist party in India was given practical effect in September 1924 and was followed by widespread communist penetration of the trade union movement. The stage for ideological battle between nationalism and socialism was set in 1936. The socialists of the Congress stood opposed to parliamentary politics contending that such a programme would not only deflect the Congress for its struggle for independence but also lead to deviations from its socio economic goals. The communists had been allowed to join the Congress socialist party on an individual basis since 1936 and tensions were created over the issue of the Communist party's ties with the comintern its activities in the trade union and its attacks on the ideological credentials of the socialist
leaders. C.R. stated that socialism's fundamental error consists in its static notion of happiness and the socialists set class against class and took to the resulting class hatred to cover the barrenness of their pursuit of parity. He said the negative and destructive emotions and doctrines issuing out of jealousy and hatred served no good purpose and only undermine moral values to the detriment of life at all levels. C.R. said that the philosophy of the communist party and the way of life it seeks to impose on the people are the most reactionary of all world conceptions. It seeks to subordinate human personality to the will of a minority group in possession of the instruments of violence. Modern civilization's goal is freedom, and full scope for the development of human personality and not its enslavement.

With the above mentioned view, C.R. launched a crusade against communist activities in Andhra and Malabar which he considered as left wing extremism. C.R. always loath to concede that the communist movement in India was derived from poverty and social injustice. The danger of communists he felt did not come from the discipline of their organisation or their sabotage activities but from the intellectual stability of the educated class. Two major counter measures which C.R. adopted as Chief Minister were the renewal of the preventive Detention Bill and the Press Act which were aimed at communists and black marketeers. C.R.'s anti-communism
was both a frank and weighty contribution to Indian political debate. 157

C.R.'s opposition to the linguistic state was curiously passionate and he proved far from unsentimental in his defence of Madras Presidency shorn of its Andhra district. C.R. provided a victim of conflicting loyalties of Indian and regional nationalism. C.R. had to liquidate the difficult problem of the partition of the state. He disliked the CPI making the linguistic state their main electrol platform. 158 U.R. spared no effort to avoid the division of territories and he followed a policy of political tactics to exclude representatives from circar districts and choosing only from koyalasena. 159 C.R. was firm against fasting and opposition and he turned down five adjournment motions. 160 At the death of Potti Srramulu C.R. was a reluctant supporter of the new Andhra state. 161 C.R. was against the formation of linguistic states because he felt that they would impede national intercourse and economic advance. 162

He felt that in the new federation of India, linguistic states instead of helping the development of nationalism would create language barriers in the nation. The danger was that this growth of state nationalism might result in the residents of other states, being treated like foreigners and might also come in the way of the flow of easy communication between the residents of different states because of language difficulties.
In a country in which the concept of federation had been newly introduced, such growths of disparity instead of creating national integration might lead to the growth of disintegrating factors. O.R's doubts and fears since been borne out by what has happened in our country. He was equally opposed to making the city of Madras a union territory or a joint capital nor would be agree to Andhra using it even as a temporary capital because he thought Telugu politicians would regard it as a stepping stone for more lasting link, and the Tamils would react strongly. O.R. had to face strong objection in his policies of social ambitions as they were branded communal. O.R. was confronted with non brahmin movement with which his own political career had been almost symbolically related since its inception in 1916. From 1942, E.V.R. had openly set his DK to the ideas of separate Dravidian state. O.R. was totally unlikely to entertain proposals of separation. The formula of the right of secession a copy of the west Minister Statute formula has no meaning in the context of South India.

His policy came into direct conflict when his new education scheme which was a modification of Gandhian basic education was brought forward first before Andhra Separation. The aim of O.R. was to accomplish a simple sweeping stroke and at virtually no additional cost to the exchequer he hoped to double the literacy rate at elementary level and impart creative skill to the pupils hands. Though the constitution insisted that
all children should go to primary school, in Madras only
47.8%\footnote{170} were enrolled and only 2/5 of these would complete
the five years prescribed. C.R. prescribed a reduction in the
hours of elementary schooling from 5 to 3 a day. Teachers and
buildings would serve twice a day, and school children would
spend the 2 hours gifted to them in learning creative arts
from family and surroundings. In addition he had a better
opinion of entrusting the children with traditional craftsman
than wasting their time in school. He said "the food is grown;
the cloth is woven, the sheep are shorn, the shoes are stitched,
the scavenging is done, the cart wheels and the ploughs are
built and repaired because the respective castes are still
there, and the homes are trade schools, and the parents are
masters as well to whom the children are automatically
apprenticed."\footnote{171} He tried to translate his idea to rescue the
children from the clutches of a pattern that made them drowsy,
and hazy and wanted to convert them active members of the
village polytechnique.\footnote{172} C.R. argued that it is a mistake
to imagine that the school is within the walls. The whole
village is the school. The village polytechnique is there in
every branch of it, the potter, the dhobi, the cobbler.\footnote{173}
He felt that crafts men and farmers (not teachers) would
supervise the out of class programme which in the first three
years would consist of observations, questions and answers.
Boys of the 4th and 5th classes would have an easy and
progressive association with work.\footnote{174} C.R. felt that the
fundamental error in primary education was the feeling that more hours we give to school the great return we will get from it. It is not for memorising that we send our children to school it is for canalising their habits. The polytechnique system would give the child the opportunity to learn his hereditary vocation or craft. The polytechnique part of the reform was left to the initiative and resources of the village and no experts were to be recruited and to begin with at any rate no financial provision was made for the outdoor programme.

Large and vocal groups saw C.R's scheme as a brahmin's device to condemn children of lower castes to their father's occupation wanting to discriminate the skills of the country side and to preserve the caste system. In the middle of the year DX and DMK started an agitation over the new scheme of education sponsored by the Government and at Madras Second Annual Conference of the DMK held on 11, 12 July 1953 it was decided to stage a three fold struggle and never subsided till the withdrawal of the scheme after the resignation of C.R.

C.R. viewed the scheme beneficial to uphold the interest of labour which was waning, to improve the productive capacity to that would build the nation, and organise the educational system on more constitutional line, rather than making it dry with no vocational orientation. For the restoration of manual
labour its proper dignity is a national necessity. The equipment for leadership in our country in the highest as well as in the lower ranks will be most usefully completed if a programme of manual work is made part of school and university education. 180 In fact he argued following the reform would not the children of illiterate artisans score over the children of other classes. 181 He said the reform would bring the castes together, not separate them. Every upper class boy would go to the cobbler's workshop and mix with them. In any case he felt that it was wholly wrong to allow children to be confined for five hours. 182 The scheme was appreciated by outsiders, zakir Hussain the educationist and later President of India, the Central Advisory Board of Education and the State of Bihar considered it good. 183

G.R. admitted "My education policy has stood in the way of general political popularity." 184 At the end of the year he claimed that in the district of Madurai a scene of sustained agitation against the scheme, admissions had gone up by 40%. 185 He held that the reform was modern rather backward citing American educators who had recognised the value of a child's association with the work of his family and village. 186

G.R's thinking was far ahead of his times. His concept of primary education paved the way for respecting all professions which he thought would end the caste system. 187 His policy was consistently and completely related to the orientation
of individual and social conduct. The educational policy of C.R. was based on vocational guidance. The growing popularity of Kamaraj supported by DK spread a fear among the people that it was calculated to water down the content of education to persuade different communities to pursue traditional occupations to strengthen caste distinctions. In provincial Congress C.R. faced the opposition of Kamaraj who was keen on ridiculing the educational policy of C.R. based on caste distinction.

C.R. introduced the far-sighted well-conceived policy to a caste-oriented society. If job orientation had been implemented in courses in schools his policy would have avoided criticism. The shift system and learning the skills in the family background created misunderstanding and opposition. Undoubtedly it was a step based on welfare of the state from the socio-economic point of view. The National policy on education introduced in 1986, by the Government of India was based on the aspects shown by C.R. Universalisation to enhance employability, and facilities through industrial training institutes, vocational courses based on Marketing, Agriculture etc. reflect the policy suggested by C.R. In his long political career C.R. received a lot of double-edged praise regarding his administrative capabilities. He was at once lauded for being a just, efficient and benevolent administrator and criticised for being shrewd, calculating and being self-
serving manipulator. The most striking feature which had motivated C.R.'s reforms was his overwhelming concern for the economically weaker section of the society, and his reform in educational field speaks volumes of his far sightedness and shrewd and accurate grasp of a difficult situation.

C.R. was one of the most vociferous opponents of statism, communism and the driving force behind his policy making was a desire to achieve an economically balanced, socially integrated and communally united country. Nationalism according to C.R. should be the binding force which held the fabric of society and therefore as a true nationalist that he was, he violently opposed the idea of an extraneous force like statism being used as a tool for integration.
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**Increase in Registration Fees**

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