Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

There are a number of political parties operating in the political domain of Tamil Nadu and they can be classified into two major categories on the basis of their stated political goals, area of operations and nature of organizational links. They are national and regional political parties. The national parties consist of those political entities whose stated political goals are national in content and orientation and who organizationally act as the regional subdivisions of the national parties. Though there are a number of national parties representing diverse, distinct political ideologies, in terms of political popularity, electoral support base and geographical spread the Congress (I) is the most paramount one. The other national parties with visible presence in the political spectrum of the state are the Bharatya Janata party, Communist Party of India, and Communist Party of India (Marxist).

On the contrary the regional parties are the ones whose political goals are exclusively specific to Tamil Nadu, whose organizational structure does not have any link with outside the state and whose social base is spread within the territory of the state. These parties arising out of religions, regional, communal, linguistic, ethnic and other heterogeneities are noted for their community based mobilization and organization. Though there are a plethora of regional parties, most paramount among them are the Dravidian parties of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). These two dominant parties share a common ancestry and social base and hence the bilateral relationship is characterized by bitterness and antagonism and their internecine rivalry determines the political dynamics of the state overwhelmingly.

The other regional parties like the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), Dalit Panthers of India (DPI), Pudiya Tamilagam (PT) are the political entities emerging from the caste configuration of the Tamil society and are operating significantly in the alliance.
dominated electoral politics of the state. The Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), an offshoot of a DMK split in the early 1990’s is another party impinging upon the electoral alliance dimension of the state politics.

**Issue of Regionalization**

The ubiquitous and omnipresent forces of region overwhelmingly dominate the politics of the state and even the national parties are subjected to undergo the process of regionalization. All national parties of diverse ideological orientations exhibit varying degrees of influence of the region in aspects like organization, policies, political behaviour and culture.

The Congress Party, the oldest political party of the country too had been subjected to a powerful impact emanating from the region specific demands, concerns and goals. The regionalization of the Congress Party in fact started in the colonial period itself and continued through the period of congress dominated political system of independent India. It still operates in the contemporary period of congress-marginalized politics. The regionalization of the Congress Party means the infusion of region specific demands, concerns, social classes and political culture. It involves the process of non-Brahmanization of congress social base, organizational structure, leadership domain, and ideological positions, programmes and policies.

**Region and Congress in Colonial Period**

To understand how a national party came to be regionalized we need to look at the complex relationship between nation and region in India. As Lewis P. Fickett considered it is apposite to believe that India is a continent of many communities united through shared experience but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional considerations. Therefore, even as the modern nation-state emerged in India as a result of the impact of British colonialism and indigenous social forces the regions continued to be perennially strong. In fact the Indian national congress came to be established in the 1880s as a body
of regional leaders constituting the emerging national elite. These regional leaders required a national platform so that the anti-colonial demands could be channalised.

As many scholars have advocated during the period loyalties were at first to one’s region mainly and in early decades nationalist ideas were expressed essentially in regional contexts as exemplified in the speeches of leaders like Tilak, Chitaranjan Das Lajpat Rai etc.

The regional elites developed supra-regional nationalist vision thanks to the English education and language made available by British colonialism. The domination of regions in the nationalist movement of congress is tellingly brought out by the linguistic reorganization of the organizational structure in the Nagpur session of congress held in 1920.

In Tamil speaking Madras Presidency the Brahmins were the regional elite in nineteenth century and their leadership was essentially due to their traditional caste status, access to landed wealth, aloofness from agriculture and generations of involvement in administration. As colonialism introduced western education, modern economy and administration, they thrived and became part and parcel of the emerging national elite of India. To protect their interests they initially formed a regional organization called Madras Mahajana Sabha that later came to be affiliated to the Indian national congress. The transformation of Brahmins from regional elite status to national elite status was aided by not only colonialism-induced factors but also factors rooted in traditional planks. The knowledge of Sanskrit, exposure in Vedic rituals worked in favor of Brahmins in establishing political and organizational linkages beyond the region to the emerging nation.

The Non-Brahmin communities because of linguistic constraints and restricted geographical spread could not join the national movement initially. The discriminations faced by them in their efforts to achieve modern economic and educational development at the hands of Brahmins propelled them to start their own regional organization, the
incipient manifestation of which was the Justice Party. These Non-Brahmin regional communities joined the national mainstream of the congress only from 1930s. For about two decades the Justice Party had empowered them and as they acquired immense self-confidence in their capability to face the political process and were no more overwhelmed by the prospects of competing with Brahmins in public and electoral domains they began to join the Congress Party. Therefore the political journey of these essentially regional communities reached the destination of national politics through the regional stream of Justice Party and consequently the Congress Party began to experience massive regionalization process in its social base and organizational structure. As the Congress directed anti-colonial struggle marched towards freedom, the Tamil Nadu congress came to be subjected to the impact of the forces of region. Though in the leadership domain the party was dominated by the national elite of Brahmins, its social base was gradually getting rooted in the soil of the region.

Region and Congress System

Indian politics after independence till 1967 witnessed the overwhelming domination by Indian national congress even though a multitude of opposition political parties of diverse ideological orientations existed. A plethora of factors and forces can be adduced to explain the phenomenon of a unique hegemony of a party in the context of existence of a plurality of political parties in a heterogeneous society. The geographical method of representation based on relative majority and not absolute majority inevitably provided vital advantages to the congress especially as it had social and political spread all over the country and more importantly in the backdrop of opposition parties that were fragmented and segmented. In this period of congress dominance it was common to find the collective opposition votes exceeding that of the congress candidates.

An alternative explanation of congress hegemony focuses on the historical role of the party in the freedom struggle and on the charisma and popularity of the leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru. In contrast the opposition leaders lacked the national image, popularity and legacy. In addition to these generalist theories, there are some academically profound
explanations for the congress dominance. They look at the structure and nature of Congress Party, its organization and policies to explain the unique position enjoyed by the Congress Party in Indian politics. The noted political scientist Rajni Kothari in his seminal contribution characterized the unique politics of India as congress system and argued that as the Congress Party was based on a broad consensus accommodating diverse interests and factions it was able to achieve its dominance. As it was a centrist party it was able to derive diverse support from various social, ethnic, regional and class groups.

But there are many scholars who propounded a diametrically opposite view rejecting the heterogeneous social base of the Congress Party. Adhering to the social cleavage theory of party system Pradeep K. Chibber argued that congress was a coalition of state based political parties, which differed substantially among themselves, on the groups and interests they represented. For him the support base of congress was homogeneous in each state and all these disparate homogenous groups came together at the center as they were influenced by the considerations of power.

The congress dominance in the 1960s could be adequately explained through the framework of the region. The Congress Party owed its unique position to a political coalition of regions and regional leaders who exerted a strong pressure on the central leadership. There were many powerful regional leaders who provided additional roots to the banyan tree called congress. Usually these regional representatives occupied chiefministerial positions like K. Kamaraj of Tamil Nadu, N.Sanjeeva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh, S.Nijalingappa of Mysore, S.K.Patel of Bombay. The congress dominance of electoral politics rested on the grassroots popularity of these regional leaders. As Pradeep Kumar argued the Congress Party in the 60s had to work like a federal organization where regional units were behaving like regional parties, putting all kinds of pressure to force the central leadership to satisfy their demands.

In Tamil Nadu the congress dominance of state politics in the post-independence period could be adduced to the process of regionalization that had penetrated deeply into
congress. The party came to reflect and represent region specific demands, aspirations and social classes. In the domain of organization Kamaraj represented the regionalist face of congress. As Robert Hardgrave argued, in the politics of India then Kamaraj symbolized the trend in state leadership towards regionalization and traditionalisation. The protracted conflict between Rajaji and Kamaraj in the politics of the state was essentially a conflict between the cosmopolitan national culture and regional culture of Tamil Nadu. Though Kamaraj came to be elected as the president of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in 1940, Rajaji, because of his command over English and extraordinary intellectual and political skills and personal contacts with national leaders continued to dominate politics both at the national and state levels. In spite of his association with partition demand, and opposition to quit India movement and subsequent expulsion from the party he became the first Governor General of India after independence and later as Chief Minister of Madras state.

The displacement of Rajaji by Kamaraj as Chief Minister in 1954 symbolized the culmination of the process of regionalization in the governmental structure of the state. This period witnessed the emergence of a symbiotic association between the opposition group Dravida Kazhagam and the non-Brahmin congressmen who were described as Dravida congressmen. Implementation of reservations for backward classes, restoration of interview system, persuasion of a reluctant Kamaraj to accept chiefministership, cancellation of Rajaji’s education scheme, intensive electoral campaigning etc, were examples which characterized the intense relationship between Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida congress. The close relationship between Dravida Kazhagam and Tamil Nadu Congress Committee strengthens Rajani Kothari’s assertion that congress acted as a party of consensus and opposition acted as parties of pressure.

Rajani Kothari believed that the opposition parties functioned outside the system and made use of the factional leaders and groups of congress for influencing the policies of the party. The relationship between Dravidar kazhagam and Non-Brahmin faction of congress substantiate this view of Rajani Kothari and the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in fact went to absorb many of the policies of the Dravidar kazhagam like
backward classes reservation and love for Tamil language. The Congress dominance of Tamil Nadu politics needs to be explained from the viewpoint of the region as its Tamilized, regionalized nature contributed to its stature as an electoral monolith of the state politics.

Region and Congress Decline

The 1967 parliamentary and Legislative Assembly elections heralded the unprecedented defeat of the Congress Party in many of the legislative assemblies of the states even though nationally it was elected for the fourth time in succession. The unsatisfactory performance of the party and the subsequent internal turmoil leading to the national vertical split of 1969 pushed the party in the trajectory of decline. The forces of centralization, deinstitutionalization and personalization in party, governance and politics that set in later affected deleteriously the strength of party’s organizational structure and social base.

From 1966 to 1972 the beleaguered Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was challenged and threatened by almost every institutional structure in India including the central cabinet, the president of the republic, the working committee of the congress and various Chief Ministers. In this backdrop to strengthen her position she adopted a new political strategy that involved unprecedented centralization of power in party and government and complete sidelining of the region.

The Prime Minister first targeted the office of the congress president as earlier congress president with independent power base had challenged her. The candidates who showed complete loyalty to the Prime Minister and who did not possess an autonomous political or social base in any region like Sanjeeva Reddy from Andhra Pradesh and B.K. Barooah from Assam was elected as the presidents of the Congress Party. Another important pillar of parliamentary democracy the cabinet was rendered emasculated to strengthen the position of the Prime Minister. She used a number of strategies to achieve the elimination of rivals like induction of individuals with intellectual skill but without
social base into cabinet, centralizing key governmental functions and keeping crucial portfolios directly under her and herself depending on the unofficial kitchen cabinet.

The deinstitutionalization of the party organization was effected by conveniently ignoring intra party democracy. No organizational elections were held at the higher-levels like All India Congress Committee. For any organization, internal elections are mandatory to promote vibrancy and vitality of the organizational structure and regional bases. Historically the Congress Party was able to nurture political leadership and to endow its leadership with popular legitimacy thorough the principle of internal elections. But under the assault of the twin forces of centralization and deinstitutionalisation the party lost its capability to respond to grievances emanating from various regions.

The Chief Ministers of the congress ruled states were not chosen by their respective Legislative Assembly members but by the Prime Minister. Therefore they had no base in the state legislative assemblies or in the electorate. More than the non-congress Chief Ministers it was the congress Chief Ministers on whose heads the sword of Damocles actually hung.

Therefore the two forces of centralization and deinstitutionalization promoted on one hand the personalization of politics, party and governance and on other hand complete marginalization of regions, its leaders, interests and voices contributing to the terminal decline of the party. Though the party had won the 1980 parliamentary elections on the basis of the slogan ‘the government that functions’ and the 1984 elections on the basis of the slogan national unity in danger the decline of the party was irreversible as the disgruntled regions promoted diverse regional anti-congress parties. The formation and emergence of Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh and its unprecedented record of capturing power in the state within a few months of existence could be solely attributed to the repeated changes in the incumbents of the post of Chief Minister. The Telugu Desam Party conducted its entire campaign on the issue of humiliation meted out to the region of Andhra by the congress high command. In this period the revolts of the regions were not complete from the congress tradition as the newly formed regional outfits
adopted a nomenclature that contained the names of both congress and its particular regions. The Kerala Congress, Utkal Congress etc, adopted the name congress as a suffix to their regions so that the legitimate claims of the ignored regions could be protected within the national tradition of congress. They had only protested against the destabilizing forces of centralization and deinstitutionalization afflicting the party.

These general factors of congress decline must be relevant to explain the marginalization and regionalization of Congress Party in Tamil Nadu too. When the Congress Party split in 1969 over the issue of presidential election, the congress (O) inherited the state unit’s organization, headquarters and preponderance of social support from the undivided congress. The leader of congress K. Kamaraj devoted his energies to achieve organizational regeneration of congress tradition in the state. He implemented proposals for organizing labor, peasant, student and women wings of the party. All the tiers of the congress organization beginning from local committee were rejuvenated. Therefore it was no surprise when congress polled around 35% of popular vote in the 1971 elections.

But the death of Kamaraj in 1976 and the subsequent union of congress (O) with the congress(R) pushed the Congress Party in the state too into the whirlpool of centralization and deinstitutionalization. Since then the leadership capabilities of the local leaders and popularity among regional groups were neither valued nor deemed essential to the Congress Party in the state. As power came to the centralized in New Delhi the Congress Party was unable to respond adequately to the regional concerns and challenges of regional parties leading to electoral marginalization of the party.

The centralization of power and deinstitutionalization of the party operated somewhat differently in Tamil Nadu precipitating its marginalization, fragmentation and regionalization. It conspicuously operated in the domain of electoral politics and alliances.
Region and Congress in Contemporary Period

The contemporary Indian politics has been witnessing two inter-related phenomena of regionalization and federalization both nationally and in the states. The Bharatya Janata Party was quicker to recognize the significance of regions in the political dynamics of the contemporary India. After putting on the back burner all the controversial ideological issues the party undertook the highly successful initiative to forge electoral alliances with regional parties. On the contrary the Congress Party was initially rigid in its political outlook towards regional forces and parties. It had out rightly rejected the strategy of coalitions and regional alliances in the political resolutions adopted in Kolkatta and Pachmarhi conclaves. But with the advent of the new millennium the party began to undergo a gradual process of change in its strategy and after the Shimla Sankalp adopted in 2003 the party enthusiastically embraced the politics of alliance with regional parties. The contemporary United Progressive Alliance dispensation at the center under the leadership of congress had been built entirely on the brick of recognition given to the assertive regions though whether this strategy will promote its regeneration in disparate regions like Tamil Nadu, Bihar etc., remains a mute question.
Objectives of the Study

The research seeks to achieve the following objectives

1. Historically the Brahmin – non-Brahmin conflict had been the most powerful factor in influencing the course of political dynamics in the state. This protracted conflict in reality symbolized the tensions between the national political elite and regional forces. This political struggle significantly impinged on the general political dynamics in the state throughout the twentieth century even though the intensity was more severe in the first three quarters of the century. The conflict left its powerful imprint in the intra party dynamics of the Congress Party also. The protracted rivalry between cosmopolitan Rajaji and the quintessentially regional Kamaraj symbolized the subterranean stream of animosity between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins in the party. The research attempts to explore the intense struggle between Rajaji and Kamaraj as that would crucially enlighten the process of non-brahmanization and regionalization of the organizational structure and leadership domain of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee.

2. There existed an intimate, symbiotic relationship between the Congress Party and Dravida Kazhagam in the 1950's and 60's when Kamaraj was the Chief Minister of the state. Many congressmen especially of Brahmin origin criticized the Chief Minister for maintaining a close rapport with an ideologically incongruent political group. When the complaints about this political relationship reached the high command of the party, the Prime Minister condoned the relationship. The regional association of Dravida Kazhagam even affectionately described the Non-Brahmin faction as Dravida congress and Kamaraj as Patchai (True) Tamilian. The research seeks to analyze the electoral, political and social impact the alliance had both in the politics of the state and on the intra party dynamics of the Congress Party.

3. The concept of linguistic nationalism emanating from the regional political firmament of the 1980s influenced the political dynamics of the Congress Party as different groups within the state congress exhibited differential degrees of attachment to linguistic nationalism. From the most cosmopolitan and nationalistic group represented by Rajaji to
the moderate mainstream faction led by Kamaraj to the ultra-regionalist Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, all dominant groups of the state congress demonstrated regionalist sentiments on the question of linguistic reorganization as all of them strove to protect the Tamil interests.

4. The demonstration of explicit concern for Tamil language is one of the salient features of regional politics of the state. During the 1967 parliamentary and Legislative Assembly elections congress was portrayed as an implacable enemy of Tamil language by the acerbic critics of the party. The milder tone of criticism characterized congress as indifferent towards the language. But a historical academic analysis paints a different picture. The party had indeed contributed to the growth of Tamil language in politics, education etc. The research seeks to understand the nature and extent of contribution congress had made to Tamil language and why in the path breaking elections of 1967 its contributions went unnoticed precipitating grave implications for its electoral and political fortunes.

5. The Congress Party had made two independent bids to capture power in the state in 1977 and 1989 Legislative Assembly elections while its main offshoot congress (o) attempted an independent endeavor in 1971 elections. The attempt of the party in 1989 was truly an independent initiative as it was convinced that its hour of reckoning had arrived in the politics of the state to capture the St. George fort. It pooled all its resources, adopted regional electoral tactics and projected the Prime Minister's concerns for Tamil Nadu and a prospective Chief Minister in the form of G.K.Moopanar. The research seeks to understand the entire gamut of the congress independent initiative in these elections that include the questions of why the initiative was undertaken, how it was executed, what results it achieved and what it portended for the future of the party. The study also focuses on the continued marginalization, fragmentation and regionalization of the party in the contemporary politics of the state where even muted demands for self-resurrection are looked at with indignation and admonition.
6. The contemporary national politics is dominated by the inter-related processes of regionalization and federalization that have completely changed the contours of politics and parties. The formation of National Democratic Alliance, capture of political power at the center, the defeat in the 2004 parliamentary elections and its final disintegration in Tamil Nadu etc., are influenced by the regional forces and factors. Similarly the adoption of Shimla Sankalph by the Congress Party favouring electoral alliance and coalitional government with regional parties had contributed to the establishment of United Progressive Alliance govt at the centre. The research seeks to understand the pre-eminent position occupied by regions in the contemporary national policies and more importantly the prospects for a regional regeneration of Congress Party in Tamil Nadu given the recognition accorded to the Tamil region in the present political dispensation at the centre.

**Hypotheses**

The research seeks to test the following hypotheses

1. As anti-colonial movement of the Party marched on the social groups of the region found accommodation through vertical assimilation preparing ground for future democratic rooting of the party.

2. The establishment of congress dominance in the post-independence period was essentially due to the regionalized nature of the party in the state in various domains like leadership, organizational structure, policies and programmes.

3. The iniquitous alliance strategy adopted by the centralized and deinstitutionalized party contributed to the marginalization, fragmentation and regionalization of the congress tradition in the state.

4. The party had failed to take advantage of the emergence of vast disenchanted social groups in the wake of disintegration of the Dravidian movement. The
response of the party to the changed scenario was neither determined nor durable, therefore its marginalization in the politics of the state continues.

5. The adoption of Shimla Sankalph and the subsequent formation of congress led United Progressive Alliance government at the centre had not contributed to the regeneration of the party in the state as the central leadership continues to adhere to iniquitous electoral alliances.

Review of Literature

The existing literature in this area of study can be divided into five major categories. They are:

(a) Literature primarily dealing with congress politics.
(b) Literature dealing with Dravidian movement and parties
(c) Literature dealing with electoral politics
(d) Literature those are biographical and autobiographical in nature.
(e) Literature dealing with state politics
(f) Literature dealing with the politics of region

Literature on congress politics

As the study is to investigate the impact of region on the national party called the Congress, the articles and books dealing with Congress Party in the state are crucial. David Arnold’s Congress in Tamil Nadu; Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-37, Myron Wiener’s Party Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress and Atul Kohli’s Democracy and Discontent: India’s Growing Crisis of Governability are the important books.
The Congress in Tamil Nadu: Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-37 by Mathew Arnold

This book deals mainly with two themes. The first theme is the evolution of congress as a regional political party in the Madras Presidency where in the period from 1917 to 1937 Congress witnessed a major transition from the status of a small political club divided along ideological, strategic, factional lines in 1919 to one of powerful organization with rich experience in both agitational and electoral tactics. The second theme dealt here in this book is the changing relationship between the nationalist movement and colonial system, the change in the relationship from one of total hostility to one of mutual dependence on each other despite the continued hostility. The book offers valuable insights into the politics of Tamil Nadu Congress unit though for a limited period (between 1971 and 1937).

Party Building in a New Nation: Indian National Congress by Myron Wiener

The author makes use of his analysis of Congress politics in Madurai district to substantiate arguments regarding the process of party building in independent India. The main thrust of his argument in the book is that the Congress Party merely intends to adapt itself to the existing social structure to maintain its power base. It does not in any way intend changing the social structure. It recruits its political activists from those groups, which have local power and influence. It trains its cadres to perform political roles similar to those performed by them in the traditional society before there was politics. It manipulates factional, castiest, linguistic disputes and uses its influence within administration to win and maintain electoral and financial support. How the party creates and maintains institutional mechanism to settle organizational disputes have also been dealt in this book.
Democracy and Discontent: India’s Growing Crisis of Governability by Atul Kohli

It analyses the growing crisis of governability that the Indian state faces now. The author attributes four interrelated factors as responsible for the governability crisis. They are the changing role of the political elite, weak and ineffective political organization, mobilization of previously passive groups for electoral competition and growing conflict between contending social groups including the conflicts between the have and have-nots. In this book the author substantiates his argument with his case study of four Indian districts including Madurai. He analyses the growth of Dravidian movement and the corresponding decline of congress. This book is the only published work dealing with the politics of congress in Tamil Nadu in the period from 1967 to 1991. So this book offers more crucial insights into congress politics.

Political Parties and Party Systems by Ajay.K.Mehra

The book examines the operation of party systems in India and attempts to locate them in a comparative perspective with European Union. The compendium of essays analyzes the Indian party system at four levels. First it surveys the status and strategies, intervention patterns and process of political parties as well as issues and key questions governing the party system in the country. Second it reviews the texture and pattern of political alliances from the national perspective, i.e. how alliances with regional parties are viewed and made from the perspectives of national parties. Third it evaluates the process of making alliances from the perspective of regional parties. Finally it attempts to study politics and parties in small states and at the local level since the introduction of the 73rd constitutional amendment law.

Among the compendium of articles included in the book the analytical pieces written by Pradeep Kumar dealing with the regionalization of politics and parties in India in a thorough going manner. He argues that the nature of the Congress Party reflected strong federalization scenario in the 1960s that were crucial to the electoral strength of the party and subsequent political domination. He advocates that the congress in the
1960s had to work like a federal organization whose state/regional units were at times behaving like regional parties, putting all kinds of pressure to force the ruling leadership to succumb to their demands.

He pointed out a plethora of facts like the non-implementation of the official language act, three language formulae, tardy implementation of land reforms in most states, non-compliance of the west Bengal and Bihar governments on Damodhar Valley Corporation as the issues which demonstrated the clout of regional leaders within congress.

He explained the congress decline in the later decades as being a result of centralization and deinstitutionalization that forced regional parties to emerge outside the congress firmament.

Themes on Politics, Parties and Party Politics in India edited By Zoya Hasan

The book inclusive of seminal articles on party politics in India has five sections. In the first section the dominance and decline of the Congress Party is analyzed. The group of articles in this section suggests that the decentralization of the party system, notably the Congress Party got initiated in the 60's itself. The second section analyze the rise and growth of Hindu nationalist politics where the emergence of rightwing forces in the political limelight of the country are dealt with. The third section contains articles that deal primarily with the communist parties both ideologically and politically. The fourth section analyses party politics through the prism of social diversity while the last section analyses the transformation of the party system in the context of political competition.

One of the important articles in this edited volume is the reprinted essay of the noted political scientist Rajani Kothari titled as ‘The congress system in India’. In this seminal article Rajani Kothari characterized the Indian party system as congress system. There were two distinct components in this party system. The party of governance
congress constitutes the party of consensus while the parties of opposition constitute the
parties of pressure. For him congress was based on a broad consensus accommodating
diverse interests and functions. The opposition parties functioned outside the system and
made use of the factional leaders of congress with ideological affinity to influence the
decisions of government. As the Congress Party existed as a coalition of interests support
for the party cut across many regional, ethnic and class barriers and therefore the
phenomenon of one party dominance in the backdrop of plurality of political parties
materialized.

Rejecting the heterogeneous social base of the party in another article
Pradeep.K.Chibber explained the congress politics in a diametrically opposite view.
Adhering to the social cleavage theory of party system he argued that the congress was
neither a center party nor a party of consensus but a collection of state based factions
linked not by a common ancestry but by elites who cooperated in the pursuit of office. He
explained the apparent heterogeneity of Congress Party by describing it as a
heterogeneous pre-election coalition of substantially homogenous parties that were rooted
in local conflicts. For him the congress was a coalition of state and local parties, which
differed substantially among them, in the groups and interests they represented. He
believed that in terms of its supporters the Congress Party in that period was several
parties with a social base in some parts of the country that was at odds with the social
foundation in other regions

Literature on Dravidian Movement and Politics

These books and articles are numerous, dealing with the origin, growth, role and
contemporary decline of the regional movement of Dravidians. Some of the important
books falling under this category are Robert Hardgrave’s Dravidian Movement, Ross
Barnett’s Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India, Eugene Irschick’s Politics and
Social Conflict in South India: the Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separation, 1916-
1929, Philip Sprats DMK in power, Narendra Subramanian’s Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy.

**Faction and Front in South India by James Walch**

This book deals with the emergence and functioning of party system in three South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. The central argument of the book is that party system in South India, moving from bipartism to multipartisan to one party dominance and back is drawn between faction and front, which is between the unpolarized disintegration of factionalism and the structural polarization of front adjustments. The author rejects the typological approach to the study of party system and instead chooses faction to front approach to analyses party systems. The book limits to the analyses of party system to pre-1972 period when ADMK was born.

**Image Trap by M.S.S. Pandian**

The central theme of this book written by M.S.S. Pandian is to analyze the socio-economic and cultural factors on which the personality cult of M.G. Ramachandran stands. The author using the Gramscian concept of Common Sense and Hegemony describes how the consciousness of subaltern masses is manipulated by M.G. Ramachandran to get the overwhelming support of the subaltern classes. The book also explains the relationship between film and politics in the state, the socio-economic bases of political parties and their ideological leanings.

**The politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India by Marguerite Rose Barnett**

This scholarly book analyses the Dravidian Movement and its political formation DMK from the perceptions of Tamil Nationalism. It describes the circumstances in which Tamil nationalism becomes a progressive political force and the circumstances in which conversely nationalism became reactionary. The central point of the book is the emergence, development and transformation of Tamil cultural nationalism. The author
points out that the absence of Kshatriya and Vysya castes of the upper stratum who share the economic, political and social privileges and power as in North India is the paramount social factor leading to the rise of Dravidian movement. The author also believes that once political power was achieved the movement became narrow, parochial and chauvinistic as witnessed into the 70s.

**Dominance and state power in modern India Decline of a social order-Volume I. Edited. By Francine Frankel and M.S.A. Rao**

This volume analyses the dynamic interaction between dominance and state power across regions and sub-regions characterized by linguistic, social, economic, communal and industrial differences. Francine Frankel in introduction defines dominance in a non-Weberian language as the exercise of authority in society by groups who achieved economic and political superiority and who claimed legitimacy for their commands in terms of superior ritual status. He explained the term power as the exertion of secular authority by appointed or elected individuals. The broader strategy adopted in this book to analyze the interaction between dominance and state power is different from both developmental and neo-Marxist frameworks.

D.A Washbrook had written a lengthy essay on the politics of Tamil Nadu titled *Caste, Class and Dominance in Modern Tamil Nadu: Non – Brahmanism, Dravidianism and Tamil nationalism*. The author utilizes the principle of collective individualism developed by Marguerite and Stephen Barnett to explain the social and political dynamics in the state. The people in Tamil Nadu sought to make their identity in the membership of culturally and historically defined groupings like caste, religion, languages and nation. The acute sense of relative deprivation that emanated from social charge created this collective individualism. Whenever social changes created privileges for one group, the other under-privileged groups would tend to organize against the privileged group and they would define themselves as a group with specific cultural and historical identity and set of rights in opposition to the community of the privileged. In this reactive
organizational scenario the foci of identity are many like caste, class, language and religion. As groups get organized along one of these categories on the question of sharing privilege, the patterns of community formation are inherently unstable and likely to change very fast. The changing political stands of the Dravidian movement from Dravidanism to Tamil identity, from anti-Indian postures to glorification of Tamil contribution to Indian freedom struggle validate this assertion.

The victory of the Dravidian movement in the 1967 elections heralded exodus of elites from congress to DMK and ADMK is the firm argument of the author. The elites against whose interests the Dravidian movement was organized became its ardent supporters as it provided better social protection than Congress Party. The elites have created in DMK and ADMK a cadre of professional political managers who on the basis of a populist ideology weakened the resistance of the under privileged. The author firmly believes that the most serious threat to Dravidian politics would come from the exhaustion of resources for redistribution. But his prediction that the Dravidian movement would travel in the trajectory towards a return to internal communal disharmony and chauvinistic regional nationalism of the 1930's remains disproved by the actual political course of the movement in the coalition era of the new century. On the controversial relationship between Dravidian movement and Dalits the author believes that the radical Dravidianism’s involvements in Adi-Dravida class politics were just occasional and secondary. The movement rarely went beyond symbolic gestures to mobilization initiated by others. He takes exception to Periyar’s habit of addressing the Adi-Dravidas as you in contrast to the we he used when speaking to other Tamil audiences.

This volume also contains an essay written by K.C.Alexander which deals with caste mobilization and class consciousness in Kerala and Tamil Nadu through a comparative perspective. The author argues that because of the impact of British Govt. on the cultural, economic and social components of the traditional society of India the low castes began to challenge social disabilities imposed on them. Initially they formed caste
associations to fight against the disabilities of ritual kind. Unlike in Kerala, in Tamil Nadu the lower castes barring nadars of Tirunelveli neither developed caste associations nor made efforts to challenge un-touchability.

He argued that the manifold activities of caste associations of lower groups had ideologically prepared the ground for the emergence of communist movement that would demand a radical transformation in social relations. In contrast in Tamil Nadu the communist organizations did not get the benefits of a well prepared ground and therefore its growth was not satisfactory.

**Ethnicity and populist mobilization: political parties, citizens and democracy in South India by Narendra Subramanian**

Here the author analyses three inter-related questions.

a. How can pluralist democracy be preserved under conditions of high ethnic mobilization when accommodative compacts between states and ethnic elites prove inadequate to the task?

b. Under what conditions does populism temper the potential of ethnicity to provoke disintegrative social conflict, and instead promote pluralist democracy?

c. When is populism likely to attain sustained success in semi-industrialized societies and aid the representation of emerging social groups?

Through his examination of the Dravidian political party system the author shows that organizational pluralism can channel ethnic and populist forces towards promoting stability, social pluralism and the increased representation of emergent groups within a democratic system. The author believes that social pluralism and increased representation are desirable ends and stability too, if it is achieved along with such desirable ends, as otherwise, stability might help entrench an unjust social order, and in such circumstances,
some instability might be necessary to promote just ends. The author arrives at a conclusion through his study of Dravidian parties that the growth of ethnic and populist politics might help reinforce stability and preserve and strengthen pluralist democracy in South India.

**Literature on Electoral Politics**

This group of literature mainly includes articles published in academic journals and periodicals. A host of authors have regularly analyzed the electoral politics of the state and journals like Economic and Political Weekly, Modern Asian Studies, South Asia are important for the study.

**Literature of Biographical and Auto Biographical Nature**

An umpteen number of autobiographies and biographies are found and they are veritable source of data and information relevant to the research. Though some of these books are eulogistic in nature, they provide considerable amount of information about the personalities, issues and general nature of political dynamics in the state. The biographies of Periyar, Kamaraj, Rajaji, O. Alagesan, etc are significant for the research. The autobiographies of Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaranar, C, Subramaniam are also significant as they provide enormous insights into the political process and issues of the state.

**Periyar: Suyamariyathai Samadharmam by S. V. Rajadurai and V. Geetha**

S.V. Rajadurai and V. Geetha have written a number of books on Periyar and Self-Respect Movement highlighting the contribution of Periyar to the social regeneration of the Tamil society. This book ‘Periyar: Suyamariyathai Samadharmam” deals with the self-Respect Movement of Periyar. The book attempts to locate and understand the far-reaching significance of Periyar in the society characterized by Brahmanism, caste rigidities, and untouchability, degraded status of Tamils etc. The authors strongly believe that Periyar had contributed to the abolition of untouchability as he had always attacked
Brahmanism and invidious caste behaviour of obdurate Sudra castes towards the depressed classes now known assertively as Dalits. The authors also examine the ideological relationship between Periyar thoughts and Communism and seek to justify the validity of Periyar's criticism of the Indian communism. The book extensively supported by a painstaking research strives to eliminate the misconceptions emanating from various quarters about the commitments of Periyar.

Desia Thalaiver Kamaraj by N.V. Kalaimani

N.V. Kalaimani had authored the biography of the towering congress leader Kamaraj. Though an umpteen member of books are found on Kamaraj, this book provides rare insights into the political career of the most powerful Tamil Congressman in the history. The book analyses the initiation of Kamaraj into politics, his rise and emergence in the organizational structure of congress, his contribution to freedom struggle in the Madras Presidency. The author provides elaborate insights and information about the pragmatic politics of Kamaraj and his far-reaching contributions to the socio-economic and educational development of Tamil Nadu. The book examines the relationship between Kamaraj and Dravidar Kazhagam and its leader Periyar and comes to a conclusion that their relationship was symbiotic. The author seeks to understand the various attempts made by Kamaraj to regenerate the party after its defeat in the Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly elections in 1967. Though eulogistic in nature this book definitely provides insights into the pragmatic politics of Kamaraj.

The political Career of C Rajagopalachariar 1937-1954: A Moralist in Politics by A.R.H Copley

The book examines the political career of C. Rajagopalachariar from 1937 the year he became the premier of Madras state after the introduction of provincial autonomy to 1954 the year he resigned the Chief Ministership of truncated Madras state in the wake of Non-Brahmin rebellion against his education policy. The book analyses the manifold aspects of Rajaji’s tenure during his premiership of Madras in one part. In the second part
the book looks at the personal contribution of Rajaji to the domain of Congress- British Raj wartime collaboration and the eclipse of his political fortunes in the south. The last part analyses the record of Rajaji as Chief Minister of Madras state. The author portrays Rajaji as a victim or target of Non-Brahmin regionalism, though the Telugu group saw him as a custodian of Tamil chauvinism.

Dr. E. SA. Viswanathan the Political Career of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker: A Study in the Politics of Tamil Nadu 1920-1949

The book deals elaborately with the introduction of E.V. Ramsamy with the nationalist struggle of Congress and the historical of evolution of his political career after his departure from it in late 1920s. A thorough analysis of Self-Respect Movement, Justice Party, Anti- Hindi movement and the formation of Dravidar Kazhagam is carried out in this scholarly book. The author concludes that E.V. Ramasamy’s participation in provincial politics affected both the style and mechanics of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and by breaking the back of caste rigidity his role facilitated the Non-Brahminization of the party. The impact of E.V. Ramasamy on Justice Party was strong and vigorous. He accelerated the Tamilization of the party internally and popularization of the party among the masses. The author also analyses the functional impact of E. V. Ramasamy’s movement on Tamil language, religion etc. He points out the streak of autocracy present in the personality of Periyar as a dysfunctional feature that contributed to the split in the Dravida Kazhagam.

Pudiya Tamilagam Padaitha Varalaru by M.P. Sivagnanam

The Tamil congressman M.P. Sivagnanam had written a large number of books that were not merely autobiographical but also historical and political in nature. Among his numerous books and pamphlets the following are very significant.

a. Pudiya Tamilagam Padaitha Varalaru (History of Creation of New Tamil Nadu)
b. Viduthalai Poril Tamil Valarmtha Vaalaru (Development of Tamil during the Freedom Movement).

c. Tamil Naattil Piramoliyinar (Other Linguistic Groups in Tamil Nadu).

d. Enatu Porattam (My Struggle).

e. Kappalotiya Tamilan (Biography of V.O. Chidamparan Pillai).

These books are veritable reservoir of information about the general political history of Tamil Nadu, regional assertions and postures of Congress Party, contributions of Tamils to freedom struggle, domination of non-Tamils in the affairs of Dravidian organizations, indifference in official history of congress towards the contribution of Tamils to freedom struggle, development of Tamil language and literature during freedom struggle and contribution of Tamil scholars to freedom struggle.

M.P. Sivagnanam formed a cultural organization called Tamil Arasu Kazhagam meaning Tamil Kingdom Association that initially worked within the Congress Party to promote the apparently contradictory goals of Indian nationalism and Tamil regionalism. In this book he deals with creation of a linguistically homogenous Tamil province as a result of linguistic reorganization carried out in India. The controversies over the retention of Madras as capital of Tamil Nadu, inclusion of Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh etc are elaborately discussed on his book. The book also provides an enormous wealth of information about the degree, nature and extent of regionalization the Congress Party experienced in Tamil Nadu the internal rivalry between Kamaraj led majority faction and the Rajaji faction to which the author belonged. His memoirs provide valuable details about the conflict between the mainstream Tamil Nadu congress committee and the ultra regional segment represented by Tamil Arasu Kazhagam that culminated in the expulsion of the later from the Congress Party in 1954. The Kanyakumari struggle too gets appropriate recognition in his works though his views at times overlook the contributions of Kamaraj towards safeguarding Tamil interests.
Literature on State Politics

The literature on state politics began in the mid 60's with collaborative volumes by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain. But still in this sub field theoretical growth is still inadequate.

State Politics in India by Iqbal Narain

In the sub field of state politics this work is a significant attempt to develop a framework to understand the dynamics of politics in the states. The authors adopted an analytic framework to study state politics that had a built in bias towards systematic approach. In this book the essay on Tamil Nadu politics was written by Pandav Nayak in which the emergence of Dravidian movement, evolution of electoral politics in the state after independence, the path-breaking elections of 1967, the regionalized electoral landscape of 1971, Panchayat Raj and decentralization and centre-state relations are analyzed. Other essays in the book written by various political scientists analyze the political process and dynamics in different states thereby accumulating a huge body of knowledge and literature to accomplish the stated objective of the endeavour, to create an analytical framework to understand state politics in India.

The work identified three dimensions of the analytical framework, the contextual, structural and operative. In the contextual dimension the author arrives at a conclusion that there are differing economic, social and political developments in various states. As for as the social factors are concerned there are observable differences among the states as while in some states these factors operate as forces of homogenization and in other states they are the sources of divergence. The author emphasizes on the differences of not only inter-state domain but also in the intra-state or sub regional dimensions.

Structurally the author analyses the constitutional, political and administrative aspects to arrive at tangible conclusions about state politics. The offices of governor, Chief Minister, council of ministers etc., are analyzed to understand the political dynamics in the Indian states. The centre-state relations which determine the evolution of state politics especially in the post 1967 phase is analyzed in the book in a detailed way.
Operationally the author analyses the social and psychological factors that determine the behavioral pattern of individual political actors. These factors are considered to be the real driving forces behind the political process at state level. On role orientation the author finds weaknesses as politics of defection thrives at the expense of party discipline and more importantly the record of role performance of state government reveal the excessive occupation of state politics with law and order at the cost of social welfare measures. The author believes that the hold of social and cultural factors in the state politics is gradually weakened. The experience of state politics in the last three decades after the publication of this work does not support the assertion of the author that state politics gradually tended to become class oriented leading to the ultimate stage of class polarization.

Yet the ambitious endeavour of the author to formulate a theoretical framework to study the political process in the amorphous and diverse collection of states was a welcome one.

State Politics: New Dimensions (Party System, Liberalization and Politics of Identity) by Dr. Sudha Pai

The book is an important work in the systematic study of the sub-field of politics in the Indian states. The compendium of essays were grouped under sections titled as Party System, Politics Of Ethnicity, Liberalization and Conclusion The author strongly believes that the seminal position occupied by the states today in national politics was not a sudden development. Rather it is the cumulative end product of two long-term processes operating in the polity. The first one is the complex inter-play between national and regional forces through history and the second are the closely inter-related processes of democratization and regionalization of politics.

The author argues that the decolonization and adoption of a democratic federal constitution set into motion the forces of democratization and regionalization. The process of democratization has been instrumental in the politicization and mobilization
of the disprivilged and hitherto under represented social groups into politics, emergence of identity movements based on caste, community and region. On the other hand the process of regionalization explains the gradual shift of the power to a plurality of poles from a single pole of the previous periods. This regionalization process has been fuelled by the introduction of adult franchise, spread of literacy and political consciousness in a society already rooted in the soil of language and ethnicity.

The book contains two articles specifically dealing with the politics of Tamil Nadu in which the deradicalization of the Dravidian movement and the disintegration of its coalitional base are analyzed. The author argues that the Dravidian movement never aimed at the destruction of the caste system and it was fundamentally a political struggle of the regional communities and backward classes to capture political power in the state. The iniquitous distribution of political power and material rewards among the non-Brahman communities precipitated the disintegration of the movement itself and also caused the emergence of independent assertions by Dalits and most backward classes.

In conclusion the author believes that a considerable amount of literature has emerged in the sub-field of state politics though the development in the domain of comparative politics is not encouraging.

Therefore methodologically a lacuna exists in the sub field of politics and a general theoretical framework still remains in germinal undeveloped form. The author advocates more vertical (Studies of particular states) and horizontal (comparative studies over a number of states) researches to be undertaken so that a sound, rigorous theoretical framework could be developed in the sub-field of politics.
Literature on Politics of Region
This type of works deals with political process from the perspective of region.

Region and Nation in India edited by Paul Wallace

This work analyzing the relationship between region and nation in India was the result of the special Richard L. Park symposium combined with the university of Wisconsin South Asia conference at Madison in 1982. The essays are grouped under three sections (a) Historical Patterns (b) Regional, State and Sub continental Patterns (c) Over views.

In the first section in Historical patterns, Ainslee T. embree analyses the complex relationship between the modern nation state in India and the phalanx of regions constituting it. He argues that there are two mutually conflicting viewpoints about this complex relationship. While one view looks at India as an enduring social and political entity continuous with the modern nation from the distant past, the other view asserts that the reality of the Indian historical experience should be found in the perennial nuclear regions found within the nation. The author arrives at a conclusion that there is considerable validity in both these view points and therefore India not merely constitutes a modern nation but is also constituted by powerful regions.

In another article, Robert I. Crane analyses the emergence of Indian nationalism in the initial period in the region of the Bengal. The regional, vernacular press acted as the guide, educator, simulator of political involvement and activity. The vernacular press provided the connecting link between the English educated urban elites and the Bengali, Hindi and Oriya speaking rural Bengal.

Gerald Barrier in his work “Regional Political History: New Trends in the study of British India” points out the attention paid by scholars to the informal nature of British rule and the highly decentralized fashion in which the govt. functioned. He analyses the
significance of provinces and districts in modern academic works as shifts from national organization and leadership to regional politics and local groups happened. He analyses the regional studies of Indian politics and history under the distinct categories of administrative system, nationalism and Indian national congress, politics based on pressure groups and identity and local or regional political developments.

The second group of essays titled as Regional, State and Sub continental patterns contains six articles. Paul Wallace in his article “The paRtii Process: Political Institutionalization in Punjab and Haryana” argues that what distinguished Punjab and Haryana from other regions of India was a social factor that became institutionalized in regional politics. He says that apart from the conventional political notion of party in this region there is one more dimension of the party described as paRtii. This concept represents the groups, factions or patron–client relationships found prominently in the politics of the region. He opines that springing from the region’s social diversity and imbibed with Punjabi result oriented values the paRtii have been institutionalized in this region. The institutionalization of the normal Indian political phenomenon of faction is characterized by (a) personalized, authoritative paternal leadership (b) a limited number of groups (c) Alliance dynamics (d) paRtii use of the party.

The political groups in the form of paRtii are the intermediate associations possessing the attributes both interest groups and political parties. As an integral part of the social fabric paRtii aggregates particular interests but in organizational patterns they resemble parties. They are not merely contented with influencing decision making in the manner of the interest groups but also seek power like a political party. The region of Punjab and Haryana possess a political culture that operated fundamentally on the pillar of paRtii is the argument of Wallace.

Joseph Schwartzberg analyses India’s social mosaic and draws an ethnic map relating to linguistic reorganization. F. Tomas son Januzzi argues that regional identities are shaped not only by shared language, culture and political consciousness but also by economic variables. Richard Sisson and Lawrence L. Schrader in their study of elite
formation in the legislature of Bombay Presidency argue that the regional forces dominated the politics of Bombay state in the decades after independence. The raise of Maratha based leadership in Maharashtra materialized because the regional and caste forces developed their resources and captured political power.

Apart from these two sections the book also contains three overviews written by Ramashray Roy, Harold A-Gould and Selig Harrison. These views analyze the relation between region and nation through different perspectives. Selig Harrison accepts the limitations of his earlier book India: The Most Dangerous Decades. He accepts that he failed to adequately emphasis on the emotive power of Indian nationalism, integrative and disintegrative nature of economic development and differences between European experience and Indian experiment. The author accepts that the centrifugal forces of India are controlled by the centripetal forces and international environment confronting India would play a major role as that would give all regions a stake in strong Indian national identity.