CHAPTER-IV

RAJAJI’S MINISTRIES AND THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADRAS

Rajaji’s First Ministry

Under the Government of India Act of 1935, Provincial Autonomy was introduced with effect from 1st April 1937. The Raja of Bobbili Ministry tendered resignation of their office and the Governor accepted the resignations with effect from the afternoon of 14th July 1937.1 A Legislature consisting of an Assembly of 215 members and a Council of 54 to 56 members came into existence under the new Act. In the elections of 1937, the Congress won a decisive victory, securing 159 out of the 215 seats in the Assembly and 26 of the 46 seats in the Council. The Justice Party’s defeat reflected the growing nationalist movement throughout India. The Justice reforms had been highly communal in character, reinforcing caste rigidity, the very tyranny that sought to destroy the society.2 In the Madras Presidency, a ten member Congress Ministry headed by Rajaji as the Premier of Madras ascended to power on 14th July 1937.3 When Rajaji became the Premier he was 57 years old, Rajaji, the first Minister was

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3 Saroja Sundararajan, Op.Cit p.519. Rajaji was the General Secretary of the INC Congress in 1921-1922. When the Congress accepted office after the Act of 1935, he became the first Chief Minister of Madras 1937-1939.
designated as the Prime Minister. The other Ministers were: T. Prakasam, Minister for Revenue, V.V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries and B.Gopala Reddy, Minister for Local Administration, representing the Telugu Districts, P. Subbarayan, Minister for Education, T.S.S.Rajan, Minister for Public Health, V.I.Muniswami Pillai, Minister for Agriculture and Rural Uplift, K. Raman Menon, Minister for Courts and Prisons representing the Malabar region and Yakub Hassan, Minister for Public Works representing the Muslims.  

The first session of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council began on 14th July 1937 when members of the Legislature made the prescribed Oath or Affirmation of allegiance to the Crown in the respective chambers and then took their seats. On 15th July, the Assembly elected the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker and the Council elected the President and the Deputy President. On 31st August 1937, the Governor addressed a Joint Session of both the Chambers at the Assembly Chamber at Chepauk, Madras.

**Rajaji and the Congress Party**

Within the politics of power, Rajaji was challenged on two fronts. He had both to assert authority over Congress and over the Raj. In regard to Congress, he had to control his Cabinet, the Congress Legislature Party and strike a balance between the claims of the Parliamentary Party and the

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4 F.R., 23rd July 1937.
Congress Party machine. Opposition within the local Party came from S.Sathyamurthy and S.Srinivasa Iyengar and from the Congress socialists. It correspondingly earned Rajaji’s displeasure of S.Sathyamurthy’s associate, chiefly K.Kamaraj. Although the Congress High Command had greatly assisted Rajaji, soon they came under strain and serious differences of viewpoint emerged between Rajaji and Nehru. S.Sathyamurthy remained his most formidable rival. Ousted from the Presidency of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee by Rajaji himself, he found a way back into Tamil Nadu politics through the Corporation of Madras. Before resigning his seat in the Corporation, Bhaktavatsalam, the Deputy Mayor of Madras and also a Parliamentary Secretary, had brought a charge of corruption against the councils in its election of a candidate for the post of education officer. A Sub -Committee of the T.P.C.C. (Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee) was set up under C.N.Muthuranga Mudaliar to investigate the charge. When Damodaran Naidu was asked to resign, S.Sathyamurthy, as the leader of the Madras Municipal Party came out against this decision.

Office acceptance in 1937 imposed quite a few new demands of the Congress in its relationship with the Raj. It was generally believed that in a conflict of loyalties between party and administration, Rajaji leaned towards the latter. Rajaji’s decision to accept office in 1937 seemed like an act of

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8 F.R., 18th March 1939.
gross inconsistency. In fact, there was underlying continuity. Rajaji wished to control the administration in order to contain the growing threat from the Congress socialist and the Communists. These ideas were characterised as belonging to the politics of principle. But the ideas of the constructive movement of Rajaji’s conservation, could only be exercised if Rajaji contained the pressures of communalism. In the Presidency of Madras, the powerful communal forces were the linguism of the Andhras, the most formidable Kannarese and the less potent Malayalee, Non-Brahmin castetism and religious communalism both Muslim and Christian.

The leader of the much weakened Justice Party, Kumara Raja Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad led the opposition, supported by the Muslim League Parliamentary Leader Abdul Hameed Khan. Arguably their best speaker was the Indian Christian Leader and a former Home Member, A.T.Panneerselvam. But if fairly cohesive, it was Parliamentary rump, further weakened by the desertion of Basb Ahmed Sayeed to the Congress Movement.9

The Muslim League, which was decidedly anti-Congress, was bent upon giving religious tinges to every act of the Congress including the singing of vande mataram in accordance with the desire of B.Sambamurthi, the singing of vande mataram before the commencement of the sittings in the Legislature was experimented. But it was objected to by the Muslim

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League despite the fact that *vande mataram* was no religious prayer\(^{10}\).

Under the Congress Ministry of C.Rajagopalachari in 1937, Hindi was introduced to the South as a compulsory subject in schools. Taking it as an affront to Tamil culture and its rich literary tradition, Tamil patriots reacted with violent protest and ready to exploit the opportunity. E.V.Ramasamy Naicker waved black flags of rebellion in his first Anti-Hindi campaign. The agitation against the imposition of Hindi brought Naicker to the forefront of attention and inflamed the non-Brahmins against the Ministry.\(^{11}\) The campaign which brought the death of two agitators in police firings, forced the Government to change Hindi from a required to an optional subject in schools.\(^{12}\)

The Congress Manifesto of 1937 assumed to liquidate the debts of poor peasants. In response to the demands, the Congress Government reduced the pay of the provincial services between 5 percent for Rs. 100 to 200 and 30 percent for over Rs. 1000 a month.\(^{13}\) During 1937, agriculture was a losing profession and rural debt achieved its highest levels.\(^{14}\) In 1938 the Madras Agriculture Debt Relief Act was put into practice by the Congress Government. A Debt Conciliation Board was set up to restrict


\(^{13}\) *The Hindu*, 6\(^{th}\) January 1936.

interest. The substantial development of factories and industrial labours increased the industrial disputes and trade union activities. The increasing interest of Communists over the trade unions created problem towards the Congressites. Thiru.Vi.Ka, Muthuramalinga Thevar and P.Jeevanandam criticized the action of Rajaji Government.\footnote{The Hindu, 20th October 1938.}

In November 1938, some Communists met Gandhi to discuss the Congress Ministries inroads into civil liberty. Referring to the cry about abuse of civil liberty in Congress circles, they expressed their view that it was raised merely as a convenient pretext to shield the Ministers, some of whom were behaving exactly like the old bureaucrats meaning obviously Rajaji thereby, Gandhi immediately said that he “would not screen a single Minister who interferes with civil liberty or acts contrary to Congress resolutions. If you have Rajaji in mind, I am prepared to give you full satisfaction or ask him to resign”.\footnote{Saroja Sundararajan, Op.Cit., p.554.}

Of all the measures introduced by Rajaji’s Ministry, none came in for so much opposition as the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in the classes at the primary stage in 125 secondary schools from the academic year 1938-1939 as on experiment. It may be noted that already Hindi was being taught in 104 secondary schools in different parts of the Presidency. In fact protest was made only towards the compulsory study of Hindi and not
towards optional study. Opposition to this mostly came from the Self-
Respect League led by E.V.Ramasamy and backed by the Justice Party,
Muslim League and the Scheduled Caste Federation.\(^{17}\) However, it could be
said that the movement against Hindi was started even before the said
government order. Rajaji ignored the Anti-Hindi Movement. He ignored the
movement, the more it grew in strength. The Anti-Hindi campaigners raised
slogans and shouted: ‘Down with Hindi’ ‘Long live Tamil’, ‘Down with
Brahmins’, ‘C.R. go back’.\(^{18}\) The Anti-Hindi agitators went to the premier’s
meetings with black flags and there was no place where black flag was
absent altogether. At a meeting in Trichy, chappals and shoes were thrown at
the platform occupied by the Premier. The Police had to assist his
departure.\(^{19}\) Although the agitation was confined to Tamil district it took a
new turn when women came forward to participate in picketing.\(^{20}\) This was
a result of the Tamil Nadu Women’s conference held at Wall Tax Theatre in
Madras on 13\(^{th}\) November 1938 under the influence of Self-Respect
Movement.

In January 1938 the Muslim members walked out of the Legislature
on account of the singing of \textit{vande mataram}. The other actions sponsored
by the Congress which infuriated the Muslim opinion in the Presidency were
the compulsory teaching of Hindi, the flying of the Congress flag over the

\(^{18}\) Nilkan Perumal, \textit{These Eighteen Months}, Madras, 1939, p.36.
\(^{20}\) F.R., 12\(^{th}\) December 1938.
buildings of most of the local bodies, and the placing of Gandhiji’s portrait in certain educational establishments belonging to local authorities. Analyzing the causes of the discontent among the Muslims of the Presidency, Erskine wrote after the resignation of the Rajaji Ministry that the Muslims had come to the firm conclusion that the Congress was a purely Hindu body engaged in a nefarious conspiracy to damage Muslim interests, both secular and religious.\textsuperscript{21}

In 1938, while in prison for his Anti-Hindi agitation, Ramasamy Naicker was elected President of the Justice Party.\textsuperscript{22} In 1939 Naicker organised the Dravida Nadu Conference for the advocacy of a separate and independent Dravidasthan. The demand was again reiterated in response to the Lahore Resolution demanding Pakistan passed by the Muslim League. Naicker gave full support to the scheme for Pakistan and tried to enlist League support for the creation of Dravidasthan.\textsuperscript{23} The basic pre-supposition of the movement towards a separate state was that the Dravidian non-Brahmin peoples were of a racial stock and culture which distinguished them from the Aryan Brahmin.

In 1939 the new development in the Anti-Hindustani agitation in Madras city saw a series of demonstrations against the flying of the Congress flag over the Ripon Buildings. The officers of the Madras

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, p.117.
Corporation assembled in front of the buildings when the Council was in session and shouted Anti-Congress slogan. Labour organisations carried on vigorous counter-propaganda in support of the flag. It was found necessary to regulate processions organised by both parties under section 41 of City Police Act. The figures for arrests and convictions in Madras City in connection with the Anti-Hindustani agitation were 883 and 863 respectively and 58 prisoners were released under Section 401 Criminal Penal Code. There was some revival of interest in the ban on the Communist Party and resolutions urging its removal were passed at several socialist meetings.24

The Second World War broke out on 1st September 1939. India was declared belligerent on 3rd September without the consent of the people and without consulting the legislative bodies. The Congress Working Committee met on 14th September at Wardha to consider the situation. At a special meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on 26th October 1939, Rajaji moved a resolution which regretted two facts: India had been made to participate in the War without her consent, and the situation had not been rightly understood by His Majesty’s Government when authorising the issue of the decision of the Ministry to tender its resignation. Immediately thereafter, he issued a proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 which declared that all his functions would be exercised in

24 F.R., 4th April 1939.
his discretion and that he would assume the powers of the Legislature.\textsuperscript{25} The resolutions of the Working Committee called upon the Congress Provincial governments to tender resignations by 31\textsuperscript{st} October 1939 and the ministers of Congress Committee resigned their posts. Hence the Governor took over the administration when the War began. The next elections were not held from November 1939 almost six and a half years.\textsuperscript{26}

The Justice Party was reorganised in 1944 under the guidance of E.V. Ramasamy Naicker as \textit{Dravida Kazhagam} or Dravidian Federation and, at its Salem Conference took on the character of a highly militant mass organization. At the 1945 conference at Tiruchirappalli, the \textit{Dravida Kazhagam} adopted a constitution and took as its symbol a black flag with a red circle in the centre, the black representing the mourning for the hope of Dravidasthan As in the Self-Respect Movement, one of Naicker’s basic objectives was to remove all superstitious beliefs based upon religion or tradition.\textsuperscript{27} The Dravidian Movement has been instrumental in bringing the people of Tamil Nadu to an awareness of itself as a community. The organisation also served as a means for social mobility on the part of individual leaders, both within the community and within the larger political arena; but most important, through the \textit{Dravidian} Movement, the community sought to raise its status as a whole through political activity.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.560 - 561.
\textsuperscript{27} Robert L. Hardgrave, \textit{Essays in the political sociology of South India}, Delhi, 1919. p.28.
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, p.31.
In this midst clashes between Congress and Communist parties continued. In Krishna District, at a meeting of the Andhra Provincial Students Conference, several Congress leaders spoke about the necessity for excluding the Communists and this led to some commotion. A cultural conference held in this connection was closed abruptly owing to disorder caused by differences between Congress and Communist adherents and this was followed by an incident resulting in the arrest of a number of communists for waylaying and beating two Congress supporters on the night of 21\textsuperscript{st} January 1945.\textsuperscript{29} Instances of violence were fortunately few though sporadic clashes between communists and Congressmen were reported from various places. In more than one district, prohibitory orders under Section 144 were passed to enforce peace by local authorities. The most serious incident took place at Tiruchirappalli where some Congress workers, after getting drunk at an arrack shop, directed a Communist to pull down the red flag flying on the roof of his house, and on his refusal, assaulted him so severely that he died almost immediately. This was more or less in the nature of a political murder and there was considerable indignation in Communist circles. Fortunately, the funeral procession passed off quietly, adequate arrangements having been made by the police.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{29} F.R., 7\textsuperscript{th} February 1945.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 8\textsuperscript{th} April 1946.
The partition of the polyglot State of Madras had been the highest manifestation of linguistic sub-nationalism which played a significant role in the foundation of Tamil Arasu Kazhagam. It began in the middle of 1945. M.P. Sivagnanam started propagating the idea of a Tamil State from his Rockfort address at Tiruchirappalli on 26th June 1945. His whole speech emphasized the idea of a ‘Tamil State’. He also gave a hint to the protagonists of Dravidasthan. The formation of linguistic states, he said, was a pre-requisite for the establishment of Dravidasthan as a sub-federation within the Union of India.31

**Rajaji and Language Issue**

When the Congress assumed office in 1937 and after independence, Rajaji had a good opportunity to implement his policy of social reform including the language policy. Almost for four decades Rajaji’s. Career had been interwoven with the annals of administrative history of the Madras Presidency. India's language policy took shape on the decision taken by the I.N.C. During the freedom struggle, the entire country echoed the voice of the Congress Party. The Congress Party, in its anxiety to strengthen forces of nationalism, began to advocate a common language for the entire country. They advocated not to choose the alien English, but the indigenous Hindi, which they thought was spoken by a majority of people in the country.32

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During the thirties i.e., between 1937-1939, Rajaji was an ardent supporter of Hindi.  

Rajaji during his tenure (1937-1939) as Premier of the Madras Presidency made Hindi compulsory up to III form in the academic curriculum. In an equally unilateral way, Rajaji announced that the government would seek to introduce Hindi as a compulsory language for school children in the Madras Presidency. It was for two reasons he supported the imposition of Hindi. The first reason was that the "uniqueness of Hindi as the only language suitable to become the common language of the country more over". He thought that the participation of South Indians in the Indian politics would not be possible if the South Indians did not learn Hindi. He thought also that Hindi, as a *lingua franca* would bring unity among Indians. He was committed to implement the Congress Party's language policy and it would be easy to the Southerners for getting job at the all-India level. In this regard he was very much under the spell of Gandhiji who wished that Hindi should be made the National Language of India. The second one is its "affinity to Sanskrit, the language of the common culture of India. He thought that it would bridge the gap between the North and the South.

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34 G.O, No.911, Public Education, 21st April 1938.
35 *The Mail*, 27th October, 1937.
37 *Ibid*.
38 *Harijan*, 21st August 1937.
Rajaji actively worked for the propagation of Hindi and spoke at different Universities in India and pressed for a speedy replacement of English as the medium of instruction. At Calcutta University he said that "the English language may be beautiful (like the convocation academic gown) but it sits heavily on our thoughts and does not lit them grow or move about freely. He believed the establishment in the Universities, the teaching as well as administrative staff, stood for English and obstructed the switching over to Indian languages.\(^{39}\)

At the time of his announcement, Hindi was already taught in 104 Secondary Schools run by the Local District Boards.\(^{40}\) However, at the end, Rajaji had to introduce the study of compulsory Hindi in one hundred and twenty-five schools from sixth to eighth standards in the Madras Presidency.\(^{41}\) To implement this scheme successfully, the Government allocated an additional sum of Rs.20,000 specifically for the salary of Hindi teachers in that year's budget. The Government published the textbooks in Hindi languages.\(^{42}\)

Hindi as a compulsory language challenged Tamil chauvnism. The Tamil literature insists ethics, valour, honour and self-respect. When Hindi was imposed, the honour and self-respect of Tamils were questioned.

\(^{40}\) *The Hindu*, 30\(^{th}\) April 1938; Anita Delhi, *Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy; A Study of the Influence of Personality in Contemporary South India*, Bombay, 1978, p.17.
\(^{41}\) G.O. No.911, Education Department, 21\(^{st}\) April 1938.
\(^{42}\) G.O.No.1365, Education Department, 15\(^{th}\) June 1938; G.O.No.1402, Education Department, 21\(^{st}\) June 1939.
Learning a language other than one mother tongue is not bad or sinful. It is always good. But the imposition of a language on others would definitely create unquenchable anger among the people, imposition of anything come under imperialism, whether it is internal or external. The language Tamil is adored for its antiquity and for its rich literary works. The people of Tamil Nadu adore their language Tamil as a chaste one and the cause of their anger is very much hidden in their spirit. Among the southern states of India only Tamil Nadu gave vent to the pent up wrath as regarding the imposition of Hindi.

In addition to that, the Hindi language imposition was opposed by all sections of the people like Justicites, the Self-Respecters, the Muslim League, and the Scheduled Castes Federation.\textsuperscript{43} S. Somasundara Bharathi was the first to oppose the introduction of compulsory Hindi in Tamil Nadu. Swami Shannukhananda, Eelathu Sivananda Adigal, Kanchi Paravasthu Rajagopalachari, and others were also opposed to Hindi in the Madras Presidency.\textsuperscript{44} Justice Party leaders like A.T. Panneerselvam, K.V. Reddi Naidu, Krishnan Nair, Umamaheswaran Pillai, and others also criticised the introduction of compulsory Hindi.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{44} F.R., Second Half of May 1938; \textit{Kudi Arasu}, 30\textsuperscript{th} June 1938; \textit{The Mail}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} August 1938.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Directory of the Madras Legislature}, 1938, p.302; \textit{Kudi Arasu}, 30\textsuperscript{th} June 1938.
Besides E.V. Ramasamy, otherwise popularly called Periyar or E.V.R. condemned Hindi and its imposition. He personally felt that the Hindi language was made compulsory to push back the Non-Brahmins in all aspects. He boldly declared that there was no common language of India in the past as there was no united India before the advent of the British. At Tirunelveli, in a public meeting was held on 5th September 1937, the speakers condemned the compulsory introduction of Hindi, criticised the Government's apathy in making Tamil a compulsory language in schools, and appealed to the Governor to exercise his veto in order to disallow the Bill making compulsory Hindi subject.46

Besides this, the Self Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu opposed the imposition of Hindi vehemently. A series of articles were written in protest of Hindi in their organs like Kudiarasu (The Republic) and Viduthalai (Freedom). Anti-Hindi agitation was led by Anti-Hindi Demonstration Association. The agitation had spread like fire and ended up in a long march from Tirunelveli to Madras.47 As the Justice Party was badly routed in the election held in 1936 for the Madras Legislative Assembly its influence began to wane. However, the language issue had served E.V.Ramasamy (Periyar, E.V.R) as an effective tool to achieve emotional integration of the Tamils. E.V.R. intensified his campaign against Hindi along with his followers. This made the opposition party of the congress ministry to topple it.48

46 G.O. No.2915, Education and Public Health Department, 11th December 1937.
47 Kudi Arasu, 29th August 1937.
48 The Mail, 4th June 1938.
The Third Madras Province Conference which was held in Trichy on 26th December 1937, under the Presidentship of K. Subramania Pillai besides passing a resolution on condemning Hindi combined, Anti-Congress and Anti-Brahmin feelings. 49 A conference was also convened at Kanchipuram on 27th February 1938 under the Presidentship of K.V. Reddi Naidu, a Justice Party leader to ventilate the protest against the imposition of Hindi. In his presidential address he condemned Hindi as an unrefined alien language not having the capacity to remain as a common National language of India. 

The Self-Respect Movement, to which he was associated with, declared that the introduction of Hindi in Madras Presidency was politically motivated to replace Tamil with Hindi. Now the Self-Respect Movement turned into Anti-Hindi and Anti-Brahmins movement. A provisional committee under the secretaryship of K.A.P. Viswanathan was instituted in 1938 in Trichy. On 3rd June 1938, a formal non-violent agitation was launched against the imposition of Hindi. 

The Dravidian Parties in the post independence period tried to exploit the language issue for their own political advantages. The Justice Party aroused the sentiments of the Tamil People and made them agitate against the imposition of Hindi. A march from Trichirappalli to Madras was organized to intensify the Anti-Hindi agitation. 

49 Kudi Arasu, 2nd January 1938.
50 Ibid., 6th March 1938.
51 The Mail, 4th June 1938.
52 Kudi Arasu, 1st January 1939.
In the meantime, at Tiruchirappalli, E.V.R., Alagirisamy, R.Tirumalaiswami, and others including Muslims met and chose one hundred and one suitable volunteers for the Anti-Hindi March. On 1st August 1938, they started the march from Tiruchirappalli. The Justicites and the Tamils- cultural organizations stood in the forefront in extending all possible help to the marchers. On 11th September 1938, they arrived at Madras, and E.V.R. made a tour to the Tamil districts for strengthening the Anti-Hindi Movement.

T.M. Krishnan Nair and K.V. Reddy had attended the Anti-Hindi Conference and criticised the Congress Government. Picketing educational institutions had a tremendous propaganda value for the Anti-Hindi Movement. In several schools, the students themselves boycotted the Hindi classes. Tamil scholars too opposed Hindi vigorously.

The Tamil Chauvinists and scholars like, Maraimalai Adigal, Ezhathu Sivananda Adigal, K.Subramania Pillai, Dr.Swaminatha Iyer, Na.Mu.Venkataswamy Naattaar, M.Kadresan Chettiar and Ka.Appadurai vehemently opposed it saying that the imposition was a challenge to the self-respect of Tamils. S.Somasundara Bharati, Marasi Thirunavukkarasu, Thiru.Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and P. Varadarajulu Naidu joined hands

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54 G.O.No.16, Public (confdl.) Department, 5th January 1939; Sunday Observer, 18th September 1938; The Hindu, 19th October 1938; Baliga, B.S., Op.Cit., p.113.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
with them in opposing the imposition of Hindi. They also advised Rajaji not
to pursue his language policy, as it was detrimental to the Tamil People.
Eminent Communists leaders like M. Singaravelu and P. Jeevanandam in the
Madras State condemned the Congress Governments G.O. (Government
Order) on Hindi as unnecessary and unwanted and instigative.

Rajaji’s language policy was totally condemned by E.V.R. He
regarded the Congress as the bandwagon of Brahmins. His appeal to the
Tamils was: “At least now, agitate for the separate Tamil Nadu. Tattoo your
hands with the words Tamil Nadu for Tamils”. 57 The fourth Madras
Province Tamil Conference was held on 27th December 1938, in Madras.
The President of the conference Kumara Raja Muthiah Chettiar unfurled the
Tamil flag, which bore the emblem of their ancient Tamil Kings, the Chera,
Chola and Pandya. 58

The Anti-Hindi Movement gained momentum when Tamil scholars
cutting across all political and communal differences came out in the open
and expressed their opinions about the harm that Hindi might cause to Tamil
language. The Madras District Congress Committee, with the support of
some prominent members like P. Gopalarathinam, Parali Nellaiyappar, and
others passed a resolution demanding that Hindi be made optional. The
resolution proposed by M.P. Sivagnanam, the Secretary of the Madras
District Committee, was unanimously adopted.

57 Kudi Arasu, 26th June 1938.
58 F.R., First half of April 1939.
The Government of Madras undeterred by the growing unrest in the Presidency decided to handle the situation with an iron-hand by passing the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1938.\textsuperscript{59} At Rajaji’s instance, section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was imposed against the agitators. It was not tolerable even by Congress people and they insisted that the law should be repealed. The Act contained non-bailable section. It was horrible.\textsuperscript{60} In a discussion in the Legislative Assembly in March 1938, Muthiah Chettiar made a forceful plea against the imposition of Hindi as a compulsory subject.

There were uproars in the Assembly and the leaders of opposition vehemently opposed the Government action. The Justice Party, which had 15 members in the Assembly, moved an adjournment motion to question the government on police raids in the office of \textit{Viduthalai} (Freedom) and \textit{Kudi Arasu} (the Republic). The speaker of the House quashed it on the basis of explanation of the Government that it was a routine procedure. The Muslims also strongly opposed the compulsory learning of Hindi for they thought that it was a language full of Sanskrit words.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Kudi Arasu}, 11\textsuperscript{th} December 1939.
\textsuperscript{60} F.R., 5\textsuperscript{th} August 1938, p.7.
\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Kudi Arasu}, 19\textsuperscript{th} March 1939.
The Governor of Madras Presidency Lord Erskine did not favour the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject. But he never interfered in the decision of the ministry though he could.\textsuperscript{62} Lord Erskine, the Governor of the Madras Presidency advised Rajaji against the use of this Act saying that its consequences would cause break in his party and it was undesirable for it would bring notoriety.\textsuperscript{63} But Rajaji justified his action of using the Criminal Law Amendment Act, though he himself did not like that law. Rajaji thought that E.V.R. and his followers could be silenced through this law\textsuperscript{64} but E.V.R. never yielded to the pressure of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.\textsuperscript{65}

Towards the end of November 1938, Periyar was arrested for his speech at Madras and sentenced to one year imprisonment at Bellary jail.\textsuperscript{66} But when on medical grounds, he was released in May 1939, he told the Press about his treatment in the jail, "I have received exceptionally kind treatment".\textsuperscript{67} By this time, sporadic demonstrations were continued by others. Rajah Muthiah Chettiar had actively participated in the Anti-Hindi agitation and led the procession at Madras and organized public meetings demanding the Government to release E.V.R. from prison. The Anti - Hindi agitation became vigorous and as many as 683 persons including 63 women

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{The Hindu}, 4\textsuperscript{th} June 1938.
\textsuperscript{63} F.R., 5\textsuperscript{th} August 1938, p.7.
\textsuperscript{64} G.O, No.239, Public General Department, 3\textsuperscript{rd} February 1939.
\textsuperscript{66} F.R., First Half of February, 1938.
\textsuperscript{67} G.O.No.16, Public (confdl.) Department, 5\textsuperscript{th} January1939.
were put behind the bars, in January 1939. C.N. Annadurai, a thinker, orator and writer, who was young then, was arrested for picketing in front of the premier’s house. In March 1939 around 1273 persons were arrested in the Anti-Hindi agitation. Two provincial leaders Thalamuthu and Natarajan lost their lives in the prison. Some of the congress leaders also supported the Anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu. The Anti-Hindi agitation ended only when the Congress Ministry laid down office in October 1939.

**Congress and Politics, 1946-1952**

The second election in Madras was held after the end of Second World War in 1946. Gandhi’s massive support for Rajaji could not be of any help to him. In an article in the *Harijan* of 10th February 1945 Gandhi paid a high tribute to Rajaji and sought to stigmatise anti-Rajaji elements in the Tamil Nadu Congress as a clique. Pained at this, K.Kamaraj resigned the Presidentship of the Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board and Rajaji was forced to retire from the political scene.

**Elections of 1946**

In the general elections of 1946, the Congress swept the polls: winning 165 of the 205 seats in Madras. Its main political rival, the Justice
Party, having already become moribund and the Congress influence was at its zenith. K.Kamaraj was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly from Sattur-Aruppukottai constituency, with no opposition worth the name. T.Prakasam was elected the Premier along with ten ministers by Governor Henry Follinight on Tuesday, the 30th April 1946 at Fort St.George. Archival Edward Neigh was appointed the new Governor of Madras after the resignation of Henry Follinight on 6th May 1946.  

*The Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act, 1946*, the *Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards Act, 1946*, the *Madras Tenants and Ryots Protection Act, 1946*, the *Madras Preservation of Private Forests Act; 1946* were passed in the Council. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was the first woman minister in the Madras Presidency. She was the Minister for Public Health in the Ministry of T.Prakasam. She started maternity centres in villages and improved the health conditions of the poor people.

**Party Politics 1946-1952**

On 12th May 1946, there were serious disturbances in Madurai in connection with the Dravidian Federation Conference held there resulting in the opening of fire by the police. The Government ordered a public enquiry

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into the origin and the causes of disturbances and appointed the Collector of Ramnad to conduct an enquiry. In the course of enquiry, the Collector examined a number of witnesses among whom were persons belonging to the ‘Black Shirt’ organization and members of the public. He also examined some police officers. The facts elicited by the enquiry were that on the 10th, 11th and 12th May, batches of ‘Black Shirts’ entered the Sri Meenakshi Amman Temple their only object appeared to have been to obstruct the religious practices in the temples.76

The ‘Black Shirts’ however did not stop with the Temple. On the morning of 12th May, batches of them stoned the Pillayar idol in the Vinayaka Temple and threw out idols. They indulged desecration at the Mariamman Temple. At the sami sannadi street, where they also burnt down a hoisted Congress flag, they came into with a crowd enraged by their conduct, and they were saved from violence of the crowd only by the timely arrival of the police who escorted the ‘Black shirts’ to the police station and detained them under police protection till midnight. In the meantime, crowds gathered on the riverbed where the Dravidian Federation Conference was being held and attacked the conference pandal, leading to serious disturbances.

The Government accepted the finding of the enquiry officer that the origin and cause of the disturbances was found in the entry of the ‘Black Shirts’ into the Meenakshi temple and their subsequent offensive conduct on the 10th, 11th and 12th of May. In the hope that the leaders of the Black Shirts would direct their activity along heal their and more orderly lines in future, the Government did not propose to take action against them in connection with these occurrences; but was determined to deal with such behavior seriously. The Government took this opportunity of assuring full protection to worshippers at shrines against molestation and offensive conduct.\(^{77}\)

The Communist Party had been taking the line that the Cabinet Mission was only ‘a blind body’ and had been holding meetings and issuing leaflets questioning the sincerity of the Mission. A meeting of the District and local committee members of Tamil Nadu was held and the future programme of the Party was discussed. In addition to attempting to discredit the Cabinet Mission, the Congress was condemned as a capitalist ridden organisation and it was decided that Communist organisations should strengthen their hold on the workers and should prevent the Congress from capturing labour by all means including violence. After the Congress took up office, they proposed to maintain a sustained agitation over the grievances of kisans and labourers, if necessary by co-operating with other parties like the Radical Democratic Party, the Dravida Kazhagam, etc. In the districts, especially Guntur and Madurai, minor clashes between the Congress and Communists continued.\(^{78}\)

\(^{77}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{78}\) F.R., 20th April 1946.
After the election, the interim government was formed on 2\textsuperscript{nd} September 1946. The very first step of propaganda proved to be effective and sowed the seeds of the movement for a ‘Tamil State’. It created an awareness among the educated and generated a good deal of enthusiasm and energy to the extent of resurrecting an early Tamil State. They associated themselves with M.P. Sivagnanam and with their co-operation, he took efforts to celebrate, the ‘Pongal festival’ as ‘\textit{Tamizhar Tirunal}’ on 14\textsuperscript{th} January 1946. M.P. Sivagnanam was subsequently invited to speak on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of the Youth League at Vadiveeswaram, Nagercoil on 25\textsuperscript{th} October 1946.\textsuperscript{79} In the course of his speech, M. P. Sivagnanam supported the already started merger movement of the Tamilians of Travancore. In these circumstances, on 21\textsuperscript{st} November 1946, M.P. Sivagnanam called for an informal meeting of city youths about seventy in number at \textit{Tamil Murasu} office, Linghichetty Street, Madras. After a long discussion the majority of the gathering of seventy agreed to form a party named \textit{Tamil Arasu Kazhagam}. M.P. Sivagnanam, the convener of the meeting was elected unanimously to become the founder president of \textit{Tamil Arasu Kazhagam}.

M.P. Sivagnanam was one of the leading spokesmen of the Rajaji group.\textsuperscript{80} His political career depended upon the political fortune of Rajaji too. His support to Rajaji against K. Kamaraj earned him the pleasure of his

\textsuperscript{80} Natarajan, S., \textit{Silambu Selver Valkailae} (Tamil), Madras, 1973, p.31.
mentor. At the same time he incurred the displeasure of K.Kamaraj who emerged as a ‘king maker’ against all expectations and calculations of his opponents. Therefore, M.P.Sivagnanam’s political career was affected in no smaller extent. While all leading freedom fighters indiscriminately enjoyed the fruit of independence, M.P.Sivagnanam was denied of it. The ever increasing political power and popularity of K.Kamaraj further thwarted the very ambition of M.P.Sivagnanam under the banner of the Congress. 81

In April 1947, the Madras Legislature recommended the formation of linguistic states in particular of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra as separate provinces under the new constitution, and a provision for early appointment of a Boundary Commission or other machinery suitable for the delimitation of the provinces”. 82 Tamil sub-nationalists under the leadership of M.P.Sivagnanam vociferously articulated the Tamil sentiments by establishing linguistic identity with Tamil through their movement for Tamil Arasu or Tamil State. Thus the delay in the formation of linguistic states undoubtedly provided a favorable political field in particular to Tamil Arasu Kazhagam to launch the movement for a Tamil State.

**Governor - General of Independent India**

When Lord Mountbatten, the first Governor General of Independent India completed his term in the office, Rajaji was chosen to take his place.

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He accepted the high office because Pandit Nehru insisted it and became the first Indian to be Governor - General. Lord Mountbatten nominated Chakravarthy Rajagopalachari to be his acting Governor - General of the Dominion of India during his absence in India from the forenoon of 10th November 1947 to 23rd November 1947. The swearing in ceremony was held in the Durbar Hall of the Government House, New Delhi at 10.30 A.M. on Monday, the 21st June 1948. He assumed this office under a salute of 31 guns. Admiral Lord Albert Victor Nicholas Louis Francis Mountbatten handed over charge of office of the Governor - General of the Dominion of India to Rajagopalachari on 21st June 1948 at 10.30 A.M. who continued as Governor - General of the Dominion of India till the forenoon of 26th January 1950, when the Constitution of India came into force and Babu Rajendra prasad became the first President of the Republic of India.

The Constituent Assembly on 26th November 1949 passed the Constitution of the Indian Union. At 10.15 A.M. on Thursday, the 26th January 1950 in the Durbar Hall of the Government House, Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of India read the proclamation announcing the birth of the Republic of India. When the new Constitution was adopted and it was

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84 Notification No.F.75/4/47 - Public (B) dated 10th November 1947, Home Department.
86 Gazette of India (extraordinary), No.15./2/48, 21st June 1948.
decided that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was to be the First President, Rajaji relinquished the office of Governor-General. Rajaji’s function in the Congress in the later years was that of an elder statesman reconciling differences between groups.89

Hardly had Rajaji returned to Madras and settled down to a quiet life when Pandit Nehru felt that he should have him in the Central Government. Nehru and Sardar Patel both felt very soon that they required his presence in the Cabinet. Rajaji was a Minister without portfolio in the Government of India in December 1950 and Minister for Home Affairs in November 1951.

**Rajaji’s Second Ministry**

The Congress won under the leadership of Rajaji in the first general election which was held in 1952. Rajaji was the Chief Minister during the years 1952 - 1954 in the Madras State. As the first elected ministry, having greater ambitions, both Rajaji and the Congress workers tried to reform existing deficiency in the social and economic life of the people. The foremost measure done by him was the Tanjore Tenants and Protection Bill. He passed this bill to save the *pannaiyals* (farm labourers) who were exploited by the *mirasdars*. Then the Tanjore Tenants and *Pannaiyal* Protection Bill was converted in the Legislative Assembly as Tanjore Tenants and *Pannaiyal* Protection Act in 1952.

Leadership of Rajaji

A number of leading Congressmen were defeated in the elections: K.Santhanam, Minister for Transport and Railways was defeated by K.Anandan Nambiar, a Communist. M.Bhaktavatsalam. K.Madhava Menon, M.Chandramouli, Dr.P.Subbaroyon, sitting member of Parliament were also defeated.\textsuperscript{90} Taking the whole State, the Congress secured 152 seats in the Assembly and 33 in the House of the People. K.Kamaraj, President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee addressing a public meeting on Republic Day of January 1952, stressed the need for strengthening the Congress which was still the largest single party to form the Ministry in the State. N.Sanjeeva Reddy, President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee was also of the same view.\textsuperscript{91}

The uncertainty that prevailed among the public and the Congress Party in particular regarding the leadership of the party was cleared up with the unanimous election of C.Rajagopalachari, who agreed to take up the task of leading the Party and forming the Ministry in the State. There was a general wave of hope throughout the Province on this account. The public felt that with his election, there was every chance of a stable ministry being formed, as he commanded the respect and admiration not only of Congress members; but also from other parties and the general public. N.G. Ranga, the

\textsuperscript{91} F.R., 16\textsuperscript{th} February 1952.
leader of the Party welcomed the election of Rajaji as leader of the Congress Party and he promised support to the formation of a Ministry by the Congress. 92

Rajaji’s election as the leader and assumption of office later as the Chief Minister considerably helped to preserve the morale of the organisation. His address to the members of the Congress Party was widely welcomed as a happy augury. That confidence in the organisation grew again and was abundantly evident from the mammoth gathering at a public meeting addressed by him on 13th April 1952. In his speech, he reiterated the national character of the Congress organisation and pleaded that “the Congress should think of itself not in terms of a party but as representing the nation”. 93

The press wrote editorials about the general satisfaction that Rajaji had been prevailed upon to accept the leadership of the Congress Party. Rajaji’s nomination to the Legislative Council, however, evoked some criticism. 94 Soon after his election as leader, The Hindu in the course of an otherwise appreciative editorial observed that he should seek an early opportunity to get himself elected to the Lower House. 95 The Indian Express observed that “though it was magnanimous on the part of Mr.

92 Ibid., 17th April 1952.
93 Ibid., 26th April 1952.
94 Ibid.
Rajagopalachari to have refrained from humiliating an old colleague, those without a close associate’s insight into the working of his mind are apt to wonder why, commanding as he did a large majority in the Upper House, he withdrew his motion”. *The Indian Republic* observed ‘Rajaji is a statesman and very adroit at his job. He knew when to strike and how and when to withhold’. 96

The first general election under the New Constitution was held in 1952. This was the world’s largest election of 176 million men and women, on the basis of India’s first adult suffrage which chose their representatives to the House of People and State Assemblies. 97 It was a three-tiered process. Elections to the House of People (Lok Sabha) and State Legislative Assemblies (Vidhan Sabhas), elections to the Upper Houses, the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) at the centre and Legislative Councils (Vidhan Parishads) in the State. 98

The details of 1952 General elections in Madras Legislative Assembly and Lok Sabha are given below:

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96 F.R., 2nd June 1952.
98 G.O. No.885, Public Department, 21st March 1952.
## General Elections in Madras Legislative Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>3,336,054</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>90,9022</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praja Socialist Party</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward Bloc</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties &amp; Independents</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3,878,829</td>
<td>42.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>9,212,078</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

## General Elections in Madras : Lok Sabha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>PSP</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Tamil Nadu Toilers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Wealth</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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100 Ibid., pp.846-847.
Sri. Prakasa who assumed charge as Governor of Madras on 12th March 1952 continued to hold that office during that year. The Council of Ministers, sworn into office on the forenoon of 10th April 1952 continued to function till 30th September 1953, consisting of the following members: Rajaji, Chief Minister, A.B.Shetty, C.Subramaniam, K.Venkataswami Naidu, N.Ranga Reddi, Dr.M.V. Krishna Rao, Dr.R.Nagan Gowda, Sankara Reddi, M.A.Manickavelu Naicker, K.P.Kuttikrishnan Nair, Raja Shanmugha Rajeswara Sethupathi, S.B.P. Pattabhirama Rao and D.Sanjeevayyer. The third session of the Assembly and the Council which commenced on the 3rd November 1952 and 17th November 1952 respectively was prorogued by the Governor.

The *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*, having failed to contest the 1952 elections, sought access to the political system outside the democratic framework through mass demonstration and agitation. With the decline of the Justice Party, elite without mass base, the movement exploited primordial sentiment under the black and red banner of the *Dravida Kazhagam* and expanded its ranks in the process of social mobilization. Placated by governmental accommodation of primordial sentiment with the emergence of K.Kamaraj, the *Dravida Kazhagam* extended its support to the Tamilization of politics in Madras by the Congress Ministry.

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In its place as the vanguard of the Dravidian Movement, the D.M.K.,
was drawn into the political system with an increasing specificity of interest,
reflected in the formation of pragmatic political demands.\textsuperscript{103}

**Tanjore Tenants and Pannalyal Protection Act, 1952**

The tenants in the Tanjore district were not in the same position as the
tenants in some of the former *zamindari* estates. There was vast difference
between them. In Tanjore district, they were mere *pannaiyals* and wage-
earners, or they were people who merely got some remuneration during the
agricultural season only. All these things were taken into consideration for
the purpose of seeing whether the provisions were equitable and fair. There
was a cry everywhere that the tiller of the soil was victimised and he was
suffering at the hands of the *mirasdars*.\textsuperscript{104} It became fashionable on those
days that while land tenure system had changed as it greatly affected the
tillers, as if they were placed in the same position as the people of Russia or
some other place. The land revenue collected from the land-owners were
utilised for providing all the ameliorative measures for the urban areas. No
doubt, there were the industries. But, they did not pay as much as the land-
owners by way of purpose that this bill was introduced in the Legislature.\textsuperscript{105}
The cultivating tenant except for getting orders from the land-owner or his
agents, did not know very much about actual cultivation. Agriculture had an

\textsuperscript{103} *Ibid.*, pp.79-80.
\textsuperscript{104} *M.L.A.D.*, Vol.III, 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1952, p.55.
\textsuperscript{105} *Ibid.*
industry which required not only mere tilling of the soil, but also great ability and brain. One had to choose the right season for sowing proper seeds, which were suited for the particular season. The land owners too were given some protection. This Bill was so amended as to afford all facilities to the land owners so that they used as much of their ability as possible for securing maximum production from the soil.\textsuperscript{106}

Some Congress ministers visited a number of villages in the Tanjore district where they addressed meetings explaining the provisions of the Tenants and \textit{Pannaiyal} (protection) Ordinance and the Government prohibition policy. A similar tour was undertaken by Ananda Nambiar, another Communist leader and member of Parliament in Tanjore district and he incidentally claimed credit for the Tenants and \textit{Pannaiyal} protection and for the reduction of the daily allowance of elected member of Parliament from Rs.40/- to Rs.35/-\textsuperscript{107}

The Tanjore Tenants and \textit{Pannaiyal} Ordinance along with the Amending Ordinance clarified certain incidental points arising out of the original ordinance, continued to engage the attention of the press throughout the State. The clause in the Amending Ordinance to the effect that certain items of cultivation, expenses must be met from the gross produce and not from the tenants share alone was generally welcomed as setting right an

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid.}, p.54.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{F.R.}, 29\textsuperscript{th} September 1952.
inequity in the earlier ordinance since it was felt that it would be too much to expect the tenant to bear the entire cultivation expenses himself. All sections of the press continued to demand extension of a similar reform to the other districts in the State and Papers ’ like Sarvodaya and Navabharatha opined that the deep-rooted fear and uncertainty about the future which prevailed among the tenants could he removed only by permanent land tenancy reforms.  

In the district of Tanjore the relations between landowners and their agents on the one hand and tenants and farm labourers on the other hand had become strained resulting in the displacement of tenants and the dismissal of farm labourers. The situation of agrarian disturbances threatened to cause deterioration in agricultural production. Hence the Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Bill, 1952 was promulgated by the Governor of Madras.

Rajaji’s Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Bill led to strong debates in the Legislature. M.A. Manickavelu Naicker, Congress Minister said that in the house he opposed the Bill for two reasons. In the first place there were not many landlords in Tanjore District who owned lands in different villages. Secondly, even granting there were such landlords owning lands in several villages, it was a difficult process to go about from village to

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108 Ibid.
village counting the extent of land held by them in different villages. Hence he opposed the Bill.\textsuperscript{110} However, the Congress Minister G.Krishnamurthi supported the \textit{Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Bill}, 1952.\textsuperscript{111}

C. Nathamuni Naidu who was in the opposition, supported the Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Bill. He said that Tanjore district was the \textit{kamadenu} of Tamil Nadu. The relationship between the landlords and tenants was very much strained during 1952 which made it incumbent on the Government and Chief Minister Rajaji to interfere and restore a good relationship between them. As there was trouble between the landowners and tenants, the Government felt it necessary to interfere in the interest of the administration of the whole state and solve the problem. Hence he supported when the Governor of Madras promulgated the \textit{Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Bill}, 1952.\textsuperscript{112} K.Bhashyam, another opposition member said that thousands of persons had come in saying that they were in possession of the land at that time and as such they may raise a hue and cry for restoration of the land to them. In the Tanjore district, in thousands of cases, there had been no tenancy agreement between the landlord and the tenant. By tradition and mutual goodwill a majority of the tenants had been cultivating the lands. Hence he supported the Bill.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid.}, 8\textsuperscript{th} December 1952, p.392.
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Ibid.}, p.389.
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Ibid.}, 6\textsuperscript{th} December 1952, p.349.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid.}, p.401.
The Hindu observed that ‘the Bill congratulates itself on having secured even more than it had hoped for, the movement had betrayed a deplorable wobbling on the very few points on which, with some what fuller knowledge of the prevailing practices in the district, they seemed at first inclined to redress some of the common injustices in their original purposes’. Discussing the various defects in the Bill, the paper concluded that ‘this piece of legislation had neither served the interests of social justice nor promote protection’. The Madras Mail was also rather apprehensive as to the real import of this Bill and opined that in the guise of protecting the tenant the present Bill sought to introduce revolutionary changes.\textsuperscript{114}

Act XIV of 1952 (The Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Act, 1952) reproduced the provisions of Madras Ordinance VI of 1952 with certain modifications and purported to remove those causes of friction that led to agrarian crimes and disturbances in the Tanjore district. It provided for the re-instatement of cultivating tenants who had been evicted by the land owners either in favour of other tenants or in favour of his own pannaiyals.\textsuperscript{115} It gave security of tenure for five years to each tenant and devised a machinery for settling disputes. It also provided a machinery for enquiring into the dismissal of farm labourers and for their restoration on just and equitable terms if the dismissal was wrongful. Provision was made

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Ibid.} \\
\end{flushright}
for the division of the gross produce between the tenant and the land owner in the ratio of 2:3 or such higher proportion favorable to the tenant as have been agreed upon between the parties. The Act further entitled the tenant to raise at his risk any crop and to retain the produce after giving one-fifth thereof to the land-owner. The Act also fixes the minimum wages which should be paid to agricultural labour.\textsuperscript{116}

**Linguistic Tamil State**

M.P.Sivagnanam, a Tamil leader became the member of the Legislative Council in 1952 to 1954. During this period Rajaji was the Chief Minister. In the Legislative Council, he stressed for the effective implementation of prohibition.\textsuperscript{117} M.P.Sivagnanam also emphasized the importance of Tamil being the official language. In 1953, in the Madras Legislative Council he spoke, “Official language of the State must be the language of the majority. Only then the common man could understand the government and live in equality. Tamil was to be the official language of Tamil Nadu”.\textsuperscript{118}

V.V. Ramaswamy, an M.L.A., pointed out in the Legislative Assembly that the Government should request the President of India to recommend to the parliament the early formation of a Tamil state, including

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., Vol.V, July 1953, p.113.
therein all Tamil speaking areas from Tirupathi in the North to Cape Comorin in the South.\textsuperscript{119} The Andhra Province consisting of the Telugu areas of the Madras State, the remaining areas of the undivided Province, including Madras city comprised the new Madras State consisting of the following areas and districts, viz., Madras city, North Arcot, South Arcot, Bellary District, Chengelpet, South Kanara, Madurai, Malabar, Nilgiris, Ramanathapuram, Salem, Tanjore, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli. Of these if the Kannada speaking areas of the Bellary District viz., Siruguppa, Bellary, Hospet, Hadgalli, Harpanahall and Kudligi taluks and Sandur and the two districts of Malabar and South Kanara are excluded, the rest would predominantly of Tamil-speaking areas. Without the exclusion of the Non-Tamil speaking areas, the residuary portion of the Madras State after the formation of the Andhra State could not appropriately be termed as a Tamil State as required the resolution.\textsuperscript{120}

Agitation of the Tamils in respect of the modification of the border of the proposed Andhra State aroused further jealousy and hatred between the two linguistic communities. It reached the climax at Tiruttani on 3\textsuperscript{rd} July 1953, when M.P. Sivagnanam, defied the order under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code.\textsuperscript{121}. Because of this agitation disturbances occurred in the bilingual areas such as Chittoor, Thiruvalangadu, Kalahasti, Nagari, Puttoor

\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{120} G.O. No.331, Public Department, 7\textsuperscript{th} February 1953.
\textsuperscript{121} G.O. No.3204, Public (confdl) Department, 12\textsuperscript{th} December 1953.
and Tiruttani in the disputed district of Chittoor. After the formation of Andhra State, tension began to prevail upon in the disputed areas on 18th December 1953. K. Vinayakam, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, who belonged to the disputed areas of Tiruttani in Chittoor District, informed in the House of the mounting tense situation in Tirupathi due to the high-handed attitude of the Telugus towards the Tamils.

The fixing of Cape Comorin as the southern-most point of the proposed Tamil State also involved the carving out of a portion of the Travancore - Cochin State and the consequent change in the boundaries of that State.

The Coimbatore District Communist Party was reported to be collecting particulars regarding the extent of Tamil speaking areas in Travancore - Cochin State and in Malabar district with a view to start an agitation for the formation of separate states for Tamil Nadu and Kerala. They organised an agitation for the formation of linguistic states in general for Aikya Tamil Nadu in particular and for cultural, social and economic advancement of the Tamils.

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122 Ibid.
123 G.O. No.557, Public Department, 23rd February 1955.
124 Ibid.
125 F.R., 12th October 1953.
126 Ibid., 29th October 1953.
Anti - Hindi Agitation

On the morning of 1st August 1953 a batch of Dravida Kazhagam volunteers entered upon the Virudunagar Railway Station platform with a view to erase the Hindi characters from the name boards. Their attempts to get near the boards were prevented by a batch of volunteers belonging to the local Youth Congress who had gathered there with the object of preventing any mischief being done to the boards. This led to an affray. The police who were on the spot arrested fourteen persons seven from each group and laid charge - sheets against them in the court of the Additional First Class Magistrate, Virudunagar. All of them were convicted for an offence under Section 160, I.P.C. One of them was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one month and the rest were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10/- each. 127

A similar case of affray occurred at Sattur Railway Station also on 1st August 1953 when a batch of Dravida Kazhagam (D.K.) volunteers, numbering eleven was prevented by another batch of local Youth Congress volunteers, numbering fourteen from approaching the name boards. 128 A clash ensued and to avoid a serious breach of the peace, the police arrested all the 25 persons involved in the incident and laid charge - sheets against them in the Court of the Stationary Sub-Magistrate, Sattur. When the report about the incident was received by the Government, it felt that since the offence committed by the accused was not serious, the prosecution could be

dropped. By that time, however, these eleven D.K., volunteers had pleaded guilty before the trying Magistrate who consequently sentenced each of them to a fine of Rs.2 and in default to undergo simple imprisonment for two days.\textsuperscript{129} They, having refused to pay the fine, the Magistrate committed them to prison and also issued distress warrants for the realisation of the fine amount. Hence while withdrawing the prosecution against the Youth Congress volunteers which was still pending disposal, the Government directed that not to press for the realization of the fine amounts from the Kazhagam volunteers. Accordingly, the Court was moved to withdraw the distress warrants and it was good enough to do so.\textsuperscript{130}

On the morning of 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1953 a batch of D.M.K., volunteers conducted Anti-Hindi demonstrations by erasing Hindi characters from the name boards at Tuticorin Railway Station platform. The D.M.K., volunteers stopped a passenger train soon after starting from Tuticorin on 15\textsuperscript{th} August at 6.25 A.M. four times before reaching Tuticorin - Melur station, two miles away, by pulling the alarm communication chord, the police arrested thirty five persons and the train moved. At that time Prime Minister Nehru visited Tuticorin - Melur Station. At Tuticorin - Melur station there was a crowd of over one thousand persons on either side of the railway line shouting slogans “Down with Nehru Government”. About 150 persons squatted on the railway lines and prevented the train from moving.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{129} G.O. No.3147, Public Department, 3\textsuperscript{rd} December 1953.
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{M.L.A.D.}, Vol.XVIII, 10\textsuperscript{th} December 1954, p.709.
\textsuperscript{131} G.O. No.3122, Public Department, 28\textsuperscript{th} November 1953.
The Government received telephonic information that the police had to open fire on two occasions when a crowd of demonstrators stopped a train near Tuticorin-Melur, about one mile from Tuticorin. It was stated that the mob was violent and indulged in stone throwing and that attempts at persuasion and a lathi charge having proved ineffective, firing was ordered. The Collector and the District Magistrate, was himself present on the spot. It was also stated that the police were compelled to fire on a second occasion and even after this, the mob moved to cause damage to the permanent way and create trouble and mischief in the town. As result of the firing it was gathered that three persons died on the spot and one died on the way to the hospital, besides twenty-one persons were stated to have been injured. In this particular case, it was stated that the Collector and the Additional District Magistrate, Tirunelveli were present on the spot and their evidences formed the main part in the enquiry. The Government therefore decided to appoint C.A. Ramakrishnan, I.C.S., Collector of Madurai as Chairman and S. Maharajan, Sub - Judge, Tuticorin to conduct this enquiry.\footnote{G.O. No.1870, Public Department, 15\textsuperscript{th} July 1953.}

The enquiry was to cover all the circumstances relating to the incidents that had happened at or near Tuticorin on 15\textsuperscript{th} August and the circumstances which led to the opening of fire by the police. The enquiry was thrown open to the public and the press and all relevant evidences were recorded from all persons including railway officials having personal knowledge relating to these incidents.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}
Against the Imposition of Hindi

In the Independent India, Rajaji began to study the hidden spirit (unquenchable anger) of the people of the Madras Presidency especially the Tamils and he started endorsing their views. Rajaji personally felt that if there was imposition of Hindi in the Madras Province and it would be detrimental to the unity of India. Therefore as a Chief Minister, in order to give priority to the unity and integrity of India, he favoured English in the place of Hindi as far as official communications were concerned. It was due to the fact that the Indian leaders used the English language while propagating their political ideas. Only a few leaders spoke in their mother tongue. The English language was a must to mobilize the people of India against the British rule though there was regional chauvinism in the country.

After independence Hindi was made the official language of India and the Central Government tried on many occasions to impose Hindi indirectly on the Non-Hindi speaking people especially the Central Government employees. Foreseeing this, Rajaji changed his language policy and supported English for the betterment of the Non-Hindi speaking people. Though the Justice Party and the Self-Respect Movement blamed Rajaji, history presents a paradoxical picture as regarding the imposition of Hindi in Madras Presidency.\(^\text{134}\) The unbiased analysts are of the opinion that it was Justice Ministry under the rule of Raja of Bobbili that the Hindi language

was given importance in the educational curriculum in the Madras Presidency. The Hindi language was taught in 104 secondary schools mostly run by local District Boards even before the formation of the Congress Ministry in Madras Presidency. That the Justice Party should take the responsibility for the introduction of Hindi. Freed Rajaji from the allegation. But Rajaji should have thought twice before introduction compulsory Hindi for his political vision was high. But no individual can be a spokesperson of the complete masses as regarding self-respect and honours.

Rajaji’s appraisal of the situation in Madras during the anti-Hindi agitation in this period made him unpopular. His vision was veiled. As an administrator in this context Rajaji gave more importance to national cause rather than regional cause. Rajaji could not transcend the hearts of the Tamils as regarding their language sentiments at the early period. It is a very sensitive issue, which should be handled with utmost care. Sometimes even great leaders are not in a position to assess the real situation though they expect things good always. Rajaji had fallen into this category, his integrity, statesmanship and foresight cannot be underestimated. Rajaji’s outlook regarding Hindi had changed during the fifties. Later on he changed his language policy and supported English for the betterment of the Non-Hindi speaking land especially the Madras Presidency. It should be borne in his mind that Rajaji was against the imposition of Hindi and not Hindi itself.

Ibid.
He proved he was a practical thinker. A true administrator should respect the popular sentiments of the people and act according to it. Assessing a personality like Rajaji’s stature is not an easy task. The period and environment should be taken into account along with the nature of problems that existed during his time. He was a Statesman, thinker, writer and above all an able administrator. To say authentically that he was an administrator par-excellence there were ample examples, and there were examples also to show that he was a genuine politician.

Agitation for Andhra State

During Rajaji’s period, the idea of linguistic reorganization of Madras Presidency came as a result of economic, political and cultural necessities. The linguistic minorities of Telugus and Keralites led them to seek cultural and political identity with their fellow linguistic groups. They thought that a political identity for the different people, speaking the identical languages was fundamental for their political progress and cultural development. The Telugus wanted to have a homogenous unity of same linguistic group to dominate other linguistic groups. During Rajaji’s period, they were given Andhra State which consisted of the undisputed Telugu areas of Madras State except the Madras City.
For long the Andhras had been associated with the imperial traditions of the Vijayanagar Empire. Under the impact of Western learning a strong desire for progress and development sprang amongst them. This led to the starting of institutions to spread knowledge and culture among the people and initiating efforts to improve the Telugu language and make it a suitable medium of modern thought and scientific learning. The Telugu press influenced public opinion and stimulated a spirit of union and co-operation. In regard to education, the Andhra areas were very backward when compared with the Tamil areas in the Madras Presidency. That was indicated by the comparatively lesser number of schools in the Telugu speaking areas. There were 163 schools out of the total of 715 in the Presidency. The Telugu-speaking people felt that the number of schools for their pupils were very small and not in proportion to their population. In an attempt to redress their grievances in higher education, the Andhras demanded the creation of a separate educational department with a university for the Telugu districts. In trade and communication the Telugus experienced difficulties for want a good harbour and sufficient railway lines. For long there was no railway in the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Godavari. Krishna and portion of Gundur. These inabilitys affected the economic condition and welfare of the Telugu districts.

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136 G.O.No.457, Public Department, 16th April 1914.
When the Justice Party was in power, the Madras Government was dominated by Telugu leaders. It was followed by the Congress regime with Rajaji as the Premier. The Andhras preferred their own leaders like T.Prakasam for leadership in the Presidency which gave a new dimension to regional conflict.138

Among the linguistic groups in the Madras Presidency, the Andhras were the first to demand a separate province for them. The impact of Western education and political institutions made the Andhras realize their comparative backwardness. Social and cultural organizations came to be formed and this trend contributed to the revival of their language and culture. The Andhra Maha Sabha, one such organization accelerated the process. The holding of Andhra conferences and passing of resolutions advocating a separate Andhra province gained public support and cooperation. The newspapers too wrote articles giving wide publicity. During this time, to demand for a University for Andhra coincided with the demand for a province. As a result, the Andhra separatist movement assumed prominence.139

Rajaji, who was not favourably inclined towards the Andhra Province, outwitted the Andhra members by making the Madras Legislative pass a comprehensive resolution for the creation of Andhra, Tamil, Kerala

139 Ibid., p.31.
and Karnataka States. The Madras Government communicated the resolution to the Government of India on 21\textsuperscript{st} April 1938. But on 2\textsuperscript{nd} May 1938 the British Government announced in the House of Commons that no new provinces would be created. Many Andhras suspected that the British Governments attitude might have been influenced by Rajaji’s advice. The Second World War broke out in September 1939 and due to this the question of Andhra Province once again got relegated to the background.\textsuperscript{140}

When India attained independence on 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1947, the Andhras hoped that their long - cherished desire for a separate Andhra Province would be fulfilled soon. Many Andhra leaders like T.Prakasam and N.G.Ranga met Sardar Vallabai Patel, Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of India and requested them to create the Andhra Province before drafting the new Constitution. Patel promised to consider its legal implication. On 27\textsuperscript{th} November Prime Minister Nehru announced that his Government had accepted the principle of linguistic provinces. The Andhras felt that they had been losing much by their continued association with other linguistic groups in the Madras Province.\textsuperscript{141}

When this issue was pressed on him at the All India Congress Committee session in April 1948, it annoyed Nehru.

\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Indian Express}, 29\textsuperscript{th} April 1938.  
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{The Hindu}, 15\textsuperscript{th} April 1948.
On 17th June 1948 the President of the Constituent Assembly appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission consisting of S.K.Dar, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court as chairman and Dr. Pananlal, I.C.S.(retd.) and Jagat Narayana Lal, member of the Constituent Assembly as members. It was also known as the ‘Dar Commission’ after the name of its chairman. The Commission submitted its report on 10th December 1948. The report of the Commission created such an uproar in the country especially in Andhra that the Congress felt it prudent to assuage the feelings of the public by creating another committee to consider the question of linguistic provinces. The members of the committee were Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The Committee popularly known as the J.V.P., Committee, from the initials of its members, submitted its report to the Congress Working Committee in April 1949. It recommended the postponement of linguistic provinces by a few years.

The Government of India requested the Government of Madras to take steps to form the Andhra Province consisting generally of the undisputed Andhra Districts, but without the City of Madras. Accordingly the Madras Government appointed the Partition Committee with Kumaraswami Raja as its chairman. Andhra was represented by T.Prakasam, Gopala Reddy, Venkata Rao and Sanjiva Reddy, while non - Telugu areas

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142 Ibid., 11th December 1948,  
143 Ibid., 30th December 1948,  
144 Maria John, B., Op.Cit., p.44.
were represented by Bhaktavatsalam, T.Krishnamachari and K.Madhava Menon. The Partition Committee’s recommendations were examined fully and carefully at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Madras Government held on 4\textsuperscript{th} January 1950. In this connection it was felt that the appointment of a boundary commission before the formation of the Andhra province would also stir up controversies unconnected with the demarcation of the boundary, seriously embarrassing a composite Ministry consisting of the Andhras and non-Andhras at Madras.\textsuperscript{145}

The Government of India accepted the formation and the condition mentioned in the J.V.P., Report. The Partition Committee had reported that agreement was lacking on essential issues such as the status of Madras City, the appointment of assets and liabilities, the boundaries of the province particularly regarding the district of Bellary and Rayalaseema and the execution of Tungabhadra Project. The Rayalaseema Mahasabha met Minister Sardar Vallabai Patel and urged on him for the indefinite postponement of the formation of the Andhra Province.\textsuperscript{146}

G. Sitarama Sastry, popularly called ‘Swamy Sitaram’, was a staunch Congress worker. He had written to Nehru a few times demanding the creation of Andhra Province within six months.\textsuperscript{147} On 16\textsuperscript{th} June 1951 he addressed letters to the Government of Madras, the President of India, the

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.45-46.
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Ibid.}, p.49.
\textsuperscript{147} \textit{The Hindu}, 9\textsuperscript{th} September 1951.
Prime Minister and other leaders, asking for an assurance before 15\textsuperscript{th} August that the Andhra State would be formed. As Sitaram did not receive response from any quarter, he announced his decision to go on a fast unto death from 10\textsuperscript{th} August 1951. In conclusion he informed that in the event of the Government’s failure to formation of Andhra State, there was no alternative for him but to perform *Satyagraha*.\textsuperscript{148} The fast created a highly explosive situation in Andhra and led to some untoward incidents. Thereupon Acharya Vinoba Bhave advised the Swami to give up his fast so that the whole issue could be settled in a peaceful atmosphere. The Swami ended his 35 day fast on September 1951, after which the contempt of the people towards the Andhra Congress leaders increased considerably. In this situation the general elections of 1952 were held.\textsuperscript{149} In this situation, Potti Sriramulu, another leader, began his fast unto death on 19\textsuperscript{th} October 1952 at Madras. This was considered a part of his *Satyagraha*. Agitations of other types at other places were stopped. On the night of 15\textsuperscript{th} December, the fifty eighth day of his fast, Sriramulu breathed his last. This news shocked the people and disturbances on a large scale broke out on 16\textsuperscript{th} December. Mobs raided the Vijayawada Railway Station and locked the wagons. Seven people were killed in police firings at different places. The damage to railway property was estimated by the government at rupees fifty lakhs.\textsuperscript{150} *The Hindu* observed, “the Andhra State idea which has long been conceded in principle, must respect his

\textsuperscript{148} G.O. No.2779, Public Department, 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1951.
\textsuperscript{149} *Ibid.*
\textsuperscript{150} *The Hindu*, 19\textsuperscript{th}, 20\textsuperscript{th} December 1952.
heroic self-sacrifice, and the country owes it to the memory of this remarkable man to see that nobody loses his emotional balance at this juncture or indulges in intemperate acts which might hold up progress towards the objective which he cherished.” 151 The Tamil papers felt that if the Andhra leaders had come together and arrived at a common understanding the life of Sriramulu could have been saved well in time.152

On 19th December 1952, Nehru declared that the Government of India decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras State, but not including the City of Madras and that the Government were appointing Justice K.N.Wanchoo, Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, to consider and report on the financial and other implications of this decision and the related questions of implementing it.153

The Prime Minister’s announcement was in furtherance of his statement in the Rajya Sabha in the course of which he expressed the government’s willingness to take early steps for the formation of a separate Andhra State on condition that it included only the undisputed Telugu areas of Madras State excluding Madras City. Further agitation beyond the terms of such an agreement was completely given up. Nehru on that occasion reiterated the Government adherence to the recommendations of the J.V.P. Report.

151 Ibid., 21st January 1953.
153 The Times of India, 20th December 1952; Indian Express, 20th December 1952.
The formation of a new state was in accordance with the Provisions of Article (3) of the Constitution. This Article inter alia states that “Parliament may by law form any State or diminish the area or alter the boundaries of any State provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries of any part ‘A’ or ‘B’ State, the views of the State Legislatures both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions there of have been ascertained by the President”.\textsuperscript{154} Asked when an official bill would be introduced on this subject, Katju told the Council that the Government of India had done its best to see that there was no delay. The Home Minister did not state what exactly were the terms of reference given to K.N.Wanchoo. He only said that Wanchoo had to formulate the matters referred to in the statement in more precise terms. The issues related to the Governor, the High court, civil servants, public buildings, hospitals, universities and other institutions were to be studied.

The Madras Government asserted that the City of Madras had been ‘functioning as between Tamil and Andhra areas and you cannot take away the capital in 15 days or so’.\textsuperscript{155} In the House, the only supplementary was one from A. Nambiar, who inquired whether the Government would also

\textsuperscript{154} *The Times of India*, 20\textsuperscript{th} December 1952.
\textsuperscript{155} G.O. No.172, Public Department, 19\textsuperscript{th} January 1953.
turn its attention to the early formation of Aikya Kerala. The question was disallowed and the discussion closed. In the Council, N.G. Ranga, leader of the Krishak Lok Party, which won 15 seats in the Madras Assembly from Andhra expressed his gratitude to the Government for its decision to go ahead with the formation of a separate Andhra State.

Rajaji, the Chief Minister of Madras said in a press interview that the State Government would further proceed on the Prime Minister’s decision on the formation of Andhra State as early as possible.\textsuperscript{156} Sanjeev Reddy welcomed the announcement and reiterated the Andhra Congressmen to accept the formation of the J.V.P., Report. The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee has constituted a six men committee to draft and present a memorandum to Justice Wanchoo claiming inter alia that the capital of the new state should be temporarily in the city of Madras itself and that the city should be constituted as a Chief Commissioner’s State.

At the instructions of the Government, Justice Wanchoo reached New Delhi on 30\textsuperscript{th} December 1952 and held preliminary consultations with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Accordingly, Justice Wanchoo arrived at Madras on 7\textsuperscript{th} January 1953 and received representations. On the 19\textsuperscript{th} January 1953, he went out on a week’s tour of various places in the Andhra region. After the tour, Justice Wanchoo had further discussions for three days and concluded his enquiry on 29\textsuperscript{th} January 1953. After having

\textsuperscript{156} \textit{The Times of India}, 20\textsuperscript{th} December 1952.
analysed the claims and counter claims among other things he submitted his report on 7th February 1953. Regarding the boundaries and the extent of the new State of Andhra, he included twelve districts from the composite State of Madras namely, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Anatapur, Cuddappah, Chittoor and the taluks of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg of Bellary district. Of the seven remaining taluks of Bellary district, all except Bellary taluk were included in Mysore State. Madras City was to a part of the Residuary State.

As for the location of the capital city of the Andhra State, Justice Wanchoo suggested to have it in the city of Madras for a period of three to five years at the outset and it was for the Andhra leaders to assure the non-Andhras that no unseemly agitation leading to undesirable results had to be carried on. The Governor had to be available at the spot for advice and guidance. If the temporary capital remained in Madras city, he was to live here for most of the time and that should not be a barrier to find a suitable residence for him therein. In respect of the Public Service Commission, it was felt better to establish a separate one for the new State from the very beginning. It was to consist of a chairman and two members as was in the composite State of Madras with members from Andhra. It could be shifted

to Guntur, which could conveniently accommodate its office.\(^{159}\) Wanchoo recommended that at least five crores of rupees should be provided to the new State by the Government of India either as a grant or as a loan, to enable the new Government to meet its expenditure at least for the first few months, as otherwise it would be impossible for the new State to come into existence. In conclusion Wanchoo referred to the question of the date on which the new State was created.

Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah pointed out that let Tamilian brethren who cried for Tamilnadu, Kannadiya neighbours who cried for Karnataka State and Malayalee friends who demanded for *Aikya Kerala* bear in mind what Pandit Nehru had told to India. Let solve it amicably between Indians. As the Chief Minister said, not to try to throw allegations and receive counter - allegations against one another while speaking on the simple motion that ‘this House recommends that the Andhra State Bill, 1953 was introduced in Parliament’. The formation of visala Andhra composed of the Telugu speaking areas of Hyderabad, Orissa, Mysore and other contiguous States.\(^{160}\)

T.Viswanatham and K.Krishna Rao supported the motion recommending the introduction of the Andhra State Bill in Parliament. K.Krishna Rao said that the formation of the Andhra State has been the cherished dream of the Andhra people.\(^{161}\) P.S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar and

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V.R. Nagarajan of the Congress supported the introduction of the Andhra State Bill in the House of Parliament. He said, “the Andhra State Bill may find an easy and quick passage through the House of Parliament so that the State may be set up on the 1st October 1953 to satisfy the great aspiration of Andhra friends”.162 The general desire on the part of the Andhras was to have it on the Telugu New Year Day of 16th March 1953. Since the date was very near the end of financial year, he suggested the date of 1st April if possible, besides giving a few more choices of 1st July or 1st October or 1st January, so as to reduce the accounting troubles considerably. Finally, they agreed upon the 1st of 1st October 1953 as the date on which the new State of Andhra was to be created.163 But the partition brought in its train a number of problems for the two States.

The decision of the Government of India was deferred in respect of Bellary taluk because it was felt that in view of its mixed population and other considerations, the matter needed further examination before a final decision could be reached. The Government of India accordingly appointed Justice Lakshmi Shankar Misra, Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court to investigate the questions relating to Bellary taluk and report on them. It was finally decided by the Government of India on the report of Justice Misra that the whole of Bellary taluk should also be included in Mysore State. The Government of India decided that the territorial arrangements referred to above was to be final, subject to any minor adjustments that were

162 Ibid., p. 61.
required in the boundary between the Andhra and Madras States. The revision of the food control arrangements which the partition of the state had necessitated was the most important consequence of the partition as far as the Madras State was concerned. The other important consequence was the re-adjustment of the administrative machinery. The Secretariat Departments, Heads of Departments as well as some of the Regional Office in the Madras State were re-organised.164

N.G.Ranga Reddi, M.V. Krishna Rao, R. Nagan Gowda, N.Sankara Reddi, S.B.P. Patabhirama Rao and D.Sanjeevayya resigned their offices with effect from the forenoon of 1st October 1953, as a result of the formation of the new State for the Telugu area and the transfer of certain areas to Mysore. The remaining ministers continued to hold office and in addition to M.Bhaktavatsalam, K.Rajaram and Srimathi Jothi Venkatachalam were also sworn in as members of the Council of Ministers with effect from the afternoon of 9th October 1953.165

The transition of the land of the Andhras from a regional status in Madras Presidency to a Provincial status in Indian Union was an event of great consequence. To the Andhras it represented the realisation of a long cherished goal. It initiated the process of disintegration of Madras Presidency and quickened the process of re-organisation of States on linguistic basis. To begin with, the Congress Party appeared enthusiastic with the linguistic re-organisation of states, but after independence it found that the proposition could create many issues. Yet the force of events led a

164 Ibid.
reluctant administration at the centre to the implementation of the principle. The claims and counter claims made by linguistic groups in the year to follow presented serious problems to the administration of the country.\footnote{Maria John, B., \textit{Op.Cit.}, p.127.}

The Boundary Commission was to be considered by both the Governments concerned immediately after the formation of the state of Andhra on 1\textsuperscript{st} October 1953 and it was decided that the census slip of the disputed areas in the border district should be sorted out and villagewise linguistic data of the areas prepared before the question was pursued further.\footnote{\textit{The Hindu}, 7\textsuperscript{th} June 1956.} The Government of India was therefore approached and they appointed Arputhanathan, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Madras, as the superintendent of census operation and G.Bhimasankaran, a Deputy Collector of the Andhra State, as the Deputy Superintendent of census operation for the collection of census particulars of the border villages in the following sixteen taluks and compile the village-wise language data.

- Chittoor District - Kalahasti, Puthur, Tiruttani, Chandragiri, Palmaner, Chittoor.
- Chenglepet District - Ponneri, Tiruvallur, Saidapet, Sulurpet.
- North Arcot District - Arkonam, Gudiyatham, Wallajapet, Tirupattur.
- Salem District - Hosur, Krishnagiri.

This work was completed by the end of June 1955 and the village-wise linguistic data in respect of the villages in these taluks were furnished to the Government of Andhra and Madras.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}