CHAPTER II

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER

Article 163 of the Constitution of India envisages that there shall be a council of ministers with the Chief Minister as the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The Chief Minister is the chief executive, political head, an apex of the power structure and symbolizes authority in the administration of the State. His or her role is imperative in evolving and to carry out the development activities to the State. The Chief Minister's pivotal role is very much needed for smooth Centre-State political and fiscal relations. He has very many administrative responsibilities in accordance with the holding of portfolio in the cabinet and also over all supervision of the cabinet of the State. The office of the Chief Minister to certain extent depends upon the personality of the Chief Minister. Intelligence, on the spot decision, futuristic thinking and other traits of administration are advantages to the Chief Minister.

During the British regime the Southern part of India was divided into three major Presidencies viz., the Madras, the Hyderabad and the Mysore. In each Presidency there were many States, of which the Madras Presidency had States like Cochin, Pudukkottai and Travancore. For the administration in each of these divisions a common code was followed during the British Regime. In this chapter, an attempt is made to trace the evolution of the office of the Chief Minister on the following aspects:

1. The office of the Chief Minister before independence
2. The office of the Chief Minister since independence, and
3. Organisation of Chief Minister's Office

1 BAKSHI, PM. The Constitution of India. (Universal Law Publishing Co Pvt Ltd, 2003), p143
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

The British Government gave autonomy to the States for their internal administration. During the British regime the State governments were allowed to enact their own laws for internal administration. Fiscal and financial administration was under the purview of the States. However, to control the States several Central rules and regulations were formulated, of which the proceedings or Acts pertaining to the Chief Minister are taken for study in this section of the chapter.

During the British period there was diarchy in the administration between the British rulers and the Provincial administration. The Functions Committee had framed the revolution rules to India. There were two Lists in the period viz., Central List and Provincial Lists. The former was for the whole of India and later for the Provincial administration.

The Government of India Act, 1919 provided the base for the office of the Chief Minister in India. As per the Government of India Act of 1919 the Provincial Executives were bifurcated into

[Diagram of Provincial Executives, with two branches: Central List and Chief Minister and Cabinet]

GYAN KAPOOR, The Chief Minister as Administrator. (Arhant Publishers, Jaipur, 1992), p 8
The Councilors and the Chief Minister and Cabinet were under the administrative control of the Governor. The Chief Minister and his Cabinet were part of the Provincial Legislature and responsible to the people directly. The jurisdiction of the Provincial administration was divided into two categories: 1) Reserved half, and 2) Transferred half.

The "reserved half" was a subject of the Governor in Council, the Governor, the Secretary of the State, and the British Parliament. The "transferred half" was a subject of the Chief Minister and his Cabinet and in turn to the Provincial Legislative Council of each Province.

According to Sattananthan, in Madras Presidency the first election as per the Montague-Chelmsford reforms was held in 1920. In this election, Congress was not permitted to contest due to their Non-Cooperation Movement. As a result, the Justice Party was elected to power. The Justice Party's high command Sir Pitty Theagaraya Chetty nominated A. Subbarayalu Reddiar to head the Ministry and hence he was the first Chief Minister of the Presidency. However, he could not continue as the first minister due to his health conditions. Therefore, P. Ramarayanager was elected as the Chief Minister. Later he was called as the Raja of Panagal.

In the Madras Presidency the second general election was held in 1923. In this election also the Justice Party got adequate members and the Raja of Panagal was once again elected as the Chief Minister to this Presidency. People from different religion and linguistic groups were given chance in his Cabinet.

1 SAATANATHAN, A N, The Dravidian Movement in Tamil Nadu its Legacy, (University of Madras, 1982), p13
In the general election held in 1926 no Party secured absolute majority. However, 36 independent candidates elected to the Presidency played a vital role in the formation of the ministry by P Subbarayan, the Zamindar of Kumaramangalam. He was the first Chief Minister of the Presidency under coalition government.

There was a change in the Chief Ministership in the Madras Presidency during 1930. B Munuswami Naidu as the Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency had brought changes in the land tax and also gave relief to the people. But he resigned his Chief Ministership, as a result the Raja of Bobbili was elected as the Chief Minister of this Presidency in 1932.

During the pre-independence period, of the different Acts the Government of India Act, 1919 and 1935 were very important. In this section a brief account of both the Acts are presented.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1919

Montague, the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs presented his memorable declaration before the House of Commons on August 20, 1917. According to him this was to satisfy the local demands because his government was interested in giving more representation to the natives in India. In cooperation with the Governor General Lord Chelmsford, Montague presented a report on the constitutional reforms for India in 1918. The report was discussed and approved by the British Parliament and then became the Act of 1919. This Act is commonly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The following were the main features of the Act of 1919:

1. The Council of the Secretary of State was to comprise of eight to twelve people. Three of them should be Indian, and at least half of them should have spent at least ten years in India.
2. The Secretary of State was supposed to follow the advice of his council.

3. Part of the expenses of the office of the Secretary of State was to be met by the British Government.

4. The Secretary of State was not allowed to interfere in administrative matters of the provinces concerning the 'Transferred Subjects' and also in the matters on which Governor General and his Legislative were in agreement.

5. The Governor General had the power to nominate as many members to his Executive Council as he wanted.

6. Members appointed to the Executive Council were to have served in India for at least 10 years.

7. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses i.e. the Council of the State (Upper House) and the Legislative Assembly (Lower House).

8. Council of the State was to consist of 60 members out of which 33 were to be elected and 27 nominated by the Governor General.

9. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of 144 members out of which 103 were to be elected and 41 to be nominated by the Governor General.

10. The franchise was limited.

11. The tenure of the Upper House was five years and of the Lower House was three years.

12. Both the houses had equal legislative powers. In case of a tie, the Governor General was to call a joint meeting where the matter was to be decided by majority vote.
13. The Executive Council was not responsible to the Legislature and the Governor General had the right to refuse its advice

14. Provincial Legislatures were supposed to be unicameral

15. Seventy percent members of the Provincial Legislative Councils were to be elected and thirty percent were to be nominated

16. The Governors were given 'Instrument of Instructions' which guided them in carrying out their administrative affairs

17. The System of Diarchy was introduced in the provinces

18. Besides Muslims, other minorities including Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and Europeans were also given the right of separate electorate, and

19. New reforms were to be introduced after ten years

In the 1919 Act, the Ministries did not have any real responsibility. This Act had abolished dual heads with much financial autonomy to the provinces. According to the new Act, land revenue, irrigation, excise, forests and judicial stamps were given to the Provinces, and customs, commercial stamps, railway receipts, and salt were with the Central Government.

The main features of the Government of India Act, 1919 pertaining to Indian Provincial administration are briefly given below

1. "The Act of 1919 made a separation of the subjects of administration and sources of revenue into two categories—Central and Provincial. The Provinces could run the administration with the aid of revenues they themselves raised. Provincial budgets were separated from the budget of the Government of India.

The Provincial subjects were divided into 'transferred' and 'reserved' subjects. Transferred subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the aid of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Council in which the proportion of elected members was 70 per cent. Reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor without any responsibility to the Legislature.

It was made more responsible and bicameral, but on a communal and sectional basis. The diarchy was impracticable and devoid of any real substance. The Governor had all the powers and the introduction of ministerial government over a part of the Provincial sphere was only an empty shell and was, as such, a failure. Even though subjects were divided, the Central Legislature retained the power of legislation for the whole of India. No popular responsibility was introduced at the Centre and the Governor General-in-council continued to remain responsible only to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India.

As per this Act, the Chief Minister cannot independently deal with financial matters without the concurrence of the Governor. In the Act, the Chief Minister had little power and the major charters of the Act are listed here:

1. The Chief Minister had public works, agriculture, education, medical and local self-government under his control.
2. The Finance Department was controlling the reserved side.
3. The proposals of the Chief Minister were turned down on very simple reasons.

4. The Secretary of State directly appointed officials from the Indian Civil Service whose salaries and service conditions were under the control of the Secretary of the State and not under the control of the Chief Minister.

5. The Chief Minister and the Ministers were not given powers from the Constitution. The Governor had more powers.

6. The 1919 Act gave only partial responsibility to the Provinces.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

After the failure of the Third Round Table Conference, and the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920, led the British Government to appoint a Statutory Commission in 1927 headed by Sir John Simon. The report was submitted in 1930. A White Paper was prepared on the reports of this Commission in 1933. Later, a Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament examined the proposals contained in the White Paper. A Bill was drafted in accordance with the recommendations of the Select Committee with certain amendments and was enacted as the Government of India Act. The British government gave the Joint Select Committee the task of formulating the new Act for India. The Committee comprised of 16 members each from the House of Commons and House of Lords, 20 representatives from British India and seven from the princely states. Lord Linlithgow was appointed as the president of the Committee. After a year and a half of deliberations, the Committee finally came out with a draft Bill on February 5, 1935. The Bill was discussed in the House of Commons for 43 days and in the House of Lords for 13 days and finally, after being signed by the King, was enforced as the Government of India Act, 1935, in July 1935.
The main features of the Act of 1935 were

1. A Federation of India was promised for, comprising both provinces and states. The provisions of the Act establishing the federal central government were not to go into operation until a specified number of rulers of states had signed Instruments of Accession. Since this did not happen, the central government continued to function in accordance with the 1919 Act and only the part of the 1935 Act dealing with the provincial governments went into operation.

2. The Governor General remained the head of the central administration and enjoyed wide powers concerning administration, legislation and finance.

3. No finance bill could be placed in the Central Legislature without the consent of the Governor General.

4. The Federal Legislature was to consist of two houses, the Council of State (Upper House) and the Federal Assembly (Lower House).

5. The Council of State was to consist of 260 members, out of whom 156 were to be elected from the British India and 104 to be nominated by the rulers of princely states.

6. The Federal Assembly was to consist of 375 members, out of which 250 were to be elected by the Legislative Assemblies of the British Indian provinces while 125 were to be nominated by the rulers of princely states.

7. Consistent with the federal schemes, the Act set up, for the first time, a Federal Court for India. The Federal Court had an original jurisdiction to determine disputes between the units of the federation and it was also the Appellate Court on constitutional questions. Appeal, however,
lay from the decisions of the Federal Court to the privy Council until such appeal was abolished by the enactment of the Abolition of the Privy Council Jurisdiction Act, 1949

8 The Central Legislature had the right to pass any bill, but the bill required the approval of the Governor General before it became Law. On the other hand, Governor General had the power to frame ordinances.

9 The Indian Council was abolished. In its place, few advisers were nominated to help the Secretary of State for India.

10 The Secretary of State was not expected to interfere in matters that the Governor dealt with, with the help of Indian Ministers.

11 The provinces were given autonomy with respect to subjects delegated to them. Though the part relating to the federation never came into effect, the part relating to Provincial autonomy was given effect to from April 1937. To this extent, the Government of India assumed the role of a federal government vis-à-vis the provincial governments, although the Indian states did not come into the fold to complete the federal scheme. The Act of 1935 retained the control of the central government over the province in certain spheres requiring the Governor to act without ministerial advice and under the control and discretion of the Governor General and through him, of the Secretary of State.

12 Diarchy, which had been established in the provinces by the Act of 1919, was to be established at the Center. However, it came to an end in the provinces. The executive authority of the Center was vested in the Governor General (on behalf of the Crown), whose function was divided into
(a) Reserved subjects like defence, external affairs, etc left to the Governor General in his discretion, and

(b) Other than reserved subjects— in which the Governor General was to act on the advice of a ‘Council of Ministers’. In fact, no Council of Ministers came to be appointed, and the old Executive Council provided by the Act of 1919 continued to advise the Governor General until the Indian Independence Act, 1947

13 Two new provinces Sindh and Orissa were created

14 Reforms were introduced in North West Frontier Province as were in the other provinces

15 Separate electorates were continued as before

16 One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature was guaranteed

17 Autonomous provincial governments in 11 provinces, under ministries responsible to legislatures, were set up

18 Burma and Aden were separated from India

19 The Federal Court was established in the Center

20 The Reserve Bank of India was established

Both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League opposed the Act, but participated in the provincial elections of winter 1936-37, conducted under stipulations of the Act. At the time of independence, the two dominions of India and Pakistan accepted the Act of 1935, with a few amendments, as their provisional constitution.

8 VITHAL, B P. R. and SASTRY, M. L., op. cit.
According to the Government of India Act of 1935, the Provincial Executives were made responsible to the State Assembly. The Provincial subjects were brought under the control of the Chief Minister. The Chief Ministers were also called as the Premiers. The Provinces were given legal powers and statutory authority was given to the Provinces. The 1935 Act provided that to assist the Governor there should be a council of Ministers. After the election the Governor has to invite the leader of a Political Party which has adequate majority members than the other parties in the election. The leader became the Chief Minister. After this formality as per the selection of the Chief Minister the other Ministers will be selected. They will be in office as long as they enjoy the majority in the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature. In this Act, the role of the Governor was reduced while the role of the Chief Minister became more important.

This Act provided for the establishment of complete Government in the eleven Provinces of India. In Tamil Nadu, after the 1937 election K V Reddy formed the interim ministry. But within six months, the Congress formed the Government with C Rajagobalachari as the Premier. His administrative capacity was commended by the British. During his tenure there was no internal crisis and it was considered as the greatest achievement of C Rajagobalachari. This condition did not last long because of the rift developed between C Rajagobalachari and the Congress on various issues. His anti-war policy was not accepted by many Congressmen. This rift had expanded further during the Second World War. As a result he resigned his Chief Ministership and slowly he lost his popularity in the party. With all that he was once again called back to head the Ministry. But it was felt that the Provincial administration under the Government of India Act of 1935 was not as expected. In the practical side the true spirit of the Act was not taken into account. The very purpose of the Act was questioned as it failed to give more powers to the Chief Minister.

9 MUTHUSAMY, M S, K.Kamaraj- A Socio - Political Study. (Tamil Nadu Academy of Political Science, Madras, 1988), p 48
In the general election held in 1946 the Congress got majority in the Madras Presidency. The Congress Ministry under the leadership of T Prakasam was formed. But he could not continue because he was not supported by some of the top leaders in the party. Accordingly he was voted out in March 1947. To head the Ministry C Rajagobalachar nominated Subbarayan. But he was defeated by O P Ramaswamy Reddiar. In another change he could not continue to head the Ministry. To his place Kumaraswami Raja was chosen. In this, the political game of K Kamaraj played a vital role.\(^\text{10}\)

The Indian Independence Act which was passed in 1947 brought subtle change in provincial politics. It recommended for partition of India and Pakistan. The British administration continued further when British India was in certain Provinces, five Chief Commissioners' Provinces, certain tribal areas and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Indian administration took over 500 Indian Provinces. This was beginning of the independent India and the role of the Chief Minister had changed as discussed below.

**OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

The office of the Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu from 1947 is discussed on the two following heads viz,

1 Constitution and the Chief Minister, and
2 Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu in the independent India

**CONSTITUTION AND THE CHIEF MINISTER**

In the independent India with regard to the office of the Chief Minister the Constitution of India plays an important role. The Constitution was framed as per

\(^{10}\) MUTHUSAMY, M S., op.cit., pp 50-51
the Government of India Act of 1935 "The decision to adopt the Government of India Act of 1935 as the basis of the new Constitution, had the great advantage of making the transition from British rule to the new Republic of India without any break with the past, and thus secured for India the advantage with an evolutionary change over a revolutionary break with the past. As will presently appear the Government of India Act of 1935 had great merits as an instrument of federal government."11

The Constituent Assembly had evolved the Constitution of India. The said Assembly held its first sitting on the 9th December, 1946. To finalise the Constitution the Constituent Assembly appointed a Drafting Committee on the 29th August, 1947 under the Chairmanship of Dr Ambedkar. The Draft Constitution of India was published in February, 1948. The Constituent Assembly in its meeting held on 14th November, 1949 finalised the draft Constitution. On the same day it was passed in the Assembly. The requirements pertaining to citizenship, elections, provisional Parliament, temporary and transitional provisions, were given immediate effect, i.e., from November 26, 1949. The rest of the Constitution came into force on the 26th January, 1950.12

Article 1 of Part 1 of the Constitution clearly portrays that "India, that is Bharat, shall be the Union of States. The Parliament may by law, "form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or part of State, increase the area of any State, diminish the area of any State, alter the boundaries of any State and alter the name of any State. According to the Constitution of India, the Union has power to divide the States on linguistic basis.13

12 CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, website
13 BAKSHI, P.M., op. cit., pp5-7
The Directive Principle of State policy is given in the Part IV of the Constitution of India. The Articles 36 to 51 deals with the complete Directive Principle of State policy as listed below.

Articles

36 Definition

37 Application of the principles contained in this Part

38 State to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people

39 Certain principles of policy to be followed by the State

39A Equal justice and free legal aid

40 Organisation of village panchayats

41 Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases

42 Provision for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief

43 Living wage, etc., for workers

43A Participation of workers in management of industries

44 Uniform civil code for the citizens

45 Provision for free and compulsory education for children

46 Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections

47 Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health

48 Organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry

48A Protection and improvement of environment and safeguarding of forests and wild life
49 Protection of monuments and places and objects of national importance

50 Separation of judiciary from executive

51 Promotion of international peace and security

With regard to dependence of States to Union, "To redress the balance, it is necessary to point out the dependence of the Union on the States in several important respects

1 First and foremost, is that the Parliament (the Central Legislature) is dependent upon the States. It is elected by the Legislative Assemblies of the States. Where the ruling party, or group of parties, in the House of the People has a majority but not an overwhelming majority in the Council of States can have a very important voice in the passage of legislation other than financial bills.

2 Secondly, a Bill to amend the Constitution requires to be passed by each House of Parliament separately by an absolute majority in that House and by not less than two-thirds of those present and voting.

3 Thirdly, the very important matters mentioned in the proviso to Article 368 (Amendment of the Constitution) cannot be amended unless the amendments passed by Parliament are ratified by not less than half the number of Legislatures of the States. Ratification is thus required inter alia, for changes in the Legislative Lists, in the Union and State Judiciary, in the election of the President and in amending the amending Article itself.

4 Fourthly, the amendment of Article 352 gives the Council of States a most important voice in the declaration of emergency.
5  Fifthly, the executive power of the Union is vested in the President of India who is not directly elected by the people but is elected by an electoral college consisting of. The result therefore is that they have a very substantial say in the election of the President of India.\textsuperscript{14}

The Constitution of India has 22 Parts, 12 Schedules and 2 Appendices, of which Part IV and the First Schedules are very important provisions for our study. In the Constitution, the Part XI deals with the relations between the Union and the States, in which Chapter I bring out the legislative relations and Chapter II covers administrative relations. In Chapter I, the distribution of legislative powers is provided under Articles 245 to 255. As regards Chapter II, the administrative relations are codified from Article 256 to 261. Article 262 refers about adjudication of disputes relating to waters of inter-State rivers or river valleys. Article 263 provides for the establishment of an inter-State council for enquiring into and advising upon disputes which may arise between the States, and for making recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action of the States.

In the Constitution of India, the Chapter II deals with the Executive Council of Ministers. In this Article 164 contains the other provisions as to Ministers:

1  The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. Provided that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work.

The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

Before a Minister enters upon his office, the Governor shall administer to him the oaths of office and of secrecy according to the forms set out for the purpose in the Third Schedule.

A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Legislature of the State shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister.

The salaries and allowances of Ministers shall be such as the Legislature of the State may from time to time determined by law and, until the Legislature of the State so determines, shall be as specified in the Second Schedule.

Again in the Constitution of India, the Article 167 gives the details of the duties of Chief Minister as respects the furnishing of information to Governor, etc. It shall be the duty of the Chief Minister of each State to communicate to the Governor of the State all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation,

to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation as the Governor may call for, and

if the Governor so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.

15 CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, website
16 Ibid.
In Tamil Nadu, the office of the Chief Minister is found as codified in the Constitution of India. The Constitution provides the apex role to the Governor, but the Chief Minister is powerful as far as all administrative matters are concerned. He has political and Constitutional responsibilities. He should also bear in mind that he is answerable to the electorate who voted his Ministry to power. Courage, conviction and stamina are required to the Chief Minister for his efficient functioning. In the following section a brief history of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is given.

CHIEF MINISTERS IN TAMIL NADU IN THE INDEPENDENT INDIA

On 15 August 1947, Madras Presidency comprised of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and some territorial areas of Kerala. In the First General Elections of 1952, the Congress suffered a loss that is, out of the 140 seats contested the Congress could secure only 43, while the Communist Party of India bagged as many as 40 seats out of the 60 it contested in Andhra and of Madras Presidency. But in the Madras Legislative Assembly itself, the Congress could secure 152. The non-Congress members in the legislature, numbering 164 formed themselves into a United Democratic Front (U D F) and elected T. Prakasam as their leader. However, the Governor nominated C. Rajagopalachari to the Legislative Council and invited him to form the ministry.

The Andhra people wanted their own State and demanded partition. This was opposed by C. Rajagopalachari as he was against division of States on linguistic basis. But some of his move made the leaders of Andhra to pressurise for separation of the State from Madras. The martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu on 15th of December, 1952 for the cause rocked Andhra into a violent and devastating agitation. On the 19th December, 1952, Jawaharlal Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that the
Andhra State would be formed with the eleven undisputed Telugu districts, and the three Taluks of the Bellary district, but excluding Madras City On the 1st of October, 1953, Andhra State came into existence 17

The Madras State was bifurcated into Andhra Pradesh, comprising of Telugu speaking areas and Madras State, comprising of Tamil speaking areas The old capital city of Madras was retained in the Madras State Under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, the Madras State was further divided into the States of Kerala, Mysore and Madras Later, on 1 April 1960, territories comprising of Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh was transferred to Madras State in exchange of territories from the Chingleput and Salem District 18

As of First April 1960 the boundaries of Madras State was finalized which remained as the same area even now In the newly bifurcated Madras State a lot of political changes were experienced after independence C Rajagopalachar’s political thought were unique His opposition for the division of States on linguistics basis was not seriously viewed On language issue his acceptance of Hindi as national language and he also wanted Hindi to be studied in Tamil Nadu was not liked by many people especially by the Dravida Kazahagam With all that Hindi was made compulsory in curriculum of the schools in the State During his period the Madras Temple Entry Act of 1936 was passed His concept of Kulakalvi was opposed in the State The opposition to his ideas and other political reasons he stepped down in 1953 when the rift between him and the Congress leaders in the State widened further

17 GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH Website, 2003
18 GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU Website, 2003
After the resignation of C Rajagopalachari in 1954, K Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of the State. He was in the office for nine years which was considered as the “Golden Period” in the independent State. He provided good and clean administration and his integrity was admired by everyone. The Congress party in the State was free from all problems and he was accepted by all the factions in the party. Kamaraj wanted to establish social dynamism. He truly followed Gandhian ideologies with an independent mind.

Kamaraj’s educational programme provided benefit to thousands of poor people. During his tenure, he had allocated more funds in the budget for education. Introduction of more schools and appointment of more teachers made his educational programme a successful one. His mid-day meal scheme was the pioneer method which increased the enrolment of children in the schools. He did not have any formal education but he proved to be an able, selfless and dedicated administrator.

Kamaraj had resigned as per his own “Kamaraj Plan” to work for the party. This paved way for Bhakthavatsalam to become as the Chief Minister in 1963. Bhakthavatsalam was known for quick decision making. Through out his tenure, Bhakthavatsalam tried to amalgamate the welfare ideals of C Rajagopalachari and K Kamaraj. He revived the bureaucratic system in the State. But his education policy made him unpopular. During his period, the anti-Hindi agitation by the students went to peak throughout the State. The anti-Hindi agitation was considered by him as DMK engineered political agitation and law and order problem. Such a poor political prediction was responsible for the fall of Congress and the rise of DMK in Tamil Nadu.

19 NIGILINGAPPA, S., Unfailing Courtesy- Bhaktavatsalam, Fifty Years of Public Life, (Seventy Sixth Birthday Commemoration Volume, Madras, 1972)
In addition, the emergence of E V R Periyar joined the Congress party ruling in the State. His self respect movement was a landmark in the political history of Madras State. From DK the DMK came as a regional political party in 1962. The party initially considered as anti-national and having secessionist ideology. Bhakthavatsalam’s British type administration and his authority to disciplining people were not supported by the people. The mismanagement of public distribution system was a typical example of making Congress unpopular in the State. The rising price of rice in the open market was also yet another example of mismanagement. All these helped DMK to articulate the failure of Congress through their inspiring electoral speeches and promises. The overall poor performance of the State in industrial and agricultural sector and the dictatorship attitude and corruption were responsible for failure of Congress during Bhakthavatsalam period.

Altogether the Congress lost to DMK in the 1967 general election in the Madras State. It was a landmark in the political history of not only in Tamil Nadu but also in India. In the election the DMK got 138 seats out of 234 seats it contested. The irony was that the political giant K. Kamaraj lost to Srinivasan a student leader in his own constituency. The election result also disturbed the Congress at the Centre. It was because the DMK won in 25 seats against 39 seats contested for the Lok Sabha. After the State Assembly election C N Annadurai was elected as the Chief Minister of the Madras State. In August 1968, Madras State was renamed as Tamil Nadu.

The DMK regime under C N Annadurai’s leadership was remarkable. His public speaking and communication skills were responsible for the uprising of DMK and disturbance to Congress. During his tenure he made all efforts to control the

price of rice. Even though they could not give rice as they promised but they tried bringing the price under control was backed by all in the State. 21

On language issue the DMK was for two language formula that is Tamil and English in the schools in Tamil Nadu. Such a move was appreciated by the non-Hindi speaking States in the country. Adding to this K Kamaraj’s opposition to the imposition of Hindi into non-Hindi speaking States was not considered seriously by the Congress people. In the mean time the DMK had changed their ideology on federalism after the Chinese aggression in 1962.

After the demise of C.N. Annadurai the DMK leadership has gone to M. Karunanidhi. He is a political strategist and continued to head the party as left by C. N. Annadurai. He was deputy Leader of the Opposition during 1962-67 and DMK President 1969 onwards. He is a member of the State Legislative Assembly from 1957 onwards. During his tenure as Chief Minister he brought the following novel schemes to the State:

1. Beggars Rehabilitation Home,
2. Free Eye Camps,
3. Supply of free rice on important days,
4. Free supply of spectacles,
5. Abolition of hand rickshaws,
6. Slum Clearance Board,
7. Family Benefit Scheme,
8. Legislation for equal property rights for women,
9. Marriage grant of Rs 10,000 to poor girls,
10. Incentive for inter-Caste Marriages and Widow's Re-marriages,

11. Maternity Relief for women in poor households,

12. Free Education for poor girls up to graduate level,

13. Adi-Dravidar Free Housing Schemes,

14. Formation of separate departments for Welfare of Backward Classes,

15. Special reservation of twenty percentage for Most Backward Classes

16. Setting up of the State Planning Commission, etc

No doubt Karunanidhi is a shrewd politician and brought a number of schemes for the development of the State. However, people were critical of him for lifting prohibition which was in vogue for more than thirty years. In another even his political plan failed when he removed M G Ramachandran from DMK.

M G. Ramachandran a popular film star, statesman and liked by the masses in the State. He joined DMK in 1953. He was taking the policies of DMK to the people through his movies. His popularity in the State was acknowledged by C N Annadurai as, "If MGR shows his face DMK would get 40,000 votes, and if he utters a word four lakh votes". C N Annadurai used him as DMK's heart. But this did not last long after the sudden demise of C N Annadurai during Karunanidhi's as Chief Minister and Party leader difference of opinion aroused on his political vendetta against MGR.

Karunanidhi wanted to make Mu Ka Muthu his son to replace MGR from the cine field. Some of MGR Fans Associations were converted in to Mu Ka Muthu's Fans Association. This enraged MGR to oppose Karunanidhi and some of the party leaders who were responsible for this move. In a public meeting held in 8 10 1972,
MGR questioned how the DMK functionaries could get bungalows and cars. He charged the Party leadership for not maintaining accounts properly. MGR did not like lifting prohibition. All these resulted in removal of MGR from DMK Party’s treasurer and basic membership.

Karunanidhi’s move against MGR and his fans was responsible for large scale strike in the State. Following this, MGR formed ADMK on 15.10.1972. According to him, politics was one field from which he could serve the people who meant more to him than anything else in the world. A lot of people reposed their full faith on him and followed him. Throughout his life, MGR’s reputation was always on the ascendance and never waned. Little wonder that he was known by various appellations like Jewel among Men, Revolutionary Epic hero, etc, showered on him by the people.

In 1977, ADMK was renamed as AIADMK. He wanted to formulate the tenets of C N Annadurai. MGR became Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and was re-elected for three consecutive terms. As Chief Minister, he organized a totalitarian crackdown on all political dissent while introducing populist schemes such as the Chief Minister’s Nutritious Meal Programme. During his tenure, he passed an order to remove the differences in order to encourage all those who were economically backward irrespective of their castes. He wanted to give special opportunities to women in public life and suggested reservation of at least 25 percent of seats to them in the State and Central legislatures.

MGR has brought number of schemes for uplift of downtrodden. He gave a new fillip to politics in Tamil Nadu. He established good relationship with the

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23 THE HINDU, October 9, 1972
24 AIADMK Website, 2003
25 GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU, G O No 72, Social Welfare Department, 1 2 1980
26 PATRIOT, 20 10 1972
Centre In his political career, his association with Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi was excellent. Best administration, access to common man and people based programmes were his strength. But Tamil Nadu lost MGR on 24 12 1987 when he passed away due to illness. After this tragic incident Janagi Ramachandran, MGR's wife became the Chief Minister. She was Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for a short span of time. At this moment Jayalalithaa emerged as leader and proved that she is the only heir of MGR.

In the general election of 1991, she emerged as strong personality with thumbing majority and became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. She was the Member of Parliament to the Rajya Sabha from 1984 until she was elected to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly in January 1989 from Bodinayakkanur. She was the first Woman Leader of the Opposition in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. She was Chief Minister from 24-06-1991 to 12-05-1996, from 14-05-2001 to 21-09-2001 and from 23 2002 onwards.

ORGANISATION OF THE CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE

The Chief Minister of a State is the most powerful and the highest office in the administration of a State. There is a Constitutional provision for the Office of the Chief Minister. The administrative setup of the Chief Minister is given in Charts 2 1 to 2 3.

Chart 2 1 shows that the President of India is the Constitutional head and under his office the Governor of the State is the superior Constitutional head to run and control the State administration. The Chief Minister as the elected chief of the State will function as an important administrator of the State. To assist the Chief Minister he will have a Cabinet and bureaucratic setup.

AIADMK Party Website, 2003
Chart 2.2 brings out the Chief Minister's office. In this, the departments under Chief Minister's control are given. This will vary according to Chief Minister assuming office at the time of allocation of portfolio to his cabinet.

Chart 2.3 gives the particulars of the Chief Minister's cabinet. The different ministers and their portfolio are given. This arrangement may vary according to the Chief Minister's wish and other developments in the State or Political Party.

The office of the Chief Minister discussed in this Chapter brings out the details of administrative and historical development in the Chief Ministership of Tamil Nadu. The office of the Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu during the pre-independence and post-independence clearly explains the important role of Chief Minister in the State. In the history of the office of the Chief Ministership, it is observed in this chapter that he was not given adequate powers in the pre-independent India. Democracy is established in the State only if it is administered by an elected Chief Minister. The role of the Chief Minister in the State administration and the subtle difference in the style of functioning exhibited in this chapter shows the efficient administration of each Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu. In this, the administrative method of J Jayalalithaa is unique which needs a closer examination and analysis. With these, an attempt is made in the next chapter to study J Jayalalithaa and AIADMK.
Organisation Chart of the Chief Minister

President of India

Governor of Tamil Nadu

Chief Minister

Cabinet and the Chief Minister

Chief Secretary

Secretaries to Various Departments

Districts Administration
Chart 2.2
Office of the Chief Minister
Chart 2.3

Chief Minister and his Cabinet

Chief Minister

- Minister for Public Works, Prohibition, Excise and Revenue
- Minister for Law, IT & Electricity
- Minister for Education
- Minister for Agriculture
- Minister for Transport and Labour
- Minister for Rural Industries
- Minister for Food
- Minister for Animal Husbandry
- Minister for Housing &
- Minister for Handlooms & Textiles
- Minister for Tourism
- Minister for Information and Publicity
- Minister for Finance
- Minister for Hindu Religious & Charitable Endowments
- Minister for Health
- Minister for Adi-Dravidar Welfare
- Minister for Industries
- Minister for Commercial Taxes and Co-operation
- Minister for Local Administration
- Minister for Forests & Environment
- Minister for Dairy Development
- Minister for Fisheries
- Minister for Backward Classes
- Minister for Sports & Youth Welfare