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PREFACE

The present work "CONGRESS IN TAMILNADU AND ITS INTERNAL POLITICS", (1939 - 1954) is the outcome of my research under the Supervision of Dr. C.E. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., former Professor and Head, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras.

The study aims at highlighting the history of the Congress Party in Tamilnadu and its Internal Politics during 1939-1954.

A few studies have focussed on the party's role during the freedom movement and the role of the prominent leaders in the freedom struggle. A complete and detailed study of the organisation and function of the party and its internal politics is yet to come and hence this humble attempt.

I convey my sincere thanks to my Supervisor Dr. C.E. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., former Professor of History, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras, for his learned guidance and sincere help which enabled me to complete this work.

I thank the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Madras, Madras, for permitting me to conduct research for the Ph.D. Degree. I am also thankful to the Director, Institute of Correspondence Education, University of Madras, Madras for permitting me to conduct research for the Ph.D. Degree.
My thanks are also due to the Librarians and Staff of the National Archives of India, Tamilnadu Archives, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Madras University Library, Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly Library and Periyar Rationalist Library for providing me with the necessary facilities to consult the records, books and journals.

N.K. MANGALAMURUGESAN.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AICC</td>
<td>All India Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Annadurai, C.N.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APCC</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APCWC</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh Congress Working Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFR</td>
<td>Confidential Fortnightly Report.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGO</td>
<td>Communal Government Order.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHC</td>
<td>Congress High Command.</td>
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<td>CLP</td>
<td>Congress Legislature Party.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Chief Minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Rajagopalachari, C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWC</td>
<td>Congress Working Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.</td>
<td>Subramaniam, C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>Dravidar Kazhagam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMK</td>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVR</td>
<td>Ramasamy, E.V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Fortnightly Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>Government Order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOI</td>
<td>Government of India.</td>
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<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Indian National Congress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KA</td>
<td>Kudi Arasu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPCC</td>
<td>Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KMP</td>
<td>Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KPCC</td>
<td>Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee.</td>
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MAR - Madras Administration Report.
MCLP - Madras Congress Legislature Party.
MLA - Member of the Legislative Assembly.
MLC - Member of the Legislative Council.
MLCP - Madras Legislature Congress Party.
MLAD - Madras Legislative Assembly Debates.
MPCC - Madras Provincial Congress Committee.
NAI (NA) - National Archives of India.
NEES - New Elementary Education Scheme.
NMML - Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
NNR - Native Newspaper Report.
       - O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar.
PCC - Provincial Congress Committee or Pradesh Congress Committee.
Rajaji - Rajagopalachari, C.
TA - Tamilnadu Archives.
TNCC - Tamilnadu Congress Committee.
TNCWC - Tamilnadu Congress Working Committee.
TNPCC - Tamilnadu Provincial Congress Committee.
UDF - United Democratic Front.
INTRODUCTION

The birth of the Indian National Congress was an important turning point in India’s political awakening in the nineteenth century. It was the first all-India association of a permanent nature, and with it began a new era in the political life of India. It gave a shape and form to the ideas of administrative and constitutional reforms which formed the chief planks in the political programme of India. It served a very useful purpose in keeping alive an all-India political platform which enabled Gandhi to revitalise the Congress and make it a fit instrument for leading India stage by stage to its goal of independence. Since the entry of Gandhi in 1917, national polity was directed towards involving all sections of population, rich, poor, educated, illiterate, urban and rural, in short the classes and the masses.

However, it was the centenary of the Indian National Congress in 1985 that has prompted several scholars, foreign and Indian, to attempt assessments of the several roles of this party in both the colonial and Independence phases of India. Most notably works on the post - 1947 phase has been extensive and vivid.
Rajini Kothari has reaffirmed his conceptualization of 'one' Party Dominant System of India.¹ Morris Jones has setforth, again, the characteristics of the Congress as a party of consensus.² Joshi and Desai, in their attempt to gauge the party system of India since the momentous split of the Congress in 1969, suggest that Congress has been essentially entering into a new era of hopes and aspirations.³


Kochanek, Weiner and Sisson have all reiterated their familiar ideas of political dynamics and party organisation of the Congress.

Much earlier than the centenary celebrations, in 1976 the Indian National Congress itself officially appointed D.K. Barooah as the chairman of a committee to work out a Centenary History of the Indian National Congress in five volumes. The party also proposed the bringing out of 'The Concise History of the Indian National Congress' under the editorship of B.N. Pandey.


6 Brass, P.R. "Pluralism, Reginalism and Decentralising Tendencies in Contemporary Indian Politics", in A.J. Wilson and D. Dalton (eds.) The States of South Asia, (New Delhi, 1986).


8 The Times of India, June 17-19, 1985.

Unfortunately the first mentioned work is not yet completed, while the second venture was released to the academic world in 1985 itself.

Official and academic histories of the Indian National Congress, in general, try to highlight the part played by the Congress as a national organisation, which offered an opportunity for prominent Indians, drawn from different classes and communities, to promote the consciousness of nationhood among the people with the objective of overthrowing the British Raj. These works further touch upon the seminal transformation in the structure and ideology of the freedom movement in India. They point out how the Congress changed into a mass movement of invincible strength, with the novel weapon of Satyagraha. More importantly these works offer a popular account of how the Congress ushered in a new era in the history of oppressed societies in the Third World.


12 Madan, N.L. 'Congress Party and Social Change', (Delhi, 1984).
However it is seen that these accounts are not sufficient for the searching historical mind. As these earlier-mentioned accounts hinge only peripherally upon the structure, function and dynamics of the Indian National Congress on the one hand, the purpose, ethos and dilemma of the British Raj on the other, they are concerned only tangentially with the interactions that took place between the two, and therefore it becomes the obligatory task of the historian to look at the issue more incisively and historiographically. In the process of doing this, he is also warned, to keep away from the earlier practices of providing mere sketches of idealogies of the Congress or a hagiographical account of its leaders.

Two important and more useful ways of the restructuring of the history of the Indian National Congress would be: (i) to trace the role of the Congress in functional areas like science, technology, agriculture, industry, education, health and so forth, and (ii) to provide authentic accounts of the role played by the Congress in the heterogeneous geographical locales of India in the national movement and thereafter. Both these methodologies have their specific use: the first for the economic reconstruction of India and the second for national integration and
cultural modernization. It is in this context that the present thesis tries to gauge the second problem by taking the Madras Province as the unit of study.

Historically speaking, the establishment of Fort. St. George in 1639 A.D. in Madras served the military, administrative, commercial and political purposes of the East India company. It quickly and systematically destroyed the political capitals of Arcot, Thanjavur, Madurai, Mysore and Pudukkottai and established the Imperial authority. Since 1773 the East India Company and much later from 1858 the Raj itself were bent upon engrafting parliamentary institutions on a heterogeneous population, with an emphasis on the achievement of administrative and economic cohesion for purposes of imperial interests. Also the Raj was driven to develop the human, material and infrastructural resources for the same end. The important bi-product of this enterprises was the rise of the middle classes.

Subsequent to Queen Victoria's declaration the Raj began to intervene directly with the political lives of the people and played only an indirect role in their social lives. The middle classes argued their case with the British authorities, first for their
basic needs and slowly more and more for devolution of powers. By the closing decades of the Nineteenth century the middle classes had come up of their own, to feel intensely the relative deprivation that existed. Their passive but persistent reaction to the socio-political situation resulted in the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Thereafter the political synthesis resulting from the freedom struggle spearheaded by the Indian National Congress led to paving the way for the Independence of India in 1947.

The Madras Presidency consisted of Madras, Chingleput, South Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Thanjavur, Thiruchirappalli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts in the Tamil speaking areas. Chittoor, Cudappa, Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Ganjam districts in the Telugu speaking areas, Malabar which speaks Malayalam and South Kanara, which speaks Kanarese formed the rest of the areas of the Madras Presidency.

Before Independence the Tamil speaking areas of the Madras Presidency were the most compact linguistic region consisting of twelve contiguous districts. Though the Tamil speaking districts for administrative and political purposes were clubbed with other
linguistic areas, they were referred to as Tamilnadu or Tamilagam. Thus the Tamilnadu region was part of the Madras Presidency till the formation of a separate, Tamil speaking, Madras State in 1956. The State of Madras had been renamed as Tamilnadu in 1969.

In the Indian National Congress, prior to, 1921, for the four linguistic areas of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, there was only one Provincial Congress Committee (PCC) by name the Madras Provincial Congress Committee (MPCC). Later, the Tamilnadu Provincial Congress Committee (TPCC or TNPCC) the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (APCC) and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, (KPCC) and the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) were formed in 1921 on linguistic basis in the place of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee. In turn, the following were the regional units that were under the jurisdiction of the Tamilnadu Provincial Congress Committee (1) Madras (2) Chingleput (3) North Arcot (4) South Arcot (5) Kumbakonam (6) Thanjavur (7) Trichy (8)

13 All India Congress Committee (AICC), File No.P30/304, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML).
Dindigul (9) Madurai (10) Ramanathapuram (11) Karaikudi (12) Tirunelveli (13) Coimbatore and (14) Salem. 14

The Congress in the Madras Presidency had undergone the gestation (1858-1885) entrenchment (1885-1905), extremist (1907-1914) liberal (1914-1920) and Gandhian (1920-1947) phases sequentially. Personalities, organizations, castes, communities, regions, religions, and all socio-demographic characteristics participated in the struggle for freedom through the institutional instruments of the Congress. Initially there was hesitation, and even active opposition, to the ideals and organisation of the Congress but it goes to the credit of Gandhi for knitting all viewpoints within the Congress and for driving the counter arguments into oblivion. The progress of these phases indicated the crystallisation of the national sentiment, the transition from elitest leadership to charismatic leadership, and the inability of the Raj to ignore the ideological and organizational claims of Congress thereafter.

For more than one reason, the study of regional history and its derivative, contemporary state

14 AICC File No. P30 (i) to P30 (iii), NMML.
politics, in India assumes significance. Studies of Indian national development, administrative reforms and political behaviour facilitate the adoption of the regions of India as the unit of enquiry for both substantive and methodological compulsions. Also the political democracy has been shaped and nurtured at the regional level. Further the regions of India differ markedly in respect of the spirit of their politics, belief-structures, social mores and interaction patterns. And at the practical level the regions of India have proved to be stabilizing factors in the evolution of the Indian polity since 1947.

The need to study regional history of India was first emphasized in the seminars at the University of Chicago in April 1961 and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in late 1964. Myron Weiner took up the case of Indian regional history and established an informal group under the auspices of the Committee on South Asia of the Association for Asian Studies in 1965. In 1966 Iqbal Narain suggested that a probe into the intricate labyrinth of regional or state politics is basic to an intelligent, meaningful and critical understanding of development of India as a

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whole. He anticipated that Indian regions would come to be studied as constituent units of a larger system or as system of their own. Either way only the complexion of the study design varied and not the object of enquiry. This is the compelling reason for attempting this thesis.

As regards the Madras Presidency it was the focus of enquiry for many British authors prior to Independence but these works exhibit the note of imperial purpose. Several works on the socio-political features of the Madras presidency and the progress of administration therein reveal the systematic efforts made by them in understanding the complex dimensions of the Presidency. Subsequent to Independence, there ensued a lull, for the British were no longer interested and the Indian academics were yet to come up of age. In the early sixties, American academics evinced interest in Tamilnadu, to systematize their paradigms and comparative theories of modernization, development, socialization and culture. Meantime a few British historians also returned to the studies of Tamilnadu to find out the socio-political and institutional impact of the Raj on the people. Perhaps induced by these efforts in the late seventies the
Indian academics also forayed into several researches on Tamilnadu.

Objective accounts of the role played by the Congress in Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are now within easy reach of the common man. But the role of Congress in Tamilnadu is only a biproduct of other academic pursuits. Washbrook in his 'The Emergence of Provincial Politics' while highlighting the impact of the British policy on the agrarian Madras Province as well as the emergence of provincial politics therein, has given a brief account of the Congress in passing. C.J. Baker also has touched upon the ascendency of the Congress in Tamilnadu in 1937, while narrating the decline of the Justice Party. Sundaralingam, though systematically tracing the emergence of the Congress in his work 'Politics and Nationalist - Awakening in South India' does not delve into the tasks of the Congress of the 1930's and 1940's. Arnold's The Congress in Tamilnadu has tried to combine satisfactorily, though to a limited extent between 1917 and 1937, the study of the organisational problems of the Congress and its accomplishments in the national movement. Perhaps Sundaralingam and Arnold provide some sort of sequence, albeit unsatisfactorily, on the unique role of the
Congress in Tamilnadu. Nicholas Mansergh’s ‘India: The Transfer of Power’, Volumes supply supporting materials in regard to the political situation of Tamilnadu in general and Rajaji in particular.

Yet, the innumerable issues of internal dissensions of Congress in Madras Presidency during 1947-56 have not received any scholarly attention hitherto. The crucial question of leadership of the last decade of the national movement is still an unexplored problem. Again the sequence of the problems of Nation, partition, national reconstruction and integration in Tamilnadu is awaiting scholarly analysis.

It is for these reasons, this thesis seeks to elucidate the role of the Indian National Congress in Tamilnadu during the critical and transitional phase of 1940’s and 1950’s. Its objectives are:

(i) To sketch the historical background of the Congress in Tamilnadu since its foundation.

(ii) To outline the problems forced by the Congress Party in the wake of the Second World War.

(iii) To trace the genesis, issues and outcome of the Quit India movement in Tamilnadu.

(iv) To analyse the electoral politics that prevailed in Tamilnadu in 1946.
(v) To analyse the policy and outcome of the Congress Ministries under T. Prakasam, O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar and P.S. Kumarasamy Raja.

(vi) To elucidate the impact of factionalism on INC and

(vii) To assess the events and issues that led to the formation of collapse of Rajaji's ministry and assumption of power by Kamaraj as Chief Minister of the Madras State.

For doing this, the thesis adopts the historical method. Here the reconstruction of the past involves a description or explanation of how the Indian National Congress responded to historical circumstances, the consideration of the forces which impelled it to action, and the relative importance that should be attributed to Congress' reasons for action or the historical circumstances which constrained the Congress etc., on the basis of a scrupulous examination of the evidences. Such an assessment of the role of the Congress impels the collection of data both from existing sources and by generating it from personal interviews.

The thesis is mainly based on the records of the Indian National Congress particularly those relating to the Madras Presidency and the State of Tamilnadu. The
Congress papers are available in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and in the National Archives, New Delhi. These records are very valuable for the study of the theme of party processes.

In addition to the Government records housed in the National Archives, New Delhi, the Tamilnadu Archives, Madras and the Andhra Pradesh Archives at Hyderabad help us to understand the response and reaction of the Government of India and the Government of Madras to the programmes and demands of the Indian National Congress. Hereto the Private Papers preserved in the National Archives and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library are very useful. The Linlithgow Microfilm Rolls and especially the rolls of Erskine's collection in the custody of the National Archives were highly informative. Likewise, the microfilm rolls transcribed in the 'Transfer of Power' Volumes are available in the NMML and National Archives.

Biographical works on leaders like S. Satyamoorthy, C. Rajagopalachari, T. Prakasam, K. Kamaraj, C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar, (O.P.R) M. Bakthavatsalam and others, also, throw light on the role played by them in the party processes in Tamilnadu.
In addition to these, newspaper reports and editorials of papers such as The Hindu, The Indian Express, The Liberator, The Mail, Dinamani, Swadesamitran etc. bring out different assessments of the situations in which the Congress found itself and Congress responses to such situations and illustrate how Congress ultimately emerged as the strongest political party in India. The divergent accounts given in some of these newspapers imply the factional fights that were raging within the Congress and how such factional fights weakened the Congress' hold on the masses.

The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and Council of Madras also throw up valuable information which indicate the mind and the manner in which the Congress as a party functioned to achieve its goal of Swadeshi and Swaraj.

There are a number of secondary sources in the form of published works throwing incidental light on the party processes of the Congress and other allied parties.

Added to these, persons who have been intimately connected with the Indian National Congress have been approached and interviewed repeatedly. First-hand
information relating to organizational problems, factional distributions, ideological ramifications, personality clashes etc. within the Tamilnadu Congress have been elicited from them and evaluated.

The thesis has seven chapters. The first deals with the functioning of the Congress in Tamilnadu before 1939. The second chapter describes the role of the Congress during the Second World War. The third chapter outlines the activities of the Congress before the elections of 1946. The formation of the First Congress Ministry after the end of the War by Prakasam and the circumstances that led to his removal are discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter traces the circumstances leading to O.P. Ramasamy Reddiyar's (O.P.R) Chief Ministership. The developments leading to the assumption of Chief Ministership by P.S. Kumarasamy Raja and the Party's defeat in the 1952 Assembly elections are sketched out in the sixth chapter. The seventh chapter analyses the developments that led to the recall of C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) as Chief Minister of Tamilnadu and the problems faced by him. The concluding chapter provides a brief account of the Congress party in Tamilnadu from 1939 to 1954.