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CONCLUSION

Bolingbroke's dictum that "Governing by party must always end in the government of faction and party is a political evil, and the faction is the worst of all" was indicative of a major aspect of party dynamics in democracies. In general, Bolingbroke held that national interests are made subordinate to personal interests by the factions.\(^1\) Hume also was equally vehement against factions by maintaining that, "factions subvert government, render laws impotent and beget the fiercest animosities among men of the same nation."\(^2\) Saint Just was even more drastic: .... "All factions attempt at undermining the sovereignty of the people, and factions replace liberty with the fury of partisanship."\(^3\)

Burke suggested that political parties were detrimental factions, and feared about the growth of political parties in general.\(^4\) However political parties have recorded positive functions in the society since the times of Burke. In fact Western political experience has endowed that a political party is an associative type of social relationship, devoted to secure power for the leaders of corporate group, for achieving certain objective policies for the clientele and for several personal advantages for its active members.
In fact, Sigmund Neumann provides a general and positive definition of a 'Political Party' thus: "... the articulate organisation of society's active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community." However, there are some definitions which tend to equate a party with the level of an electoral 'organisation'. Lasswell and Kaplan define a party as "a group formulating comprehensive issues and submitting candidates in elections." Riggs too maintains the same meaning when he says that a party is "any organisation which nominates candidates for election to an elected assembly."

A party split provides an attractive and convenient opportunity for a detailed examination of the relationship between leadership conflict and the problem of party institutionalization. In a large party or a movement it is a great public event, widely analysed in the press and widely discussed by the participants themselves. Moreover, it forces the people involved in the movement to take a stand and to reveal their positions, thereby bringing into focus the issues in dispute and the alignment of forces on one side or another. It raises for every person
involved, critical questions concerning his personal political career, his future opportunities to achieve positions of power, influence and status, and his attitude towards whatever policy issues may be in dispute. For all involved it is a time of crisis and tension when every person has to decide how best to realise his ideal and natural interests and how to reconcile the two. 8

A party study in India raises important theoretical issues concerning the model of conflict relevant to the situation. Several conflict models for the analysis of Indian politics have been used by different observers in different situations. One model looks to the factors of personal ambition and struggle for personal positions of power as the critical ones in explaining or predicting the course of intra-party conflicts can be explained better and alignments predicted more accurately in terms of genuine differences in ideological preferences and policy orientation between the opposed groups rather than in terms of personal loyalties and conflicts of personal ambition. A third model argues that factional conflicts are often reflections of underlying structural conflicts between class or caste groups in Indian Society. 9

Whatever be the model the researcher adopts yet the fact remains that factions cannot be analysed in such unilinear
fashion, as factions transcend the models and syndromes, and continue to pose problems for the substantive and methodological grasp of the researcher. For the same reason it is not possible for the researcher to completely identify the impacts they register.

Factional splits demonstrate the complex inter-connectedness of power, personal interest and principle in politics. Politics in public arenas is a struggle for power in which both personal ambition and issues of principle are invariably involved. Personal ambition is involved because, for most important politicians, politics is a career. Issues of principle are involved because no one will be taken seriously in politics who does not attach some purpose to his efforts when he tries to achieve power for himself or for the group which he leads. Struggle for power is always implicit, because people need to secure power to effect the principles they espouse. However, it is difficult to determine which is the predominant reason for a party split. Personal ambition may be the proximate cause or it may be issue of principle. Even if personal ambition is the basic reason it may be couched in ideological fervour.

Leaders or groups, unless they find that their career and interests are at stake, normally do not proceed for a split. As long as inner party struggles are confined to mere discussion
of ideological principles and policy alternatives, it can be predicted confidently that no major party split will occur. It is when principle differences become concretised into alternative action strategies for achieving power or implementing policy than the potential for party split develops. At the same time, not every internal party struggle which become concretised in these ways leads to splits. For a split or a defection to occur or to become an immediate danger, the implementation of one strategy or the adoption of a particular policy must involve power or benefit for one group and the denial of benefit or power to a rival group by that very action or decision.

Once factions come about, they bring functional and dys-functional impacts to both individual parties and the system alike depending upon the external stimuli. Neville Maxwell says that 'No party in India is beyond the pull of factions. The faction indeed is the true unit of Indian Political action, the parties are realistically speaking, temporary and unstable coalitions of factions. The Congress has since independence undergone a process of fragmentation. Factionalism has moved into every stage of its development, with factions breaking off from the parent body and identifying themselves as new opposition parties, thus weakening the Indian National Congress. Thus excessive factionalism had lead to the split of the party often times.
The study of factional politics at the micro level of states of India brings several benefits, like understanding of ideological, organisational and systemic factors which cause the stabilization or otherwise of the democratic structure of the states in India and brings out the political process peculiar to each and every state of India. However, the studies of factional politics at the level of states of India are meagre indeed 'Tamil Nadu Congress offers a fascinating ground for the study of varieties of issues of factionalism. Lack of literature in this field and presence of factionalism in Tamil Nadu Congress made the researcher to choose this area.

The sources of factionalism in TNCC can be classified under two types (1) General causes and (2) Particular causes. The general causes which led to factional conflict in TNCC developed over ideological debates over both on the means and the ends of the party or as a quarrel between organisational wing and ministerial unit of the party. The particular causes which helped factionalism to sprout may be the conflicts due to recruitment policy, caste, community, region, religion and personality syndromes at the local level.

The Tamil Nadu Congress has experienced all types of factionalism - uni-factional, bi-factional and multi-factional. During the period of 1885-1920 uni-factionalism reigned in the
TNCC. The fight was between the extremists and moderates in their approaches to national freedom. The second phase (1920-1930) also experienced uni-factional conflict between the Swarajists and the Gandhiites. In the third phase (1930-1947) multi-factionalism appeared for the first time in INC. The period (1947-1954) was again uni-factional in nature. Kamaraj's faction dominated the Rajaji faction or vice-versa. During the period 1954-1967 the party did not witness factionalism. The post-1969 period also saw the bi-factional conflict in TNC.

Factions are both functional and dys-functional to the party. The dys-functional impact of factionalism upon the Congress in Tamil Nadu is the more evident impact. The functional aspect which factions perform are less obvious, but may be more important in the long run.

When factional conflict arises, formal institutional procedures are established to resolve them. However, factional leaders in the Tamil Nadu Congress accepted neither the doctrine of majority rule nor institutional mechanisms to resolve their disputes amongst themselves. Defeated factional leaders tend to describe an unfavourable vote as a corrupt vote, a misguided vote or a vote of betrayal, a failure of allies to deliver promised assistance. Institutional mechanisms are perceived as unfairly constituted, dominated by one's personal opponents. As in the
traditional order, the only procedure for conflict resolution which is acceptable to factional leaders is the mediation of an impartial arbitrator. Generally, the role of arbitration has been performed by senior Congressmen who have no factional affiliations. However, the number of arbitrators have been decreasing as the internal politics of the Congress has become more and more organised among factional lines. The kind of personality who best performs the role of arbitration is rarely recruited into the Congress now, since it is the faction which now performs the recruitment function for the Congress.

Where arbitrators are no longer available to resolve conflict a real danger exists that the party organisation may split apart. The split of Congress (O) in 1976 after the death of its leader Kamaraj and quitting of the party by Shivaji Ganesan and Nedumaran are good examples. Sometimes factional conflict become so intense that Congressmen, occupied with their own internal struggles, fail to perceive external threats. The growth of DMK as great political force in 1960's was not perceived by the Congress leaders which led to the debacle of Congress in 1967. Where arbitrators cannot mediate conflict, disaffected and defeated faction leaders may run against official Congress candidates or sabotage election campaign from within the organization. The formation of CRC in 1956 and its contesting in the
elections with the help of the FB, who were also dissidents of Congress which turned to be the opposition party in 1957 proves the above fact. A disaffected faction leader or faction members does not mind participating in the defeat of the entire Congress organisation if that is the only way to defeat his faction rivals. As an indication the attempts of how Rajaji formed the Swatantra and ousted the Congress in 1967 with the help of DMK could be cited. Factional politics in Tamil Nadu Congress was also oriented towards personal politics and status politics. Conflicts of status between faction leaders lead to intense factional disputes which are by their very nature irresolvable. When prestige or honour becomes of primary importance in politics, the possibilities of resolving conflicts are reduced, for honour cannot be shared. Factional war between Moopanar faction and Shivaji Ganesan in early 1980s was mainly for the sake of prestige, and to prove their status and dominance in state politics. As they both were from the same district (Tanjore) they also wanted to prove their support bases in the Districts. So political disputes in Tamil Nadu Congress tend to be part of an interlocking pattern of disputes in which factional rivals seek status and esteem, not only in politics, but in the society as a whole.

Another disintegrative impact of factional conflict on the Congress party organisation in Tamil Nadu has led to a decline
of Congress electoral strength in the state. The Congress rule of 20 years (1947-1967) came to an end in 1967 and the party was not able to recapture it again for nearly 20 years. So also, it has also been argued that politicization of caste and community groups and their integration in party organisation has resulted in social disharmony. Most of the factions in Tamil Nadu Congress have been caste or communal oriented. In 1950s and 1960s there was the conflict between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins which was represented by Rajaji faction and Kamaraj faction respectively. Kumari Ananthan faction was representing the Nadar caste and Moopanar faction the Moopanars mainly. Maragatham Chandrasekar's faction is representative of Harijans. These caste-oriented factions cause frustrations among the other castes, for they lack representation in party organisation and government. So factional conflict has also lead to caste or communal conflict which is annihilative of both the party and the society.

Factionalism usually appears in situations of low polarisation and often leads to instability of government. The instability of government was experienced in Tamil Nadu between 1946-1954. Three times the Ministry was reshuffled during this period. And in 1954 again Rajaji's Ministry was toppled by the Kamaraj's faction. Fragmentation of the party also occurs due to factional conflicts, thus giving rise to many minor parties

Excess of factionalism can and has led to the electoral defeat of the party and subsequently the disintegration of the party itself. Factionalism was one among the reasons, that led to the defeat of the Congress in Tamil Nadu in 1967. The dissatisfaction caused by the infiltration of the DK members into Congress, made many Congressmen to work against Congress during the elections. Electoral defeats and exigencies of disintegration lead to absence of clear formulations of ideology, organisation, programmes and leadership and other related issues.

Once the level of disintegration arrives, fluidity in a party increases, creating political corruption, floor crossing and political tradeoffs. As a consequence the system is badly affected and ruined in the absence of mobilization, participation and institutionalization. Best example for this state affairs is provided by Congress in the post 1967 period.

Recruitment function of the faction are also disadvantageous. Each factional leader tries to strengthen their faction
by giving 'bogus memberships' which is very dangerous to the party as a whole.

In Tamil Nadu Congress, changes in leadership were followed by party fractionalization and electoral decline. The first change of leadership occurred in 1963, when Kamaraj left to the national scene, by his 'Kamaraj Plan'. His successor, M. Baktavatsalam, was unable to control the party organisation and to maintain unity in either the organisation or the government and also lacked support of the party rank-and-file. Dissatisfaction among Congress workers made them be away from the party activities which resulted in the defeat of the party in 1967.

These changes in party leadership were associated with intense internal party factionalism which reduced organisational coherence and the ability of the party to maintain the loyalties of Congressmen. Reduced organisational coherence was reflected in the inability of the state Congress leaders to formulate agreed party nomination for every general elections; in increasing defections of Congressmen who, denied the nominations, then contested against the official Congress candidates; and in widespread attempts by opposing factions in the constituencies to defeat each other in the general election.
The functional aspects of the faction has been responsible for ideological renewal, organisational build up, leadership recruitment and training, political mobilisation and political participation.

Firstly, factions perform the function of political recruitment for the Congress organisation. In fact, there is a direct relationship between the intensity of factional conflict and the size of Congress membership. Factional opponents enroll primary members for the local organisations in order to acquire voting strength in the organisational elections.

Secondly, factional conflict broadens the basis of participation in the Congress organisation. Not only are more members enrolled but new caste and religious groups become politicized and integrated into the Congress organisation, to its diversity and to its strength. Most important, factions tend to divide caste and community groups and so to free the Congress from the threat of communal politics. The integration of local caste groups into the internal factional system of the district and state Congress organisations prevents either the dominance of a particular caste or community over others in the Congress or the development of polarized conflict between large caste groups or between Hindus and Muslims.
Thirdly, in their search for second level leaders and followers, factions and factional leaders approach many new groups or castes or class of the society and politicize them. This political mobilization brings about political consciousness to dormant people and groups. Thus the non-Brahmins who were suppressed by the Brahmin domination in political field were made to participate, due to the emergence of Kamaraj faction. Kamaraj faction not only brought into the Congress the non-Brahmin elements but also represented all sections of the Tamil Society.

Fourthly, factionalism also brings out the inherent qualities of leadership, dormant in an individual or a group, to make the people of Tamil Nadu realize the importance of Gandhian principle, Rajaji undertook the ordial of erecting an ashram at Tiruchengodu, and propagated from there the principles of non-violence, temperance and nationalism. Unnerved by the Brahmin opposition, Kamaraj was able to unite the non-Brahmins to oppose the 'Basic Education Plan' of Rajaji. He also gave importance to the students to participate in politics.

Fifthly, as a consequence of political mobilization, political participation increases. Meaningful participation comes about, when there is a persistent work for influencing the decision-making organs of the government takes place. An appropriate
index for political participation is the percentage of votes polled in the elections. Because of the efforts of the Swarajist party Congress attained power in 1937 with a voter turn out of 72 per cent. In Post-Independent India, Madras ranked ninth among the Indian states in 1957 in electoral participation with only 48 per cent of the electorate voting. Between 1957 and 1982, political participation increased 28.29 per cent, a rate of increase far higher than that of any other state in India. In absolute terms, Madras ranked first in 1987 political participation with nearly 77 per cent of electorate voting.

Sixthly, in the contemporary factional system of the Tamil Nadu Congress, the party organisation is threatened neither by communal nor ideological issues. Ideological issues are unimportant both in the external relations of the faction leader with his rivals and in the internal relations of the leader with his supporters. Ties between leaders and followers are personal and material in character. Within reasonable limits, party leaders may follow whatever policies they choose as long as they maintain the respect of their followers and provide them with material benefits.

The most obvious characteristic of contemporary factional politics in Tamil Nadu Congress is the predominantly personal nature of factional groups. Although the language of conflict
is often phrased in terms of important principles and a policy issue may sometimes be seized upon as a pre-text for factional struggle, factions and factional conflicts are organised completely around personalities and around personal enmities among party leaders. The groups are often called by the name of the leader such as the Moopanar faction, Shivaji faction, M.P. Subramaniam faction etc.

Therefore, factionalism may be mitigated by the TNCC if they attempt to reflect upon the following:

1. The nomination practice of Congress High Command has been one of the main sources of factionalism after 1972. In every election of the President of TNCC, factionalism was seen to intensify — which make the dissatisfied members to be away from party activities, thus making TNCC inept.

2. Decision over electoral alliances should be decided by the PCC President and the High Command should not interfere. The President should consult the PCC members and the Congress workers before making the alliance. So the President should be given the powers to select his party's electoral ally during the elections. During every election the electoral pact brings dissatisfaction to many members of the party, which makes them quit the party.
3. The different wings—Student Congress, Youth Congress, Women's Congress and Cells like Medical and Legal Cell enhance factionalism. There is lack of co-operation among these different units. Their indifferent functioning develop factional conflict. Collective responsibility is absent among them.

4. Lack of organisational activities also have led to factionalism in Tamil Nadu Congress. After 1976, there have been never regular Executive or TNCC meeting at the state level. The programmes are not discussed and planned. Only during the elections the organisation is activated. No elections for the DCC, TCC and BCC are held and the organisational structure is not well built up. These aspects also develop factional conflict, as most of Congressmen are not aware of the party programmes.

5. Attitude of toleration must be cultivated by the factional leaders of the Tamil Nadu Congress which is very essential for their survival as well as for the existence of the party.

6. Importance to the press and publicity should be given by launching a party organ and should function impartially.
The conclusions that emerge from this study of factionalism in Tamil Nadu Congress are: (i) Factionalism is present in the Congress party of Tamil Nadu since its inception. (ii) Factionalism is both functional and dys-functional to the party. (iii) The structure of the factions have remained three-fold: namely, uni-factional, bi-factional and multi-factional. (iv) Factional strategies happened to be two-fold, i.e., to act within the parental party or to found new parties and the second activity is more prominent. (v) Factionalism has weakened the Congress party in Tamil Nadu. (vi) Factionalism has reduced the TNCC from an ideological force into an electoral organization, and (vii) Elections always intensify factionalism.
REFERENCES


