CHAPTER IV

FACTIONALISM IN TAMIL NADU CONGRESS: (1947-1967)

Factional politics existed in Tamil Nadu Congress before Independence and it came to dominate the internal affairs of state Congress much more after Independence too. This Chapter tries to elaborate the factional politics and the character of factions when the Congress was in power in Tamil Nadu during 1947-1967. The impact of factionalism upon the ability of the Congress organisation to maintain itself is also discussed.

1947-1954:

After the 'Quit India declaration' of August 1942 most of the Congressmen and leaders were imprisoned and the PCCs were banned. Rajaji had left the Congress in May 1942, opposing Gandhi's Satyagraha and 'Quit India Movement'. Kamaraj, Prakasam, Senjeeva Reddy, Sathyamurthy were all in prison. TNC was in complete disarray during 1942-1944. Few leaders who were remaining outside were trying to activise TNC by the end of 1944.

C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar took the first step to revive the TNC. He invited the Madras Congressmen for a meeting on 21st October 1944, with the intention to start a new party which excluded the Communists, Royists and Rajaji supporters. The party was named as 'Congress Sangam' and a Executive Committee for
it was formed. Its objectives, besides Freedom, were Khadder Development, Untouchability etc., Ma.Po.Sivagnanam (Ma.Po.Si.) a supporter of Rajaji, requested Muthuranga Mudaliar not to do so and asked him to include every one in it without showing any differences. But Mudaliar refused to do so. This was the rootcause for the factional growth in TNC. The conflict started growing between Madras District Congress Committee and Madras District Congress Sangam.

Subsequently, a Sub-Congress Sangam was formed by Ma. Po. Si., as a branch of Madras District Congress Sangam without Muthuranga Mudaliar's assent. In April 1945, a Conference of Congress Sangam was held by Ma.Po.Si. at Tondiarpet. Though Muthuranga Mudaliar was invited, he did not attend. The members who were present in this meeting were, P. Subbarooyan, Smt. Radhabai Subbarooyan, K. Venkataswamy Naidu, T. Chengalvarooyan, P.V. Adhi-kesavalu Naicker and others. Rajaji, after his quit in 1942, attended this Conference and made a speech and showed his willingness to join the Congress. Muthuranga Mudaliar accused them for inviting Rajaji to the Conference. Later he expanded his new Sangam at all levels and the Tamil Nadu Congress Sangam was also launched.¹

Meantime, British Government changed its mind and released all the Congress leaders. The ban on the Congress Committees were withdrawn and so the conflict between the Sangam and Committee came to end and the Sangam became defunct. But conflict over
the issue of re-entry of Rajaji arose vigorously. Rajaji sent a letter to Abdul Kalam Azad, President of the INC, stating his intention to join Congress and Azad welcomed his re-entry warmly. The group, which did not like his re-entry, started building the opposition, under the leadership of Kamaraj. Ma.Po.Si. lead the Rajaji faction. This eventually turned out to be a conflict between Madras DCC and TNCC, as Ma.Po.Si. and Kamaraj were their leaders respectively. In June 1945, Rajaji was elected by Thiruchengodu DCC both to the TNCC and AICC. Ramadurai, Secretary of Thiruchengodu DCC was instrumental in Rajaji's election, which was made secretly. Since Ramadurai was a Brahmin, the conflict became caste-oriented. Kamaraj and his supporters argued that the election was invalid. But N. Annamalai, Secretary of TNCC, said that Kamaraj did not have the authority to decide it and a Election Committee should be formed to enquire the matter.

Leaders of both the factions toured Tamil Nadu in October 1945 to build their support bases. C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, C.P.R., Avinashilingam Chetti, Tmt. Rukmani Lakshmipathi, M. Baktavatsalam accompanied Kamaraj. On the other hand Rajaji was accompanied by S. Genesan, C.P. Subbiah, N. Annamalai Pillai, Srinivasa Rao, Perumal Swami Reddiar and Ma.Po.Si. Communists like P. Ramamurthy and K. Muthiah also supported Rajaji.

Both the factions were to meet at Thirupparankundram for the TNCC meeting. On 30th October, 1945 the TNC workers meeting
was conducted to strengthen the Kamaraj faction. Muthuramalinga Thevar, a progressive man and a rival to Rajaji, because of his personal influence in Madurai, gathered support to strengthen the Kamaraj faction. TNCC Meeting was to be held on 31st October, 1945. As Rajaji was not invited to the TNCC Meeting he left for Cuttalam on 30th as decided by his supporters and did not want to attend the meeting. Meanwhile Ma.Po.Si. began a signature campaign in favour of Rajaji and thus got the signatures of more than half of the TNCC members. He met Kamaraj and showed the signature list. Kamaraj, realising the support for Rajaji, got hold of K. Sadagopan and Tuticorin Kittu, two pro-Rajaji men and sent them to Rajaji with a compromise letter. The letter carried the information that Kamaraj welcomed Rajaji to enter the Congress and that he was interested to include Rajaji in the Pradesh Congress Election Board (PCRB) to select candidates for the forthcoming elections if Rajaji also accepted for the compromise. Some pro-Rajaji men like, Rathinavelu Thevar, Ma.Po.Si., Nadi Muthu Pillai and Subbaroyan disliked their compromise. They also tried to break the compromise but failed. However, the Tamilnadu Congress Working Committee passed the following two resolutions:

(1) An Election Sub-Committee must be formed to elect members to Central and State Legislative Assemblies. The members of this Committee shall be Kamaraj, O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar, P.S. KumaraSwamy Raja, T.S. Avinashilingam chetty and Smt. Rukmani.
(2) The Election of Rajaji to TNCC and AICC is invalid for two reasons:

(a) Rajaji resigned from Congress in 1942 and so his primary membership is cancelled;

(b) Election which has said to have been held is not in accordance with the Congress Constitution Rules 23 and 7(c).

This was unexpected by the Rajaji faction. APCC also met under Prakasam's leadership and passed a resolution which said that Rajaji should not be allowed into Congress. They thought that if Rajaji became, the Chief Minister, it won't be possible to include Madras with Andhra if formed, and Andhrites would lose their chance to become the Chief Minister.

To the TNCC resolution, Rajaji replied that it was the duty of the TNCC to fill the vacancy when ordered by the INC President. As Kamaraj failed to do this duty the DCC did that and they also have the right to do so. When the Government announced that Madras Assembly elections would be in March 1946, the Rajaji faction, dissatisfied with the Thiruparankundram resolution, met under the leadership, of Rajaji at Seergazhi on 29th November, 1945. They passed a resolution which requested the High Command to decide the validity of the election and also sought the permission to form the CPB of the Tamilnadu to select candidates for the election. On the basis of this request Asaf Ali was sent to Tamil-
nadu as the representative of the High Command to inquire into the situation. To show their strength both factions brought huge crowds to welcome Asaf Ali at the central station. Asaf Ali took strenuous steps to bring harmony between the two factions. He met members of both the factions. A petition signed by 33 TNCC members of eleven districts representing 1400 members was given by S.A. Rahim, which objected Rajaji's entry. O.V. Alagesan also gave a petition signed by 22 members of Chingleput Constituency, against the entry of Rajaji.

A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, Ramadurai and Krishnaswami Bharathi argued that Rajaji's election was a valid one. On the other hand T.R. Pattabhi Raman, T. Kandaswami Pillai of Thiruchengodu maintained that the election was not valid. Asaf Ali suggested that only an Election Tribunal can decide the validity of the election. On the request of Asaf Ali, Kamaraj accepted to consult with Rajaji regarding the activities of TNCC. Kamaraj's visit to Rajaji was effective and he formed the State Congress Parliamentary Board. Eight Members of TNCC were selected for SCPE of which three belonged to Rajaji faction viz., C.P. Subbiah, V.J. Munuswamy Pillai, and N. Annamalai Pillai and the other five belonged to Kamaraj faction viz., Muthuranga Mudaliar, Ramaswami Reddiar and Avinashilinga Chetti Smt. Rukmani Lakshmipathi and Kamaraj himself.
Meanwhile Prakasam did not keep quite. He raised the question, whether the power of forming the Pradesh CPB is in the hands of Pradesh Congress Committee or with the All India CWC. As per the Constitution of the Congress, only the PCC has the power to form its CPB. But when there is confusion or conflict in PCC or when it is inefficient then the All India CWC has the power to regulate and decide the PCC activities. Earlier, in one of the occasions, a situation arose in Bengal Province that the All India CPB itself named the Bengal Pradesh CPB. Such a thing did not happen in Tamil Nadu and the CWC sent only a person to bring about reconciliation among the two rival factions of TNCC.¹³

Factional politics continued in the selection of candidates also. The Tamil Nadu Election Sub-Committee thus formed, approved a list of six persons to contest in the elections to the Indian Parliament. TNCC, APCC and KPCC, all three met later and argued for three days for the inclusion of Guntur Narasimha Rao. Congress workers were shocked to hear this plea and were dissatisfied. Many papers also echoed the public opinion. The CPB and the High Command received many telegrams against the candidature of Guntur Narasimha Rao and wanted Smt. Ammu Swaminathan in his place. Another selection of TNCC, Smt. Radha Subbaroyan to represent Salem, Coimbatore and North Arcot districts, was also rejected and instead V.C. Vellingiri Gounder's nomination was sought.¹⁴
In January 1946, Gandhi came to South India to campaign for the contestants of the state and centre legislative assembly elections. On this eve, many steps were taken by Kamaraj and Rajaji to remove the differences between the factions and they requested their supporters to work in co-ordination for the forthcoming elections. Inspite of that there were some incidents during Gandhi's speeches which made him think that the intra-party conflict is still going on. During his speeches Gandhi stressed that Rajaji was the suitable leader for Tamilnadu.

One of the article's of Gandhi, published in the paper 'Harijan' became the source for the conflict among the two factions. The gist of it was that, firstly, Gandhi praised Rajaji's political acumen and statesmanly excellence. Secondly, he said that Rajaji's service to South India is very much necessary. If Gandhi had stopped at that point it might not have been serious and every thing would have been smooth. But Gandhi's observation, that a clique in Tamil Nadu Congress was working against Rajaji and that it had become influential, had whipped up political commotion. Kamaraj immediately resigned from state CPB saying that it was an insult to him and reproved Gandhi for calling his faction as a 'Clique'. Kamaraj's supporters T.S. Avinashilingam, C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, C.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar and Smt. Rukmani Lakshmipathi, also were about to resign but Kamaraj requested them not to do so, because of the fact that the elections were
fast approaching and formation of another CPB would not be possible within a short span of time. Prakasam also commented that 'Kamaraj's decision was correct.' But members of the Rajaji faction criticised Kamaraj severely, "Gandhi called everyone of the faction as clique but only Kamaraj has resigned, that too only from the CPB." When Rajaji was objected to enter the Congress, the AICC sent an observer to enquire about it. But when Kamaraj resigned there was not even a regret letter from CWC. This proved the support for Rajaji from the national leadership. Amidst this confusion Rajaji withdrew from election to hint that he was not after position or power, and to rebut Kamaraj's criticism that Rajaji's re-entry into Congress was nothing but power mongering.

MADRAS ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS:

After six years of Governor's wartime administration, the Madras Assembly Elections took place in March 1946. Brisk and heavy polling in favour of the Congress candidates was noticed and in the outcome, Congress commanded a strength of 166 (in a House of 215) in the Madras Legislative Assembly, four more than what they got in 1937 elections.

Azad, the President of the INC, invited all the three PCC leaders; Kamaraj of TNCC, Prakasam of APCC and Madav Menon of KPCC to discuss about the formation of Ministry in Tamil Nadu. He also requested Rajaji and Pattabhi to attend their meeting. How-
ever meeting of the CLP was postponed. Azad, Patel and Nehru discussed and recommended that Rajaji may be selected as the Chief Minister and the CWC also accepted their advise. Now the problem was not with Rajaji, but with the members of the CWC and Pradesh Congress leaders. The latter were in dilemma whether to accept the former's advise or not. In other states immediately after the elections, the election of the party leaders have been completed and the Ministries have been formed. Only in Madras Presidency it was delayed due to the lack of coordination between the PCC leaders and the members of the AICC and CWC.

Amidst this turbulent situation, the CLP of Madras Province met on 19th April 1946, which was presided by V.V. Giri, and decided to reject the High Command's advice to select Rajaji as the leader of the CLP. Later voting on this matter took place and 38 voted for the advice, accepting Rajaji's leadership. The most important members who voted for Rajaji were A. Valdyanatha Iyer, K. Venkataswami Naidu, N. Annamalai Pillai, and Salem A. Subramaniam. Those who voted against the advice were 148 and their leaders included, K. Natarajan, K.R. Kranth, Alluri Sathya Narayana Rao, Nagappa and K.T. Kosalram. Out of 196 members 188 were present but two members T.S. Rameschandra Rao and Roche Victoria did not vote.

The Rajaji faction and the Congress High Command did not yield even then. Accepting the decision of Madras CLP, the
Congress High Command now advised the CLP to suggest a panel consisting of three names, out of which it could select the suitable CLP leader. By this process it wanted to retain its right to select the leader in times of dissensions. But this panel system also was rejected by the TNCC and CLP. Though there was cooperation among the CLP to reject Rajaji's leadership they had no cooperation amidst themselves to elect the new leader. The conflict between the leaders of Andhra and Tamil Nadu was intense for selecting the leader of their choice. Division occurred between them and each one proposed a name.

On 22nd April, CLP met to elect the leader. Muthuranga Mudaliar's name was proposed by Kamaraj and Madhav Menon. Opposing this, Kranth proposed T. Prakasam's name. Prakasam was elected. He got 82 votes and Muthuranga Mudaliar got 69 votes. In the meeting, 175 members were present and 24 of them did not take part in voting. The votes which Prakasam obtained was not even half of the total votes of the CLP. However, Congress Ministry was formed and Prakasam was made as the Chief Minister.

Differences over policy and implementation arose quite soon within the Prakasam Ministry. One group wanted complete prohibition throughout Tamil Nadu. Another group wanted prohibition to be implemented step by step, first in a few districts and other districts later. Along with Prohibition Policy, issues like Emergency Act and Mill Abolition Act etc., brought disagreement among the Ministers.
Opposition increased to Prakasam and as a result the faction which opposed Rajaji's re-entry into Congress decided to topple the Prakasam Ministry. But this was not so easy because only a few members of the Kamaraj faction were in power holding Ministerial and Parliamentary Secretary posts in Prakasam's Government. They hesitated to cooperate as they did not want to lose their positions. Only Andhra M.L.As who were about 40, were ready to remove Prakasam. Kamaraj was trying to bring everyone together to oppose Prakasam. At the same time realising his weak base, Prakasam was endeavouring to get the support of Gandhi and other national leaders. 24

At last on 2nd February 1947, a No-Confidence Motion was passed on Prakasam's Ministry and 114 members have signed in it. The reason they stated in the No-Confidence Motion was that there was complete disagreement on Food Control Policy and the introduction of Permit and Licence System. The second reason advanced was the increase of corruption in Prakasam's Ministry. 25 It was for the first time in history of the Congress that a Congress Legislative Party itself brought a No-Confidence Motion against the Congress Ministry itself. Prakasam did not resign even after this but he toured Andhra to gain support for himself and he also threatened the M.L.As who have signed the No-Confidence Motion. He did not attempt to convene the party meeting to estimate his support but he ordered that CLP should not bring the No-Confidence Motion.
against him. The dissatisfied Ministers, who were five in number, resigned in protest, and Prakasam re-allocated their portfolios to others. He hastened to submit the budget too for 1947-1948. CWC now announced that continuation of Prakasam in power is wrong and to solve the crisis, sent Kriplani and Shankar Dev to Madras. They discussed the problems with the important leaders who have signed the No-Confidence Motion, namely, Kamaraj, T.S.S. Rajan, O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, Gopala Reddy, Kaleshwar Rao and Madhav Manch.  

About this time Prakasam disclosed certain facts with respect to intra-party affairs which proved the thirst for power among Congressmen. He said: "In 1942 freedom struggle, many Congressmen were imprisoned, including myself. In the prison itself Congressmen have planned the modalities to share power if the Ministry would be formed after elections. There was consensus to make Prakasam as the party leader and the Chief Minister. But this plan did not materialise. They nominated a candidate to oppose me. However, after my election, a list of names was submitted to me to be included in the Ministry. But I have left one of the names in the list. Since I did so, today I face this problem of No-Confidence Motion against me."  

In 1946, Prakasam became the Chief Minister with the support of 82 votes but in 1947 he was removed by 116 votes. Actually in the March 5th meeting of the CLP, before the arrival
of Kriplani, 134 voted against Prakasam. But when it met after ten days, only 116 voted against and passed the No-Confidence Motion. This decrease in opposition was perhaps due to Kriplani's compromise action.

Prakasam blamed Kriplani for not forcing the M.L.As and controlling the PCC to support his Ministry. He called their action as undemocratic and asked for intra-party democracy to elect their own leader. 30

When Prakasam became sure of his failure he accepted to resign and was also ready to act according to the dictates of Kriplani. As the budget session was going on Governor requested Prakasam to be in power till the next leader is elected to prevent the province from the President's Rule under Section 93-B. 31

On 21st March 1947, CLP assembled to elect their new leader. O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar and Prakasam contested. O.P.R. got 116 votes and Prakasam got 73 votes. 32 The new Ministry was formed on 23rd March and O.P.R. became the Chief Minister.

The defeat of Prakasam was mainly due to dissatisfaction that engulfed his Ministry. In the 11 months of Prakasam's Ministry the communication between the party and government was completely lacking. The ministerial committees at different levels did not function. No meetings were held. They did not function as a
channel between people and government. The problems of the labour unions were not solved. Only during the elections Congress became energetic and after the elections it became dys-functional.

O.P. RAMASWAMY REDDIAR'S MINISTRY:

O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar's Ministry was formed on 23rd March 1947. It included Dr. Rajan, Dr. Subbaroyan, Gopala Reddy of Rajaji faction, Baktavatsalam, Avinashilingam Chetti and David Thomas of Prakasam faction and new faces like Kala Venkata Rao, Chandra Mouli and Seetharama Reddy. Even as the struggle settled down after the formation of the Ministry, conflict started in the party organisation.

Around eight DCC workers planned to pass a No-Confidence Motion on Kamaraj in the TNCC meeting of 26th April 1947. The meeting was to be held in the morning but it was postponed to night at 10.00 p.m. Compromise talks took place between Kamaraj, Vaidyanatha Iyer and O.P.R. while Vallatharasu also joined them.

Then the No-Confidence Motion on Kamaraj was left to vote. The total strength of CLF was 243, of which 181 were present and out of that 119 voted for Kamaraj. Those who have signed the No-Confidence Motion did not take part in voting. Somehow an agreement was made possible between Rajaji and Kamaraj factions during voting but still there was a group which did not support both the factions. It was evident that Prakasam was behind the
scene in the No-Confidence move on Kamaraj. The allegations on Kamaraj which gave rise to the No-Confidence Motion on him were: (1) The exercise of patronage in the distribution of the membership registration cards, (2) Patronage in the formation of adhoc committees and the organisational elections and (3) Partiality in administering the development plan.

Because of the No-Confidence Motion, there was a compromise on the part of Kamaraj and he accepted some conditions of Vaidyanatha Iyer of Rajaji faction such as adequate representation of Rajaji's men as candidate in organisational elections and 5 seats in the TNCC. However, Kamaraj refuted this statement and said that he only agreed to consult all the factions before selecting the candidate. Somehow, a compromise was brought between the two factions and this shocked the signatories of the No-Confidence Motion to a considerable extent.35

However O.P.R's Ministry did not last long. A conflict situation arose in March, 1949. The most common criticism against him were: (1) O.P.R. did not attend the assembly sessions regularly, (2) He was not easily approachable by the M.L.As and did not discuss with them problems on policy making, (3) He often times intervened in the judgements of the high court, (4) He was holding many portfolios including public works department, due to heavy work and did not give chance to the representatives to meet him, (5) Corruption has increased in the government administration and
relationship between M.L.As and bureaucracy was ruining. (6) People's life was adversely affected by the control system and (7) Land for freedom fighters was not well implemented. Not even 10% of the applications were considered and O.P.R. did not take suitable steps for its implementation.

In general O.P.R. was held to be a true Gandhian who followed his ideology sincerely. He was frank, honest and strict. During his Ministry the administration of the government departments have improved. He was against casteism and communalism. He was also trying to mitigate corruption. He intended to implement the Gandhian policies like Harijan Welfare, Prohibition, Basic Education and Development of Villages.35

Within CLP itself factionalism started developing in early 1948. A rumour that there will be a change in the Ministry and Chief Ministership was spreading. All the factions were eager to make their stakes. Dr. Subbaroyan was important among those who wanted the resignation of O.P.R's Ministry. He called on A. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madurai and discussed political issues with him, and Vaidyanatha Iyer too wanted a change in the leadership; Prakasam also wanted to contest and Subbaroyan asked Vaidyanatha Iyer to speak to Prakasam for the latter's withdrawal. Vaidyanatha Iyer however reasoned that Kamaraj's support is necessary if he wanted to win. But Kamaraj did not like Subbaroyan's contest. As Subbaroyan could not gather support for himself to contest, he decided
to support Prakasam. Some of Rajaji's supporters in the Ministry also were ready to oppose O.P.R. for his behaviour towards them and they were all frustrated with his administration.

Subbaroyan and his supporters met Prakasam and extracted from him a promise viz., to leave the boundary issue of Tamil Nadu to the boundary commission. Subsequently Subbaroyan extended his support to Prakasam and also decided to resign from O.P.R's Ministry. Vaidyanatha Iyer asked the other members of the Rajaji faction who were in the Ministry. In the CLP, around 20 members of the Rajaji faction were ready to vote against O.P.R. and only 4 were likely to support O.P.R., while 2 members wanted to keep quiet. Rajaji considered that it would not be nice to vote against O.P.R's Ministry, when his friends Subbaroyan and T.S.S. Rajen were in it. So, he did not want to pursue the matter further. On 26th April 1948, Rajaji's faction had the freedom to vote for or against O.P.R's Ministry. In the election both O.P.R. and Prakasam contested and they got 112 and 84 votes respectively. The faction which wanted the removal of O.P.R. was decisively defeated.37

In the 1948 conflict the role of Vaidyanatha Iyer was resented. The conflict, had also led to the dissolution of Rajaji faction. The objective of the Rajaji faction was to make Rajaji as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and when that became impossible, need for that faction to exist,38 had ceased. Meanwhile Dr. Subba-
rohan also resigned from the Ministry, and no doubt, it was a
great loss for O.P.R's Ministry.

As O.P.R. became the Chief Minister, again the disgruntled
opposition joined together and formed a new party called the 'Madras
Legislative Congress Reform's faction'. Valdyanatha Iyer was the
convener of this faction. The aim of this faction was:

1. to prevent the Madras Government from corruption and
to make it good administration;

2. to satisfy the demands of the people immediately;

3. to examine incisively all the policies of the government
before their implementation; and

4. to work according to Congress ideology and programmes
with regard to education, recruitment etc. 39

ELECTION DRAMA:

As the dissatisfaction with O.P.R's Ministry grew, Kamaraj
was persistent in changing the Ministry and wanted Baktavatsalam
to be elected. On 29th March, 1949, a special TNCC meeting was
held and three names O.P.R., Baktavatsalam and Subbaroyan "were
proposed for Chief Ministership. The previous night all the M.L.As
from Andhra have met at Gopala Reddy's residence and had decided
to request O.P.R. to withdraw from the contest and leave way to
select Baktavatsalam unanimously. On 29th Gopala Reddy met O.P.R. and requested him to withdraw. Thus it became a competition between Subbaroyan and Baktavatsalam.

But the next day on Volte face was served by Kamaraj, who now wanted Kumaraswamy Raja to contest. Gopala Reddy, Seetharama Reddy, Madhav Menon and Avinashilinga Chetti now also met O.P.R. and requested O.P.R. to withdraw from contesting. After this O.P.R. withdrew his name and the contestants were Kumaraswamy Raja and Subbaroyan. Meanwhile several steps were taken by Kamaraj and M.L.As of Andhra to avoid contest.

Kamaraj met Subbaroyan but the latter directed him to meet Prakasam. Prakasam refused to speak to Kamaraj and he in turn, asked Kamaraj to meet N.G.Ranga. Kamaraj had a discussion with N.G. Ranga, while Nijalingappa, Subbaroyan and Kranth were also present during the meeting. But the meeting was a failure and contest was inevitable. On 30th, 105 members voted for Kumaraswamy Raja and Subbaroyan got 89 votes. This proved that the Ministry was more or less equally divided. One faction supported Kamaraj and the other faction supported Prakasam.

As soon as the conflict among the factions for Chief Ministership was over, conflict among them started regarding the composition of the Ministry. Prakasam, Subbaroyan and Vaidyanatha Iyer argued with Kamaraj to give adequate representation for their fac-
tions in the new Ministry. Kamaraj replied, that no faction can demand representation according to the proportion of the votes they have got. Ministerships will be given based on their efficiency alone. Finally the Ministry somehow included Subbaroyan too.

Two years of O.P.R.'s rule came to an end, by his withdrawal from the election. In his administration Madras had many achievements (1947-1949). Firstly, India obtained Independence during his time. Secondly, Madras Province was the first to introduce Prohibition in India, which was planned ten years before by Rajaji in 1937. Thirdly, though the nature failed and severe drought occurred in 1948, with the help of the Food Minister T.S.S. Rajan, O.P.R. managed the problem efficiently. Fourthly, Temple Entry Act was passed which was first step to equality and the important temples opened their doors to all human beings. Fifthly, he took several steps for eliminating corruption.41

Factionalism in Tamil Nadu by now was getting into complex dimensions. Mostly High Command's suggestions were disregarded. Firstly, when T. Prakasam and C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar contested, Prakasam had won. Secondly, in the election of the speaker of the Legislative Assembly, the candidate supported by Prakasam was defeated. Thirdly, in the next year for the election of the leader of the CLP, Prakasam was defeated and O.P.R. had won. Though there was factionalism in 1948 election, O.P.R. struggled
to get the majority and became the Chief Minister for the second
time. This activated the conflict between O.P.R.'s supporters and
his rivals.

Factionalism grew during this period not due to policies
and programmes on national development, but it was due to allocation
of portfolios and obtaining of Chief Ministership. For any leader-
ship two issues are very important, viz., support base capability
and intelligence. When these are absent, leaders cannot function.
Also, when any factional group thinks that only because of them
their leader enjoys power, then the factional leader as the Chief
Minister is bound to select not efficient persons for the positions
but only his supporters. And this leads to intensification of fac-
tionalism and this is what precisely has happened in Tamil Nadu.

In 1951 two new factions came into existence in Tamil
Nadu Congress. This grew after the TNCC elections on 28th September
1950. Kamaraj contested for Presidentship and C. Subramaniam
made Subbiah to oppose him. Kamaraj got 155 votes and Subbiah
managed to get 99 votes. This election was reminiscent of 1940
elections when Rajaji made Subbiah to contest against Kamaraj who
in turn was made to contest by Sathyamurthy. Then Kamaraj got
103 votes and Subbiah got 100 votes. Kamaraj's supporters in
1950 TNCC election formed one solid faction they were mostly bigwigs
of the party namely N. Annamalai Pillai, Sivagnanam and others.
Subbiah faction had the support of O.P.R., Perumal Sami Reddiar,
Nadi-Muthu Pillai, Avinashilingam Chetti and C. Subramaniam. But some of the supporters of Subbiah were supporters of Kamaraj earlier.43

After 1949, Congress in Tamil Nadu was dys-functional and the Congress workers became tired of factional conflicts. Kamaraj did not take steps to strengthen Congress by fighting with opposition forces outside. Meanwhile D.M.K. also came into existence and the opposition to Congress in the wake of the first general elections grew.

1952 FIRST GENERAL ELECTION:

Out of 375 seats in the Madras Legislative Assembly only 152 were captured by the Congress. The communists captured 63 places and stood second in the rally. No party could muster majority in the Assembly. The communists with the help of other minor parties formed a United Democratic Front and selected Prakasam as their leader.44 Among the CLP members no one was equally powerful as Prakasam. Kamaraj was elected to the Parliament and he was not a CLP member. Even if he had been, he would not have become the Chief Minister. Because within TNC, people were dissatisfied with his leadership and no one considered him as a suitable person for Chief Minister then.

Madras province was then facing problems like, famine and drought and food crisis. The feeling that the communists
Rule should be prevented was renting the air. Realising the situation and want of capable leader to handle, C. Subramaniam took the first step to invite Rajaji to face Prakasam. APCC leader Neelam Sanjiva Reddy also joined him. Sanjeeva Reddy was a disciple of Kamaraj but he had personal grievances with Prakasam which made him to obstruct Prakasam from becoming the Chief Minister. Another reason for his action was that he did not like the growth of the communists in Andhra with whom Prakasam have aligned. P.S. Kumaraswamy Raja, who lost in the election, also joined with Subramaniam and Sanjeeva Reddy. They met Rajaji many times and requested him to accept the Chief Ministership. Though Kamaraj did not like the move, he had no other alternative and so he had to go to Rajaji's residence and request him to become the Chief Minister. But Rajaji refused at first. After this the CLP met on 27th March 1952 and unanimously elected Rajaji. When this was informed to Rajaji he did not accept or refuse it. Instead he asked the CLP to acquire Nehru's agreement for their decision. So C. Subramaniam and Tmt. Soundra Ramachandran left for Calcutta where Nehru was camping. Nehru agreed to the CLP decision. This was unexpected for Kamaraj, who was hoping that Nehru will not agree for it.45

Because of these, differences of opinion between Kamaraj and C. Subramaniam started growing and this played a vital role in the 1969 split of INC. Rajaji became the Chief Minister ultimately
with the help of the CLP. Prakasham and his supporters made a walk out during the Governor's inaugural speech, complaining that Rajaji's election was against democracy. Prakasham argued that, how a member without being an M.L.A. or M.L.C. could become a Chief Minister. Seeing this, Rajaji himself asked Subramaniam to move a 'Confidence Motion' in which, 200 members voted for Rajaji and 151 voted against his leadership. 46

Meanwhile the Congress High Command passed a resolution which said, that the leaders of PCCs should resign, where Congress had lost in 1952 elections and new leaders should be elected. Accordingly, Kamaraj who was the President of TNCC for 13 years resigned and P. Subbaroyan a pro-Rajaji man became the TNCC President. 47

Rajaji's acceptance of the Chief Ministership appeared to have been a hard lump to swallow mainly for the Kamaraj faction. Anti-Brahmin forces were given a ready target for their attacks consequent on the new Ministry's proposal for a New Educational Policy. This policy known as 'Kula kalvi Thittam', aimed to provide basic education for all children as well as education in the occupations of their fathers, in accordance with the Varnashrama Dharma of the ancient tradition. The policy avowed half a day for education and the rest of the time to be spent in work or to be trained in the field of their interest. 48 This policy which went against Macaulay's Education Pattern was pondered upon differently by the
non-Brahmins. They thought that, Brahmins were trying by backdoor methods to safeguard their dominating position.

In response to widespread agitation the Telugu speaking parts of Madras state were separated in 1953, and were constituted as the new state of Andhra Pradesh. Consequently, the Madras Assembly was reduced from its strength of 375 to 230, 140 MLAs going out to the Andhra Assembly and 5 to Mysore. In connection with the formation of Andhra, six members of the fifteen member Ministry also left the government. In this reduced house, opposition mounted against Rajaji's New Education Policy. O.P.R., T.T.K., K.T. Kosalram were some of those who opposed it severely. However, Ma.Po.Si. and C. Subramaniam were supporters of the policy.

By October 1953, Rajaji realised his position and wanted to conduct a special TNCC meeting to estimate his support to be in the office of the Chief Minister and informed Nehru accordingly. But Nehru replied that it was not necessary and wanted Rajaji to wait. However Rajaji decided to have the meeting in December. Meanwhile CLP started their signature campaign against Rajaji in November. Purushottam Mudaliar who joined Congress as late as 1952, was the one who initiated it and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu was behind this signature campaign. Once Rajaji asked Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu the accounts of the annual meeting of the TNCC and when the latter did not oblige, Rajaji filed a case against him. Now it was time for Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu to settle scores with Rajaji.
About eighty members of the DCC, TCC and YC have signed the petition against Rajaji. Nehru tried to save Rajaji and he replied to Varadarajulu Naidu thus:

"(1) Rajaji's election was not undemocratic and unconstitutional. He saved Madras from its critical situation.

(2) Rajaji was not responsible for the delay of TNCC meeting after the formation of Andhra. Only I and CPB considered the meeting or the election of a new leader as unnecessary." 50

Estimates of one and half years of Rajaji's administration vary. The critical situation of 1952 was solved by many of his effective plans. He brought De-control of food policy and Tanjore Pannayal Security Act, which ended the enduring conflict between the land owners and tenants. He also brought out a great economic change by effectively implementing development programmes. He tried to develop handloom industry too. Above all he worked to retain Madras as the capital of Tamil Nadu.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, position of Congress became strong in the truncated Assembly. The Congress now commanded a majority in the Assembly and this new parliamentary situation after October 1953 strengthened the position of the non-Brahmin forces under the leadership of Kamaraj. By this time he had become the TNCC President again, sending out Subbaroyan.
At last in March 1954, Rajaji resigned from the Chief Ministership pleading ill health.

On 31st March 1954, CLP met to elect its new leader. In accordance with Rajaji’s advice Baktavatsalam proposed C. Subramaniam’s name and it was seconded by U. Krishna Rao. Varadarajulu Naidu proposed Kamaraj’s name and it was seconded by N. Annamalai. Voting took place and Kamaraj won by getting 93 votes whereas C. Subramaniam got only 41 votes. Two weeks later Kamaraj formed a new Ministry, which contained no Brahmins. In order to strengthen the non-Brahmin position, Kamaraj wanted to absorb Tamil Nadu Toiler’s Party and the Common Weal Party. Both these parties were the political extensions of the Vanniyar Caste Association, namely the Vanniya Kula Kshatriya Sangam. The Common Weal Party, led by Manicka Velu Naicker, had its strength in North Arcot and Chingleput districts. The Tamil Nadu Toiler’s Party led by Ramaswamy Padayachi, was strong in South Arcot and Salem Districts. When their respective leaders were included in the Congress Government, both parties merged with the Congress.51

As Kamaraj was not a member of the Assembly, he contested in the Gudiyatham Assembly by-election. During the election campaign he accepted the support of E.V.R. and his Dravida Kazhagam. This was because T.A.K., and its leader Ma.Po.Si. were working against Kamaraj. The circumstances that prevailed were not favourable to
Kamaraj. The Gudiyatham was one of the citadels of the communists. In order to face it, Kamaraj was forced to accept the support of D.K. E.V.R. and P.T. Rajan also campaigned for Kamaraj. Muslim League also campaigned and Kamaraj had won the election by a narrow margin. 52

The formation of the Kamaraj's Ministry signalled the victory of the organisational wing. Kamaraj also changed his attitude of desisting the re-entry of those who left Congress. After he became the Chief Minister he requested the ex-Congressmen to come back to the fold of Congress and strengthen the party. Also this Ministry meant a final victory for the non-Brahmin leadership in the TNC. In January 1955, Kakkan was unanimously elected as the TNCC President and it was the first time in Tamil Nadu history that a Harijan was elected to that position. 53

Kamaraj's three Ministries (1954-1957, 1957-1962 and 1962-1963) were smaller and more tightly knit than the previous ones. Rajaji's faction now became idle and later in 1959 Rajaji formed the Swatantra Party. So the powerful faction of 1940s and early 1950s, left Congress and gave chance for the Kamaraj faction to dominate the TNCC. 54

In response to his own "Kamaraj Plan" for the revitalization of the Congress organisation all over India, Kamaraj retired from the Chief Ministership. His lieutenant Baktavatsalam became
the Chief Minister (1963-1967). Kamaraj's administration was more stable than the previous ones, there was relatively less intra-party conflict in the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Congress administration in Tamil Nadu was generally considered to be the most effective one in India.

In the period 1947-1954, factional conflict was in its height, which resulted in unstable Ministries and there was change of Ministry every year. But the period 1954-1963, can be called as a period of centralization and convergence, and factional conflict was minimum. Ministry was highly stable as Kamaraj was elected as the Chief Minister for three terms.

**LINGUISM AND FACTIONALISM: (1946-1953)**

Madras province was linguistically heterogenous consisting of Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada languages. Because of this feature the Congress Legislative Party (CLP) in Madras Provincial Assembly was also constituted on linguistic basis. The Pradesh Committees formed as early as 1920 itself in accordance with the resolution of INC, were: The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC), Tamil Nadu Congress Committee (TNCC), Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) and Karnataka Congress Committee (KCC). As the districts of Andhra were of larger areas the representatives from Andhra were also large in number in the Madras CLP. Next in strength were the representatives of Tamil districts. Kerala
and Karnataka representatives were very few in number. Conflict along these regional cleavages enhanced factionalism in the Congress of Madras province. It resulted in the formation of an independent Andhra State in 1953. Consequently, in 1956, all the states of India were linguistically re-organised.

The Andhra block consisted of 77 members in the 1946 CLP. The Andhrites were divided among themselves mainly between Prakasam, a Brahmin who hailed from Rayalaseema, Pattabi Sittaramayya (who was also a Brahmin from Circar districts) along with Kala Venkata Rao (K.V.Rao), and N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The latter faction had about 30-40 members. Another very small faction of non-Brahmins from the Circar and Rayalaseema districts also existed. Similarly Tamil bloc constituted half of the CLP. Here too two important factions along with the other minor factions existed. The non-Brahmin faction was led by Kamaraj and was around 60-70 members. 'Rajaji' faction consisted of 20-30 members, who were both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The KPCC and KCC were free from the squabbles of factionalism.55

In the 1946 leadership struggle, TNCC President Kamaraj and KPCC President K. Madhav Menon withdrew their support to Prakasam and put their candidate C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar a Tamil non-Brahmin as candidate. But, on the advice of Rajaji, 33 members of his faction refused to co-operate with Kamaraj and abstained from voting. But 7 votes of Rajaji faction went to Prakasam. If
the Tamils had united in opposing Prakasam then he would have been defeated. Likewise, Sanjeeva Reddy, who co-operated with Kamaraj to oppose Rajaji, refused to join Kamaraj to oppose Prakasam. P. Subbaroyan, Rukmani Lakshmipathy and a few others had also supported Prakasam. The unity among the Andhrites and the disunity among the Tamils were responsible for Prakasam capturing the Chief Ministership. Prakasam was also aided by the 1937 agreement that the next Chief Ministership in Madras province would go to an Andhrite. 56

Having supported Prakasam in the 1946 contest, Rayalaseema Congress leaders got less than what they felt to their share of the new Ministry. And Congressmen from Rayalaseema with Sanjeeva Reddy as leader, began expressing fear of circar dominance. 57 Prakasam tried to put together a representative and 'composite' Ministry but apparently without much success. This led to the disunity among the Andhrites when Prakasam faced the No-Confidence Motion in March 1947.

Meanwhile in the first week of April 1947 the government recommended P.N. Rao's plan to administer Madras province. According to this plan, "Madras province was to be divided into three divisions - Central Madras, North Madras and South Madras. Each division was to have a Legislative Assembly under the control of a single Governor at the apex. Each Legislative Assembly was to discuss and decide their policies and the language of that region
was construed to be the official language. The Andhrites, namely Prakasam, K.V. Rao, Kurmayya rejected this plan. They started agitating for linguistic re-organisation which had already been accepted as a policy of the INC in 1930s. First, the Andhrites started demanding for independent Andhra in 1937 under Rajaji Ministry. But due to the Second World War they had deferred their demand for a while. Also, when Prakasam was the Chief Minister, not one opened this subject. But when Prakasam was ousted from power, he started to build his support claiming for Andhra state. Andhrites also passed a resolution in APCC meeting in 1947 that if the constitutional Assembly did not make decisions regarding the formation of Andhra state, the Andhra members from the Constitutional Assembly and Madras Assembly would resign. But nothing happened so.

The rift between Prakasam and Pattabhi Sitaramayya was also widening. In the 1948 contest for the APCC Presidentship, Sanjeeva Reddy, though backed by K.V. Rao and Pattabhi was defeated by N.G. Ranga, a circcar kamma, supported by Prakasam, by 110 to 72 votes. This contest reflected the growth of the influence of Reddies of Rayalaseema who have begun to play an important part in the life of APCC. This was proved in the CLP election which followed.

In March 1948, Prakasam again sought the leadership of CLP, this time with the support of the Rajaji faction. Kamaraj's
candidate O.P.R. kept together the factional alliance of Tamil and Andhra non-Brahmins and won the support of Pattabhi-K.V. Rao and Sanjeeva Reddy faction, which in keeping the nature of factionalism in Andhra, was stretching beyond the confines of a single caste group. Prakasam was again defeated by a vote 112 to 84.60

In December 1948, the Dar Commission issued its report which recommended for the postponement of linguistic re-organisation for 10 years on grounds of administrative difficulties. This was rejected by the APCC. Then the national Congress leadership appointed a special three member committee (Vallabhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Pattabhi) called as V.J.P. Committee, to go into the question again. It recommended a general postponement of the formation of Andhra Pradesh. However it laid down two conditions for forming Andhra Pradesh, viz., Andhras must abandon their claim to Madras City and they must restrict the territory of Andhra to those districts which were found in Madras province. The claim to Madras City was a demand from Rayalaseema, supported by Prakasam. The Tamils did not want to give up Madras City. Hence the report had a divisive effect and no compromise was possible. Therefore Nehru shelved the issue.61

Meanwhile, Pattabhi left state politics and became the President of AICC and K.V. Rao was made one of the Secretaries. Prakasam levelled charges of election irregularities and ministerial corruption, against his party colleagues and called for the intervention of the
Congress High Command. When these charges were ignored, the APCC, still controlled by Prakasam and Ranga, requested the dismissal of the Madras Ministry and wanted a judicial enquiry. Counter charges of corruption against Prakasam was also raised. When no action was taken by the Congress High Command, Prakasam moved over to the opposition bench in the Assembly in 1950 and threatened a No-Confidence Motion. Vallabhbhai Patel intervened and quietened Prakasam.

Sanjeeva Reddy faction was growing stronger in 1950 than Prakasam-Ranga faction. It was also called Ministerial faction as most of the members of this faction were in the Ministry. There was a conflict among these two factions to control the APCC. S.K. Patil was sent by the High Command, but his arbitration was a failure and the new APCC was not formed. Both Pattabhi and K.V. Rao were using their influence and prevented Prakasam-Ranga faction from forming the APCC. At last S.K. Patil nominated the members of the APCC. 62

When Patel died by the end of 1950, Prakasam was left with little support from the national Congress leadership. The Gandhian wing of the Congress, under the leadership of Kripalani, wanted to cleanse the organisation from corruption and power politics. This was the situation when Congress President S.K. Patil ordered the next elections to choose the new President for the APCC. The election was held in April 1951 despite the protest
of Prakasam. Sanjeeva Reddy defeated N.G. Ranga, the previous APCC President, by a slim margin. It was for the first time that a leader from Rayalaseema had been elected as President of the APCC and thus in 1951 the APCC came under the control of Kala-Reddy faction.

The election of Sanjeeva Reddi precipitated the party split, which had been in the offing. Prakasam and Ranga had left Congress, to set up the Praja (People's) Party. The group around Sanjeeva Reddi saw the split in terms of factional conflict and offered the losers a minority position on the PCC executive (9 out of 20 seats).

When this intra-party conflict process was going on in APCC the CLP of Madras province passed a resolution recommending for linguistic re-organisation. But the Andhra leaders did not agree and now the conflict was shifted to the two regions of Rayalaseema and Circar. Rayalaseema members demanded a separate state without being included with Andhra.

By now, the demand for linguistic re-organisation of states continued to gain popularity. A major road block to the creation of Andhra was the dismemberment and rearrangement of multi-lingual Hyderabad. There was also the demand for Visal Andhra, a united Andhra with the City of Hyderabad as Capital. Swami Sitaram threatened to fast unto death to bring unity among the Andhra fac-
tions and to make the machinery move for the creation of an Andhra state. But Nehru who had an eye on the coming general elections in 1952 called for consensus amongst all sides to the dispute, even from such men as Prakasam who had by that time left the Congress. 65

Due to the factional squabbles in APCC the Congress in Andhra Pradesh was defeated in the 1952 elections and it had won less than a third of the Andhra seats in the Madras Assembly. Communists captured most of the seats in Andhra. Congress votes were hopelessly divided in most constituencies between Congress, Prakasam’s Praja Party and Ranga’s Krishik Lok Party. 66

Prakasam with the help of the communists and other parties formed a United Democratic Front (UDF) and claimed for Chief Ministership. But the TNCC who disliked, communists forming the government sought the help of the High Command and Rajaji was nominated as the Chief Minister of Madras. Having lost the Chief Ministership to Tamils, the Andhrites held a meeting in June 1952 at Madras. Around 30 members including Prakasam and Sambemurthy attended it and passed a resolution demanding the immediate formation of Andhra Pradesh including the City of Madras within it. In the meeting Swami Sitaram requested for consensus but Prakasam refused. 67
Potti Sriramulu, a disciple of Swami Sitaram, approached Prakasam to bring about unity. But he failed and so he started his fasting in front of Secretariat demanding for the immediate formation of Andhra state.

All party conference was held by the Andhrites. One group to save Sriramulu from death, accepted to drop their claim of Madras. But Prakasam-Viswanathan-Sambamoorthly group made a walk out and the rest passed a resolution, which agreed to the formation of Andhra without the City of Madras. But due to lack of co-operation amidst the Andhrites, they could not decide and they lost Sriramulu in December 1952, who demised after 58 days of fasting. 68

Even after Potti Sriramulu's death unity among the Andhrites was not possible. But the Government of India took immediate steps to form Andhra. All the leaders including Sanjeeva Reddi, Ranga and communists agreed to Nehru's decision. But Prakasam did not agree to it. Seeing the danger of his position, then he changed his demand from claiming Madras to making Madras as the temporary capital or Capital of Andhra too. But Ma.Po.Si. did not accept. He did not want Madras to be Andhra's capital temporarily also, because he thought that, it will increase the animosity between the Tamils and Telugus. 69

Seeing this confusion, Justice Wanchoo was sent by the High Command to inquire into the issue of Madras. He toured Madras
province, and wherever he went the slogans of 'Madras Manade' (Madras is ours) of the Andhrites rent the air. So he suggested to Nehru that Madras should be the capital of Andhra for time being.

Ma.Po.Si., Raktavatsalam, T. Chengalvaroyan and others of TNCC opposed to Wanchoo's recommendation, though Rajaji was not for separation, he wanted Andhra to be formed immediately, because he thought that it will decrease his rivals in Madras Assembly, especially the communists. On the strength of Rajaji's advise Nehru discarded Wanchoo's report and the separate state Andhra was formed, excluding Madras, on 1st October 1953.70 Thus the conflict between the Andhrites and Tamils ended.
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