CHAPTER - VI
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FACTIONALISM IN TAMIL NADU CONGRESS (1969-1987)

After the great 1969 split, the TNC split into two, the Organisational Congress or Congress (O) led by Kamaraj and Ruling Congress or Congress (R) headed by C. Subramaniam. Though Congress (R) formed the Government at the Centre, in Tamil Nadu it was extremely feeble. In fact, Congress (O) was considered as the heir to INC. While Congress (O) was functioning under the presidency of P. Kakkam, R.V. Swaminathan was the chief of Congress (R). Infighting and party squabbling was chronic in TNCC (R) from its inception. It did not have mass following in Tamil Nadu, but it was made of leaders. Three main factions emerged in TNC (R) during the early 1970s namely: C. Subramaniam faction, M. Baktavatsalam faction and Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar faction. And in late 1970s, after the merger of Congress (O) with Congress (R) factionalism further weakened the Congress (R) because factions like G.K. Moopanar faction, M.P. Subramaniam faction, Shivaji faction and Nedumaran faction had sprouted.

The TNCC (O) was devoid of factionalism to start with, due to Kamaraj, who was leader above faction. His tactics mitigated that issue and so factionalism was implicit in Congress (O). E.V.K. Sampath and R.T. Parthasarathi resigned from Congress (O) after the mid-term election in 1971, which was unfavourable to the party.
E.V.K. Sampath said: "I resign because I cannot be a member of a party which is conservative in nature". The other man also quoted the same, to resign. Later, they defected to Congress (R).\(^1\)

For the first time after the split both Congress (O) and (R) wanted to unite in Tamil Nadu, to face the by-elections held in Pondicherry and Coimbatore in February 1974. But the merger was not complete because of differences of opinion that occurred regarding the merger within the TNCC (R) factions. E.V.K. Sampath and his followers, who were ardent supporters of M.G. Ramachandran, disliked the unity between Congress (O) and (R). Baktavatsalam-Kosalram faction stressed for merger with Congress (O). C. Subramaniam wished to have a limited relationship with Congress (O) and he was not for merger.\(^2\) The TNCC (R) President Ramayya was unable to proceed further with regard to merger. So all the factional leaders flew to Delhi in June 1974 and met Mrs. Gandhi to express their views. As a result Mrs. Gandhi came to Madras in September 1974, to estimate the support of Congress (R) in Tamil Nadu and also to unite the Congresses together. But her visit did not end conflicts within TNCC (R). On the day of Mrs. Gandhi's visit, the opponents of merger met and decided to have a rival general body meeting in October 1974. Ramayya, who thought that Mrs. Gandhi's visit will help to suppress rivalry was shocked of the decision of the general body meeting.\(^3\) Because of Ramayya's pressure the High Command stopped the general body meeting and
instead convened its Working Committee. In the Working Committee Meeting also the opponents of merger were in a majority and they made Ramayya to requisition the general body meeting on 19th October 1974. The opponents of merger further tried to dissolve the TNCC (R) and wanted to form an adhoc Committee.4

The men who were dissatisfied with Ramayya's leadership struggled nearly for one year to remove him. Baktavatsalam and his followers, ex-Praja Socialists, members of the Youth Congress, and supporters of Sampath along with, C. Subramaniam (who made Ramayya as the President) joined hands to dislodge Ramayya. Ramayya was thus pushed to a critical situation. D.K. Baroocha was sent by the High Command to settle the issue. He consulted all the factions and he also called Uma Shankar Dixit from Delhi to join him in sorting out the problems. Finally, the adhoc TNCC (R) was nominated by D.K. Baroocha with K.S. Ramaswamy as its President.5

In December 1974, an atmosphere for the merger of the two Congresses was created. Kamaraj and Mrs. Gandhi had talks with each other but no decision for complete merger was arrived at. Only an electoral understanding was fostered. T.T. Krishnamachari was important among the men who brought Congress (O) and (R) together for the electoral understanding in 1974. Maragatham Chandrasekar further strengthened the electoral adjustments. However, as T.T.K. passed away, the unity move was weakened. Subsequently
on 31st December 1974, the Congress (R) of Tamil Nadu conducted the Congress Workers Conference at Gobichettipalayam, under C. Subramaniam's leadership. One of the resolutions passed in this Conference treated the question of merger as an urgent issue and it gave ultimatum to the Congress (O) to decide about merger before 15th February, 1975. For his party E.V.K. Sampath also worked against the unity move. But the High Command and the INC President Barooah maintained: "The decision of Subramaniam's is not the decision of the party but it is his individual opinion."

Kamaraj irritated by these pesterings, announced that the TNCC (C) would meet on 2nd February to decide the matter. Again Brahmananda Reddy was sent by the High Command to pacify Kamaraj. He met Kamaraj and requested him to decide the merger issue, according to his convenience. But, Subramaniam irritated Congress (O) by demanding whether the latter was ready to merge or not and he wanted the answer immediately. He did so because he was fearful whether he would be pushed to the second position once the two Congresses merged. So he did his best to prevent the parties from merger.

Congress (O) considered this tactics of C. Subramaniam as a blackmail and on 2nd February 1975, TNCC (O) met and decided that merger was an impossibility. The reason Congress (O) put forth for its decision was: "Merger may give financial advantage
to our party, but we do not consider money as important. We can safeguard our party's prestige and influence, only if we contest independently." Thus the merger was blocked by the personal aspirations of TNCC (R) and they happily welcomed the decision of Congress (O). On the other hand, the High Command of Congress (R) was dissatisfied of what had happened.  

The unfortunate death of Kamaraj on 2nd October 1975, shook the Congress (O) in Tamil Nadu. Mrs. Gandhi, who came to Tamil Nadu to attend the funeral of Kamaraj, appealed to the Congress (O) to return to the Congress (R). She added that it was the wish of Kamaraj too. She also made it clear that after the merger, a Congress (O) leader will be made the President of the united Congress in Tamil Nadu. This induced factional conflict within Congress (O). The conflict already going on between Shivaji fans Association and the party organisation now became intense and consequently the Congress (O) had split into two.

One of the groups of the Congress (O) wanted the party to continue independently. P. Rama Chandran, the TNCC (O) leader, Kumari Anandan and Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayagi the two secretaries of Congress (O), Shivaji's fan clubs and other notable members like Mrs. Jothi Venkatachalam, S.V. Lakshmanan, M. Dandayuthapani, T.P. Elumalai, P. Ponnuswamy, Ponnappa Nadar, Nethaji and Ramani Bai belonged to this faction. The other group who had been more attached to Kamaraj than with the Congress (O) wanted
the merger with Congress (R). This group argued that party had no suitable leader to guide them after Kamaraj. So they preferred the merger than independent functioning. Nedumaran, Tindivanam Ramamoorthy, the other two secretaries of Congress (O), S. Chella Pandian, G.K. Moopanar (DCC President of Tenjore), K. Rajaram Naidu (MLC), R.S. Arumugam (Convenor), Appadurai and Ramalingam belonged to this faction. Thus the Congress (O) organisation was split into two. One group merged with Congress (R) in 1976 and the other remained as Congress (O), which later merged with Janata Party in 1977.

On 11th October 1975, TNCC (O) Executive met to decide the further course of party activities after Kamaraj's death. S. Chellapandian, K. Rajaram Naidu, R. Ponnappa Nadar, T.M. Nalluswamy, G. Karuppih Moopanar and Mrs. Jothi Venkatachalam were present on the occasion. The Executive Committee passed a resolution authorising P. Ramachandran, the party president, to tour the state intensively to ascertain the views of the party workers on the measures of strengthening the organisation in the new political situation. The Committee was asked to submit its report by November.

However, the impatient members of Congress (O) held a Conference and called for the merger of the state Congresses. Notable among them were P. Rajagopalprasad, S.D. Sundaram, S. Subramaniam and K.S. Ekambaram. Their resolution pleaded for the unity of two state Congress units and requested the leaders
of both the parties to bring it about, in a spirit of give and take policy, setting aside their personal animosities, prestige, self-interest and other considerations. Meanwhile, the fact finding committee started its course with P. Ramachandran leading it, though some TNCC (O) leaders did not accompany P. Ramachandran. They were G.K. Moopanar, P. Nedumaran, K. Ramamurthi and S. Chella-pandian. They all urged that the president should convene a meeting of the TNCC (O) to decide about the merger.

Again, Brahmananda Reddy, the Union Home Minister, arrived in Madras to settle down the confusion in TNCC (O). A group of members of the Women's Wing of the TNCC (O) favouring integration of the two Congresses met Reddy and represented to him that they being subjected, to 'intimidation, coercion and violence' by another group of women's wing and were prevented from giving free expression of their views. Eleven DCC (O) presidents out of nineteen (Salem, Pudukkottai, Madurai (Urban and Rural), Thanjavur, Tiruchi, Chingleput (South), Madras (North), South Arcot, Ramnad and Tirunelveli) demanded to convene the TNCC (O) meeting. But P. Ramachandran, who led the fact finding committee, announced the Congress (O)'s determination to go ahead with independent functioning.

Mrs. Gandhi's earlier appeal met with such support inside the Tamil Nadu Organisational Congress that the national leadership of the Congress (O), on 29th November, dissolved the state committee and appointed a new adhoc executive committee headed by P. Rama-
chandran. On 2nd December however a meeting attended by 340 of the 584 members of the previous state committee removed Rama-chandran from the presidency and elected B. Mahadevan Pillai as temporary President, and unanimously adopted a resolution authorizing the newly formed working committee to initiate steps towards the reunion. It was stated that 66 members of the Committee had sent letters supporting the resolution, thus providing that the majority of Congress (O) stood for merger.\textsuperscript{13}

At last the Congress (O) of Tamil Nadu merged with Congress (R) formally in a mass meeting at Madras, on 15th February 1976, in the presence of Mrs. Gandhi.\textsuperscript{14} Mrs. Gandhi’s earlier announcement that only a leader from Congress (O) would be given the party presidency made three Congress (O) leaders to aspire for it. They were Nellai S. Chellapandian, Rajaram Naidu and P. Nedumaran. G.K. Moopenar who was detached from politics for a considerable time was also dragged into the conflict and even members who did not belong to any faction also tried their hands. Finally, Mrs. Gandhi appointed Moopenar as the President of the united Congress as she considered him as the man above factional politics. To satisfy everyone, Moopenar formed the state Congress Working Committee with a strength of 45 members, which instead of mitigating factionalism intensified it further.

Nedumaran was made one of the Secretaries of TNCC (R).
Inspite of that Nedumaran's supporters dissatisfied with the newly formed Working Committee revolted against Moopanar. The factional conflict between Moopanar and Nedumaran developed from April 1976. Since then, Moopanar was forced to generate a faction to safeguard himself. Thus several factions developed within the united Congress too. Due to factional squabbles, Nedumaran also did not take part in the activities of the party.

Nedumaran flew to Delhi and met Mrs. Gandhi. He also met Sanjay Gandhi and spoke about his dissatisfaction inside the TNCC (R). Therefore Rajam Patel was sent, Devaraj Urs interfered and Yashpal Kapoor enquired, in order to settle TNCC (R)'s problems but nothing fruitful emerged. Mrs. Gandhi was frustrated with TNCC (R)'s action and she said: "I thought merger will bring development of the party in Tamil Nadu. But the merger has only developed factionalism."15

After the withdrawal of Emergency, Nedumaran's faction openly attacked Moopanar. A signature campaign was started against Moopanar and 350 signatures out of 610 members of the state committee was obtained. C. Subramaniam, who openly welcomed the merger, as Kamaraj was not there to fight with him, started supporting Moopanar against his battle with Nedumaran. Since C. Subramaniam supported Moopanar, M. Baktavatsalam his rival, joined hands with Nedumaran. Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar too, a rival of
Baktavatsalam, supported Nedumaran. So all the different factions either supported Nedumaran or Moopanar faction and brought it to a bi-factional conflict.

Nedumaran's supporters started demanding for intra-party democracy. They resigned from their posts and asked for immediate organisational elections of the party. Moopanar kept quiet for a while, and he sprang a surprise by unexpectedly announcing the date of organisational elections. It shocked Nedumaran's faction considerably. Both factions campaigned to receive the support of 612 members of the TNCC (R). Meantime, Tanjai Ramamooty of Youth Congress also decided to contest and formed a third group. They believed that they will get the support of Shivaji's group. The elections loomed large like that of the elections for the Assembly and Chief Minister's post. In the bitter contest that ensued, Moopanar got 320 votes and Nedumaran polled 212 and Tanjai Ramamooty received a paltry 9 votes. During the elections, Shivaji's group gravitated towards Moopanar. The Youth Congress became disgruntled. Further there was delay in the formation of the Working Committee due to factionalism.16

The longstanding leader after the split of TNCC (R), C. Subramaniam was ignored in 1977. As C. Subramaniam spoke against Mrs. Gandhi, when enquired by the Shah Commission, the Congressmen turned against him. Nedumaran used this opportunity
and accused C. Subramaniam for playing a dual role. M. Baktavatsalam also condemned Subramaniam for staying along with Mrs. Gandhi even while not agreeing with her actions. When Mrs. Gandhi was arrested in 1977, agitations and demonstrations ensued in Tamil Nadu too protesting her arrest. Moopanar, the TNCC (R) president, also called for a hartal. Now the members of the TNCC (R) did not accuse the Janata Party and the Janata Government for her arrest, but blamed C. Subramaniam. His photo was thrown out from the party head office in Madras and an effigy of C. Subramaniam was also burnt.

In the meantime, Nedumaran's faction led a procession demanding C. Subramaniam's resignation of his MP post. Though C. Subramaniam came forward to explain the circumstances in which he had testified to Shaw Commission of Enquiry, no one was ready to listen to him. Even his own men withdrew their support to Subramaniam to avoid being misunderstood as enemies of Mrs. Gandhi.17

In this situation the Executive Committee of TNCC (R) met on, 12th October 1977, to decide Subramaniam's continuance in the party. C. Subramaniam flew to Delhi and issued a press statement that he was called by Mrs. Gandhi for a talk, with the intention to stop the action of his rivals at Madras. As no one believed in it, the Executive committee requested the High
Command to take disciplinary action on all the Ex-Ministers who appeared as witnesses before the Shah Commission. When Nedumaran went to Delhi subsequently he came to know that, there was no call at all from Mrs. Gandhi to C. Subramaniam.  

1978 SPLIT AND ITS IMPACT:

Moopanar and Nedumaran, in order to prove their strength of Congress (R) collected signatures from the TNCC members. Nedumaran submitted his signature collections to Devaraj Urs and Moopanar sent it to Kamalapati Tripathi. Nedumaran went to Delhi to do party work. He was also hectically working for the Congress convention slated for 31st December 1977 and 1st January 1978. Nedumaran thought that the TNC leadership was hesitant to support Indira. Therefore he opened a new office for Congress (R) in Alwarpet, Madras.

In the Congress convention there was bitter opposition to Mrs. Gandhi. The Congress (R) had split into Congress (U) and Congress (I). Moopanar stayed in the convention for two days and he did not make any explicit comment about his support to Mrs. Gandhi. But a majority of Congress (R) MPs of Tamil Nadu were with Brahmananda Reddy, which included O.V. Alagesan, K. Gopal, K.T. Kosairam, K.S. Ramaswami, R.V. Swaminathn, G. Bhuvarehan and Mrs. Jayalakshmi. As Moopanar kept silent, some of them met him and urged him to make up his mind in favour
of Reddy. Efforts were made to avert a split in Tamil Nadu and Baktavatsalam called for unity, describing the split as 'most unfortunate'.

The party headed by Mrs. Gandhi nominated G.K. Moopanar as the President of the party in Tamil Nadu on 5th January 1978. Followingly, Reddy replaced Moopanar with O.V. Alagesan as the President of TNCC (R) and the executive committee was also dissolved to form a new one.

Moopanar's stand was still confusing as he declared that only after consulting the Congressmen of the state he will finally decide his support. A CLP meeting headed by Moopanar was held on 7th January 1978 to decide the issue. 16 out of 27 CLP members attended and failed to come to a decision. The next day, a majority of PCC, CLP and DCC members met and urged that TNCC should function as a wing of Mrs. Gandhi and thus the split was complete in Tamil Nadu too, and Congress (U) was headed by O.V. Alagesan while Congress (I) was headed by G.K. Moopanar. The notable members who backed Mrs. Gandhi in Tamil Nadu were, K. Rajaram, P. Nedumaran, A.R. Marimuthu (CLP leader), N. Sundaresa Thevar (leader of Congress Legislative Council), Shivaji and his fans, Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar and others. Most of the MLAs of Tamil Nadu backed Moopanar.
As a consequence of the split in Congress (R) TNCC (R) was engulfed in chaos. Firstly, the split had further weakened faction-ridden Congress (R) in Tamil Nadu. Secondly, there was a change of attitude in the support of Mrs. Gandhi. It was strange that the conservatives of the first split had become the revolutionaries of the second split and the revolutionaries of the first split became the conservatives of second split. Those who supported Mrs. Gandhi in the 1969 split now turned against her and became her rivals. And the opposers of her in 1969 inclined towards her this time. C. Subramaniam, a staunch supporter of Mrs. Gandhi, who led her Congress in Tamil Nadu after 1969 became her great rival. O.V. Alagesan joined hands with him.23 Nedumaran who opposad Mrs. Gandhi during emergency now stood strong on her side. T.N. Ananthanayaki stood with C. Subramaniam opposing Mrs. Gandhi.

Though the split in 1978 had its consequences in TNCC (R), there were other personality factors too that led to the division in Tamil Nadu. Since the crisis in 1969, TNCC (R) was mainly dominated by C. Subramaniam and his faction. He was the decision maker of TNC. But the merger of Congress (O) and (R), brought into the TNCC (R) several new elements, which came in conflict with the members of Congress (R). Since Moovanar, of Congress (O) was made the President of the united Congress, the trouble started. The conflict between Moovanar and Nedumaran was also used by Congress (R) members for their personal desires.
The rift between Moopanar and Nedumaran continued after 1978 split too. As Moopanar felt that Mrs. Gandhi was more confident on Nedumaran and when the High Command issued instructions that Nedumaran should be consulted in all matters, Moopanar felt sour and he resigned in July 1978. But the resignation was accepted only after four months. A.P.C. Veera Babu and R.V. Mahadevan Pillai contended for the presidency of TNCC (I) but Mrs. Gandhi appointed R.V. Swaminathan as the President in February 1979. Yet, Moopanar had the full support among the CLP. The CLP leaders, DCC and TCC members wanted Moopanar himself to continue as the president. Thus Congress (R) groups used Nedumaran as an instrument to remove Moopanar from the Presidency. Nedumaran who became tired of group politics, left the party and formed his own party, by the name, "Tamil Nadu Kamraj Congress [TNCC(K) or TNKC] in October 1979, on the pretext that Congress (I) did not give enough representation to the younger generation and only the senior Congressmen play the power games.²⁴

The conflict between Congress (R) group and Congress (O) group inside Congress (I) continued in 1980 too. The Congress (R) group members like K.T. Kosalram, R. Venkataraman, R.V. Swaminathan and others argued that they were senior members and so they must be trusted with all party activities. On the other hand Congress (O) group said that they were the true Congressmen. After the expiry of the term of R.V. Swaminathan's presidency, the two names of M.P. Subramaniam (a defector
from DMK, who came out with E.V.K. Sampath when he started his TNP and entered Congress when the party merged with Congress) and Elayaperumal (a harijan Congress worker recommended by Moopanar) were proposed for the Presidentship. Moopanar as the leader of dominating faction and Elayaperumal as a member of the harijan community were able to sail through and thus Elayaperumal became the President of TNCC (I) in 1979.25

Because of these factional quarrels, the organisation was lacking in activities. When the state Congress (I) working committee met, Congress (R) group members stayed away from party work. Within a year, K.T. Kosalram and R. Venkataraman intrigued to remove Elayaperumal. They blamed that Elayaperumal's leadership had brought in caste conflict among Congressmen. Maintaining that the debacle of 1980, general elections was largely due to the candidate selection procedure adopted by Elayaperumal, he was removed from Presidentship in March 1980. The working committee had also been dissolved. M.P. Subramaniam was now made the President.26

In the meantime, P. Ramachandran merged the TNCC (O) with the Janata Party in 1977. Its other important members were Kumari Anandhan, S.V. Lakshmanan, Nellai Jabamani, Mrs. Lakshmi Krishna Moorthy and a few others who were all devotees of Kamaraj. But conflict arose between them as regards leadership and Kumari Anandhan left the Janata Party on 18th June 1978 and founded a
new party called the 'Gandhi Kamaraj National Congress' (GKNC). Similarly in August 1980 the conflict between P. Ramachandran and Nellai Jabamani resulted in the former joining the Congress (I). 27

In the early 1980’s a new faction emerged in Congress (I) of Tamil Nadu. It was the faction of Shivaji Ganesan. Shivaji Ganesan, a great actor and who begun his career in DMK initially, joined the Congress in 1954. He was a staunch supporter of Kamaraj. After Kamaraj’s death he left Congress (O) and joined Congress (R) along with Moopanar. He was also a member of Moopanar faction. His fans became the workers of Congress (I). Shivaji, after his nomination as the Rajya Sabha member in February 1982, turned as an opponent of Moopanar, because of M.P. Subramaniam’s manipulations.

When the Rajya Sabha seats fell vacant, Moopanar, by now the AICC Secretary, recommended Amitabh Bachan’s name. R. Venkataraman and M.P. Subramaniam used this as a chance and recommended Shivaji Ganesan’s name to pull him to their side. They were successful and a strong relationship between Shivaji and M.P. Subramaniam grew. 28

M.P. Subramaniam was removed from Presidentship after the debacle in the Periyakulam by-election in which Congress (I) faced a stupendous defeat. 29 Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar
was made the President of TNCC (I). She was there for some time and Palaniyandi, a lieutenant of Moopanar became next President in 1983. 30

The Southern Regional Conference of the Congress (I) [SRCC(I)] held in Madras at the end of December 1983, succeeded only in bringing into the open the violent differences within the party and also the bitter resentment of one of the two factions against the way Delhi was managing the affairs of the Tamil Nadu unit. The faction led by the then defence Minister R. Venkataraman boycotted the first day's session, in which AICC (I) general secretary participated (Moopanar was a confidential person of Rajiv Gandhi). A significant fall out of the boycott of the conference spearheaded by Shivaji and M.P. Subramaniam was the emergence of 'radicals' within the TNCC (I).

The main grievance of the radicals was the utter lack of 'inner party democracy'. The other demands of the radicals were autonomy of the TNCC (I), non-interference by the AICC (I) general secretaries and encouragement of a second rank leadership, particularly, at the district level. A former office bearer of the TNCC (I) T.R. Balasubamanian and K. Jagaveera Pandian an ex-TNYC (I) President, both headed these radicals. However these radicals entertained a perceptible tilt towards M.P. Subramaniam.
A counter two days conference on 25th and 26th February 1984 was held by the pro-Shivaji election elements within the Congress (I) to oust President Palaniyandi and to enable Shivaji to take over the leadership of the party in Tamil Nadu. A 16-KM procession marked the beginning of the convention, with slogans like, "Shivaji is Congress and Congress is Shivaji", and "Brother Shivaji is the next Chief Minister", renting the air. R. Venkataraman, M.P. Subramaniam and Arvind Balapazhanoor were present in the convention. Both Palaniyandi and Moopanar were absent, which only confirmed the new alignments in the state Congress (I) politics. R. Venkataraman was in fact the real force behind Shivaji. The Moopanar caucus now consisted of P. Chidambaram, U. Subramaniam, Tindivanam Ramamurthy, Mudukalathur Balakrishnan, Dural Ramaswami, Salem Ramaswamy Udayar and others. 31

Both factions, felt that they had the upper hand over the other because of their inherent belief, that Mrs. Gandhi was either supporting their faction or was opposing the other faction. Thus when Shivaji claimed his conference was blessed by Mrs. Gandhi, the Moopanar faction maintained that Mrs. Gandhi was more confident about him. 32 Mrs. Gandhi was in fact quite upset at these unnecessary show and pomp. 33

As Shivaji was not made the TNCC (I) President, Palaniyandi continued as the chief. Both M.P. Subramaniam and Shivaji
factions began to withdraw from the party activities. The High Command in order to strengthen the TNC and to get rid of factionalism, formed a nineteen member co-ordination committee in October 1984 and Shivaji was made the Chairman of the Election Campaign Committee. 34

Thus in TNC (I) five factions emerged and developed in 1980's. They were namely, Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar faction. Shivaji faction. M.P. Subramaniam (M.P.S.) faction, R. Venkataraman faction and G.K. Moopanar faction. Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekar's faction was very minor one and was caste oriented. She mainly represented the harijans. As she was the secretary of Congress (I) and a confidential person of Mrs. Gandhi she was able to build her faction. Shivaji's faction was also a minor faction. His supporters were only his fans. This faction was utilised by the Congress mainly for electioneering. Thirdly, the M.P.S. faction was also a minor one. Those who were anti-Moopanar supported M.P.S. and so he became the guardian of anti-Moopanar men. Fourthly, R. Venkataraman, who stood neutral during the 1969 split and worked for "Swarajya" as editor for some time and who wrote articles against Mrs. Gandhi during her emergency days, later became a supporter of Mrs. Gandhi and stood by her all the way opposing Moopanar. Venkataraman joined the anti-Moopanar factions as he did not have much following in the TNC.
Also Mrs. Maragathan always functioned as a protege of R. Venkataraman. Fifthly, Moopanar's faction was the dominant one in TNCC (I). Moopanar had succeeded in convincing the High Command that he was the best bet for the party, if it wanted to obtain power in Tamil Nadu.
REFERENCES


8. Many of the Kamaraj men thought that only Emergency of Mrs. Gandhi, frustrated Kamaraj and so he fell ill. Dinamani, 3rd & 4th October, 1975.


10. The Hindu, 12th October, 1975. Also the Tamil Nadu Charitable Trust was reconstituted by the TNCC (O) by the addition of three more members, viz., S. Chellapandian, R. Ponnappa Nadar and N. Ramaswamy Udayar (thus raising the strength to nine). The other members were C. Subramaniam, M. Baktavatsalam, C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dhanuskodi Nadar, G.K. Moopanar and P. Ramachandran.


15. Ibid., p.28146.


25. Thuglak, 1st April, 1980.


