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choice of candidates. Internal feuds within the district level Congress and factions, which were in plenty until 1952, became an important pre-occupation for Kamaraj as the TNCC chief. Kamaraj thought that the state legislature should consist of his non-Brahmin loyalists and so he distributed the Congress tickets only to those whom, in his opinion, would stand by him and not by other leaders of the TNC. Though the Congress party itself had not much money, people with money were mixed up to a considerable extent and all kinds of malpractices were allowed to creep into electioneering methods. In many places the candidates set up by the TNCC were not acceptable to the workers. In Saliyamangalam, for instance, a devoted Congress worker set himself up as a rival to the rich Congress candidate and defeated the latter.1

So in the first General Elections of 1951-52 the Congress had won only 152 seats out of 375 in Madras Legislative Assembly. Six out of the eleven members in the Ministry lost their seats. Among the six, the name of the Chief Minister was also found.

Within two years of Rajaji's Ministry, caste conflict developed, and non-Brahmin legislators of the Congress ridiculed that Rajaji's Ministry was dominated by the Brahmins. These anti-Brahmin forces soon attacked Rajaji's new education policy, interpreting that the policy was aiming towards the dominance
of the Brahmans. Their coming together was responsible for the downfall of Rajaji from power in 1954. Thus caste played a significant role in the factionalism within the TNC, which made Congressmen to oppose a Congress Ministry itself.

Kamaraj, after forming his Ministry in April 1954, decided to contest in the by-election for Madras Legislative Council from Cudiyatham Constituency. The non-Brahmins who opposed Kamaraj in 1952, worked for Kamaraj now. EVR, DK and the Muslim League all joined in the election campaign. Kamaraj’s call to the ex-Congressmen to join the party also added to his victory. The next year he made his lieutenant Kakkan, a non-Brahmin, to be elected unanimously as the TNCC President to keep it under his control. 

Kamaraj also retained non-Brahmin pro-Rajaji men like C. Subramaniam and M. Bakta-vatsalam in his Ministry, to suppress opposition to him and within TNC.

1957 - II GENERAL ELECTIONS:

After 1954, Kamaraj Ministry had a smooth sailing for the two and half years. At the time of the selection of Congress candidates for the second General Elections, some differences arose between C. Subramaniam and Kamaraj, but they were ironed out by adoption of an attitude of give and take on both sides. In the process, the principle of enlightened
candidates were forgotten and considerations of caste, local influence, control over other party members etc., where allowed to dominate and influence the selections, deliberately or otherwise, Kamaraj allowed entry of many influential persons into TNC who had been either members of the DK of EVR, or its whole hearted supporters and sympathisers. Annoyed and disappointed with the influence of money, caste and local interests in Congress, a number a leading Congressmen, left the Congress party to form a new one. Thus the nomination policy of Kamaraj precipitated a split. The Congress dissidents who thus left, formed the 'Congress Reform Committee' (CRC) in the third week of November 1956. CRC seems to have had the blessings of Rajaji who was watching the unhappy trends in the Congress leadership in Tamil Nadu with concern. 3

The members who resigned to form the CRC were, K.S. Venkatakrishna Reddiar (Vice-President of the TNCC), V.K. Ramaswami Mudaliar (M.L.A.), S. Jayarama Reddiar (M.L.A.), M.S. Singarayyar, SS. Mariswami, V.S. Sivaprakasam (M.L.A.), Arunachalam and others. Their aim initially was to reform the Congress from casteism, communalism, infiltration of the DK men, corruption, favouritism and dictatorship. 4 They joined hands with Muthuramalinga Thevar of FB and decided to contest the second General Elections opposing Congress. As CRC's electoral success was limited, CRC failed in its aims.
Congress formed the Ministry with Kamaraj as Chief Minister and with a majority of 151 out of 205.5

1962 - III GENERAL ELECTIONS:

From 1957-1962 Congress party in Tamil Nadu was far removed from factional disease. Kamaraj was in absolute control over both the organisational and the legislative wings and his was the last word in all government decisions. Rajaji quit the party in 1959. Also, C. Subramaniam, M. Baktavatsalam and R. Vekataraman were silenced by giving Ministerships and so they did not oppose Kamaraj in any of his actions.

There were no dissensions within the Congress prior to the 1962 General Elections as had happened in 1957. There was unanimity amongst the Congress leaders about the selection of candidates. The growth of DMK and Swatantra into big political forces of opposition helped Congress to silence all internal rivalries. Also the administrative record of the Congress government during 1957-1962 was such that there was general satisfaction amongst Congressmen. Further the authority of party affairs had completely gone into Kamaraj's hands and none dared to question his decisions on the selection of candidates.6
Congress had won 138 places and formed the government. Kamaraj was re-elected for the third term as the Chief Minister. Though Congress formed the government there was clear decline in its power. This time DMK captured 50 seats which proved its growing strength (in 1957 elections DMK got only 15 seats).

1967 - IV GENERAL ELECTIONS:

In response to his own 'Kamaraj Plan' for revitalization of the Congress organisation all over India, Kamaraj resigned from Chief Ministership and his lieutenant Baktavatsalam became the Chief Minister of Madras during 1963-1967. There was relatively little factional infighting as Kamaraj, C. Subramaniam were out of state politics. But the infiltration of the DK members brought dissatisfaction among the Congress workers. This dissatisfaction made many of the real Congressmen to leave the party or contest as independents against the Congress candidate. The factional conflict was implicit and this made the Congressmen to work against their own party during the 1967 elections. The formation of Swatantra in 1959 by the Congress dissident Rajaji and its alliance with the CRC, FB and other parties based on the ideology of non-Congressism also made its impact on the Congress. The dissidents of Congress who were building up a political force against Congress from 1957, dared to join hands with communist parties to oppose Kamaraj in 1967 General Elections. In that endeavour, DMK obtained power and Congress was sourly defeated.
1970 RAJYA SABHA BIENNIAL ELECTIONS:

After the 1969 split of INC into Congress (O) and Congress (R), both these parties got into their first elections in the Rajya Sabha biennial elections from Tamil Nadu. The Congress (R) nominee for Rajya Sabha was C. Subramaniam and the Congress (O) candidate was T.V. Anandan. The CLP (O) under Kamaraj's direction initially decided to cast all their votes in favour of their party nominee and not to exercise their second preference votes in this election. But the Congress (O) who were apparently keen on defeating their political opponent in the state, made hurried consultations with Kamaraj while polling was half way through and decided to change their strategy. Fifteen of the Congress (O) men who had not till then cast their votes were asked to mark their second preferences in favour of Swatantra candidate S.S. Mariswami. Thus C. Subramaniam was defeated, which surprised Congress (R) High Command. T.V. Anandan received 3,900 votes while C. Subramaniam got only 2,300 votes. This result proved the strength of Congress (O) in Tamil Nadu.

1971 – V GENERAL ELECTIONS:

The First Phase of polarisation of political parties had already took place, by the time of announcement of the fifth General Elections made in October 1970. Kamaraj expressed
his view to form alliance with the like minded parties, to fight the anti-democratic parties, like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Samyukta Socialist Party etc.\textsuperscript{10} C. Subramaniam of Congress (R) announced that TNCC (R) ruled out the merger with TNCC (O).\textsuperscript{11} But P. Kakkan and T.N. Ananthanayaki, President and Secretary of TNCC (O) respectively welcomed the Congress (R) workers to join the proposed front provided they believed in democracy.\textsuperscript{12}

The 'Democratic Front' was formed by Congress (O) with the help of Rajaji, (who broke his alliance with DMK which he had made in 1967 to oust Congress from power). Realising the danger of the communists to the nation Rajaji now wanted to oppose DMK and Mrs. Gandhi. So Swatantra, Jan Sangh and Samyukta Socialist party came under the 'Democratic' front. On the other hand there was the consolidation of the 'Progressive Front', which was a seven party alliance - Congress (R), DMK, CPI, PSP, ML, FE and TAK whose sole aim was to oppose Congress (O).

Two great rivals of 1967 now turned to be best allies in 1971. Both Rajaji and Kamaraj appealed to the people to vote without fear. Rajaji applied 'Thilak' in Kamaraj's forehead and blessed him. He said: "whatever might be the relationship between Swatantra and Congress (O) in the rest of the country,
in Tamil Nadu the two had become one." Rajaji also gave free hand to Kamaraj in the selection of candidates for the 39 Lok Sabha seats and also directed his partymen to accept the decisions of Kamaraj. \(^{13}\) Factionalism was absent in Congress (O) for every one of the party were devotees of Kamaraj.

On the other hand an endless debate between the DMK and Congress (R) for sharing of seats for both Lok Sabha and the State Assembly ensued. On January 27th, 1971, Karunanidhi, the DMK leader announced the failure of the talks between the DMK and the Congress (R). The failure of these talks had its repercussions on the Congress (R) itself. The General Secretary of the party, K.T. Kosalram, resigned in protest against "the attitude of R.V. Swaminathan and C. Subramaniam" in not consulting the colleagues for seat allocation. He charged that R.V. Swaminathan and C. Subramaniam were concerned only about their seats and did not have the interests of the "Cadres" in their mind. A last minute effort was made on 29th January, 1971, by DMK and the Congress (R) at the instance of renewed initiative of Mrs. Gandhi. In that talks it was finally settled that the Congress (R) would not set up candidates for the State Assembly and that it would, however, contest the Lok Sabha elections from ten constituencies which was inclusive of Pondicherry.
A wave of discontent swept in Congress (R) after the surprise accord with the DMK. They passed a resolution denouncing the accord with the DMK as "sell out". They also demanded the resignation of C. Subramaniam and R.V. Swaminathan. Many of the rebelling members of the TNCC (R) ignored the deal made by the leaders and filed their nominations in order to contest as independents. 14

When it became known to Mrs. Gandhi that the rank and file of the Congress (R) in Tamil Nadu were very much upset over the pact with the DMK, she made a bid once again to salvage the situation by deputing Sanjeeviah on 2nd February 1971, to make a final attempt to persuade Karunanidhi to concede at least a few Assembly seats to the Congress (R) as a gesture to help to extricate it from the highly embarrassing position in which it had landed itself by overplaying its cards. Groups of Congress (R) workers and Youth Congress (R) met Sanjeeviah when he came to Madras and told him that they would be committing self-immolation if Congress did not contest Assembly elections. But the Sanjeeviah mission failed as he was not able to meet the DMK leaders. 15

The results, were favourable to the 'progressive front'. But while taking the percentage of votes polled, Congress (O) had polled over 33% votes on its own, whereas the Congress
(R) has polled only 12\% and that too by the grace of DMK.\textsuperscript{16} But the Congress (O) felt that the elections were fraudulent.

Congress (R) now characterised the results of the Assembly and Lok Sabha elections as the verdict of the people against the 'Syndicate'. Therefore it demanded the dissolution of the TNCC (O) and handing over of all the party properties to the TNCC (R).\textsuperscript{17}

On the other hand, Congress (O) was actively engaged in collecting details regarding alleged malpractices in the mid-term elections. Congress (O) workers of Chingleput (North and South) demanded a probe by a supreme court judge into alleged malpractices during the election. TNCC (O) also demanded the same and also urged the centre to dismiss the present Chief Election Commission, which according to it, was responsible for the widespread corrupt practices in the election.\textsuperscript{18}

1974 – PONDICHERRY AND COIMBATORE ELECTION:

From 1973 onwards an endeavour was made to merge Congress (O) and (R). M. Baktavatsalam and O.V. Alagesan of Congress (R) believed that the merger of two parties will strengthen the Congress in Tamil Nadu. T.T. Krishnamachari was the main force to merge the two Congresses.

In February 1974, because of T.T. Krishnamachari's persuasion, Kamaraj and Mrs. Gandhi had talks over the merger.
The discussion ended in a partial success as they decided to invite to fight in the forthcoming Pondicherry and Coimbatore by-elections. The results were dissatisfying for both of them. In Pondicherry out of 21 places, with Congress (R) support, Congress (O) had won in 14 places. Similarly with Congress (O)'s support Congress (R) had contested in 16 places and had won 5 places. As the alliance were made only a few days before the election, people were not made aware of their unity. And both the Congresses did not work wholeheartedly in the election campaign.19

This unity of Congress (O) and (R) in Tamil Nadu instigated a conflict between the state unit of Congress (O) and its High Command. From the beginning the Congress (O) High Command disliked this merger for election purpose. With hesitation they agreed, but after the defeat in the elections, Kamaraj was blamed for it. To control the state units the CWC (O) passed a resolution in April 1974, 'that Congress (O) should not have any unity or relationship with Congress (R)'. Morarji Desai said, 'if Kamaraj, disobedys this resolution then he will be removed from the party'. For this, Kamaraj kept quiet as usual.

In June the AICC (O) met at Calcutta. Out of 80 AICC members of Tamil Nadu only 5 members attended the Conference which included P. Ramachandran in it. The High Command was
shocked and decided to go along with Kamaraj as regards electoral alliances, as they did not want to loose Tamil Nadu Congress (O) which was the only state were the party was strong.

1977 - VI GENERAL ELECTIONS:

One half of the Congress (O) merged with Congress (R) in Tamil Nadu in October 1976. Therefore, the other half, during January 1977 merged itself with Janata. In general, conflict was absent during the 1977 Parliamentary and Assembly election. Secondly, the Emergency of 1975 and the uncertainty of the both parties made the Congressmen to be quiet and so factional conflict was not seen. Thirdly, the unexpected announcement of the 1977 elections withdrawing the Emergency, also helped for the absence of conflict.

By the end of 1979, and before the mid-term elections an atmosphere of conflict appeared. The opinion was divided among the party workers of TNCC (I), one group demanding an alliance with the ruling party (AIADMK) and another group favouring alliance with the DMK. Both groups announced to hold meetings separately to decide their stand for the elections. A positive step for ending the difference between the two sections of the party was taken by R.V. Swaminathan and R. Narayanan. However, when the talks between Mrs. Gandhi and M. Karunanidhi
over the adjustment of seats resulted in an agreement, the problem was ended. Congress (I) was allowed to contest 22 out of 39 seats in Tamil Nadu and the lone seat from Pondicherry. The remaining 17 seats were left to the DMK and its partners—CPI and CPI (M).

Under these circumstances, Nedumaran's faction, which opposed the alliance of TNCC (I) with DMK, met to decide their future course of action on 20th September, 1979. The participants suggested three courses of action namely, to boycott election work, to quit the party or to impress upon Mrs. Gandhi about the futility of the alliance with the DMK. One of the main grievances expressed by their faction was that the views of TNCC (I), was not sought before finalising the alliance. Some of the members also felt that the decision to ally with the DMK or for that matter with any party should have been announced through the TNCC (I), Chief R.V. Swaminathan. Nedumaran favoured the idea of meeting Mrs. Gandhi and requesting her to withdraw the alliance with the DMK. R.V. Swaminathan did not respond to this by stating that the Congress (I)'s pact with DMK was final and irrevocable. But Nedumaran, through a letter urged Mrs. Gandhi to reconsider her decision on the alliance and claimed that majority of the workers in Tamil Nadu was feeling that the accord with DMK was suicidal. When Mrs. Gandhi ignored him, Nedumaran convened a Congress workers' convention at
adurai and formed a new party, 'Tamil Nadu Congress Committee Kamaraj' (TNCC-K). The resolution of the convention said that the group was breaking away from the Congress (I), having in mind the welfare of the national forces of the country, the future of the Congress, the necessity to weaken the anti-national elements and oppose the authoritarian attitude of the party heads. Those who backed Nedumaran were Paramalai, M.K.T. Subramaniam, Ramachandra Durai, PCC (I) members, N. Sundaresa Thevar, Vice-President of TNCC (I) and Ramakrishna Mudaliar Treasurer of TNCC (I).  

1980 - VII GENERAL ELECTIONS:

There was not much confusion and conflict before the parliamentary elections of January 1980. The results were much favourable to Congress (I) which got the majority of 351 seats in Lok Sabha out of 542. The results had its effects in most of the states of India and Tamil Nadu was not an exception. However, M. Baktavatsalam and C. Subramaniam leading members of Congress (U) quit the party following the elections. M. Baktavatsalam and T. Chengalvaroyan joined Congress (I) declaring their affinity to the Congress led by Mrs. Gandhi. Though C. Subramaniam resigned, he did not want to join any party but remained as a non-party man. Thus the parliamentary elections brought a split in the TNCC (U).
Before the Assembly election many of the Congressmen pleaded for the change in the party candidates at least in four or five constituencies which included, Trivallure, Alandur and Vellakoil. Illayaraperumal, the then TNCC (I) President apprised the situation of the party in the state to the High Command. Following his advice, TNCC (I) executive endorsed the disciplinary action against the rebels and suspended 18 members and also dissolved the Tirunelvelly DCC (I), for its attitude of not cooperating in the elections. But the DCC (I) President S. Muthuswami Karayalar challenged the unilateral and arbitrary action of the TNCC (I) chief on the basis of informed reports. The results were against Congress in the state and the TNCC (I) chief Illayaraperumal was replaced by M.P. Subramaniam. In this elections Congress (I) got only 30 seats in the Assembly.

1982 - PERIYAKULAM BY-ELECTION:

This election was held to fill the vacancy caused by the death of a DMK member M. Natarajan. The faction led by M.P. Subramaniam felt that the DMK had lost its political glamour in the state and the Congress (I) would stand to lose if it continued its pact with DMK. R. Venkataraman and M.P. Subramaniam, in a tactical move voted for maintaining an independent status in the state. Thus the Periyakulam election marked the end of 32-month political marriage between Congress (I) and DMK.
Factional infighting played a important role in this by-election. This by-election was met with slow and lethargic election campaigns of the TNCC (I). Moopanar's faction, which disliked the independent stand worked against the anti-Moopanar factions. Though M.P. Subramaniam was optimistic the results were negative and the Congress (I) candidate had lost the deposit. The High Command was made to believe that M.P. Subramaniam was fully responsible for the electoral defeat and in the same night, M.P. Subramaniam was removed from the TNCC (I) presidency and TNCC (I) was also dissolved. It was alleged that in order to cust M.P. Subramaniam from presidency many Congressmen had voted for DMK.  

1984 - RAJYA SABHA ELECTIONS:

In the 1984 Rajya Sabha Elections, G.K. Moopanar, M. Palaniyandhi, R. Venkataraman and the candidate Thanga Balu himself canvassed for support. They held several closed-door sessions with M.G.R. There was little doubt that there would be cross-voting in the TNCC (I) and so the High Command issued a notice, threatening drastic action against those who indulged in cross-voting. But there were four of them who chose to defy the High Command's admonitions to vote for the DMK's second candidate, Arcot Veerasamy in the biennial election to Rajya Sabha in March 1984. T. Thangabalu, President of TNYC
(I) managed to scrape through only on the third counting by the AIADMK's surplus votes. 29

1984 - VIII GENERAL ELECTION:

In October the new AICC (I) General Secretary, for the Southern states A.K. Anthony tried to bring unity among the factions in TNC. A nine member co-ordination committee was formed and a massive rally and meeting under the leadership of A.K. Anthony was held and the factional leaders were made to share the same platform to show their togetherness.

Shivaji was made the chief of the election campaign committee. This nine member committee included Palanlyandi (pro-Moopanar man), Mrs. Maragadam Chandrasekar, Thanga Belu (Lieutenant of Mrs. Maragadam Chandrasekar and Youth Congress President of Tamil Nadu), Shivaji Ganesan, M.P. Subramaniam and Raja Sheriff (all anti-Moopanar men), R.V. Swaminathan and M. Baktavatsalam (who were either anti-Moopanar or neutral). 30

A perennial fight for supremacy between Moopanar and Shivaji (who was backed by R. Venkataraman and M.P. Subramaniam) was going on. Moopanar was credited with Rajiv's backing. Under these circumstances Mrs. Gandhi was assasinated and the Eighth General Elections were announced. 31
Different groups in the Congress (I) of the state concentrated on taking care of their own interests, rather than to seek the best bargain for the party as a whole in the face of the poll ally who was gradually turning to be aggressive and unpredictable. Former Chief Minister M. Baktavatsalam was given the South Madras Lok Sabha constituency, which returned R. Venkataraman during 1980 elections. Mrs. Maragadam Chandrasekar demanded and got the Srirperumpudur Lok Sabha seat in Chingleput district. Shivaji canvassed for his own candidates and demanded five Lok Sabha and ten assembly constituencies for them and it was denied. The faction war resulted in Shivaji quitting the party. Rajiv Gandhi pleaded and pacified him by conceding five Lok Sabha and fourteen Assembly seats, four seats more than he had sought to make him re-enter the party.

Due to the factional fight Shivaji started his election campaign, several days after the opposition camp launched its own, inspite of being the chief of the campaign committee. Thus the distribution of tickets made the feud between Moopnar and Shivaji so intense, that the star politician had openly accused Moopnar 'of filling the candidate list with his own men and scuttling the chances of the other groups in the party'. The consensus brought by the High Command was very superficial. For example, conflict arose over the nomination policy
of Thulasidaiya Vandyar, Thanjavur District Congress Committee Chief and a protege of Moopanar which irked a large number of Shivaji fans. 34 M.P. Subramaniam and Shivaji stayed away from the election campaign but the Congress (I) candidate had won the election due to rigorous campaign by pro-Moopanar men. Immediately, Shivaji with R.V. Swaminathan’s support started a ‘Non-Cooperation Campaign’. Moopanar requested the High Command to take disciplinary action against them and also said: They should abide by party discipline and co-operate or else if they wanted to act as a rival organisation the High Command should take decision in like manner as TAK was treated by Kamaraj.” 35 Inspite of the factional conflict, the candidate snatched the Thanjavur seat from the DMK which had kept it for 13 years. 36 In this General Election, Congress (I) received 25 Lok Sabha seats and 62 Assembly seats, comparatively higher than the results after 1967 debacle, which entertained visions among the Congressmen of staging a return to power in the state. Inspite of factionalism, the sympathy wave of Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination improved the Congress’ election results.

Factional conflict in AIADMK party due to M.G.R’s demise, turned out to be a factional conflict within the Congress party of Tamil Nadu. The Moopanar faction who strongly favoured the Jayalalitha faction of AIADMK felt, that the party should vote against Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran’s government, when
formed in January 1988. On the other hand the anti-Moopanar men, the MLAs belonging to Shivaji, M.P.S and Mrs. Maragadam Chandrasekar faction were for indirect, if not for direct support to Mrs. Janaki's Ministry. Moopanar faction being a dominant one, claimed 47 votes of the 63 Assembly group. Rajiv who took a neutral stand initially and endeavoured to bring the two rival factions of AIADMK together, announced his opposition to Mrs. Janaki's Ministry on 25th January as the 47 pro-Moopanar men have telegramed to Rajiv informing that 'Shivaji may join V.P. Singh and was not a true supporter of Rajiv'. This made Rajiv to decide against Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran's Ministry. This made Shivaji to quit the party with his four supporters of TNCC (I) and his fans. It was considered by some that Shivaji's exit may bring serious repercussions for the party, as a rabble-rouser will be lacking in the party.

Finally Shivaji started his own party Tamilaga Munnetra Munnani (TMM) (Tamils Progressive Front). Following him M.P. Subramaniam also left the party and joined hands with Shivaji to oppose the Congress.

Thus elections generally intensified factions in the Congress party of Tamil Nadu. Sometimes factional conflict resulted in the formation of splinter parties or dissensions or defections in the party. The formation of the parties like CRC,
TNKC and TMM was the result of the factionalism during the elections. Making alliances also brought dissatisfaction among the Congressmen which led to dissensions. Now the Congress (I) is facing the 1989 Assembly elections, strongly perhaps without alliances.
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