

INTRODUCTION

Tamil Nadu is bounded on the north by the State of Karnataka and the State of Andhra Pradesh, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the east by the Bay of Bengal and on the west by the State of Kerala. It lies at the south-eastern extremity of the Indian Peninsula and has a coast line of 620 miles and a land boundary of 750 miles. With an area of 129,900.6 square kilometers, it is the eleventh State in area forming 4.08 per cent of the Union areas.¹ At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Madras Presidency formed one of the most extensive of British territories in India. It stretched from Cape Comorian, the southern tip of the Indian Peninsula, halfway up the east coast of Bengal.² Tamil region, the homeland of the Tamils, occupies the southern-most region of the erstwhile Madras Presidency.³ The Tamil districts of the Presidency were Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevely.⁴ When reorganization of the States was made in 1956, regional adjustments were done and the State of Madras was created on 1st November, 1956, as a lingual state with Tamil as its language. Due to its high cosmopolitan nature, the demand for getting its name changed into Tamil Nadu could not be achieved until 1969. In that year, the State of Madras was officially renamed as the State of Tamil Nadu.⁵

The present State lies adjacent to the southern States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. At present, it has thirty districts. Besides the Tamils, there are the Telugus, Malayalees, Kannadigas and Oriyas. Madras functioned as a sort of rationalist headquarters for the rest of India.⁶

Traditional Background

The Tamil country prides itself of being the seat of the Sangam from the early centuries of the Christian Era. The triangular dynastic rule of the Chera, Chola and Pandya of Sangam fame was eclipsed by the Kalabhra interregnum. With the fall of Kalabhras, the First Pandyan Empire emerged, which extended all over the southern peninsula during the last decades of the eighth century A.D. The imperial sway of the first Pandyan Empire lasted for four centuries and gave way to the Pallavas of Kanchi.⁷ The Imperial Cholas made a come back in the ninth century A.D. The end of the eleventh century saw the emergence of the Second Pandyan Empire, which was founded by Kulasekara Pandyan (1190-1216).⁸ Internal feuds caused the downfall of the Pandyas leading to a brief interlude of Muslim rule. The Madurai Sultanate was established in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The half century of Muslim rule in the South from 1330 to 1380 was ended by the Vijayanagar Empire. The Vijayanagar rulers remained in control till 1565, when they collapsed at the Battle of Tallkotta. Thereafter the

Nayaks reigned supreme. However, the Mughals superseded the Nayaks of Madurai in 1736.⁹

Afterward, the conquest of South India by the English East India Company took place in two stages. The first phase spread from 1744 to 1763 when the French power was eliminated. The Tamil region came under the British rule between 1792 and 1801.¹⁰ From the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tamil Nadu became part of the Madras Presidency¹¹ with Madras as its headquarters. Fort St. George became the centre of East India Company's administration.¹² The history of the Madras Presidency was initially that of Madras City itself. This Presidency had its beginnings in a few isolated trading settlements along the coast.¹³ The Madras State was carved out of the composite Madras Presidency on 1st November, 1956. An Act of Parliament on 14th January, 1969, officially renamed the Madras State as Tamil Nadu. The present state of Tamil Nadu thus evolved from the Madras Presidency.

Socio-Political Setting

The Indian Society, when brought under the alien British administration, was in a downtrodden condition due to ignorance, illiteracy and adherence to varied superstitious beliefs. The exploitation of the alien rule was also a cause for its backwardness. Though the country was economically prosperous, there was no progress of modern

nature. Industrialization, mechanization, urbanization, modernization etc., were not upto the level.

The Tamil country, too, sailed in the same boat. When the monarchical form of Government lost its value and predominance, there was a political turmoil. When the British came to power and became administrators, they introduced the system of administration through the hierarchy of officials. But they kept away from dealing with the traditional social customs. The Christian Missionaries carried out excellent services in the socio-economic sphere of the Tamils, through the concept of conversion and proselytisation and by opening many Churches, schools, hospitals, etc., they eradicated superstitious beliefs and ignorance in the minds of the local citizens. In the field of religion, too, drastic changes were brought into force. Those activities assisted the people to have a self-estimate of themselves. The Tamil country was not an exception to such a common concept.

The advent of the Europeans and the establishment of the alien British rule introduced different conceptions about the political process. The disorganised mass could neither formulate principles of any political nature nor acknowledge any policy. The political awakening and the freedom struggle led to distinctive social movements which had their impact on the economic, religious and other walks of life. In this regard, during the British rule, individual personalities of influential

nature, and political parties played a predominant role in the field of politics. The exploitations of the Indian economic prosperity by the British compelled the Indians to think of multidimensional and multifaceted growth and development after 1947 in an independent country.

The British East India Company brought the Madras Presidency under its control in 1801 after suppressing the rule of the Poligars. This led to a change in the political set up as well as administration. The ruling foreigners, had exploited the natural resources and the labour of the natives. They introduced changes mainly to assist their own objectives. The land revenue system, the agricultural, industrial and economic policies were favourable and beneficial only to them. All these things caused an aversion against the aliens. When the powers were transferred from the hands of the Company to the British crown in 1858, Parliament politics began to dominate the scene. The concept of freedom began to occupy the prime place and westernisation encouraged the natives to demand self-rule and share in the administration. Tamil Nadu, the erstwhile Madras Presidency, did not lag behind in taking an appreciable role in the politics. So it is apt to have an analysis of the social and political issues in Tamil Nadu between 1952 and 1969 under the political leadership of C. Rajagopalachari, K. Kamaraj, M. *Bhaktavatsalam* and C.N. Annadurai as Chief Ministers.

Choice of the Study

As it was the initial period of the Indian Independence, those political leaders had to devote greater responsibilities for the social progress of the Tamil country. Their ideologies and administration gained prime importance in promoting the social welfare measures of the State. The political party system also played its role. The popularly elected democratic Government had to solve the socio-political issues of the people. As the Government was based on parties having eminent leaders who satisfied the needs and requirements of the people a study on that line is also warranted. Hence, the scholar has chosen the title, **“Socio-Political Issues in Tamil Nadu, 1952-1969”** for his doctoral research.

Area of Study

The area covered for the present study is the Contemporary Tamil Nadu and occasional references would be made to the other parts of the Madras Presidency and Madras State. The State is unique in terms of location, general reputation, social composition, socio-cultural ethos and centres of political activities.

Period of Study

The Study covers about seventeen years, which begins from 1952 and ends with 1969. It was in 1952 C. Rajaji formed his second ministry. He worked for the promotion of the socio-political interests of the

Tamils. The year 1969 witnessed the end of the D.M.K. ministry under C.N. Annadurai who demised in the year. Thus, the year 1969 marked an important stage in the recognition of a regional political party which accelerated the socio-political progress of Tamil Nadu. In between these years, many developments took place in Tamil Nadu. The important among them were Prohibition, communal educational scheme, new education policy, mid-day noon meal scheme, anti-Hindi agitation, and educational progress at all the levels.

Significance of the Study

The political parties and their leaders by their close link with the common public were forced to contribute their mite to maintain the status and position of the people at all levels. In this regard the Tamil Nadu witnessed the administration of C. Rajagopalachari, K. Kamaraj, M. *Bhaktavatsalam* and C.N. Annadurai between 1952 and 1969. The earlier three were from the Congress party and the fourth one was from the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) Party which swept through the poll by their victory in the general election of 1967. The study highlights the social and political issues in the given period of study.

Objectives

The study was based on certain objectives to understand the social and political issues in the given period of the study in Tamil Nadu. The objectives were

1. To know the political background and the previous experience of the Chief Ministers of the Tamil Nadu like C. Rajaji, K. Kamaraj, Bhaktavatsalam and Annadurai
2. To trace the works of C. Rajaji Ministry to solve the socio-political issues.
3. To trace the forces which backed the emergence of K. Kamaraj and his works for the socially and economically backward people.
4. To find out the measures undertaken by Bhaktavatsalam in promoting education in Tamil Nadu.
5. To trace the circumstances which prompted the Anti-Hindi Agitation.
6. To identify the initiatives undertaken by C.N. Annadurai to sustain the D.M.K rule even after his demise.

Hypotheses

The study attempts to prove or disprove the following hypotheses which are in question form

1. Did the political leadership contribute to the social progress?
2. Were all the Chief Ministers of the Tamil Nadu in the given period capable of co-ordinating all the agencies such as legislative, administrative and executive for achieving social progress?

3. Why did Periyar and other Non-Brahmin leaders oppose Rajjai's communal educational system?
4. What were the major initiatives undertaken by K.K. Kamaraj in social and political spheres?
5. To what extent was Bhaktavatsalam responsible for the downfall of the Congress Ministry in Tamil Nadu?
6. How did C.N. Annadurai become a very popular leader?

Chapterization

Further this study will throw much light on the political development and social progress of Tamil Nadu between 1952 and 1969 under the legislative leadership of C. Rajagopalachari, K. Kamaraj, M. Bhaktavatsalam and C.N. Annadurai. The entire study is arranged into six chapters excluding the introduction and conclusion.

After describing the objectives, hypothesis and methodology employed for the making of the thesis, "Socio-Political Issues in Tamil Nadu, 1952-1969" along with the sources utilized, the introductory chapter narrates the general aspects about it.

The first chapter entitled, '*Political and Social Condition in Pre-Independence Period*'. It portrays a historical survey of the political, social and economic condition of the Madras State in the pre-independent period. It will focus on the conditions from 1858. i.e. after the transfer of power from the East India company to the

British Crown and British parliament. The activities executed in the multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-racial presidency before 1947 will be revealed under the sub-headings such as Nineteenth Century, politics administration and welfare measures such as education. The Twentieth Century which paved the way for the rule of the Justice party too is analysed on a political background. The various welfare measures brought out by the Justice party will be described as a prelude to the study taken up for discussion. As it was also a period of freedom struggle the role of leaders like V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Bharathi, V.V.S. Iyer, and Subrahmaniya Siva are also brought out. The Tamil country during the Gandhian era and the condition between 1937 and 1954 too are discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter entitled, *'Political Leadership in Tamil Nadu'* highlights how C. Rajaji and K. Kamaraj rose to the position of Chief Minister by their individual traits and dedications in political sphere. C. Rajaji served as the Chief Minister for two terms. From 1937 to 1939, he served as the 'Premier of the Madras Presidency' and from 1952 to 1954, he served as the 'Chief-Minister of the Madras State'. Being Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu from 13th April, 1954 to 2nd October, 1963, he brought out tremendous achievements in various fields due to his solid estimate of his native state. His political, social and economic knowledge was a practical one. By his pragmatic and earnest approaches, he understood the needs and problems of the mass. Due to

K. Kamaraj Plan when K. Kamaraj himself relinquished his office as Chief Minister, M. Bhaktavatsalam succeeded him as Chief Minister. From 3rd October, 1963 to 23rd February, 1967, he was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. His services as Minister for Agriculture, Social development and Worker's Welfare, House, Police, Prison, Prohibition, Finance, Labour Welfare and Charitable Institutions gained him rich experience in the art of administration. C.N. Annadurai, a proficient Tamil scholar, powerful orator and veteran leader of the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham, became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on 6th March, 1967 due to the massive mandate given to party. He was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu till 2nd February, 1969.

The third chapter, '*C. Rajaji Ministry and Political Activities*' narrates the political developments when C. Rajaji began to rule the Madras Presidency as Premier in 1937. Since 1937, the role of C. Rajaji in National and Tamil Nadu politics was remarkable. During the first ministry of C. Rajaji period witnessed with two remarkable legislations. The Temple Entry Indemnity Act of 1939 and Prohibition Act of 1937 were passed which had noticeable social bearing. C. Rajaji Ministry resigned in 1939 in the wake of the Second World War. C. Rajaji Formula of 1944 was another milestone in the National Movement which insisted on the creation of Pakistan. After independence, C. Rajaji again came to power in Madras State and formed his second ministry in 1952 and lasted till 1954. During his second ministry period, Tanjore

Tenants and Pannalyal Protection Act, 1952 was passed. The linguistic Tamil State demand was raised under the leadership of M.P. Sivagnanam. The demand for the merger of Tamil regions gained strength which paved the way for the Northern Boundary Agitation. Anti-Hindi Agitation was launched by the D.K. and D.M.K against the imposition of Hindi.

The fourth chapter entitled, '*Political Development and Social Progress Under K. Kamaraj*'. K. Kamaraj was much associated with the Congress from the beginning of his political career. He actively involved in the freedom struggle along with the other freedom fighters. He served as the president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. He was the Chief Minister of Madras State from 13th April, 1954 to 2nd October, 1963 for three terms spread over a period of nine years. After taking over as Chief Minister, he addressed quickly the task of Economic Development, Expansion of Education and Industrialization, and took several measures to realise these objectives with remarkable success. He paid special attention to the Promotion of Village Industries to help the farmers to earn something to make up for the loss in farming. His failure to get sound education during his childhood compelled him to impart education to all by various measures of the government. By his mid-day meals scheme and free education, he encouraged education. The Government of Madras constituted a Committee under the Chairmanship of R.M. Alagappa Chettiar to

examine and suggest ways and means of implementing the Compulsory Primary Education. From the Academic Year 1959-1960, He made Elementary Education Free for all. The expansion of Primary Education and extension of the Scheme of Free Education gave a fillip to the growth of Secondary Education throughout the State, particularly in Rural Areas. He introduced a Three Language Formula from the year 1959. He took many effective steps to improve the Educational Facilities of Harijan Students. During the Period of his Administration, phenomenal growth was recorded in Higher Education also. During the year 1954-1955, five Government Polytechnics were started. Industrial Sections were also given importance. Social Education Centres were established in Rural Areas and Adult Education Programme was initiated. He gave equal importance to English and Tamil. He as Chief Minister devoted himself to the promotion of agriculture by improving the irrigational facilities. He created industrial zones to promote the industrial development, being a humanitarian, devoted to the welfare of the needy at all levels. He contributed his best to promote Tamil language. His Ministry acknowledged the untouchability (offences) Act of 1955. He created community centres for the interests of the depressed sections. The varied measures undertaken for the benefit and promotion of the depressed class by him will also highlight his fascination towards socialism.

The fifth chapter entitled, '*Political Trends and Social Measures under Bhaktavatsalam*'. During the Chief Ministership of Bhaktavatsalam, importance was assigned to the development of agriculture. Seed Multiplication Scheme, Crash Programme, Package programme, Mixed Farming, Intensive Cultivation Scheme, etc. were some of the steps put into operation for improved agrarian pursuits. Power for production was increased and it enhanced the growth of industrial economy. Handicraft industries were promoted. Industrial co-operative societies were also constituted. The State Housing Board Scheme implemented in 1961 too gained greater growth. Slum Clearance Scheme was instituted in 1966-67. With regard to Health Triple Vaccine Scheme was launched from 1st October, 1964 onwards. The Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme encouraged savings. Fisherman Distress Relief Fund and welfare of Harijan and Backward Classes were given due recognition. But for all the above commendable services, the Anti Hindi agitation, the impacts of Indo-Chinese war, and other natural calamities pulled down his image in the public. He and his party lost the general election of 1967. That was also a turning point because it sounded the death knell of the Congress and introduction of the Dravidian party rule in Tamil Nadu.

The sixth chapter entitled, '*Political Issues and Social Advancement under C.N. Annadurai*'. C.N. Annadurai's Rupee - A Measure Rice Scheme brought his party to power. His services to

Tamil were immeasurable. Attention was paid to Family Planning for the maintenance of economic stability. Through Mahalir Mandrams (Women Association) women welfare activities were implemented. By introducing the Prosperity Brigade, steps were taken to the removal of untouchability. Credit and loan facilities were provided for their economic uplift. Steps taken to agricultural development relieved the riots of their distresses. Intensive Cattle Development Project assisted to promote animal husbandry. Co-operative Department and Dairy Farming too were encouraged. Transport facilities were also increased. State Small Scale Industrial Corporation, which came up in 1967, served its best for the welfare of the small scale industries. Efforts were taken to make full use of natural resources. So his tenure was also an appreciable one in the sphere of social progress in Tamil Nadu.

Sources and Review of Relevant Literature

For writing the present study both original or primary and secondary sources kept and preserved in Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chennai and the libraries of various universities in Tamil Nadu were exploited.

The different Government Orders, Administrative Reports of the Government of Tamil Nadu relating to the period of study, Extracts from the Government and Consultations relating to Home Rule Movement, Fortnightly Reports of the Government of Tamil Nadu, the

Report of the Indian National Congress (1918-1923), Unclassified Documents of the Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Budget Speeches, Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Review of the Progress of the Five Year Plan (1956-1961), Tamil Nadu Sattamanra Pavala Vila Malar (1968), Report of the Adi Dravida and Palangudiyinar Narpanigal, Third Five Year Plan, Annual Report of the Tamil Nadu Handloom Weaver's Co-operative Society (1967-68), etc. are few primary sources consulted for making the thesis.

In addition to the above primary sources, many published works are also consulted as secondary sources. Rajmohan Gandhi's **The C. Rajaji Story, 1937-1972**, Ramachandra Guha's **Makers of Modern India**, D. Sadasivan's **Chennai Maganattil Karuttua Valarchi**, K. Rajayyan's **Tamil Nadu, a Real History**, K. Kandasamy's **Political Career of K. Kamaraj**, S. N. Sen's **History of the Freedom Movement in India**, Saroja Sundararajan's **March to Freedom in Madras Presidency**, M.P. Sivagnanam's **Viduthalai Poril Tamilagam**, E.K. Samy's, **K. Kamaraj, the Man of the Masses**, Eugene F. Irshchick's **Political and Social Conflict in South India**, P. Rajadurai's, **Justice Katchi Arasin Sadanigal**, P. Dhamodaran's **Tharkala Indiavai Uruvakkiya Talaivaragal**, J.B.P. More's **Rise and Fall of the Dravidian Justice Party (1916-1946)**, R.P. Kapur's, **K. Kamaraj, the Iron Man**, Muruga Dhanuskodi's, **K. Kamaraj Oru Charitiram**, Aaldi Aruna's **K. Kamaraj Oru Vali Katti**, Bipin Chandra's, **India's Struggle for Independence**,

K.K. Amuthan's *Peruntaliavar Bhaktavatsalam*, Christal Jeeva's *Congress Rule under Bhaktavatsalam*, A. Karuppiah's *Bhaktavatsalam Valkkai Varalaru*, K. Srinivasan's *Arignar Anna's Life Milestone*, T.V. Sivasamy's *Anna, Leader of the South*, T.M. Parthasarathy's *D.M.K. Varalaru, Mudalvar Annavin Sattamanra Uraigal*, etc. are used as secondary sources. The news papers which contained details on this line are also consulted. *Dinamalar*, *Malai Murasu*, *Chavi* (weekly), *Kumkumam* (weekly), *Indian Express*, *Dravida Nadu* (Tamil Weekly). *Madras Information*, *The Hindu*, *The Mail*, *The Times*, etc. which carried facts relating to the topic are also used in an illustrative way. Madras University Calendars (1858-1897), *Punjab Madras University Research Bulletin* (1984), "Educational Policy of Madras Presidency under K. Kamaraj" an M.Phil., Dissertation, and "K. Kamaraj, An Administrator", a Ph.D., Thesis, etc. are also utilized as source materials. Thus, the study on the topic "**Socio- Political Issues in Tamil Nadu, 1952-1969**" is brought to light in the succeeding pages. It will add up a new chapter in the History of Tamil Nadu.

Methodology

By adopting the interpretative, analytical and historical research methodology, this thesis has been brought out. The sources employed are mentioned in the footnotes as well as in the Bibliography appended at the end.

Limitations

The study is region-specific. The socio-political progress is seldom achieved in ground reality. Therefore it is necessary to analyse the issues to be faced by the political leaders in the process of their emergence in the political and public life. To increase their popularity, it is important for the leaders to broaden their political activities at the grassroots level. Therefore the focus is on Chief Ministers of the Tamil Nadu State who had rich political experience in the national movement in the late colonial Tamil Nadu and had previously been members of the Legislature, took decisions, measures and steps to solve the socio-political issues which challenged them in the process of socio-political developments.

End Notes

1. Census of India, 1961, Madras, Vol. IX, Part.1-A(I), Madras, 1966, p. 66.
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5. Tamil Nadu State Administration Report, 1968-1969, Madras, 1970, p. 1.
6. M.S.S. Pandian, **Brahmin and Non-Brahmin; Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present State**, New Delhi, 2007, p. 29.
7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, **The Pandyan Kingdom**, London, 1929, p.45.
8. A.J. Dhinakaran, **The Second Pandyan Empire, 1190-1312**, Coimbatore, 1987, p. 26.
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11. David Arnold, **Congress in Tamil Nadu, 1919-1937**, New Delhi, 1977, p. 9.
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13. The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol.XLII, Nos. 1 and 2, April-September, 2002, p. 59.