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UNIT – 1

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF TAMILNADU BEFORE INDEPENDENCE ;

- ❖ The era of pre-Dravidian politics of Tamil Nadu is dominated by the Indian National Congress (INC).
- ❖ The Indian National Congress was the ruling party of Tamil Nadu for the first twenty years after independence, until a Dravidian party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), swept the 1967 elections.^[1] Power has since shifted between the two major dravidian parties of the state, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK).^[1]
- ❖ K. Kamaraj was the most influential leader during the Congress era in Tamil Nadu. Kamaraj was instrumental in the ascension and downfall of the first six Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu following independence: T. Prakasam, O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, Kumaraswamy Raja, C. Rajagopalachari, M. Bhakthavatsalam, and himself. Kamaraj originally threw his support behind T. Prakasam to prevent C. Rajagopalachari from becoming Chief Minister in 1946, however, Kamaraj felt it was too difficult to control Prakasam as he was Telugu and didn't feel the need to report to the Tamilnadu Congress Committee.
- ❖ Kamaraj facilitated the ouster of Prakasam and the ascension of O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar as Chief Minister in 1947.
- ❖ Ramaswamy and Kamaraj eventually had a falling out which led to Ramaswamy downfall though he was Tamil and originally became Chief Minister with Kamaraj support. Kamaraj eventually elevated Kumaraswamy Raja to the position of Chief Minister in 1949 a position which Raja retained till he lost his seat in the general election of 1952.
- ❖ The general election of 1952 temporarily reduced the Congress Party to a minority in the state legislative assembly.
- ❖ Though Congress held the most seats in the state legislative assembly 152 out of 375, they did not meet the required 188 seats to prove a governing majority.
- ❖ In response, communist parties began to build a post-election coalition challenging the Congress party.^[3] The coalition, the United Democratic Front (UDF), comprised 30 independents as well as the Communist Party of India (CPI) and CPI backed independents, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP),
- ❖ Tamil Nadu Toilers Party, Commonweal Party, Forward Block (Marxist Group) also known as FBL (MG), All India Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF), and Justice Party (JUSP). With 166 legislative seats, the UDF staked their claim to form a government.

- ❖ The Governor at the time, Maharaja Krishna Kumarsinhji Bhavansinhji, decided to refer the matter to the President of India, Rajendra Prasad, rather than cause controversy at the end of his term as Governor.
- ❖ Per the Constitution, the President sought the advice of the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was unable to make a decision on the matter.
- ❖ With the situation at a standstill, Kamaraj was in favour of allowing the UDF to form a government as he believed the coalition government would be short-lived thus providing an opportunity for Congress to gain power back.
- ❖ However, many were opposed to Kamaraj's Proposal as they were outraged by the possibility of a Communist government, and turned to Rajagopalachari, a staunch anti-Communist, to lead the government as Chief Minister.
- ❖ Set to lead the state government, Rajagopalachari decided he would not seek election to the state legislature as he believed it was below his status.
- ❖ As Rajagopalachari would not seek election to the lower house of the state legislature, the interim Chief Minister, Kumaraswamy Raja, promptly recommended Rajagopalachari's appointment to the upper house of the state legislature, and the new Governor, Sri Prakasam, swiftly accepted the recommendation. Rajagopalachari was then invited by Prakasa to form the state government and asked to prove his majority in the state legislature.
- ❖ Rajagopalachari proved a majority more than three months later by convincing opposition members to defect, and allying himself with parties that had not joined the UDF.
- ❖ Kamaraj increased his stronghold over Tamil Nadu politics following the separation of the Telugu-speaking areas from Tamil Nadu in 1953, and facilitated the removal of Rajagopalachari as Chief Minister in 1954 after Rajagopalachari's implementation of the unpopular Modified Scheme of Elementary Education.
- ❖ Kamaraj then ascended to the Chief Minister ship himself, and would remain in that position for the next nine years.
- ❖ As Chief Minister, Kamaraj paid special attention to education as that was the issue that led to his predecessor's downfall. Education was made compulsory and free to all children till the age of 14.^[5] 25,234 schools were opened between 1954 and 1962 so that villages with populations greater than 500 had at least one or more schools.
- ❖ At the same time, secondary education was restructure mathematics, science, and social studies were made compulsory subjects, and students were provided the opportunity to learn their language of choice as well as Hindi and English.
- ❖ Enrolment in primary and secondary schools doubled from 1955 to 1962.^[5] By 1954, the state government had opened 140 training schools for teachers.^[5] In 1955, the Tamil Nadu government was the first in Asia to provide a provident fund, pensions, and insurance for teachers.
- ❖ The School Midday Meal Scheme launched in 1957 as an incentive to increase enrolment Beginning in 1960, school uniforms were provided free of cost to

children .

- ❖ The state government implemented the School Improvement Movement in 1958 which led to 24,656 schools receiving donations worth about 7,93,00,000 rupees from the public by 196

BRAHMIN AND Non – BRAHMIN MOVEMENT ;

- ❖ The Brahmins in Madras Presidency enjoyed a higher position in India's social hierarchy.
By the 1850s, Telugu and Tamil Brahmins comprising only 3.2% of the population began to increase their political power by filling most of the jobs which were open to Indian men at that time.
- ❖ They dominated the administrative services and the newly created urban professions in the 19th and early 20th century.
- ❖ The higher Literacy and English language proficiency among Brahmins were instrumental in this ascendancy.
- ❖ The Political ,Social ,and Economical divide between Brahmins and Non – Brahmins became more apartment in the Beginning of the 20th Century ,
- ❖ This breach was further Exaggerated by Annie Besant and her Home Rule for Indian Movement 1916 , the following Table shows the distribution of selected Jobs among different Caste Groups in 1912 in Madras Presidency, The dominance of Brahmins was also evident in
- ❖ The Membership of the Madras Legislative Council.
During 1910–20, Eight out of the Nine official members of the appointed by the Governor of Madras were Brahmins. Apart from the appointed Members, Brahmins also formed the majority of the members elected to the council from the District Boards and Municipalities.
- ❖ During this period the Madras Province Congress Committee Regional branch of the Indian National Congress was also dominated by Brahmins. Of the 11 Major Newspapers and Magazines in the Presidency, Two the Madras Mail and Madras Times were run by Europeans sympathetic to the crown, three were evangelical Non–Political Periodicals, Four

- ❖ The Hindu, Justice , Swadesamithran and Andhra Prakasika were published by Brahmins while
- ❖ New India, run by Annie Besant was sympathetic to the Brahmins. This dominance was denounced by the non-Brahmin leaders in the form of pamphlets and open letters written to the Madras Governor.
- ❖ The earliest examples of such pamphlets are the ones authored by the pseudonymous author calling himself "Fair play" in 1895. By the second decade of the 20th century,
- ❖ The Brahmins of the presidency were themselves divided into three factions.
- ❖ These were the Mylapore faction comprising Chetpet Iyers and Vembakkam Iyengars, the Egmore faction led by the Editor of The Hindu, Kasthuri Range Iyengars and the Salem Nationalists by C. Rajagopalachari, a fourth Non-Brahmin faction rose to compete with them and became the Justice party.

THE JUSTICE PARTY 1916 ;-

- ❖ The Justice Party, officially the South Indian Liberal Federation, was a Political party in the Madras Presidency of British India.
- ❖ The Established on 20 November 1916 in Victoria Memorial Hall in Madras by Dr C. Natesa Mudaliar and co-founded by T. M. Nair and P. Theagaraya Chetty as a result of a series of Non-Brahmin conferences and Meetings in the presidency.
- ❖ Communal division between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins began in the Presidency during the late-19th and early-20th century, mainly due to caste prejudices and disproportionate Brahminical Representation in Government jobs.
- ❖ The Justice Party's foundation marked the culmination of several efforts to establish an Organisation to represent the Non-Brahmins in Madras and is seen as the start of the Dravidian Movement. During its Early years ,
- ❖ The party was Involved in petitioning the imperial Administrative bodies and British Politicians demanding more Representation for non-Brahmins in government.
- ❖ When a Diarchy system of administration was Established due to the 1919 Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms,
- ❖ The Justice Party took Part in Presidential governance. In 1920, it won the first Direct Elections in the presidency and formed the government. For the next seventeen years, it formed four out of the five ministries and was in power for

thirteen years.

- ❖ It was the main political alternative to the nationalist Indian National Congress in Madras.
- ❖ After it lost to the Congress in the 1937 election, it never recovered.

- ❖ It came under the leadership of Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy and his Self-Respect Movement. In 1944, Periyar transformed the Justice Party into the social organisation Dravida Kazhagam and withdrew it from electoral politics. a rebel faction that called itself the original Justice Party, survived to contest one final election, in 1952.
- ❖ The Justice Party was isolated in contemporary Indian Politics by its many controversial activities. It opposed Brahmins in civil service and politics, and this Anti-Brahmin attitude shaped many of its ideas and policies.
- ❖ It opposed Annie Besant and her Home rule movement, because it believed Home Rule would benefit the Brahmins.
- ❖ The party also campaigned Against the Non-Cooperation Movement in the Presidency. It was at odds with M. K. Gandhi, primarily due to his Praise for the Brahmanism.
- ❖ Its mistrust of the "Brahmin-Dominated" Congress led it to adopt a hostile stance toward the Indian Independence Movement.
- ❖ The Justice Party's period in power is remembered for the Introduction of caste-based Reservations, and Educational and Religious reform.
- ❖ In opposition it is remembered for Participating in the anti-Hindi agitations of 1937-40. The party had a role in creation of Andhra and Annamalai universities and for developing the area around present-day Theagaraya Nagar in Madras city.
- ❖ The Justice Party and the Dravida Kazhagam are the ideological predecessors of Present-day Dravidian parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which have ruled Tamil Nadu one of the successor states to Madras Presidency continuously since 1967.

SWARAJ PARTY :

- ❖ The Swaraj Party was established as the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party. It was a political party formed in India in 1 January 1923 after the Gaya annual conference in December 1922 of the National Congress, that sought greater self-government and political freedom for the Indian people from the British Raj.
- ❖ It was inspired by the concept of Swaraj. In Hindi and many other languages of India, *Swaraj* Means "independence" or "self-rule." The two most important leaders were Chittaranjan Das, who was its president and Motilal Nehru, who was its secretary.
- ❖ Das and Nehru thought of contesting elections to enter the legislative council with a view to obstructing a foreign government. Many candidates of the Swaraj Party got elected to the central

legislative assembly and provincial legislative council in the 1923 elections. In these legislatures, they strongly opposed the unjust government policies.

- ❖ As a result of the Bengal Partition, the Swaraj Party won the most seats during elections to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1923. The party disintegrated after the death of C. R. Das.¹



- ❖ The Swaraj Party was formed on 1 January 1923 by Indian politicians and members of the Indian National Congress who had opposed Mahatma's suspension of all civil resistance on 12 February 1922 in response to the Chauri Chaura tragedy,
- ❖ Where policemen were killed by a mob of protestors. Gandhi felt responsible for the killings, reproached himself for not emphasizing non-violence more firmly, and feared that the entire Non-Cooperation Movement could degenerate into an orgy of violence between the British-controlled army and police and mobs of freedom-fighters, alienating and hurting millions of common Indians.
- ❖ He went on a fast-unto-death to convince all Indians to stop civil resistance. The Congress and other nationalist groups disavowed all activities of disobedience.
- ❖ Gandhi and most of the Congress party rejected the provincial and central legislative councils created by the British to offer some participation for Indians. They argued that the councils were rigged with un-elected allies of the British, and too un-democratic and simply "rubber stamps" of the Viceroy.
- ❖ In December 1922, Chittaranjan Das, Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar and Motilal Nehru formed the Congress-Khilafat Swarajaya Party with Das as the president and Nehru as one of the secretaries.
- ❖ Other prominent leaders included Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy and Subhas Chandra Bose of Bengal, Vithalbhai Patel and other Congress leaders who were becoming dissatisfied with the Congress. The other group was the 'No-Changers', who had accepted Gandhi's decision to withdraw the movement.
- ❖ Now both the Swarajists and the No-Changers were engaged in a fierce political struggle, but both were determined to avoid the disastrous experience of the 1907 split at Surat. On the advice of Gandhi, the two groups decided to remain in the Congress but to work in their separate ways. There was no basic difference between the two.
- ❖ In the 1923 Indian general election, Swarajists members(45/145) were elected to the councils. Vallabhbhai Patel became the president of the Central Legislative Assembly.
- ❖ At a meeting on 30 December 1923, the general council of the party demanded the establishment of fully responsible government for India.
- ❖ They demanded that the government start by releasing political prisoners, suspending all repressive laws and orders, and convening a round table conference to negotiate the principles of a constitution for India.
- ❖ However, the legislatures had very limited powers, and apart from some heated parliamentary debates, and procedural stand-offs with the British authorities, the core mission of obstructing British rule failed.

- ❖ With the death of Chittaranjan Das in 1925, and with Motilal Nehru's return to the Congress the following year, the Swaraj party was greatly weakened.
- ❖ PRO-CHANGERS AND NO-CHANGERS, AND THE SIMON COMMISSION AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON IN 1924, GANDHI SOUGHT TO BRING BACK THE SWARAJISTS TO THE CONGRESS AND RE-UNITE THE PARTY.
- ❖ GANDHI'S SUPPORTERS WERE IN A VAST MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS, AND THE CONGRESS STILL REMAINED INDIA'S LARGEST POLITICAL PARTY, BUT GANDHI FELT IT NECESSARY TO HEAL THE DIVIDE WITH THE SWARAJISTS, SO AS TO HEAL THE NATION'S WOUNDS OVER THE 1922 SUSPENSION.
- ❖ The Swarajists sought more representation in the Congress offices, and an end to the mandatory requirement for Congressmen to spin khadi cloth and do social service as a prerequisite for office.
- ❖ This was opposed by Gandhi's supporters, men like Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad, who became known as the *No Changers* as opposed to the Swarajists *Changers*.
- ❖ Gandhi relaxed the rules on spinning and named some Swarajists to important positions in the Congress Party. He also encouraged the Congress to support those Swarajists elected to the councils, so as not to embarrass them and leave them rudderless before the British authorities
- ❖ When the Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928, millions of Indians were infuriated with the idea of an all-British committee writing proposals for Indian constitutional reforms without any Indian member or consultations with the Indian people.
- ❖ The Congress created a committee to write Indian proposals for constitutional reforms, headed by now Congress President Motilal Nehru.
- ❖ The death of Lala Lajpat Rai, beaten by police in Punjab further infuriated India. People rallied around the Nehru Report and old political divisions and wounds were forgotten, and Vithalbhai Patel and all Swarajists councillors resigned in protest.

