

HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU SINCE 1801 CE

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HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU SINCE 1801 CE

Unit – I

Early Resistance to British Rule: Formation of Madras Presidency – Tamil Nadu under the Europeans – Vellore Revolt of 1806

Learning Objectives

- To understand the formation and administrative features of the Madras Presidency.
- To examine the impact of European powers in Tamil Nadu.
- To analyze the causes of early resistance against British rule in South India.
- To study the causes, course, and significance of the Vellore Revolt.
- To evaluate the importance of early revolts in the growth of Indian nationalism.

After defeating the French and their Indian allies in the three Carnatic Wars, the East India Company began to consolidate and extend its power and influence. However, local kings and feudal chieftains resisted this. The first resistance to East India Company's territorial aggrandisement was from Puli Thevar of Nerkattumseval in the Tirunelveli region. This was followed by other chieftains in the Tamil country such as Velunachiyar, Veerapandiya Kattabomman, the Marudhu brothers, and Dheeran Chinnamalai. Known as the Palayakkarars Wars, the culmination of which was Vellore Revolt of 1806, this early resistance to British rule in Tamilnadu is dealt with in this lesson.

Palayams and Palayakkarars

The word “palayam” means a domain, a military camp, or a little kingdom. Palayakkarars (Poligar is how the British referred to them) in Tamil refers to the holder of a little kingdom as a feudatory to a greater sovereign. Under this system, palayam was given for valuable military services rendered by any individual. This type of Palayakkarars system was in practice during the rule of Pratapa Rudhra of Warangal in the Kakatiya kingdom. The system

was put in place in Tamilnadu by Viswanatha Nayaka, when he became the Nayak ruler of Madurai in 1529, with the support of his minister Ariyanathar.

Traditionally there were supposed to be 72 Palayakkarars. The Palayakkarars were free to collect revenue, administer the territory, settle disputes and maintain law and order. Their police duties were known as Padikaval or Arasu Kaval. On many occasions the Palayakarars helped the Nayak rulers to restore the kingdom to them. The personal relationship and an understanding between the King and the Palayakkarars made the system to last for about two hundred years from the Nayaks of Madurai, until the takeover of these territories by the British.

Eastern and Western Palayams

Among the 72 Palayakkarars, created by the Nayak rulers, there were two blocs, namely the prominent eastern and the western Palayams. The eastern Palayams were Sattur, Nagalapuram, Ettayapuram, and Panchalamkurichi and the prominent western palayams were Uthumalai, Thalavankottai, Naduvakurichi, Singampatti, Seithur. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Palayakkars dominated the politics of Tamil country. They functioned as independent, sovereign authorities within their respective Palayams.

Revenue Collection Authority to the Company Rule

The Nawab of Arcot had borrowed money from the East India Company to meet the expenses he had incurred during the Carnatic Wars. When his debts exceeded his capacity to pay, the power of collecting the land revenue dues from southern Palayakkarars was given to the East India Company. Claiming that their lands had been handed down to them over sixty generations, many Palayakkarars refused to pay taxes to the Company officials. The Company branded the defiant Palayakkarars as rebels and accused them of trying to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the country.

This led to conflict between the East India Company and the Palaykharars which are described below.

Palaykharars' Revolt 1755-1801

Revolt of Puli Thevar 1755–1767

In March 1755 Mahfuzkhan (brother of the Nawab of Arcot) was sent with a contingent of the Company army under Colonel Heron to Tirunelveli. Madurai easily fell into their hands. Thereafter Colonel Heron was urged to deal with Puli Thevar as he continued to defy the authority of the Company. Puli Thevar wielded much influence over the western palaykharars. For want of cannon and of supplies and pay to soldiers, Colonel Heron abandoned the plan and retired to Madurai. Heron was recalled and dismissed from service.

Confederacy and Alliance with Enemies of the British

Three Pathan officers, Nawab Chanda Sahib's agents, named Mianah, Mudimiah and Nabikhan Kattak commanded the Madurai and Tirunelveli regions. They supported the Tamil palaykharars against Arcot Nawab Mohamed Ali. Puli Thevar had established close relationships with them. Puli Thevar also formed a confederacy of the Palaykharars to fight the British. With the exception of the Palaykharars of Sivagiri, all other Maravar Palayams supported him. Ettayapuram and Panchalamkurichi also did not join this confederacy. Further, the English succeeded in getting the support of the rajas of Ramanathapuram and Pudukottai. Puli Thevar tried to get the support of Hyder Ali of Mysore and the French. Hyder Ali could not help Puli Thevar as he was already locked in a serious conflict with the Marathas.

Kalakadu Battle

The Nawab sent an additional contingent of sepoys to Mahfuzkhan and the reinforced army proceeded to Tirunelveli. Besides the 1000 sepoys of the Company, Mahfuzkhan received 600 more sent by the Nawab. He also had the support of cavalry and foot soldiers from the Carnatic. Before Mahfuzkhan could station his troops near Kalakadu, 2000 soldiers

from Travancore joined the forces of Puli Thevar. In the battle at Kalakadu, Mahfuzkhan's troops were routed.

Yusuf Khan and Puli Thevar

The organized resistance of the palayakkarars under Puli Thevar gave an opportunity to the English to interfere directly in the affairs of Tirunelveli. Aided by the Raja of Travancore, from 1756 to 1763, the palyakkarars of Tirunelveli led by Puli Thevar were in a constant state of rebellion against the Nawab's authority. Yusuf Khan (also known as Khan Sahib or, before his conversion to Islam, Marudhanayagam) who had been sent by the Company was not prepared to attack Puli Thevar unless the big guns and ammunition from Tiruchirappalli arrived. As the English were at war with the French, as well as with Hyder Ali and Marathas, the artillery arrived only in September 1760. Yusuf Khan began to batter the Nerkattumseval fort and this attack continued for about two months. On 16 May 1761 Puli Thevar's three major forts (Nerkattumseval, Vasudevanallur and Panayur) came under the control of Yusuf Khan.

In the meantime, after taking Pondicherry the English had eliminated the French from the picture. As a result of this the unity of palyakkarars began to break up as French support was not forthcoming. Travancore, Seithur, Uthumalai and Surandai switched their loyalty to the opposite camp. Yusuf Khan who was negotiating with the palayakkarars, without informing the Company administration, was charged with treachery and hanged in 1764.

Fall of Puli Thevar

After the death of Khan Sahib, Puli Thevar returned from exile and recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764. However, he was defeated by Captain Campbell in 1767. Puli Thevar escaped and died in exile.

Velunachiyar (1730–1796)

Born in 1730 to the Raja Sellamuthu Sethupathy of Ramanathapuram, Velunachiyar was the only daughter of this royal family. The king had no

male heir. The royal family brought up the princess Velunachiyar, training her in martial arts like valari, stick fighting and to wield weapons. She was also adept in horse riding and archery, apart from her proficiency in English, French and Urdu. At the age of 16, Velunachiyar was married to Muthu Vadugar, the Raja of Sivagangai, and had a daughter by name Vellachinachiar. In 1772, the Nawab of Arcot and the Company troops under the command of Lt. Col. Bon Jour stormed the Kalaiyar Kovil Palace. In the ensuing battle Muthu Vadugar was killed. Velunachiyar escaped with her daughter and lived under the protection of Gopala Nayakar at Virupachi near Dindigul for eight years.

During her period in hiding, Velunachiyar organised an army and succeeded in securing an alliance with not only Gopala Nayakar but Hyder Ali as well. Dalavay (military chief) Thandavarayanar wrote a letter to Sultan Hyder Ali on behalf of Velunachiyar asking for 5000 infantry and 5000 cavalry to defeat the English. Velunachiyar explained in detail in Urdu all the problems she had with East India Company. She conveyed her strong determination to fight the English. Impressed by her courage, Hyder Ali ordered his Commandant Syed in Dindigul fort to provide the required military assistance.

Velunachiyar employed agents for gathering intelligence to find where the British had stored their ammunition. With military assistance from Gopala Nayakar and Hyder Ali she recaptured Sivagangai. She was crowned as Queen with the help of Marudhu brothers. She was the first female ruler or queen to resist the British colonial power in India.

Rebellion of Veerapandya Kattabomman 1790-1799

Veerapandya Kattabomman became the Palayakkarar of Panchalamkurichi at the age of thirty on the death of his father, Jagavira Pandya Kattabomman. The Company's administrators, James London and Colin Jackson, had considered him a man of peaceful disposition. However,

soon several events led to conflicts between Veerapandya Kattabomman and the East India Company. The Nawab, under the provisions of a treaty signed in 1781, had assigned the revenue of the Carnatic to the Company to be entirely under their management and control during the war with Mysore Sultan. One-sixth of the revenue was to be allowed to meet the expenses of Nawab and his family. The Company had thus gained the right to collect taxes from Panchalamkurichi. The Company appointed its Collectors to collect taxes from all the palayams. The Collectors humiliated the palayakkarars and adopted force to collect the taxes. This was the bone of contention between the English and Kattabomman.

Confrontation with Jackson

The land revenue arrear from Kattabomman was 3310 pagodas in 1798. Collector Jackson, an arrogant English officer, wanted to send an army to collect the revenue dues but the Madras Government did not give him permission. On 18 August 1798, he ordered Kattabomman to meet him in Ramanathapuram. But Kattabomman's attempts to meet him in between proved futile, as Jackson refused to give him audience both in Courtallam and Srivilliputhur. At last, an interview was granted and Kattabomman met Jackson in Ramanathapuram on 19 September 1798. It is said that Kattabomman had to stand for three hours before the haughty Collector Jackson. Sensing danger, Kattabomman tried to escape, along with his minister Sivasubramanianar. Oomathurai suddenly entered the fort with his men and helped the escape of Kattabomman. At the gate of the Ramanathapuram fort there was a clash, in which some people including Lieutenant Clarke were killed. Sivasubramanianar was taken prisoner.

Appearance before Madras Council

On his return to Panchalamkurichi, Kattabomman represented to the Madras Council about how he was ill-treated by the collector Jackson. The Council asked Kattabomman to appear before a committee with William

Brown, William Oram and John Casamajor as members. Meanwhile, Governor Edward Clive, ordered the release of Sivasubramanianar and the suspension of the Collector Jackson. Kattabomman appeared before the Committee that sat on 15 December 1798 and reported on what transpired in Ramanathapuram. The Committee found Kattabomman was not guilty. Jackson was dismissed from service and a new Collector S.R. Lushington appointed. Kattabomman cleared almost all the revenue arrears leaving only a balance of 1080 pagodas.

Kattabomman and the Confederacy of Palayakkarars

In the meantime, Marudhu Pandiyar of Sivagangai formed the South Indian Confederacy of rebels against the British, with the neighbouring palayakkars like Gopala Nayak of Dindigul and Yadul Nayak of Aanamalai. Marudhu Pandiyar acted as its leader. The Tiruchirappalli Proclamation had been made. Kattabomman was interested in this confederacy. Collector Lushington prevented Kattabomman from meeting the Marudhu Brothers. But Marudhu Brothers and Kattabomman jointly decided on a confrontation with the English. Kattabomman tried to influence Sivagiri Palayakkarars, who refused to join. Kattabomman advanced towards Sivagiri. But the Palayakkarars of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company. So the Company considered the expedition of Kattabomman as a challenge to their authority. The Company ordered the army to march on to Tirunelveli.

The Siege of Panchalamkurichi

In May 1799, Lord Wellesley issued orders from Madras for the advance of forces from Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur and Madurai to Tirunelveli. Major Bannerman commanded the troops. The Travancore troops too joined the British. On 1 September 1799, an ultimatum was served on Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman's "evasive reply" prompted Bannerman to attack his fort. Bannerman moved his entire army to Panchalamkurichi on 5 September. They cut off all the communications to the fort. Bannerman

deputed Ramalinganar to convey a message asking Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman refused. Ramalinganar gathered all the secrets of the Fort, and on the basis of his report, Bannerman decided the strategy of the operation. In a clash at Kallarpatti, Sivasubramanianar was taken a prisoner.

Execution of Kattabomman

Kattabomman escaped to Pudukottai. The British put a prize on his head. Betrayed by the rajas of Ettayapuram and Pudukottai Kattabomman was finally captured. Sivasubramanianar was executed at Nagalapuram on the 13 September. Bannerman made a mockery of a trial for Kattabomman in front of the palayakarars on 16 October. During the trial Kattabomman bravely admitted all the charges levelled against him. Kattabomman was hanged from a tamarind tree in the old fort of Kayathar, close to Tirunelveli, in front of the fellow Palayakkars. Thus ended the life of the celebrated Palayakkarars of Panchalamkurichi. Many folk ballads on Kattabomman helped keep his memory alive among the people.

The Marudhu Brothers

Periya Marudhu or Vella Marudhu (1748–1801) and his younger brother Chinna Marudhu (1753-1801) were able generals of Muthu Vadugar of Sivagangai. After Muthu Vadugar's death in the Kalaiyar Kovil battle Marudhu brothers assisted in restoring the throne to Velunachiyar. In the last years of the eighteenth century Marudhu Brothers organised resistance against the British. After the death of Kattabomman, they worked along with his brother Oomathurai. They plundered the granaries of the Nawab and caused damage and destruction to Company troops.

Rebellion of Marudhu Brothers (1800–1801)

Despite the suppression of Kattabomman's revolt in 1799, rebellion broke out again in 1800. In the British records it is referred to as the Second Palayakarar War. It was directed by a confederacy consisting of Marudhu Pandyan of Sivagangai, Gopala Nayak of Dindugal, Kerala Verma of Malabar

and Krishnaappa Nayak and Dhoondaji of Mysore. In April 1800 they meet at Virupachi and decided to organise an uprising against the Company. The uprising, which broke out in Coimbatore in June 1800, soon spread to Ramanathapuram and Madurai. The Company got wind of it and declared war on Krishnappa Nayak of Mysore, Kerala Varma of Malabar and others. The Palayakars of Coimbatore, Sathyamangalam and Tarapuram were caught and hanged.

In February 1801 the two brothers of Kattabomman, Oomathurai and Sevathaiah, escaped from the Palayamkottai prison to Kamudhi, from where Chinna Marudhu took them to Siruvayal his capital. The fort at Panchalamkurichi was reconstructed in record time. The British troops under Colin Macaulay retook the fort in April and the Marudhu brothers sought shelter in Sivagangai. The English demanded that the Marudhu Pandiyars hand over the fugitives (Oomathurai and Sevathaiah). But they refused. Colonel Agnew and Colonel Innes marched on Sivagangai. In June 1801 Marudhu Pandiyars issued a proclamation of Independence which is called Tiruchirappalli Proclamation.

Proclamation of 1801

The Proclamation of 1801 was an early call to the Indians to unite against the British, cutting across region, caste, creed and religion. The proclamation was pasted on the walls of the Nawab's palace in Tiruchirappalli fort and on the walls of the Srirangam temple. Many palayakkars of Tamil country rallied together to fight against the English. Chinna Marudhu collected nearly 20,000 men to challenge the English army. British reinforcements were rushed from Bengal, Ceylon and Malaya. The rajas of Pudukkottai, Ettayapuram and Thanjavur stood by the British. Divide and rule policy followed by the English spilt the forces of the palayakkarars soon.

Fall of Sivagangai

In May 1801, the English attacked the rebels in Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli. The rebels went to Piranmalai and Kalayarkoil. They were again defeated by the forces of the English. In the end the superior military strength and the able commanders of the English Company prevailed. The rebellion failed and Sivagangai was annexed in 1801. The Marudhu brothers were executed in the Fort of Tirupathur near Ramanathapuram on 24 October 1801. Oomathurai and Sevathaiah were captured and beheaded at Panchalamkurichi on 16 November 1801. Seventy-three rebels were exiled to Penang in Malaya. Though the palayakkarars fell to the English, their exploits and sacrifices inspired later generations. Thus the rebellion of Marudhu brothers, which is called South Indian Rebellion, is a landmark event in the **History of Tamil Nadu.**

Carnatic Treaty, 1801

The suppression of the Palayakkarars rebellions of 1799 and 1800–1801 resulted in the liquidation of all the local chieftains of Tamilnadu. Under the terms of the Carnatic Treaty of 31 July 1801, the British assumed direct control over Tamilagam and the Palayakkarar system came to an end with the demolition of all forts and disbandment of their army.

Dheeran Chinnamalai (1756–1805)

Born as Theerthagiri in 1756 in the Mandradiar royal family of Palayakottai, Dheeran was well trained in silambu, archery, horse riding and modern warfare. He was involved in resolving family and land disputes in the Kongu region. As this region was under the control of the Mysore Sultan, tax was collected by Tipu's Diwan Mohammed Ali. Once, when the Diwan was returning to Mysore with the tax money, Theerthagiri blocked his way and confiscated all the tax money. He let Mohammed Ali go by instructing him to tell his Sultan that "Chinnamalai", who is between Sivamalai and Chennimalai, was the one who took away taxes. Thus he gained the name "Dheeran Chinnamalai". The offended Diwan sent a contingent to attack

Chinnamalai and both the forces met and fought at the Noyyal river bed. Chinnamalai emerged victorious.

Trained by the French, Dheeran mobilised the Kongu youth in thousands and fought the British together with Tipu. After Tipu's death Dheeran Chinnamalai built a fort and fought the British without leaving the place. Hence the place is called Odanilai. He launched guerrilla attacks and evaded capture. Finally the English captured him and his brothers and kept them in prison in Sankagiri. When they were asked to accept the rule of the British, they refused. So they were hanged at the top of the Sankagiri Fort on 31 July 1805.

Formation of the Madras Presidency

Introduction

The **Madras Presidency** was one of the three major presidencies established by the British East India Company in India. It played a crucial role in the British administrative system and served as a prototype for British colonial governance. The formation of the Madras Presidency marked the consolidation of British control over South India and laid the groundwork for the integration of various territories into a unified administrative framework.

Early Beginnings

The foundations of the Madras Presidency were laid when the British East India Company acquired a small strip of land in 1639 from the local Nayak rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire. This settlement, known as **Madraspatnam**, grew around **Fort St. George**, which was built in 1644. This fort became the nucleus of British power in South India, and the region surrounding it evolved into the town of **Madras (now Chennai)**.

Key Early Events:

1. **Fort St. George (1644):** Built as a secure trading post for the British East India Company, it eventually became the administrative and military center of the British in South India.

2. **Gradual Expansion:** The English established trade relations with nearby areas and expanded their influence through treaties, alliances, and purchases of land from local rulers.

Expansion and Formation of the Presidency

Over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, the British expanded their control over larger parts of South India. The Madras Presidency evolved through a series of territorial acquisitions and military campaigns.

Key Factors in Expansion:

1. **Nawab of Arcot:** The British allied with the Nawab of Arcot, who controlled large parts of the Carnatic region, to counter French influence during the Carnatic Wars. The British helped the Nawab retain power and gained extensive influence in the region.
2. **Carnatic Wars (1746–1763):** The three Carnatic Wars between the British and the French played a pivotal role in the expansion of British power in South India. The British victory in the **Third Carnatic War** led to the decline of French influence, allowing the British to expand their control over the Carnatic region.
3. **Acquisition of Territory from the Nawab of Arcot:** By the late 18th century, the Nawab of Arcot had become heavily indebted to the British East India Company. To settle these debts, the Nawab ceded large portions of his territory to the British, leading to the consolidation of British control over the Carnatic.

Integration of Various Territories

As the British East India Company continued to expand, they integrated a wide range of territories into the Madras Presidency. This included regions beyond the Carnatic, such as the Telugu-speaking areas, parts of the Tamil and Kannada regions, and the Malabar Coast.

Key Territorial Acquisitions

1. **Tanjore (Thanjavur):** After the death of the last independent Maratha ruler of Tanjore in 1799, the British took control of the region, integrating it into the Presidency.
2. **Mysore Wars (1767–1799):** The series of wars with **Hyder Ali** and his son **Tipu Sultan** of Mysore led to the annexation of parts of the Mysore Kingdom into the Madras Presidency, especially after Tipu Sultan's defeat in 1799.
3. **Malabar Coast:** The British took control of the Malabar region after the defeat of the Dutch and the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, integrating it into the Madras Presidency.
4. **Telugu and Kannada Regions:** Territories in the northern part of the Presidency were acquired through treaties with local rulers, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, and military campaigns against regional powers.

Administrative Structure of the Presidency

The Madras Presidency was organized as a well-defined administrative unit by the British, with a centralized structure that was typical of British colonial governance. The Presidency was governed by a **Governor** appointed by the British Crown, and Fort St. George served as the capital.

Key Features of the Administration:

1. **Governor and Council:** The Governor of Madras, assisted by a Council, was the highest authority in the Presidency. They were responsible for administering justice, collecting revenue, and maintaining law and order.
2. **Revenue Administration:** The British introduced new systems of land revenue collection, including the **Ryotwari System**. Under this system, the land revenue was directly collected from individual peasants (ryots), bypassing landlords. This system, introduced by Sir

Thomas Munro, had a lasting impact on agrarian relations in the Presidency.

3. **Judicial System:** The Madras Presidency had a well-established judicial system, with a hierarchy of courts. The **Supreme Court of Madras** was established in 1862, making it one of the oldest judicial institutions in India.
4. **Military Presence:** The Presidency had a strong military presence, with several garrisons stationed in strategic locations to maintain British control over the region.

Role of Madras in British India

The Madras Presidency played a vital role in the administration and defense of British India. It was one of the most important provinces due to its strategic location, fertile lands, and access to the seas. It also became a significant base for British expansion into the rest of South India and neighboring regions, including Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma.

Significance:

1. **Economic Importance:** The Madras Presidency was an important center for the production of cotton, rice, and spices, which were exported to Britain and other parts of the world.
2. **Cultural and Educational Developments:** The British also introduced Western education in the Presidency, establishing schools, colleges, and universities. Institutions like the **University of Madras** (founded in 1857) became centers of higher learning.
3. **Role in Indian Independence Movement:** The Madras Presidency became a hub of political activity during the Indian independence movement. Many prominent leaders, including C. Rajagopalachari and K. Kamaraj, emerged from the Presidency.

Conclusion

The formation of the Madras Presidency was a critical development in the history of British colonial rule in India. It symbolized the transition from a trading company to a full-fledged colonial administration, with far-reaching consequences for the political, economic, and social life of the people in the region. The Presidency not only consolidated British control over South India but also became a center of cultural, educational, and political activity, leaving a lasting legacy in the region.

This study material provides a detailed overview of the key phases and elements in the formation of the Madras Presidency, offering insights into the methods employed by the British to expand and administer their control.

Tamil Nadu under the Europeans

Introduction

The arrival of Europeans in Tamil Nadu marked a significant period in its history. It transformed the socio-political, economic, and cultural landscape of the region. Beginning with the Portuguese in the early 16th century, followed by the Dutch, English, and French, Tamil Nadu became a focal point of European colonial ambitions. Each European power had its methods and strategies to control trade, establish settlements, and influence local rulers.

Portuguese in Tamil Nadu

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in Tamil Nadu in the early 16th century, primarily seeking to dominate the Indian Ocean trade. They established their base at **Nagapattinam** and had dealings with local rulers like the Vijayanagara kings. Their influence, however, remained largely coastal, focusing on spice trade and the conversion of local populations to Christianity. The Portuguese also built forts and churches, some of which stand to this day, like the **San Thome Church** in Chennai.

Methods and Policies:

1. **Trade Monopoly:** They focused on monopolizing the spice trade along the Coromandel Coast.
2. **Missionary Activities:** The Portuguese extensively engaged in Christian missionary activities, converting locals.
3. **Fortifications:** They built strategic forts, including those in Nagapattinam, to protect their interests.

The Dutch in Tamil Nadu

The Dutch East India Company followed the Portuguese and established themselves in Tamil Nadu by the 17th century. Their main settlement was also at **Nagapattinam**, and they competed fiercely with the Portuguese for control of trade routes.

Methods and Policies:

1. **Trade Network Expansion:** The Dutch built strong trading networks by aligning with local rulers.
2. **Military Engagements:** They were often involved in naval warfare against the Portuguese to consolidate their control.
3. **Fortifications and Settlements:** The Dutch strengthened their hold with forts at Pulicat and Sadras, which remain architectural landmarks today.

The French in Tamil Nadu

The French established a strong presence in Tamil Nadu in the 17th century, with **Pondicherry** becoming their main settlement. They played a significant role in the **Carnatic Wars**, which had far-reaching consequences for the region.

Methods and Policies:

1. **Diplomatic Relations:** The French cultivated alliances with local rulers like the Nawab of Arcot to gain political and military influence.

2. **Cultural Influence:** French architectural styles and culture had a long-lasting influence on the region, particularly in Pondicherry, which became a center of French colonial administration.
3. **Military Conflicts:** The French were involved in frequent skirmishes with the English, particularly during the Carnatic Wars.

The English in Tamil Nadu

The British East India Company initially arrived in Tamil Nadu as traders but gradually expanded their political control, leading to the establishment of British dominance in the region.

Methods and Policies:

1. **Economic Exploitation:** The English sought to monopolize trade, especially in textiles. They established trading posts in **Madras (now Chennai)** in 1639, which later grew into a major British settlement.
2. **Political Alliances:** The British forged alliances with local rulers like the Nawab of Arcot, which helped them consolidate their control.
3. **Carnatic Wars:** The British victory in the Carnatic Wars (1746–1763) against the French cemented their supremacy in Tamil Nadu. The British were able to gain control over the region through diplomatic and military strategies.
4. **Fort St. George:** Built in 1644, Fort St. George became the nucleus of British power in Tamil Nadu and served as the seat of the East India Company's administration.

The Impact of European Rule on Tamil Nadu

1. **Economic Changes:** The establishment of European trade monopolies disrupted traditional trade networks, especially with inland regions. Local industries, such as textile production, were affected by the influx of European goods.
2. **Political Fragmentation:** The arrival of Europeans contributed to the disintegration of local political powers. The Vijayanagara Empire, the

Nayaks, and smaller kingdoms were often manipulated or marginalized by the Europeans through treaties and military action.

3. **Cultural Influence:** European architecture, religion, and education had a lasting impact on Tamil Nadu. For instance, missionary activities introduced Western education systems, which laid the foundation for modern education in the region.
4. **Urbanization:** The establishment of European settlements led to the development of new urban centers such as Chennai and Pondicherry, which became hubs of trade and administration.

Conclusion

The Europeans left a profound legacy in Tamil Nadu, altering its economic structures, social systems, and political dynamics. Their rivalry, especially between the French and British, significantly shaped the region's history. The influence of the British, however, was the most lasting, leading to the complete colonization of Tamil Nadu by the 19th century.

This study material provides a comprehensive view of the European interaction with Tamil Nadu, focusing on the key methods employed by each power to establish control and the overall impact on the region.

Vellore Mutiny

Subsequent to the suppression of South Indian Rebellion, another revolt burst out in South India in 1806. In this revolt the affected Indian sepoys protested against the British administration. They revolted mainly to remove British administration and to establish Muslim rule in Tamilnadu. The revolt took place in the fort at Vellore in 1806. In this struggle, the sons of Tipu imprisoned at Vellore fort and the discontented sepoys in the British army participated. Scholars attributed various views to this revolt. Some viewed that it was the prelude to the great mutiny of 1857. But others viewed that it laid the foundation for the outbreak of war of independence in India. Various reasons were attributed to the outbreak of the revolt.

Causes for the revolt

Patriotism

The patriotic fervors were the main reason for the outbreak of revolt in, the fort at Vellore. The British East India Company ravaged the kingdom of Hyder Ali when he died in 1782. Tipu Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali stood against the British and resisted vehemently the imperialistic policy of the East India Company. But he was defeated and shot dead by the English forces in the battle at Srirangapatnam in 1799. Mysore was brought under the administration, of the company. The company acted rationally and captured the twelve sons and six daughters of Tipu Sultan. They imprisoned them at the fort of Vellore. The experienced soldiers of Tipu and sepoys of the dissolved palayams were later recruited in British army. They disliked the British domination. The dissatisfied soldiers and sepoys joined together and consolidated their position by maintaining secret relations with the nationalists outside the fort. They also formed a plan against the British and acted secretly. They were waiting for a suitable time to reinstate, one of the sons of Tipu on the throne.

Military reforms

After the liquidation of the South Indian Rebellion, the company administration adopted various reforms with a view to reorganise and to modernise the newly recruited military at Madras. The government authorised the military officials to implement the reforms. They decided that the army should be smart in action and look. In order to reform the army, they implemented the orders of the government one by one. The soldiers in the army followed the traditional habit of having thick moustaches and long beards. The British officials disliked this habit. With a view to make them handsome, they were directed to remove their moustaches and beards. But the soldiers considered them as a part of their culture. Hence, they refused to remove their moustaches and beards. Those who refused to follow the government orders

were treated badly. The native soldiers also had the practice of wearing traditional turbans. As part of modernisation, the officials ordered the soldiers to remove unattractive turbans. Instead, military general Agnew introduced a new turban. As it was introduced by Agnew, it was popularly known as Agnew's turban. It contained a leather cockade. The sepoys suspected that the cockades were either made up of the skin of pig or cow. Cow is sacred for Hindus and pig is unclean to Muslims. Hence they hesitated to wear the turban and threw them off. The disobedience of the sepoys provoked the army, officials. Again, to make the army smart, the army officials insisted the sepoys to wear a small plate which contained the symbol of cross. The native sepoys believed that the officials insisted to wear the cross mainly to convert them to their faith. Hence, the Muslim and Hindu sepoys refused to wear the symbol of cross. Finally, the military officials restricted the sepoys to wear thiruneer and namam when they were in military uniform Orthodox Hindu and Muslim sepoys vehemently opposed this reform.

The reactions of the Government

The Indian sepoys disobeyed the government orders, refused to remove the beards and the moustaches and to wear the turban and the symbol of cross. The negative attitude of the sepoys made the government take disciplinary action against them. Those who violated the orders were taken to Madras. They were tortured severely. Due to the fear of cruel punishment, a few of them accepted to obey the orders of the government. They were pardoned. Rest of them were murdered. The affected sepoys and the public reacted against the government due to its inhuman activities. They even started secret meetings whenever and where ever possible. Thousands of people who belonged to these secret societies, functioned, secretly against the government.

Mutiny at Vellore

The patriots made necessary arrangements to fight against the British. The sepoys secretly contacted the people of Vellore and directed them to take required steps to send war weapons from Mysore to Vellore as soon as the revolt broke out. They also contacted the people at Hyderabad. After consolidating their position, the sepoys were waiting for a suitable day to fight against the British. At this juncture, the marriage of one of the daughters of Tipu was held on July, 1806. Many friends and relatives of Tipu attended the function. They celebrated the day grandly; Crackers and sparklers were fired. On the same day an Indian sepoy attacked a British military officer and on the 10th morning a parade was held to celebrate the Army Day. The sepoys made necessary arrangements secretly to utilise this day for the revolt. The Indian sepoys stationed at important places and besieged the fort all on a sudden. The steps taken by the government to suppress the revolt ended in failure. They shouted slogans in favour of Nawab. The sepoys removed the British flag and hoisted an old flag of Tipu Sultan. The ammunitions preserved in the stores and godowns and other provisions were taken into the custody of the native sepoys. Severe confusion and pandemonium prevailed, for over one full day.

Suppression of the revolt

The British army found it very difficult to solve the situation. This message was conveyed to the government. The government directed colonel Gillespie to rush to the spot. He rushed to Vellore from Arcot with a fine artillery. He destroyed the fort, and massacred more than 800 Indian sepoys. Finally, the historic fort surrendered to the British. Many of them were taken as prisoners. Some of them were shot dead. The sons of Tipu and their relatives were punished severely, and exiled to the wild jungles of Calcutta. Thus ended the tragic mutiny of Vellore in 1806. The Military officials who rendered meritorious services to suppress the revolt, were honoured with rewards. Colonel Gillespie was given a reward of 24,500 gold coins for his

timely action and help. Sergeant Bradley was presented with 2,800 gold coins. Again gifts were presented to one and all who helped the British in suppressing the mutiny. The government dismissed the seopys, who supported the rebels. Though the mutiny was liquidated, it took more than sixty years for the British to recover the remnants of the mutiny at Vellore in 1806.

Causes Far the Failure

The historic mutiny which broke out at Vellore in 1806 failed miserably due to various reasons. The intention of the patriots was to enthrone one of the sons of Tipu on the throne. Though they made necessary arrangements, the mutiny ended in failure owing to its premature outbreak. The premature outbreak rendered the rebel leaders helpless and hopeless. The anticipated help did not reach in time. So the soldiers who fought vigorously in the beginning lost their temper at the end. Lack of able commander in chiefs and shortage of modern weapons weakened this mutiny. But on the British side, they had efficient commanders like Colonel Gillespie. They also possessed modern weapons like artillery. Moreover, strict discipline was maintained among the British soldiers. The selfish attitude of the seopys in the native army was another cause for the failure of the mutiny. Due to the fascination of money and promotion, the Indian seopys sold the military secrets to the British in advances. It enabled the British to defeat the Indian army without much difficulty.

British Administration in Tamil Nadu Land Revenue System

The suppression of the rebellions of the natives and the subsequent success of the British over French enabled them to consolidate their position in Tamilnadu. As a part of it, they introduced various administrative systems. Among them, the introduction of Ryotwari system, the spread of European education, the decentralization of power and the enforcement of law and order, were noteworthy. These administrative changes had telling effects on the society, which in turn put an end to the traditional systems that prevailed

in Tamilnadu. Since these systems were found to be good, Tamilnadu adopted similar systems, even after independence.

Ryotwari system

To accumulate the wealth of Tamilnadu, the British got themselves directly involved in land revenue collection. To collect tax directly from the tenants, they adopted various methods. In the eighteenth century, the British East India Company adopted Jagirdari, Amuldari, Mahalwari Mirasdari and Zamindari systems in various parts of India to collect land revenue. Due to its abuse and other evils, these systems failed miserably. Hence, the British administration decided to introduce a new system in land revenue collection.

Introduction of Ryotwari system

The Third Mysore war came to an end in 1792. As a result, the British brought Salem under their administrative control. Knowing the defects of the above systems of revenue collection. Lord Cornwallis decided to adopt a new system to collect land tax from, the land holders. The task was entrusted to Captain Read and Thomas Munroe. The other lieutenants too assisted them in this endeavour. The result was the Ryotwari system.

Implementation of the system

Though there was criticism, government decided to implement the system as an experimental measure to two provinces of India, first at Madras and later at Bombay. The Ryotwari system was vigorously implemented in Tamilnadu during the administration of Governor Munroe (1820-1827). As this system functioned effectively, it was permanent. This system reduced the assessment to one third of the produce. Government adopted the provisions of this system strictly and collected the tax regularly even during the time of famine, droughts, flood etc.,

Salient features of the system

The permanent land revenue system introduced by Munroe was totally different from that of the previous systems. It possessed certain attractive

features. This system provided an opportunity for the farmers or the tenants to get the lands directly from the government without the mediation of the zamindar. As the tenants maintained direct relation with the administration (Company), the importance given to the mediator was neglected.

According to the new system, the tenants who received the land from the government had the right to sell or lend or lease or mortgage at his own will. As long as he maintained the agreement, nobody can terminate or interfere in his rights. In short, it consolidated the land rights of the tenants. Another feature of this system was that after getting the land from the government, the tenants had the right to increase or decrease the area of cultivation at their own whims and fancies. Moreover, the tenants enjoyed the right to lease out land partly or fully to somebody else.

By doing so, no written agreement was made between tenants and sub-tenants. The tenants who possessed the land should remit the tax or assessment to the government regularly, without dues. If dues occurred, government had the ultimate power, to lease out it.

Under the Ryotwari system, the procurement was given to the tenants for 20 or 30 years, it permanently confirmed the land rights of the tenants. Moreover, the government acted, as landlord or owner of the land.

Method of Implementation

Till the end of eighteenth century no regular methods were adopted for the assessment of land tax. Land was neither surveyed periodically nor its income assessed properly. Therefore, the department arranged for a regular and comprehensive survey settlement. A regulation was adopted for the effective functioning of the revenue survey and, settlement. Accordingly, a systematic and scientific settlement scheme was introduced. Qualified demarcators, field surveyors and classifiers were appointed to carry out the settlement work. Manual was adopted for the guidance of the demarcation work. Lands were surveyed and its boundaries were fixed. For the

demarcation of villages and fields, settlement of boundary disputes and the preservation of survey and boundary marks, the act of 1860 was amended in 1884. The officials engaged are survey workers were also authorised to settle the survey disputes and to remove the doubts of the tenants. The affected landholders met the officials and rectified their rights. This department surveyed all areas of the Madras province including the villages.

According to Ryotwari system, the government had not implemented uniform system of survey throughout India. For example, basically due to certain reasons the survey methods adopted in the Madras presidency differed from that of the survey system adopted in Bombay. Working of Settlement Department

After the completion of survey work, the survey officials handed over the records to the revenue department, to settle the revenue due from each holding. Supervisors were appointed to look after settlement work in the taluks. In the village, a classifier with the assistance of an accountant and a peon carried out the settlement work. They assessed tax based on the fertility and nature of the soil. Generally, they classified die land into wet, dry, garden land, and residential areas for the convenience of assessment of tax.

The settlement department consisted of a settlement party. It consisted of a Deputy Commissioner of settlement or Settlement Officer, his assistant and office establishments. It also consisted of a field establishment of four head classifiers and thirty classifiers of the soil. The Board of Revenue regularised the activities of the department. It functioned under the Commissioner of Revenue Settlement After duly inspected, the field staff prepared the Chittahs and pattahs. The completed pattahs were submitted to the field agencies who distributed them to the respective land holders.

Along with this, a separate settlement register was prepared and handed over to the revenue department. The settlement register consisted of

the field pages, the abstract settlements, the ayacut memo or the abstract of settlement results.

The Revenue Department

The important task of the revenue department was the collection of taxes from the land holders or tenants. In this work the Chief Revenue officer of the district was assisted by the subordinate officials of the sub divisions or taluks. They were known as Tahsildar in Madras and Mamlatdar in Bombay. In the villages, the village officers and accountants were empowered to collect the revenue from the land. They collected the tax with the help of the account books and registers. They maintained separate registers to keep the accounts. The amount collected was remitted in the treasury.

To make the system more effective land revenue manuals were prepared in volumes. Moreover, the registers and accounts kept in the village, taluks and division offices were inspected periodically. To co-ordinate the activities of these officials, a land revenue commissioner was appointed. He was also held responsible for the extension of cultivation, development, of land revenue, enforcement of revenue survey, land record rules and law and the preparation and revision of the necessary manuals.

Jamabandy System

The revenue department was not free from corruption as in the present day. With a view to remove, corruption and to eradicate irregularities in revenue collection, the system of annual jamabandy (audit) was introduced in 1885 in land revenue administration. This system enabled to rectify several defects in the village registers and accounts on the spot. Tahsildars were instructed to maintain four journals. They contained the details of inspection works. Circulars were issued to the revenue officials for the guidance of land acquisition. These measures minimised the violation of rules and procedures and prevented the leakage of revenue in taluks and village offices. Knowing the importance of this system, it was followed ever after independence.

Inspection of Treasuries

In addition to annual jamabandy, the district and divisional revenue officials inspected the treasuries under their jurisdiction. These inspections stimulated duty consciousness and avoided misappropriation of funds.

Maintenance of Land Records

The land revenue reform required adequate knowledge of the previous Settlements and proper perusal of previous land records. Hence, land revenue records were preserved with much care. Such records were maintained by the land revenue department. The revenue supervisors and the survey accountants preserved the land records under the control of the Tahsildars.

Later, a separate land record department was formed with sufficient staff for its maintenance.

Merits of Ryotwari system

During the administration of East India Company, Ryotwari system was adopted in Tamilnadu, with a view to regularise and to enhance the land revenue. This system had improved over the previous systems. It possessed certain merits. This system was appreciated on the ground, that for the first time it maintained direct contact between the government and the tenants. They remitted the tax directly to the government. Hence an opportunity was given to the tenants to rectify their grievances directly with the government.

According to this system, the land rights of the tenants were confirmed permanently. It enhanced his attachment with the lands which ultimately induced him to produce more from the land. This system also authorised the tenants even to sell or lease or mortgage the land at his will. It enhanced the status of the tenants.

Prior to the introduction of the ryotwari system there existed the domination of zamindars. They both exploited the government and the tenants. The effective working of the new system gave satisfaction to the

government and more profit to the tenants. Moreover, it put an end to the traditional domination of the zamindars.

Based on the system, lands were brought under the direct control of the government. The officials, appointed to look after the land revenue administration, frequently visited the villages. It enabled them to understand the socio-cultural habits of the people directly. The illiteracy and the outdated traditional beliefs that existed in the villages enlightened them to introduce various welfare schemes. They also induced the natives to fight against social injustices.

The formation of various departments and the enforcement of various rules and regulations indicated the attitude of the government towards the development of administration. Moreover, the introduction of Jamabandy and inspection systems enabled the government to regularise the state revenue and to minimise corruption and mal-administration. **Defects of Ryotwari System**

Though the system was appreciated, it was also criticised due to various reasons. Under the Ryotwari system, the government officials were entrusted with enormous powers. They were empowered to classify and to assess the tax. So to get the sympathy and favour of the officials, the tenants were forced to give bribes to them. Moreover, utilising the illiteracy of the natives, the government officials such as karnam, Tahsildar etc, exploited and even collected more money from them. Such inhuman attitude paved the way for the establishment of the autocracy of the revenue officials. The attitude and working of the revenue department revealed this fact.

The revenue officials were very particular and keen on the collection of land revenue from the people. But the frequent natural calamities such as earthquakes, floods, famines, droughts and cyclone affected the cultivation considerably. Hence, the tenants found it difficult to pay the taxes. Instead of giving concessions and tax reduction to the tenants, at these critical situation,

the revenue officials forced them to pay the tax. Such-uncompromising and inhuman attitude of the government affected the welfare of fee people badly

Due to the compulsion of the revenue officials the tenant borrowed money from money lenders at high rate of interest and remitted the tax. They found it very difficult to repay the amount. It affected the socio-economic welfare of the people adversely. The government reports of this period revealed this fact. For example, the report of a district Collector at Bellary in 1845 mentioned the tenants in Rajamundri became debtors due to famine. Due to famine, the tenants who resided at Nellore were forced to sell their agricultural products at a low rate. It affected them a lot. It also reduced the ryots to poverty. The same condition prevailed in North Arcot, Coimbatore, Madurai, Thiruchirappali, Salem and other places. Utilising this opportunity, the money minded landlords purchased the lands of the affected parties and became zamindars. Thus the aim of abolishing zamindari system was not visualized.

Another defect of this system was that the government servants who collected the tax were given meager salary. Hence, the low salaried servants were forced to involve in corruption and other unlawful activities. Though Ryotwari land revenue system was appreciated on various quarters, due to practical difficulties in the working of the system, it was criticised vehemently.

Famines and Relief Measures

Famines were common in Tamilnadu. Due to lack of monsoons, the economy of the state received a set back. Agriculturists suffered a lot due to severe famines during the administration of the British. Thousands of people and animals died due to scarcity of food and water. Government adopted various relief measures during famines.

Famine of 1781

Tamilnadu experienced several devastating famines. Among them, the most important was the famine, which struck Tamilnadu in 1781. It was a severe famine. Almost all the districts in Tamilnadu were reduced to a state of absolute desolation due to this severe famine and the subsequent invasion of Hyder Ali. The venom of this famine swallowed a large number of the population. Due to scarcity of water for irrigation and poverty, the agriculturists migrated to various places of Tamilnadu. The Government adopted various relief measures to reduce the gravity of the famine. Food was distributed to them. At one time, about 4000 people were fed at government expense. Steps were also taken to send the affected people, to the unaffected northern districts of Tamilnadu. As a result thousands of people migrated to various parts of Tamilnadu as per the directions of government. This famine lasted upto 1784.

Famine in 1790

Another cruel famine occurred in Tamilnadu in 1790. It lasted for two years. Its vigours were confined to the northern districts of Tamilnadu. It was an unprecedented worst famine. At the time of famine, the state witnessed anarchy due to mismanagement, maladministration and frequent plunderings. It aggravated the gravity of famine. Majority of the agriculturists of the northern districts were victimized by this famine. As usual due to the poverty the agricultural population migrated to the neighbouring districts in large scale. Due to famine and the subsequent migration the land was left uncared.

The Scarcity in the South:

At the close of 18th century, the southern districts of Tamilnadu experienced severe scarcity for food. The southern districts of Madurai, Ramnad, Dindigul and their neighbouring districts were affected severely due to this scarcity. Its effects were rigorous and severe. Migration of large scale took place. Among the southern districts, Madurai and Dindigul were

affected severely. It was recorded, that the scarcity cost of these districts exceeded more to the state treasury.

Famine during 1805 - 1807

Another wide spread famine - com - scarcity occurred in Tamilnadu during 1805 - 1807. Nellore, North and South Arcot, Madurai, Dindigul, Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts were affected by this famine. The famine was so severe, that Madras alone lost more than 17,000 lives. If this was the total number died in Madras along, imagine the loss in the other parts. No recorded evidence is available, to know more about this famine.

The drought in 1811

Tamilnadu witnessed more famine cum scarcity in 1811, in Madurai and southern districts. When compared with previous famines, it was not so severe. Even then, government adopted adequate steps against this drought. People recovered from the famine in 1813.

Famine in 1823 :

There was a famine in Carnatic and southern districts due to deficiency of rainfall in 1823. The agriculturists suffered a lot, due to this famine. The land were not cultivated. Hence, the prices of commodities rose very high. Though the scarcity was not so potent at the beginning, it led the people to extreme distress later. There was innumerable instances of death, due to shortage of food. Due to poverty, parents sold their children into slavery. Beautiful and attractive girls were sold to the temple, out of poverty. They were converted into devadasis, and utilised to do temple services

Famine at Raamundry

Rajamundry fell a victim to a number of famines. Due to betrayal of monsoons in 1830, 1831, 1835, 1836 and 1837 and the subsequent calamities in 1838 and 1839 and 1840 there was severe scarcity for food and water in these districts. Nearly one and half lakhs of people died miserably due to this famine.

Famine at Guntoor

In 1833, a severe famine occurred in Guntoor. Countless people and cattle died at Masulipatnam, owing to scarcity of food. Due to the unrest caused by riots, plundering and epidemics, the agriculturists migrated to nearby districts. Thousands of people died due to this famine, the people who fled to Nellore, also died without food. Their dead bodies were accumulated on the roads, people also fled to Madurai. Records mention, that the general health, of the people was affected due to this famine.

Famine at Orissa:

In 1886, a severe famine visited Orissa. Due to inadequate relief measures, thousands of people died. Though it happened in Orissa, its effects badly affected Madras Presidency also.

Famine of 1876

A terrible famine ravaged the Madras Presidency in 1876. It was a cruel famine. It caused untold miseries to the people. The peasantry of Madras were reduced to starvation. Relief operations were not carried out in time. Large number of villagers were depopulated. Vast tracts of country were left uncultivated. Five million people perished in this Madras famine, in one single year. This famine lasted for three years. Since the famine of 1876, no famines of much potency visited Tamilnadu, During the great famine of 1876-78, the ryots began to sell their cattle and other property, and to emigrate in thousands, to Ceylon, leaving their children and womenfolk. Government introduced various schemes to eradicate famine from Tamilnadu. Periyar scheme was introduced to protect Madurai districts from famine.

Subsequent Famines

The next famine occurred in 1892. Thousands of people died in the famine due to the scarcity of food. There was another famine in 1900. People suffered a lot due to this cruel famine. The famine which occurred in 1981 also devastated Madras Presidency. Similar famines also occurred in 1920

asid 1936, due to the failure of monsoon. Southern districts including Madurai and Ramnad were affected severely during these famines. Like the drought, the floods also caused damages to the people. Floods were common during those days. Due to floods, crops were washed away. Tanks were breached. Huts, bridges and topes were destroyed. Thus droughts and floods were permanent menace to the people of Tamilnadu

Relief Measures

As a result of the famines, millions of people died without sufficient food. Poverty during those days was mainly due to scarcity of cultivable land, adoption of backward techniques, and low agricultural productivity. Even at the time of famine, government was keen of collecting the land tax from the people. The Government adopted several kinds of relief measures at the time of famine. It established stores of food-grains and free kitchens and alms houses at various centres as measures of poverty relief and famine insurance. Orphanages, rest houses and choultries were also constructed at important centres. The famine code of 1883 recommended to provide special fund to carry out relief measures. Sufficient persons were appointed to carry out relief measures in the famine affected areas. It also utilised trains for the transportation of grain from unaffected areas. The Collector of Madurai was authorised to purchase foodgrains on government account and distribute in to the famine affected people, at the time of the famine in 1799. During 1812-1914, 42000 persons were appointed for relief works. Government also advanced 2000 pagodas to the grain merchants to purchase food stuffs from elsewhere. In five months government spent Rs.3,25,000 for relief works. A number of people were employed, on public works. At the orders of the Collector of Madurai, the funds belonged to the Madurai temple were utilised for relief measures. The government authorised the Collector of Madurai to sell the food-grains at cost price. In 1877, government adopted relief measures in an orderly manner. The staff of every

District Engineers office, were strengthened, by the addition of several Assistant-Engineers. The staffs of Survey department were also utilised for famine duty. As a result, the gratuitous relief increased in 1877. Steps were taken to pour grain into every affected district by trains. The officials found it very difficult to distribute the grains to the villages, due to lack of road transportation. The weavers of Dindigul and Palani were relieved, by giving them raw materials in advance. In 1876, the government spent Rs.6.15 lakhs on gratuitous relief in Madurai district and 4.50 lakhs on public works. According to official record the government spent nearly 17 lakhs rupees for relief works in Madurai district.

Based on long experience, and experimentation, Government constituted a famine commission in 1900. The commission framed a famine code. Based on the code, relief measures were adopted in the future. The Collector of Tanjore was appointed Controller of Civil Supplies following the famine of 1918. He was empowered to take immediate steps to relieve the people affected by famines and floods. In 1919, the Indian Board of Agriculture was constituted, with a view to improve agriculture. This Board recommended various schemes for the development of agriculture

After Independence, the Government of India took keen interest to improve irrigation and to prevent famine. New techniques and methods were adopted in the large scale production of food stuffs. New medicines were utilized protect men and animals from death. In short, the five year plans, gave importance to industrial and agricultural progress.

Course Outcomes

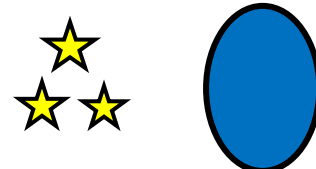
CO1: Explain the formation and importance of the Madras Presidency.

CO2: Describe the role of European powers in Tamil Nadu.

CO3: Analyze the causes of early resistance movements in South India.

CO4: Examine the events and impact of the Vellore Revolt.

CO5: Evaluate the contribution of early revolts to Indian freedom struggle.



Programme Outcome

PO: To develop students' understanding of early resistance movements against colonial rule and their role in shaping the Indian freedom

S.No	Question (5 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
		CO	PO	K
1.	What is the Madras Presidency?	CO1	PO1	K1
2.	Write a short note on European settlements in Tamil Nadu.	CO1	PO1	K1
3.	What were the causes of the Vellore Revolt?	CO2	PO1	K2
4.	What was the nature of British administration in Madras Presidency?	CO2	PO1	K2
5.	Write a note on early resistance movements in South India.	CO2	PO1	K2

S.No	Question (8 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
		CO	PO	K
1.	Examine the nature of British rule in Tamil Nadu during the early period.	CO4	PO1	K4
2.	Analyze the role of Indian soldiers in the Vellore Revolt.	CO4	PO1	K4
3.	Discuss the contribution of early revolts to the Indian freedom movement.	CO4	PO1	K4
4.	Evaluate the impact of European colonial rule in South India.	CO5	PO1	K5
5.	Examine the long-term consequences of the Vellore Revolt.	CO4	PO1	K4

Unit – II

Nationalism in Tamil Nadu: Madras Native Association – Madras Mahajana Sabha – Swadeshi Movement – V.O. Chidambaram Pillai – Bharathiyar-Home Rule Movement- Non-Cooperation Movement – Civil Disobedience Movement; Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha – Impact of Gandhi’s visit to Tamil Nadu – Congress Ministry – Quit India Movement – Towards Independence.

Learning Objectives

- To understand the growth of nationalism in Tamil Nadu through early political associations.
- To examine the role of organizations like Madras Native Association and Madras Mahajana Sabha.
- To analyze the impact of major movements such as the Swadeshi Movement and Non-Cooperation Movement.
- To study the contributions of leaders like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharati.
- To evaluate the role of mass movements like the Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement, and the path towards independence.

Nationalism in Tamil Nadu

Introduction

The rise of nationalism in Tamil Nadu was an integral part of the broader Indian independence movement. While the Indian National Congress was at the forefront of the movement, Tamil Nadu had its own distinct trajectory, shaped by regional leaders, social reformers, and unique political dynamics. From the early 20th century, Tamil Nadu played a pivotal role in the struggle against British colonial rule, contributing leaders, movements, and ideological frameworks that enriched the national cause.

Early Seeds of Nationalism

Nationalism in Tamil Nadu began to take shape towards the end of the 19th century. The growth of Western education, the introduction of modern ideas, and the spread of English as a medium of communication laid the groundwork for political awakening in the region.

Factors Influencing Early Nationalism:

1. **Western Education:** The establishment of educational institutions like the **University of Madras** in 1857 and several missionary schools introduced Western political thought and ideas of democracy and self-governance.
2. **Press and Literature:** The emergence of newspapers like **The Hindu** (founded in 1878) and **Swadesamitran** played a crucial role in spreading nationalist ideas. The Tamil press became an important vehicle for mobilizing public opinion against British rule.
3. **Socio-Religious Reform Movements:** Reformers like **Ramalinga Swamigal** and **Vaikunda Swamy** challenged existing social norms, fostering a spirit of inquiry and resistance, which would later feed into political nationalism.

The Early National Movement in Tamil Nadu

The **Indian National Congress** (INC) played a pivotal role in organizing nationalist activities in Tamil Nadu. Leaders from the state began to participate in Congress sessions, contributing to the development of a national consciousness.

Madras Native Association

Urban life in Madras, by its very complexity and competitiveness, was compelling many Hindus to redefine their relationship with each other. When the Hindus first migrated to the City, caste bodies emerged to regulate the activities of their members and protect their traditional rights from encroachment by rival groups. However, the rapid changes that overtook Madras, following the establishment of British power in the area, coupled with the slow erosion of certain traditional institutions and habits, called for relationships other than those based upon kinship and caste.

Hindu Literary Society

An early example of this new kind of relationship was the Hindu Literary Society. Founded during the 1830s, this body admitted members from different Hindu castes and occupations. Within its ranks were found Brahmins as well as Non-Brahmins, Hindu pundits as well as Merchants. This Society organized periodic meetings and lectures to review the country's issues. It was the nearest to a modern Association, to be found in Madras during the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

The Hindu Literary Society became somewhat inactive during the 1840s, at a time when the anti-missionary agitation was reaching new heights. This agitation, among other things, had resulted in a heightened sense of Hindu communal solidarity in Madras. There were appeals for a voluntary association to give effective direction to this new born Hindu Consciousness. Some Hindu leaders, notably Srinivasa Pillay and Lakshminarasu Chetty, however, favored the idea of reviving the Hindu Literary Society, hoping thereby to instill new vigor and purpose into its activities. In March 1864, a meeting was held in Madras to revive the Society. Srinivasa Pillay, while calling for unity among the Hindus, argued that failure to achieve it would be a great impediment to their political advancement. This attempt to breathe new life into the Society failed but failure only underlined the need for a new political association which would give expression to the growing Hindu solidarity in Madras.

Formation of Madras Native

Association The initiative to form a political organization did not come, however, from Madras but from Bengal where the British Indian Association was launched in October 1851. Formed for "a period of not less than - three years," the Association's immediate aim was to voice India's grievances during the coming enquiry into the affairs of the English East India Company. Believing that its representations would carry great weight if they were made simultaneously by the natives of every part of British India, or by a

Society to represent them, the British Indian Association solicited the collaboration of other Indian centres. Madras was among those invited to cooperate, either by forming a branch body affiliated to the British Indian Association or by having an independent association with broadly similar objectives. This invitation was discussed in February 1852 at a large meeting of the native Inhabitants of the Presidency and it was then decided to form a Madras Branch of the British Indian Association. The constitution of the parent body was adopted and a Committee of Management was elected to discharge the routine matters of the Branch Association.

It is apparent that this Association was largely the product of the Hindu Caucus which had spearheaded the opposition to the Missionaries during the preceding decade. The Caucus consisted mainly of Merchants belonging to the Tamil and Telugu Non-Brahmin Castes. The dominant figure was undoubtedly Lakshminarasu Chetty. His popularity among the Hindus of Madras stemmed partly from his courageous fight against official involvement in missionary operations and partly from his readiness to sacrifice his wealth towards the Hindu Cause. The Crescent, for example, was known to be ran at considerable loss to Lakshminarasu Chetty. He brought into the Committee of Management a number of Hindu Merchants, notably Appasamy Pillay, a senior partner of the agency firm, P.Appasamy Pillay, P.Veeraperumal Pillay, a partner in the same firm and A.Aiwar Chetty, proprietor of a large provision firm in the Black Town.

Relations between the British Indian Association and the Madras Branch ran into difficulties from the start. The Madras leaders found their freedom of action “unexpectedly impeded by the union of the Madras Association with that of Calcutta”. There were also differences over the question of reform proposals to be submitted to the British Parliament. These differences became evident when Bengal drafted a petition, which according to Lakshminarasu Chetty, related almost wholly to the plans and

recommendations of the change of Government and for the exaltation of the higher classes of Hindus while ignoring the grand object for which the Association was founded. What precipitated the matter was the decision of Bengali leaders to circulate the petition in England without securing prior approval of Madras. The leaders of Madras resented this arbitrary action of Calcutta Association and decided to form an independent organization to serve the interests of South India. The new body was called the Madras Native Association (hereafter referred to as MNA) and it was inaugurated at a meeting in July 1852.

The immediate task before this Association was to present its case in a formal petition to the British Parliament. Data were painstakingly collected and an appeal was launched for funds to cover expenses, estimated at Rs. 50,000. By December 1852, the document was completed, with Harley putting the finishing touches and a public meeting was convened to seek endorsement before dispatching it to England. The MNA summarized the main grievances of South India as follows:

The MNA was sharply critical of the Company's Rule and dealt with in detail the shortcomings of the revenue and judicial system in the Madras Presidency. Some of its harsh criticisms, however, were reserved for the religious policies of the Indian authorities. The MNA objected strongly to the Caste Disabilities Removal Act and charged that in its implementation, the Act had been stretched even beyond the principle on which it was professedly framed. It also took exception to the diversion of state funds to missionary schools under the Grants-in-Aid System, contending that such a policy would tend to distinctly identify the State with missionary work. The British Parliament was also asked to legislate to disallow the Indian authorities from enacting laws which insult and outrage the Indians and their religion.

This criticism of the British authorities, particularly the strictures on their religious policies, created a split within the ranks of the MNA. One

faction, led by Srinivasa Pillay, was aggrieved at the tone and much of the content of the petition and decided to secede. It must, however, be pointed out that there had always been an element of friction between Srinivasa Pillay and Lakshminarasu Chetty, stemming principally from their perception of the role that the British Raj should play in effecting social change in India. Srinivasa Pillay, who visualized an India free from the shackles of caste, superstition and poverty, believed that the British Rulers had a part to play in bringing about this transformation. He wanted the Indians to give whole-hearted support to their Rulers in achieving this grand design. Srinivasa Pillay had a long record of service in various charities and other organization, including the Monegar Choultry, the Pachaiyappa Charities and the Madras Literary Society. In these bodies, he had endeavored to cultivate cordial ties with the Europeans, be they officials, merchants or missionaries. He believed that such ties would strengthen the bond of goodwill between India and the West and elicit European help in the regeneration of the Indian people.

Lakshminarasu Chetty, on the other hand, did not share much of Srinivasa Pillay's zeal for rapid westernization or for seeking British aid to bring about social change in India. He was not opposed to social change per se but he believed that change must come from within the community rather than from without. He was strongly opposed to the Missionaries and the State, being an alien one, meddling in the religious and social affairs of the Indian people. Religious Neutrality, Lakshminarasu Chetty believed, was the correct policy for the British Rulers to adopt. Where they departed from this policy of Neutrality, he wanted the Indians to declare their opposition and appeal to the Court of Directors and the British Parliament for corrective measures.

After the break with the MNA, Srinivasa Pillay and his supporters formed the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society in November 1852. The objectives of this body included the promotion of widow remarriage, the encouragement of female education and the uplifting of depressed castes.

Many of Srinivasa Pillay's coadjutors in this venture were his Hindu friends who were associated with him in the management of charitable organizations, like the Monegar Choultry and Pachaiyappa Charities.

His closest ally was M. Venkataraylu Naidu, a Pleader in the Sadar Court, who shared many of Srinivasa Pillay's ideas on the regeneration of India. Venkataraylu Naidu was born into a poor family and his education was largely financed by charitable friends and relatives. When he entered Government Service, promotions came rapidly but he was summarily dismissed by the Tweed Dale Administration for allegedly transmitting official papers to the Crescent. He resorted to the court to prove his innocence but he never regained his post and he decided to enter the legal profession. Despite these misfortunes, Venkataraylu Naidu harbored no hostility towards the British. He fervently believed that Indians could only advance by approaching closer and closer to their Rulers and called for complete identification with European interests to bring about the regeneration of India. For many years, he had been a vigorous advocate of widow remarriage and wrote often in the columns of the local newspaper urging some action.

In July 1853, Venkataraylu Naidu started his own paper, the 'Rising Sun' mainly to focus discussion on the social problems affecting the Hindu Community. In the same year, with the death of Srinivasa Pillay, he assumed charge of the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society and continued to support the causes his predecessor had championed. Schools were established for children of depressed castes, scholarships were given to needy students and support was obtained for social legislations like the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856. Venkataraylu Naidu was also anxious to provide the youth of Madras with the opportunity to read widely and acquire the facility of public speaking. Two Societies called, the Hindu Reading Room and the Hindu Debating Society, were founded and they attracted students from various educational institutions in Madras. Government support was welcomed

mainly to acquire official publications free of charge and prominent Europeans were invited to deliver lectures or conduct discussion groups. Through such means, Venkataraylu Naidu hoped to stimulate the spirit of inquiry which, he believed, would trigger a mighty revolution in India. But such grandiose hopes were rather misplaced in the conservative world of mid-nineteenth century Madras. Hindu opinion was hardly prepared to accept the radical ideas emanating from the leaders of the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society. Venkataraylu Naidu died in 1863, and with him died many of his projects, including the *Rising Sun*.

The MNA was not adversely affected by the secession of Srinivasa Pillay and his friends. If anything, their withdrawal strengthened the hands of the faction led by Lakshminarasu Chetty, which then pressed ahead for political and economic reform of South India. Throughout the 1850s, the period of its active existence, the MNA remained a vigilant and unsparing critic of the Government's policies and actions. In 1852, it had called for a full scale inquiry into Indian affairs before the Charter of the Company be renewed. This demand was supported by similar Associations in India as well as the India Reform Society which had been formed in London in March 1853. But the British Government rejected their request. The MNA was not despondent. In October 1853, when Danby Seymour, Chairman of the Indian Reform Society, visited India to make an on the spot investigation, the MNA nominated two of its leading members to accompany him on a tour of the Mofussil. The party visited a number of centers, including Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Kumbakonam, Salem, Tirunelveli, Calicut and Mangalore. From the evidence he gathered, Seymour was convinced of the validity of the general complaints which the MNA had listed in its petition to the British Parliament. On his return to England, Seymour called for an inquiry into the land tenure system in South India and alleged that excessive land tax had led to many abuses in its collection, including the use of torture by officials. The

Madras Authorities agreed to investigate these charges and appointed a Torture Commission which found evidence of torture perpetrated by Indian revenue and police officials.

One of the problems with which the MNA had to contend with stemmed directly from its relationship with the local officials. Until the formation of MNA, the Madras Authorities had been able to discharge their responsibilities largely immune to public scrutiny or sustained criticism. The advent of MNA altered the situation and officials soon found out that they had to face a small but active band of Hindu leaders, determined to probe into Governmental affairs and criticize policies and expose official misdemeanors. What irked officials even more was the MNA method of securing redressal of its grievances not by directing them to the local authorities but by appealing directly to the British. Such tactics, the officials lamented, encouraged unwarranted Parliamentary interference in Indian affairs. Moreover, they bemoaned that the Civil Service in India was being attacked from all sides, including by such respectable organs as 'The Time'.

Official antagonism towards the MNA increased after Seymour's visit to South India. Seymour's inquiries into revenue collection, especially his efforts to gather evidence of torture, annoyed local officials. Also irritating was the two leaders of MNA who accompanied Seymour to enquiries in the Mofussil. Local leaders in Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Salem and Tirunelveli were persuaded to start branches as a means of helping the MNA with funds and information. In South Arcot, the Collector intervened to put an end to what was called "This Extortion". In 1854, a more effective way was found to undermine political activity in the Mofussil. Following the discovery in the Guntur District of a case where certain agents, claiming to represent the MNA, had raised subscriptions on a promise of securing tax remission, the Madras Government issued a proclamation throughout the Districts, warning agents and subscribers that such actions were liable to criminal prosecution.

The MNA protested its innocence and the Torture Commission absolved it of any connection with the Guntur agents. But the Madras Authorities steadfastly refused to withdraw the proclamation and the effect of which was to frighten the branch association into abandoning their ties with the parent body in the Metropolis.

Despite this clash with the local authorities, the MNA showed no perceptible signs of abdicating its role as the watchdog of Hindu interests in South India. Petitions were regularly sent to the British Parliament. Public meetings were held from time to time to discuss local grievances. Memoranda were presented to important dignitaries, enumerating the demands of the Association for acknowledging their services to the Country. One such address was presented to Lord Canning in February 1856 on his assumption of Governor - Generalship.

A continuous watch was maintained on the activities of local officials and their misdemeanors and highhanded behavior were promptly exposed. One such incident involved a Tahsildar who was accused of torturing some weavers in Chingleput District to realize arrears in Loom Tax. The MNA claimed, in a petition to Parliament in January 1856, that the Tahsildar had acted on the strength of an order issued by the Collector. The incident was discussed in the House of Lords while the Madras Board of Revenue initiated its own inquiry which ultimately led to the dismissal of the Tahsildar and the censure of the Collector. This, however, was not the kind of justice which the MNA was seeking. The MNA only wanted to demonstrate that contrary to what the Torture Commission reported, Indian officials resorted to practices of this nature only under instructions or covert encouragement of their European Superiors.

One subject, which continued to generate controversy throughout the fifties in the Nineteenth Century, was the question of Christian proselytization. Hindu suspicions about official Collusion with the

Missionaries were never completely allayed and from time to time, Hindu leaders alleged a pro-missionary bias in the actions of local authorities. This underlying mistrust of the Executive was best illustrated during the riots in Tirunelveli in December 1853. Against the background of rising religious tension in South India as a result of renewed missionary pressure against the policy of religious neutrality, the decision of the European Magistrate in Tirunelveli to allow a Christian burial party to use a street occupied by the higher castes led to a violent clash in which ten Hindus were killed and nineteen wounded. The Madras Government approved the action of district officials and ordered the rigorous prosecution of those suspected of rioting.

The MNA was unhappy with this order and convened a public meeting in April 1859 to discuss this and other related issues. The meeting attracted many Muslims from the Metropolis and some Hindu leaders from the Mofussil. The meeting approved a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India which attributed the Tirunelveli Disturbance to the machinations of Missionaries. It was claimed that the Magistrate's decision to reverse the old ruling which disallowed Christians the use of the street occupied by higher castes, was the result of the Missionary Pressure. The MNA was equally critical of the way in which the Tirunelveli investigations had been handled. It complained that instead of appointing an imperial commission, the Madras Government had entrusted the task to persons "implicated in the unhappy affair".

Sir Charles Travclyan, who had just assumed the Governorship of the Presidency, accepted the Memorial as "a genuine expression of the native mind" and regarded it as creditable that "the faithful people of the South have had recourse to the legal and constitutional mode of petition" in airing their grievances. Though not always agreeing with the sentiments expressed in the Memorial, he nevertheless felt that Missionary agitation in England has created widespread fear among the inhabitants of South India that the existing

policy might be changed and of the “tremendous machine of the Government being brought into the field against them”. Trevelyan believed that a firm and authoritative declaration upholding the policy of religious neutrality would put an end to these fears. The Tirunelveli Riots of 1858 provided the last occasion when the MNA held a mass meeting in Madras. During the next three years, the MNA functioned in a very sporadic fashion. In April 1860, it appealed to the British Parliament, calling for the restoration of the Tanjore Raj and in the same month, petitioned the Indian Legislative Council protesting against the proposed License Duty and Income Tax. In March 1862, a deputation from the Association called on the Governor of Madras to plead the case of the Mirasdars in respect of the right over wasteland. Four months later, the MNA was said to be “practically defunct”, and moves were afoot for the formation of a new “Native Association”. Thus, after a decade of active life, the MNA had faded into oblivion.

Though the reasons for its demise are not clear from available evidence, the MNA was the first real attempt at organizing a political association along Western lines in South India. Although founded by the Hindu commercial elite in Madras, which felt that its established traditions were threatened by the actions of the Christian Missions, this Association cannot be regarded as the mere mouthpiece of the narrow interests of the group nor was it the platform for the ventilation of specifically religious grievances. In fact, its signal contribution lay in its elaborate criticisms of the excessive public taxation in South India and its graphic portrayal of the corrupt machinery through which revenue was being collected. The Madras Government responded to these criticisms and it was reflected, for instance, in its decision to reduce the Land Tax in 1855. This is a testimony to the organizing skill of the leaders of MNA in harnessing the instruments of modern political protest to secure redressal of their grievances.

The dissolution of MNA symbolized the decline of the importance of the Hindu commercial elite in the civic life of Madras. Propelled into prominence in the 1840's on the crest of the anti-missionary sentiment then prevailing in South India, these elite had given institutional expression to its power by organizing the MNA. However, as anti-missionary feelings slowly subsided during the 1860s, the influence of the elite also waned and a rival group emerged to provide an alternative focus of leadership in the Madras Presidency. Members of the later group were products of the Madras High Schools, who had achieved distinction in the services of the British Indian Administration.

The need for a voluntary association had been felt in South India ever since the Madras Native Association became defunct during the early 1860s. The absence of a recognized vehicle of political expression in South India and the disadvantages that stemmed from its absence, were sharply emphasized during the 1870s when the Indian Association in Calcutta was beginning to make an impact on the Indian political scene by its determined opposition to unpopular policies associated with Lord Lytton's Regime. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha rendered timely service during the famine in Deccan. When there was a famine in the South in 1876- 1878, the need for such a provincial association for the Madras Presidency was very much felt. The need for an active and respectable association which would agitate incessantly against official iniquities and seek redressed from the highest British Authorities, including the Parliament, was progressively felt in Madras.

Madras Mahajana Sabha

Indian nationalist group Madras Mahajana Sabha was headquartered in the Madras Presidency. Along with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association, and the Indian Association, it is considered as a precursor to the Indian National Congress. The Madras Mahajana Sabha was started in May 1884 by M. Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer, and P.

Ananda Charlu. We will learn more about the goals and characteristics of the Madras Mahajan Sabha in this piece.

Madras Mahajan Sabha History

The Madras Native Association was the first group to fight for Indian liberties in the Madras Presidency, having been established in 1852 by publicist Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty. This group did not last very long; ultimately, it was dissolved. In May 1884, the Madras Mahajana Sabha was established by M. Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer, and P. Anandacharlu.

At a conference conducted at the Adyar Theosophical Society, the members of the sabha expressed their fervent support for the concept, which was later actualized by the formation of The Indian National Congress. The Madras Mahajana Sabha was viewed by South Indians as a unique organisation that paved the way for the liberation of India. For the benefit of our fellow citizens, the Sabha has fought for Indians' fundamental rights since 1884, including national freedom and other widespread social problems. The Madras Mahajana Sabha marked its Diamond Jubilee on January 31, 1945.

Madras Mahajan Sabha Objectives

To relieve and free India from the grip of British rule and to address Indian issues, members of the Mahajan Sabha felt the need to create an association at the All India level. Members regularly convened, discussed public problems in private, hosted town hall meetings, and voiced their opinions to the government.

Abolition of the Council of India in London, simultaneous civil service exams in England and India, tax reductions, and cuts to civil and military expenditures were among its demands. The 1885-founded Indian National Congress subsequently adopted a number of its demands.

Madras Mahajan Sabha Features

At first, The Sabha's headquarters was situated inside The Hindu's building at Ellis Road Junction on Mount Road. P. Rangaiah Naidu was chosen to lead the Sabha in 1885. Together with the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association, the Sabha dispatched a delegation to London in September 1885. The first meeting of the Mahajana Sabha took place between December 29, 1884, and January 2, 1885. The Sabha initially adopted a cautious stance. However, it was regarded as having seditious aims and objectives.

Viceroy of India Lord Elgin declined to receive the welcome speech from the Madras Mahajana Sabha during a visit to Madras in December 1895. The nation's founder, Mahatma Gandhi, spoke to the Mahajana Sabha on October 24, 1896. The Sabha organised the Salt Satyagraha campaign on April 22, 1930, in Madras' George Town, Esplanade, High Court, and Beach neighbourhoods. British police violently attacked the Sabha members, who then sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country.

A three-member committee headed by Justice T.R. Ramachandra Iyer conducted thirty interviews and delivered its report to the government as the Sabha insisted on a legal inquiry into the injustice meted out to Satyagraha participants. Advocate Sri Govindasamy was killed when the British Police opened fire at the Bal Gangadhar Tilak Public Meeting at Pycrofts Road on April 27 in a similar assault.

Once more, it was the Madras Mahajana Sabha that acted decisively to form a committee to investigate the deaths of Sri Govindasamy and Diwan Bahdur. Sri R. N. Arogyasamy Mudaliar served as the chairman of the commission that exposed the truth to the world. Many Sabha members were detained for their involvement in the Quit India Campaign in 1942. The Madras Mahajana Sabha organised a number of shows, including the All India Khadi Exhibition and the Swadeshi Exhibition, to foster national pride in their

citizens following the British government's decision to outlaw the Congress Party.

At Raj Bhavan in Madras on December 31, 1969, members of the Sabha's Executive Committee convened with Frontier Gandhi, aka Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The Sabha offered free nighttime classes in Hindi. Officials from both the public and private sectors profited from this service.

The enthusiasm of the articulate representatives of the educated middle class – the newly acclaimed leaders of Indian Society – appears to have considerably diminished by the close of the 19th century. Personalities like Gladstone in Britain and Lord Ripon in India, who realized the importance of the educated Indians and sympathised with their aspirations, were no longer at the helm of affairs. Instead, men who distrusted them without exception, and who disliked any relaxation of Britain's imperialist hold over India, were in charge of the governance of India. The authorities tended to ignore the Indian opinions and turned a blind eye to acts of racial arrogance by the officials. They even tried to undermine those nominal concessions which had grudgingly been conceded to Indians from time to time in the earlier period. The hostility of the Raj was becoming apparent even to the earlier nationalists. Many of them had realised by 1900 the futility of their petitioning and praying to the Government. Their very modest demands for jobs in the Indian Civil Service and some reforms in the Legislative Councils had practically been disregarded. Their appeal for a just British rule in India in place of the prevailing "un-British" misrule fell on deaf ears. Their demands for constitutional concessions that had repeatedly been made from the Indian National Congress platform for about two decades produced only the paltry reforms of 1892. The situation was considerably worsened in the early years of the 20th century due to the presence in India of a Viceroy like Lord Curzon, who wanted to treat the Congress as an "unclean thing", reject all its leaders' pleas with "frigid indifference" and consider the Civil Service as one

“specifically reserved for Europeans”. Like all staunch imperialists, Curzon was an unqualified racist, proclaiming that “the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western concept” and speaking of Indians in his benevolent moods in tones “one normally reserves for pet animals”.

Alarmed and ruffled by the Curzonian presence as the earlier nationalists were, they were not so dispirited as to swallow every humiliation or to lie ignominiously low. They had grown in stature in the eyes of their own people, learnt from their social reformers and ideologue to have faith in themselves, and acquired sufficient amount of self-respect to ask for civilized treatment and natural justice. A confrontation between Curzon and the educated middle class nationalists, therefore, was bound to take place. It eventually did in Bengal - where the Indian intelligentsia was most assertive and where Curzon was at his offensive worst.

Curzon was the first to start his attack in Bengal. As early as 1899 he reduced the number of elected members in the Calcutta Corporation. This measure was intended primarily to satisfy the European business interests in the city, who often complained of delays in the grant of licenses and similar other facilities. The consideration behind the action was obvious, and its undemocratic nature was unmistakable. The Calcutta citizens felt deeply offended and wronged. However, before they could digest this wrong, Curzon launched an assault on the autonomous character of Calcutta University -- the pride of the educated sections in Bengal. Armed with the recommendations of Indian Universities Commission, whose sole Indian member (Gurudas Banerji) disagreed wholly with others, Curzon passed the Universities Act (1904). The objective used as a pretext was “to raise the standard of education all round”. The act cut down the number of elected senate members (mostly Indians) and transferred the ultimate power of affiliating colleges and schools, as well as giving them grants-in-aid, to the The Swadeshi Movement Government officials. This piece of legislation left the outraged members of

the educated middle class in no doubt about the Viceroy's determination to hurt them and break their spirit in every conceivable way. They naturally had to prepare themselves mentally for the worst, and think in terms of offering resistance. The worst, as it turned out, came rather quickly and dramatically in July 1905 when Curzon announced the partition of Bengal.

The Plan for the Partition Of Bengal

The province of Bengal under a Lieutenant Governor was an unwieldy territory of diverse population, using various languages and dialects and differing widely in terms of economic development. Apart from Bengal proper (i.e. Bengali-speaking western and eastern Bengal), it originally comprised the whole of Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Earlier, too, the British authorities did occasionally think of reducing the size of the province for administrative convenience. In 1874 they actually separated Assam from Bengal by making it a Chief Commissioner's province, and adding to it, despite some local opposition, the predominantly Bengali-speaking area of Sylhet. Assam was further extended in 1897 by the transfer for the time being of South Lushai hill tracts from Bengal. Such piece-meal reductions, however, had not conclusively solved the British difficulty in managing a province of the proportion of Bengal with all its attendant problems. From the administrative point of view, as well as from the angle of equal developmental opportunities for all the areas, some sort of territorial reorganization of the province of Bengal was therefore needed. Curzon did not appear to be thinking unreasonably when he talked of 'readjustments' of Bengal early in 1904. If he had ever thought of streamlining the province by disassociating the linguistically divergent, Orissa and Bihar from it, as it was so aptly and repeatedly advocated by the nationalists themselves, Curzon's policy would probably have been hailed as a principled and far-sighted one. Instead, he and his main advisors -- Sir A. Fraser, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and H.H. Risley, Secretary, Home Department, Government of India -- were

determined to use the plea for territorial readjustment to throttle the voice of nationalism. The move was calculated to hurt chiefly those who spearheaded the national movement in the eastern part of India, namely, the Bengali-speaking educated middle class. Having been the first to be brought under the British rule, the Bengalis were among the pioneers in taking to English education, imbibing Western Liberal ideas and airing nationalistic and patriotic views. This annoyed the imperialist authorities and they decided to take action.

The Motive behind the Plan

In the eyes of Curzon and others like him Bengal was the most vulnerable point in the entire British Indian empire. In their view the Bengalis were “a force already formidable, and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in the future”. To meet the growing nationalist challenge in eastern India Curzon and his advisors searched for an effective answers, and eventually found it in the division of the Bengali-speaking people. The official assessment was: “Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided will pull in several different ways”. Curzon and Company were determined “to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents” to the British rule. The splitting up operations, or the arrangement for giving effect to the maxim “divide and rule”, had to be done in such a manner as to make the Bengalis suffer physical as well as mental division. This Curzon wanted to achieve by creating a situation of mutual suspicion and jealousy between the two major communities in Bengal - the Hindus and the Muslims.

Curzon and his advisors knew that their opponents in Bengal came largely from among the Hindus, who had benefited more than their Muslim brethren by taking socio-economic and educational advantage of the British rule. Majority of the Muslims being agriculturists could not manage to take a similar advantage. By shrewdly suggesting that his Government wished to stand by the Muslims in their race for advancement with the Hindus, and

secure them from any threat of Hindu domination, Curzon planned to take away from Bengal those territories where Muslims were more numerous, and join these with Assam to form a new province with Dacca as its Capital. The new province, Curzon hoped, “would invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman viceroys and kings”. He also expected Dacca “to acquire the special character of a Provincial Capital where Mohammedan interest would be strongly represented if not predominant”. By partitioning Bengal, therefore, Curzon and his lieutenants wanted to set up Dacca as a parallel political centre to the nationalistically oriented Calcutta. To make use, of the Muslims to counter-balance the Hindus they intended to create out of Bengal a Muslim-majority province (where 15 million Muslims would live with 12 million Hindus and reduce the Bengali speaking people into a minority in what would remain as Bengal (where 19 million Bengali speaking persons would be outnumbered by 35 million speakers of Hindi, Oriya and other languages). This mischievous game was being played, above all, to cripple the educated Indian middle class nationalists.

The Partition

The Curzonian scheme to partition Bengal took a concrete shape gradually from the time the Viceroy wrote his minute on Territorial Redistribution on 1 June, 1903 to the day the final scheme of division was despatched to the home authorities in London for sanction on 2 February, 1905. On 19 July, 1905 the Government of India announced its decision to form the new province of “Eastern Bengal and Assam”, comprising the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi divisions, Hill Tippera (Tripura), Maida and Assam. The province came into existence on 16 October, 1905, by breaking up Bengal and its 41.5 million Bengali speaking people.

The Miscalculation of the Government

Even while dividing Bengal most impudently, and with contempt for the Bengalis, Curzon and his men made their own calculations about the kind of resistance they may have to face. They knew about the worries of the babus in eastern Bengal over the prospect of clerical jobs. They were also aware of the difficulty the Bengali Zamindars (having estates in both eastern and western parts) had to face over the increased expenses for engaging two sets of agents and pleaders. The Calcutta High Court lawyers, they knew, will feel concerned over the loss of practice because of a separate High Court in the new province. They would think of the anxieties of the jute and rice trading interests near the port of Calcutta over the challenge that Chittagong might pose as an alternative outlet. They also knew how Calcutta nationalists might feel disturbed on account of the loss of a considerable portion of their audience and following. But they expected all worries to subside in course of time, or at the most, to lead for a while only to protest meetings and processions that could easily be tolerated and ignored.

The Government had no idea whatsoever of the stormy political movement which the Partition would cause, breaking it away from traditional ways of respectful resentment, generating unprecedented militancy and turning it rapidly into a battle for swaraj (self-rule). The authorities grossly underestimated the Bengali dislike for authoritarianism which had been produced among them by their long history of virtual independence from nominal central powers. They also failed to grasp the Bengali feeling for unity and pride in their attainments, at least among the literates which had been fostered by intense educational, intellectual and cultural activities during the whole of the 19th century. Apart from its being the centre of economic and political affairs, the metropolis of Calcutta -- the capital of British India -- had already become the nerve-centre of Bengali consciousness. It drew students from all parts of Bengal, sent out teachers, professionals (engineers and doctors) and petty officials to every nook and corner of the province, often far

beyond it. Calcutta had made a significant contribution to the growth of a powerful literary language. The city had an increasing number of high-level newspapers and periodicals as well as a band of writers who were producing developed modern literature.

With their gravitational point in Calcutta, the educated Bengalis were at the beginning of the 20th century inspiring large parts of the country by their achievements in literature (led by Rabindranath Tagore), in science (led by Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Roy), in politics (led by Surendranath Banerjee and the up-coming Bepinchandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh), and in religion (typified by Swami Vivekananda). Almost at the same time they were making careful note of the chinks that the Boer war had revealed in the so called impenetrable British armour. They also felt greatly elated and assured when much under-rated Oriental Japan defeated in 1904-05 the over-rated Occidental Czarist Russia. Their rising self-confidence was matched by the growing abhorrence with which they looked down upon all acts of racial intimidation and discrimination.

The educated middle class Indians in Bengal, like their counterparts in the rest of the country, were severely critical of the “drain of wealth” from India to Britain, and of the ravages which India suffered on account of frequent recurrence of famines and plague. They themselves were hardhit economically, partly because of over-crowding in the professions, and partly due to the unremunerative fragmentation through inheritance of their landed properties. To make matters worse, there was a sudden rise in the prices of all commodities that affected everybody, including the members of the middle class, the rise being “steepest between 1905 and 1908-precisely the years of maximum political unrest”. (Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Delhi, 1983 p.109). In sum, one could say that Bengal and the Bengali middle class in 1905 were by no means in a mood to surrender to the Curzonian assault. But Curzon himself did not seem to be adequately aware of it.

Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education

The anti-partition agitation began in Bengal on the conventional moderate nationalist lines, though with a great deal of noise and angry protestations. There were sharp press campaigns against the partition scheme, numerous public meetings in opposition to it and the drafting of petitions to the Government for its annulment. Big conferences were held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where delegates from districts came to participate and gave vent to their injured sentiments. All this was impressive, making the educated middle class' case against the partition loud and clear. But it made no effect on the indifference of the authorities in India and Britain. The evident failure of these methods, therefore, led to a search for new techniques from the middle of 1905 and resulted in the discovery of the boycott of British goods as an effective weapon. The boycott suggestion first came from Krishnakumar Mitra's Sanjivani on 3 July, 1905, and was later accepted by the prominent public men at the Town Hall meeting of 7 August, 1905. The discovery was followed by the calls of Rabindranath Tagore and Ramendra Sunder Trivedi, respectively, for the observance of raksha-bandhan (the tying of thread wristlets on each other's hands as a symbol of brotherhood) and arandhan (the keeping of the hearth unlit at all the homes as a sign of mourning) on the day the partition was put into effect. With these measures the movement gained a new fervour.

The boycott of British products was followed by

- The advocacy of swadeshi or exhorting purchasers to buy indigenously produced goods as a patriotic duty,
- Charkha (the spinning wheel) came to typify the popular concern for the country's economic self-sufficiency, and
- The holding of swadeshi melas or fairs for selling handicrafts and other articles became a regular feature.

A considerable enthusiasm was created for undertaking swadeshi or Indian enterprises. A number of exclusively Indian industrial ventures, such as the Calcutta Potteries, Bengal Chemicals, Bange Lakshmi Cotton Mills, Mohini Mills and National Tannery were started. Various soap, match box and tobacco manufacturing establishments and oil mills, as well as financial activities, like the swadeshi banks, insurance and steam navigation companies also took off the ground under the impetus generated by the movement.

Meanwhile, the picketing before the shops selling British goods soon led to a boycott of the officially controlled educational institutions. The British threat to the student-picketers in the form of the withdrawal of grants, scholarships and affiliations of the institutions to which they belonged (through the infamous circular of 22 October, 1905 issued by Carlyle, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal, known otherwise as the “Carlyle Circular”) and the actual imposition of fines and rustication orders on them resulted in the decision by large number of students to leave these schools and colleges of “slavery”. Boycott of schools and colleges forced the leaders of the Swadeshi movement to think in terms of running a parallel system of education in Bengal. Soon appeals were made, donations collected and distinguished persons came forward to formulate programmes for national education. These efforts resulted in the establishment of the Bengal Technical Institute (which was started on 25 July, 1906, and which later turned into the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur -- the nucleus of the present day Jadavpur University), the Bengal National College and School (which was set up on 15 August, 1906 with Aurobindo Ghosh as its Principal) and a number of national, primary and secondary schools in the districts.

The Samitis and the Political Trends

For aiding the cause of national education, and for spreading the messages of boycott and swadeshi, a large number of national volunteer bodies or samitis sprang up in Calcutta and the districts. Some of the

distinguished among them were the Dawn Society (named after the famous journal of the time -- Dawn), the Anti-Circular Society (formed initially to protest against the “Carlyle Circular”), the Swadeshdhandhav, the Brati, the Anushilan, the Suhrid and the Sadhena samitis. These samitis preached the essentials of swadeshi and boycott, took up social work during famines and epidemics, imparted physical and moral training, organised crafts and national schools and set up arbitration committees and village societies. They encouraged folk singers and artistes (notably persons like Mukunda Das, Bhusan Das and Mufizuddin Bayati) to perform on the swadeshi themes in local dialects. These efforts served to supplement at the rural level the spate of patriotic compositions by literary stalwarts like Rabindranath Tagore, Rajanikanta Sen, Dwijendralal Roy, Girindramohini Dasi, Sayed Abu Mohammed, or playwrights like Girishchandra Ghosh, Kshirodeprasad Vidyavinode and Amritalal Bose. The ideologies of samitis ranged from secularism to religious revivalism, from moderate politics to social reformism (through constructive economic, educational and social programmes), and included within their range political extremism.

As a matter of fact several trends of political thinking were competing with one another for popular acceptance during the swadeshi days in Bengal:

- i) The moderate nationalist opinion (which was represented by persons like Surendranath Banerjea, Krishnakumar Mitra and Narendra Kumar Sen) still had abiding faith in the British sense of justice, and were not in favour of stretching the agitation too far. Its advocates actually pinned their hopes on the Liberal Morley’s appointment as Secretary of State for India in Britain. Their lukewarmness was so obviously out of tune with the prevailing militant mood against the British authorities that the moderates rapidly and conclusively lost their popularity.
- ii) The second or the social reformist creed of “constructive swadeshi”- as it was termed - aimed at gathering national strength through a

persistent movement of self-help and self-reliance (or Atmashakti according to Rabindranath Tagore) by organising indigenous enterprises, nationalistic educational processes and setting up village uplift societies to bridge the gulf between the rural and urban people. All those who did not see eye to eye with the moderate nationalists supported the cause of “constructive swadeshi” in the beginning. Satishchandra Mukherji, Aswini Kumar Dutta, Rabindranath Tagore, Prafulla Chandra Roy and Nilratan Sircar were its prime adherents.

iii) Even though the programme recommended by the social reformists was significant in some ways, it was too arduous, unostentatious and unexciting to have wide appeal for

Bepinchandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, or to satisfy the impatient, adventurous youth of Bengal. In such circumstances, the appearance of political extremism – the third trend – was natural. It found expression in periodicals like New India (edited by Bepinchandra Pal), Bande Mataram (edited by Aurobindo Ghosh), Sandhya (edited by Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya) and Yugantar (edited by Bhupendranath Dutta). The political extremists demanded self-government for India, not under British tutelage or British Paramountcy (as the moderates wished), but by severing all British connections, and wiping off all British influences.

The extremist political leaders gave a clarion call for the establishment of swaraj and attempted to find the ways and means for achieving it. They speedily came to the conclusion that the techniques of boycott should be escalated from British goods and educational institutions to other spheres, such as the British administration, the British courts of law and the British services, shaking the foundation of British authority in India. Bepinchandra Pal described such escalation as “passive resistance” or refusal “to render any voluntary or honorary service to the Government”. Aurobindo Ghosh

improved upon the strategy further in a series of articles in *Bande Mataram* in April 1907, and came out with the theory of “organised and relentless boycott” of British goods, British system of education, judiciary and executive, and the social boycott of the loyalists and civil disobedience of unjust laws.

If British repressions surpassed the limits of Indian endurance, Aurobindo Ghosh was prepared to embark upon an anti-British armed struggle. How could British rule in India continue, Brahmabhandav Upadhyaya asked, if the chowkidar, the constable, the deputy, the munsiff and the clerk, not to speak of the sepoy, resigned their respective functions?

The fervour with which the exponents of political extremism brought the issues of swaraj and its attainment through passive resistance to the fore, relegated all other points to the back-ground, including the very question that occasioned the agitation, that is the partition of Bengal. In comparison with the importance of the struggle for swaraj, the unification of Bengal seemed only a secondary issue -- “the pettiest and narrowest of all political objects” (Aurobindo Ghosh’s article in *Bande Mataram*, 28 April, 1907) Such nationalization of a regional issue, and the clarification of the national goal accompanying it, marked the most extraordinary advancement that Indian nationalists were able to make within a brief animated span of merely two years.

The Concept of Mass Movement, Workers and Peasants

The national goal of swaraj, and the means to achieve it through boycott in all spheres, or through the method of passive resistance as it was then formulated necessitated not only a widespread awakening of the masses, but also their whole-hearted participation in well organised anti-British mass movements. The educated middle class had by and large awakened with the progress of the Swadeshi movement and even some members of the landed aristocracy and the representatives of commercial and mercantile interests

were becoming sympathetic to the national cause. But the vast majority of the poorer classes, especially the working class and the peasantry, had not yet been brought in the thick of the struggle.

Workers

Some of the swadeshi activists (notably Aswini Coomar Banerji, Prabhat Kusum Roychoudhury, Apurba Kumar Ghosh and Premtosh Bose) did, however, try to organise workers in Bengal, and direct their economic grievances into political channels. The lead in this direction came from 247 clerks of Burn Company in Howrah who struck work in September 1905 in protest against a derogatory new work regulation. This was followed by strikes in the tramways in Calcutta, in the jute mills and railway workshops. Coolies, carters and sweepers also took recourse to strikes in Calcutta to voice their economic demands. Such greater politicization was noticed among the more militant printing press, jute mill and railway workers. A bitter strike in the Government owned presses resulted in the formation of the first real labour union, namely the Printers' Union in October 1905.

A similar struggle of the employees of the Eastern Indian Railway saw the organization of a Railwaymen's Union in July 1906. There were attempts on the part of the swadeshi leaders like Bepin Chandra Pal, Shyamsundar Chakrabarthy and Liakat Hussain to organise agitated railway workers in Asansol, Ranigunj and Jamalpur, which ended up in police firing at the Jamalpur Workshop 27 August, 1906. The jute mill workers, who agitated almost on similar lines from 1905, were led by Aswini Coomar Banerji to form an Indian Millhands' Union at Budge-Budge in August 1906. However, all these unions later on suffered a setback in the face of the hostility of the Government. Not being ideologically committed to the cause of the workers, the enthusiasm of the nationalists in activating them steadily subsided after 1907.

Peasants If the leaders of Swadeshi movement made some efforts towards the mobilization of the workmen, they practically refrained from rallying the peasants. Although the samitis had numerous branches in the rural areas (like the Swadeshbhandhav Samiti which alone had 175 village branches in Barisal district), preaching passive resistance to the masses, they failed to stir up the peasants' imagination. To the bulk of the impoverished kisans, their patriotic calls remained vague, distant and even abstractly rhetorical. The reason was the lack of genuine interest among these leaders in improving the agrarian situation, or in formulating concrete programmes for the betterment of the peasant masses. The members of the middle class in Bengal, whether professionals, clerks or businessmen, depended substantially for their economic well-being on the rentals from their ancestral lands. Their rentier character had, therefore, placed them into an exploitative category vis-à-vis the exploited peasantry, and had perpetuated a contradiction between their interests and the peasants' aspirations. Already the Bengali middle class did not generally approve of the meagre tenurial rights which the Government had conceded to the cultivators in the Tenancy Act of 1885. Its representatives had often been intolerant of the "insolvent raiyats", and as Bhadrakols (gentlemen), they were contemptuous of the Chhotoloks (Lowly men).

The Swadeshi movement did not raise any voice of protest against the peasant's burden of debts, his periodic eviction from land or against his continued subjection to begaar (unpaid forced labour). No Samiti gave any call to the cultivators for launching an agitation on the issues of exorbitant tax and rent. Even a radical spokesman of the stature of the Aurobindo Ghosh expressly ruled out such campaigns lest they should hurt the interests of patriotic Samindars (Aurobindo Ghosh's articles in *Bande Mataram*, April 1907). What was worse, the strong religious overtone that the Swadeshi movement acquired in course of time - its undue emphasis on the Hindu revivalistic symbols and idioms - largely discouraged the Muslim peasants

(who formed the bulk of the peasantry in east Bengal) from taking a lively interest in the great commotion.

The Communal Tangle

In traditional societies religion has often been used as a convenient means to arouse an indigenous and popular brand of nationalism, and it has usually led to unfortunate consequences. The experience of the Swadeshi movement was no different. The political capital that the leaders in Bengal tried to make out of Hinduism and Islam contributed in effect to the widening of the gulf between the two major communities there. Dividing the land and the people of Bengal, and playing the Hindus and Muslims against each other, were the known British imperialist ideas. These were taken up in 1905 by Curzon, Andrew Fraser and Herbert Risley, and their successors like Lord Minto (who replaced Curzon as the Viceroy), Bampfylde Fuller (who was appointed as the first Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal and Assam) and Lancelot Hare (who came in place of Fuller) devoutly clung to the same methods. While Minto was convinced of the necessity for the “diminution of the powers” of the Bengali politicians, Fuller actually started “playing one of the two sections of the population (Hindus and Muslims) against each other”, and Hare thought of giving extraordinary advantages to the Muslims in matters of Government jobs over the Hindus.

Simultaneously with the wooing of the educated Muslims, the authorities encouraged the aristocratic elements among them to think in terms of Muslim political power and to form in October, 1906 the Muslim League, under the leadership of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, to protect the “separate” interests of the Muslims. Besides in the eastern Bengal countryside the obscurantist mullahs and Maulavis wielded much influence and often projected the contradiction between ‘Samindars’ (majority of whom happened to be Hindus) and cultivators (majority of whom happened to be Muslims) in terms only of religious antagonism.

Despite all this, however, eloquent pleas were heard during the Swadeshi movement in favour of communal harmony (such as the writings in Sanjivani). Great scenes of Hindu-Muslim fraternization were witnessed (such as the joint procession of 10,000 students in Calcutta on 23 September, 1906). Some distinguished Muslim public men took up leading roles in the agitation (such as Liakat Hussain, Abdul Hakim, Ghaznavi, Abdul Rasul, Maniruzsaman, Ismail Hussain Siraji, Abul Hussain and Din Mahomed). But much of the effect of these positive developments was neutralised by the educated middle class nationalists' attempts at utilising the rites, images and myths of Hindu orthodoxy as a morale-booster for their rank and file, and as a medium of communication between the leaders and the led.

The stridently Hinduised exhortations of the nationalist organs like *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Nabshakti*, the uncritical glorification of Hindu past, the nostalgia for the lost Hindu *rashtra* (nation), the practice of taking a pledge of swadeshi (for not using British goods) before a Hindu deity, the vow of self sacrifice before the goddess Kali and the constant references to the Gita did not help the political leaders in bringing the Muslims closer to the Hindus. Rather, these contributed to a hardening of attitudes on the part of both the communities. The observance of *Birashtami* (in memory of the eight Hindu heroes of the medieval past), the emphasis on traditional Hindu values in programmes for national education, the use of Pauranic images on public platform, the insistence on the goddess Durga's being "the visible representation of the eternal spirit" of the Bengalis harmed the movement considerably by the projection of its content in religious forms. Bepinchandra Pal justified such representation on the ground that religion and national life were inseparable, and that "to separate national life from religion would mean the abandonment of religious and moral values in personal life also" (Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903- 1908*, Delhi, 1977, p. 76). Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya went a step further, and urged his audience:

“whatever you hear, whatever you learn, whatever you do, remain a Hindu, remain a Bengali...” Aurobindo Ghosh went to the farthest point when he discovered germs of democracy, of even socialism, in the caste rules of Hindu society (“Caste and Democracy” *Bande Mataram*, 21 September, 1907). Such Hindu revivalistic propaganda at the height of the agitation, and that, too, by its leading figures, actually incited Nawab Salimullah’s men and the mullahs to spread communal hatred among the Muslims in accordance of course, with the Curzonian expectations.

It was comparatively easy in such circumstances for the communalists to take recourse to communal violence. The eastern part of Bengal saw a series of communal riots, first in Ishwargunj in Mymensingh district in May 1906, followed by disturbances in Comilla, Jamalpur, Dewangunge and Bakshigunj in March 1907, and then again in Mymensingh in April-May 1907. The rioters were encouraged by the rumours, spread by communalists, of a British decision to hand over the charge of administration in Dacca to Nawab Salimullah. The riots also revealed a submerged agrarian character, since the targets were often found to be Hindu Samindars and Mahajans (moneylenders). Although they were alarmed by these untoward developments, the nationalists would not try to understand the entire phenomena correctly. They seemed to be in a hurry to brand the rioters merely as British-hired trouble makers, without any serious effort at understanding the depth of the malaise. As a result, their religious fervour continued to increase rather than decrease..

V.O.Chidambaram Pillai

V.O.C. became a symbol of sacrifice in the struggle for India's freedom. He was a hero who led the people of Tamil land in the independence struggle. Due to his service to mother India, he was given special titles like *Kappaloddiya Tamilan'* and *Chekku Illuththa Chemmal*. He met with a lot of

troubles on his way towards achieving independence. So he created a history with his adventures and sorrowful experiences.

Early Life: (1872 - 1898)

V.O.C. was born to Ulakantha Pillai, a rich advocate having exemplary character and Paramaie Ammaiyyar on 5th day of September, 1872 at Ottapidaram in Tirunelveli district. He was one among the seven children of their parents. In commemoration of the name of his father's brother he was named Chidambaram. He had finished his middle school education, at Ottapidaram learning early lessons from Veeraperumal Anna and English from Krishnan. He finished his high school studies at Tuticorin and began to work as a clerk in the taluk office at Ottapidaram. Later, he qualified himself as an advocate at Tiruchirappaly in 1895.

His occupation and marriage life: (1895-1905)

Being qualified in law V.O.C. started his career as advocate at Tuticorin in the year 1895. In the same year he got married to Valliyammai. With the early death of Valliyammai in 1900 V.O.C. married Menakshi as his second wife. It was during this period he got interested in politics. Though he practiced as an advocate, he was deeply attracted towards the motherland and language.

His political career (1905-1908)

The four years from 1905 to 1908 marked the most interesting period in the political life of V.O.C. Involving himself completely in politics, he revolted against the English and tried to implement the principles of Extremism uttering the code word (Slogan) Vandemadaram. He pointed out to the people the necessity of boycotting foreign goods so as to reduce the supremacy of the English.

In those days, Tamil people used only English ships for trade and transport. To put an end to this, he started a Native Shipping Company in

1906. Many a people kept him in collecting shares towards the building of this shipping company. Of them Vijayaregavachariyar, Rajaji, Parali Shanmugam Pillai and Panndidevar were important. Panndidevar alone got a share of one lakh rupees. With this capital V.O.C. got two ships from French Company, bought one and got another for lease. These two ships were put to navigation between Tuticorin to Colombo in 1909. The encouragement of the people of this enterprise though high in the beginning reduced gradually. In appreciation of their efforts V.O.C. was called Kappalottiya Tamilan.

In addition to the Native Shipping Company, he established Swadeshi Dharma Sanga Weaving Association and Swadeshi Co-operative stores at Tuticorin. Moreover, to safeguard the traders and workers of Tuticorin, he encouraged the establishment of trade guilds and workers, Association. The Swadesavimana Sangam founded at Tirunelveli in 1908 was the result of his effort. The above said organisations served as the soldiers against the English atrocities.

V.O.C. and Surat Conference:

In 1907, the Congress leaders held a Conference at Surat and formulated principles against the English. V.O.C. and Subramonia Bharathi partook this conference as representatives of Tamil land. The eloquent speech of V.O.C. in this conference attracted the whole mass. Deeply fascinated by the extremist principles of Tilak the participants of the Surat Conference decided to implement them in their own states. Hence extremist principles were spread rapidly in Tamil kind, mainly by V.O.C.

Meeting of V.O.C. with the Collector Ash:

The persistent, participation of V.O.C. in politics kindled the anger of Collector Ash. So Ash ordered V.O.C. to meet him in his office. During this time Ash showed V.O.C. the military godown in order to make him afraid and warned him to be submissive to the government. As V.O.C. was indifferent to this, the arguments between them reached a critical level. The anger of Ash

exceeded the limit. Realising the controversial situation V.O.C. escaped with the help of bodyguard Mahalingam. Ash was waiting for an opportunity to avenge V.O.C.

The Arrest of V.O.C.

The leaders of Tamil land decided to celebrate the release of Bepin Chandrapal from prison on the 19th day of March, 1907. They made all the arrangements for this when he visited Madras in 1907. In the great procession on that day, thousands of people participated. Induced by the eagerness of independence some of them plunged themselves in unlawful activities. To control the situation, police opened fire; four were killed and several wounded.

Many leaders including V.O.C. were arrested for provoking the people.

His Imprisonment (1908-1912):

The judge who tried the case of V.O.C. decreed forty years of imprisonment. But his higher appeal reduced the punishment to six years. He was tortured inhumanly in the prisons at Coimbatore and Kannanoor. He was given maize fooding as food and he was compelled to do the work of a bullock in a native oil mill; hence called Chekkilutha Chemmal.

His Contribution to Tamil Literature in Prison: Unwilling to spend the imprisonment days uselessly V.O.C. utilised the period, for writing books and (creating). Composing poetry. He told his family members and friends the atrocities in the prison in the form of poetry. He translated the literature of James Alons under the heads Manampolvalu Akamaypuram, Valimykkumarkam and Santhikkumarkam. Among the above works, he had finished manampolvalue in prison. In the prison at Kanaanoor he had written two books namely Mey arivu and Mey aram, to enable the, prisoners to leave inhuman activities and adopt humanism, His contribution to literature continued even after Ms prison life.

His life in Madras after Ms Release (1912-1919)

V.O.C. was released from prison on 12th day of December, 1912. As his political service was unappreciated by the people, V.O.C. shifted his residence to Madras after he had been released from prison. The disapproval of his political service by people made V.O.C. to forsake politics. Still in 1919, he proceeded to Bombay, accepting the invitation of Tilak so that he might partake the discussion as to how to conduct a riot in India with the help of Germany. He also discussed political matters with Gandhiji and Ulak who had visited Madras in the same year.

V.O.C's non-political life

Unable to continue to live in Madras, he began to live at Coimbatore accepting the requests of his friends. At Coimbatore one could see V.O.C. completely out of politics. When he was in prison he was deprived of the advocacy. But he re-obtained the right in 1923 and practiced as a lawyer at Kovilpatti. Completely away from politics for seven years V.O.C. joined congress in 1927 and he headed the congress conference at Salem

Again his life at Tuticorin (1932-1936)

In 1932, the head office of Revenue Divisional office (R.D.O) was shifted from Kovilpetti to Tuticorin. So V.O.C. also migrated to Tuticorin and engaged himself as an advocate, whenever his health permitted. He presided over the meeting at Karaikkudi in 1933 which was arranged to receive Gandhiji who propagated Harijan principles. Involving himself completely into politics and experiencing countless miseries one after another V.O.C, left this world on 18 November, 1936 at the age of sixty three.

Bharathiyar (1882 -1921)

Bharathiyar who had great enthusiasm for independence was born to Chinnaswami Iyyar and Lekshmi Ammal at Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli district on December 11, 1882. Gifted with poetic talents even from his childhood, he received a title "Bharathi" from the king of Ettayapuram at the age of eleven. He got married to Chellammal in 1897. He continued his

education even after marriage and became learned in Sanskrit and Hindi along with Tamil.

Highly attracted by the proficiency of Bharathiyar, the king of Ettayapuram appointed him as his court poet in 1902. But Bharathi left that post the very next year and started his career as a teacher and wrote poems in news papers. In 1904, he had become the sub-editor of a daily called "Swadesamitran" and the editor in charge of a monthly magazine named "Chakravarthini".

Deeply involved in politics, he took active part in the struggle for independence together with V.O.C. in 1905. But that did not make him leave literary works. He became the editor of India in 1907 and also took responsibility to publish an English paper called Balabharatham. He took part together with V.O.C. in the Congress conference held at Surat in 1907. Fascinated by the extremist principles, he patronised the extremist principles of Tilak. He opposed the suppressive measures of the English vehemently. Hence he was arrested by the English government and then released. As he had criticised the principles of the English severely the English government took high handed steps against the news paper to which Bharathiyar was the editor.

When the restrictions of the government exceeded the boundaries, he migrated to Pondicherry accepting the request of his friends. There again he published the daily India. The principles published in this daily awakened the people with independent quest. So the government banned this daily and Bharathi to stop it.

Governor Ash was murdered by Vanchinathah in 1911. Subsequent to this the suppressive measures of the government became unlimited and the activities of the leaders especially Bharathiyar were sharply noted by the Government. Bharathiyar utilised this opportunity for writing books. He translated Bhagavatgithaj into Tamil in 1912. He also published other books like Kannanpatthu, Kuyilpattu etc.

During the First World War, the Government assumed that the freedom fighters were campaigning against the government hence gave them several troubles. Unable to withstand the atrocities of the government, Bharathiyar shifted his residence from Pondicherry to Tamilnadu. He was arrested in Kadayoor, remanded for thirty four days and then released. Then he proceeded to Kadayyam.

Bharathiyar suffered poverty between 1918 and 1920. Nobody came forward to help him during this critical situation. But his sufferings only enhanced his interest towards independence and literature. Again he became editor of Swadesamitran. The last days of Bharathiyar were full of sufferings. Bharathiyar became sick due to the injury caused by the temple elephant of Thiruvallikeni by July 1921. He was completely bedridden. On the eleventh day of September, 1921 the great Bharathiyar died by midnight. But even today he is remembered as Amarakavi Bharathiyar.

The **Home Rule Movement** in India marked a crucial milestone in the liberation struggle. It was India's response to the First World War. **From 1916 to 1918**, the movement gained momentum throughout the country. Prominent leaders such as **Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Annie Besant, G.S. Khaparde, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Joseph Baptista, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah** came together. They recognised the need for a year-round national alliance.

Their primary objective was to **demand self-government or home rule** for the entirety of India within the framework of the **British Commonwealth**. This alliance was to be known as the **All India Home Rule League, drawing inspiration from the Irish Home Rule League.**

Home Rule Movement Causes

The Home Rule Movement emerged as an assertive political movement. Several factors leading to the formation of the Home Rule Movement were:

- **The Government of India Act 1909** failed to meet the aspirations of Indians.
- The **split within the Congress Party in 1907** and the imprisonment of Bal Gangadhar Tilak from 1908 to 1914 resulted in a period of relative calm in the national movement.
- Some nationalists believed that popular pressure was necessary to achieve concessions from the government. The release of Tilak and the arrival of Annie Besant sparked a revival of the national movement.
- Indian leaders were divided on whether to support Britain in the war, but Annie Besant famously declared, "**England's need is India's opportunity.**" The burden of wartime hardships, such as high taxation and rising prices, made people more willing to participate in aggressive protest movements.
- Upon his return from exile in Mandalay, Tilak recognised the necessity of rejuvenating the nationalist movement in India and acknowledged the growing significance of the Congress Party in the country's political landscape.
- Tilak's primary objective was to rejoin the Congress Party, from which the extremist faction led by him had previously separated.
- In the **December 1915 Congress session, largely influenced by Annie Besant's persuasion, it was decided to readmit the extremists into the party and involve them actively in the national struggle.**
- However, both Besant and Tilak were unsuccessful in convincing Congress to support their proposal of establishing Home Rule Leagues.
- Besant managed to secure Congress's agreement to engage in educative propaganda and **establish local-level committees.** If these

conditions were not fulfilled by September 1916, she would be free to establish a Home Rule League.

Two Home Rule Leagues

Tilak and Besant recognised that the support of a Congress dominated by Moderates and the cooperation of Extremists were crucial for the success of the Home Rule Movement:

- **Failing to achieve a Moderate-Extremist agreement at the 1914 Congress session**, Tilak and Besant decided to revive political activity independently.
- In early 1915, Annie Besant initiated a campaign demanding self-government for India after the war, similar to white colonies. She used her newspapers, public meetings, and conferences to promote her cause.
- **The efforts of Tilak and Besant found some success at the 1915 Congress session.** The Extremists were admitted to Congress, although Besant's proposal for Home Rule Leagues was not approved. The Congress committed to an educative propaganda program and the revitalisation of local-level committees.
- Besant set a condition that if the Congress did not fulfil its commitments, she would establish her league. Due to Congress's lack of response, she eventually formed her league.
- **Tilak and Besant formed separate leagues to prevent conflicts.** They acknowledged that some of their supporters had reservations about each other. However, both leagues coordinated their efforts by focusing on their respective areas of work and collaborating whenever possible.

Tilak's Home Rule League

- **In April 1916, Tilak established the Indian Home Rule League.**

- The **first Home Rule League meeting organised by Tilak took place in Belgaum.**
- The league's headquarters **were in Poona (now Pune).**
- The scope of Tilak's league was limited to specific regions, namely **Maharashtra (excluding Bombay City), Karnataka, Central Provinces, and Berar.**
- The league consisted of six branches.
- The demands of the league included **Swarajya (self-rule), the creation of linguistic states, and education in the vernacular language.**

Besant's Home Rule League

- **In September 1916, Annie Besant established the All-India Home Rule League.**
- This **Home Rule League was founded in Madras** and had jurisdiction over the entire India, including Bombay City.
- It consisted of 200 branches spread across the country.
- Compared to Tilak's league, **Besant's league had a looser organisational structure.**
- **George Arundale** served as the organising secretary of the league.
- The main contributors to the league's work were **B.W. Wadia and C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.**

Home Rule Movement Overview

The Home Rule Movement in India marked a crucial milestone in the liberation struggle. It was **India's response to the First World War.** From 1916 to 1918, the movement gained momentum throughout the country.

- Prominent leaders such as **Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Annie Besant, G.S. Khaparde, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Joseph Baptista, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah** came together. They recognised the need for a year-round national alliance.

- Their primary objective was to demand self-government or **home rule for the entirety of India within the framework of the British Commonwealth.**
- This alliance was to be known as the All India Home Rule League, **drawing inspiration from the Irish Home Rule League.**

Home Rule Movement Programmes

- The Home Rule League campaign aimed to **promote the concept of self-government to the common people.**
- The campaign had a broader appeal compared to previous mobilisations and **attracted politically backward regions like Gujarat and Sindh.**
- Various methods were employed to achieve the goal, including political education, public meetings, libraries, conferences, propaganda through media, fundraising, social work, and participation in local government activities.
- The **Russian Revolution of 1917 provided additional support to the Home Rule campaign.**
- Prominent leaders such as **Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, K.M. Munshi, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the Home Rule agitation.**
- Some Moderate Congressmen were disillusioned with the Congress' inactivity, and members of **Gokhale's Servants of India Society also joined the Home Rule Movement.**
- However, Anglo-Indians, most Muslims, and non-Brahmins from the South did not join as they perceived Home Rule as Hindu majority rule, particularly by the high caste.

Government's Response Towards Home Rule Movement

The government responded to the Home Rule Movement with severe repression.

- In Madras, students were prohibited from attending political meetings.
- A case was initiated against Tilak, but the high court later rescinded it.
- Tilak was barred from entering Punjab and Delhi.
- In June 1917, Annie Besant and her associates B.P. Wadia and George Arundale were arrested, leading to nationwide protests.
- **Sir S. Subramania Aiyar renounced his knighthood in a dramatic gesture of protest.**
- Tilak advocated a program of passive resistance in response to the repression.
- The government's actions only hardened the resolve of the agitators and strengthened their determination to resist.
- Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, commented on the government's situation, using a metaphor involving Shiva and Mrs. Besant.
- Annie Besant was eventually released in September 1917.

Home Rule Movement Significance

The Home Rule League operated throughout the year, unlike the Congress Party, which had annual activities.

- The movement **gained significant support from educated Indians, with approximately 40,000 members in the combined leagues by 1917.**
- Many members of Congress and the Muslim League joined the Home Rule League, including prominent leaders such as **Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, G.S. Khaparde, and Sir S. Subramanya Iyer.**
- The movement **briefly united moderates, extremists, and the Muslim League.**
- The movement **helped spread political awareness to more regions in the country.**

- The movement's **signature achievement was the Montague Declaration of 1917:**
 - which recognised the inclusion of more Indians in the government and the development of self-governing institutions, ultimately leading to responsible governments in India.
 - The declaration also marked a shift where the demand for home rule was no longer seen as seditious. This was the movement's greatest significance.

Home Rule Movement Failures

The reasons for the decline were as follows:

- **Lack of effective organisation within the Home Rule movement**
- Communal riots occurred during 1917-18.
- The Moderates who joined the Congress after Annie Besant's arrest were appeased by discussions of reforms outlined in Montagu's August 1917 statement, which stated that self-government was the long-term goal of British rule in India, and by Besant's release.
- **The Extremists' talk of passive resistance deterred the Moderates from participating in activities starting from September 1918.**
- The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, known in July 1918, further divided the nationalist ranks. **Annie Besant herself had conflicting views on the use of the league following the announcement of the reforms and regarding passive resistance techniques.**
- Tilak had to leave for England in September 1918 due to a libel case against Valentine Chirol, whose book blamed Tilak for the political agitation in India. **With Besant unable to provide clear leadership and Tilak being away, the Home Rule Movement was left without a leader.**
- **Gandhi's fresh approach to the freedom struggle began to capture the people's imagination,** and the growing momentum of the mass

movement pushed the Home Rule Movement to the sidelines until it eventually faded away.

The Home Rule Movement marked a pivotal chapter in the struggle for India's independence from British colonial rule. Led by prominent leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant, the movement aimed to achieve self-governance and empowerment for the Indian people. It played a crucial role in galvanising the Indian population, fostering national consciousness, and paving the way for India's independence.

The Non Cooperation Movement (1921-1923)

In the history of India's struggle for freedom the part played by Gandhiji was conspicuous. The Indian national congress revived by the oncoming of Gandhiji. By way of protesting the inhuman activities of the English, Gandhiji started several movements against English government. One among them and the most important of them was the non cooperation movement which started in 1921 and was in vogue till 1923.

The reason for starting non-co-operation movement for suppressing the spirit of independence in Indians, the English government passed a black act known as Rowlat Act. In continuation of this act, a wholesale massacre took place at Jalian Walabagh of Punjab on 13th day of April 1919. This inspired Gandhiji to plunge into Indian politics with determination. When Gandhiji arrived at Madras in 1919, he discussed with the leaders the pros and cons of the non-cooperation movement which was to be used against English government. Then in the congress conference held at Nagpur in 1920 under the leadership of Vijayaraghavachari concurrence was given to this movement having Gandhiji as its leader.

The position of Tamil land during this movement several leaders from Tamilnadu attended the conference held at Nagpur. The resolution in favour of Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement brought about difference of opinions among the leaders of Tamilnadu. The leader of this movement.

Vijayaraghavachariyar expressed his opinion in favour of satyagraha. Some others opposed the resolution of Calcutta congress to boycott the council. At this critical movement Rajaji was elected as the leader of Tamilnadu congress. He worked together with Gandhiji and became his chieftain in Tamil land. Presently Tamilnadu suffered at the clutches of several political parties. Due to difference of opinion among the political parties and other problems congress could not proceed with its working plans. Anti-Brahmin campaign took place at this juncture. There was difference of opinion among the people who spoke Tamil and Telugu who in turn help prominent part in the politics of Tamil-land. One set favoured the progressive plans and some others were not for it. Particularly they gave importance only to the problems of the state and not to national problems.

Madras State Congress (1920)

Rajaji who became the leader of the Madras state congress in this critical movement, tried his level best to bring about co-operation among the leaders of the Congress and to involve themselves completely in non-co-operation movement, started by Gandhiji. Home rule party and Justice party opposed vehemently Rajaji and Congress party. Justice party found fault with Congress, saying that it was an organisation of Brahmins alone. Though, Rajaji could not seek the support of all the leaders, a resolution was passed to seek the support of all the people in favour of Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement against the English. In the congress conference held at Tirunelveli on June, 1920 most of the leaders severely criticised this resolution. To show protest against the resolution of boycott, passed at Calcutta congress, Satyamurthi and Rasthuriranghalyar resigned their chairmanship and secretaryship respectively. So also Srinivasa Iyyangar and Ramaswamy Iyyangar voted against the resolution of boycott. Finally, due to the determined efforts of the leaders Satyamurthi and Rangaswamy Iyyangar joined the non-cooperation movement and endeavoured for its success.

The starting of non-cooperation movement

The non-cooperation movement had its beginning in a critically hopeless situation. But the leaders like Rajaji, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, V.O.C. and Satyamurthi tried wholeheartedly for the success of this movement. To give more strength to this movement, the leaders instructed the people to adopt Satyagraha and to boycott foreign goods. Courts, schools, administrative councils and labor organizations started by Rajaji, the procession favouring non-cooperation movement had its start just in front of a liquor shop. In support of these movements students boycotted schools and colleges and indulged themselves in strikes. They forced the closure of shops against the rules. With the destruction of government properties in certain places, there prevailed riots throughout Tamilnadu.

The suppressive measures of the government:

At this critical juncture, the Prince of Wales visited Madras in January 13, 1922. As a way of protest against his visit, the freedom fighters observed picketing especially road picketing from the harbour to the traveller's bungalow through which the Prince of Wales had to pass. They also held obstacles to his travels. As the lathi charge of the police proved useless, they had to open fire. In this incident, two were killed and several were wounded. Many patriots were arrested and imprisoned after a lot of torture. Such incidents took place in many parts of Tamil land.

Failure of Non-Cooperation Movement

As far as Madras State is concerned, the differences which prevailed among the leaders and people on socio political basis were the reasons for the failure of the non-cooperation movement. As it was stated by Bharathiyar, the number of people participated in this movement was less in Tamilnadu when compared to other states. This movement was called the movement of Brahmins by Dravidian Organisations and it reduced the number of

participants. Another reason for the weakening, of this movement was the non-cooperation of the leaders.

When this movement was declared by Gandhiji, he instructed the people to follow non-violence. But Within a very short period of its starting, violence sprang in several parts of the country. The patriots who worked against the government plunged into violence and destruction of government properties. This kind of violent attitude paved way to opening of fire in several places and arresting of thousands, of people, to Tamil land leaders like Rajaji, E.V.R. and Ramanathan were arrested. This led to the weakening of this movement in Tamiland and other states. When Gandhiji realised the uselessness of the movement, he had withdrawn it in 1922. In the same year Gandhiji was arrested and there was a numbers in the history of struggle for India's freedom.

The reasons for the failure of non-cooperation movement Several reasons can be stated for the failure of non-cooperation movement in India especially in Tamil land. Though the people of Tamil land opposed the autocracy of English the circumstances that prevailed in the society prevented them from entering into the movement completely. The supremacy of the English in the politics and the domination of Brahmin in the society deprived the majority of the people in society of their legitimate claims and feelings. There arose many organisations to safeguard these people. Especially the justice party severely criticised the high handedness of the Brahmins. Under these circumstances the non-cooperation movement announced by Gandhiji was followed by the leaders of congress. The majority of the leaders being Brahmin the justice party and other Dravidian organisation abused this struggle as a Brahmin struggle.

This prevented the majority people of Tamil land from entering the non-cooperation movement. The leaders of this movement acted with enmity among themselves due to their differences of opinion. Gandhiji who visited

Tamil land during this time only preached about his movement; but did not try to remove the difference of opinion among the leaders. This prevented the leaders from involving themselves completely in this movement.

The anticipated support of the Muslims was not forthcoming with the settlement of Calipate by Kamal Patsha, the Sultan of Turkey. As the problem of, Muslims were over they were not compelled to take part in this movement. When Gandhiji announced this movement in Tamil land, majority of this people in Tamilnadu were unaware of the inner aim of the movement due to their illiteracy. The leaders too did not demand their support by explaining the importance of this movement to them.

Finally, the people of Tamil land showed more interest in violence quite contrary to the announcement of Gandhiji's non-violence. Hence it did not attract the people on the basis of principle. For the above reasons, a great movement expected to bring about drastic changes in politics met with complete failure, without making any visible change.

Civil Disobedience Movement

The abrupt withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement by Gandhi after the Chauri Chaura incident of February 1922 had demoralizing effect on many Congress leaders and led to a sharp decline in the national moment. The all India Congress membership went down to 106,000 in March 1923, and was only 56,000 in May 1929. The Swarajist programme of wrecking dyarchy from within petered out into council and municipal politicking. The 'No Changer' group which emphasised upon Gandhian Constructive Work in villages remained scattered and kept themselves aloof from the political developments. The remarkable Hindu-Muslim unity of the Non Cooperation-Khilafat days dissolved into widespread communal riots in the mid-1920s. For example, there was a violent anti-Hindu outburst at Kohat in the N.W. Frontier Province in September 1924. Three waves of riots in Calcutta between April and July 1926 killed about 138 people. In the same year there

were communal disturbances in Dacca, Patna, Rawalpindi, Delhi and U. P. Communal organizations proliferated. Negotiations with Jinnah over the Nehru Report plan for an alternative constitution broke down in 1927-28 largely because of Hindu Mahasabha opposition and Jinnah's obstinacy in relation to it. The Hindu-Muslim Unity of 1919-22 was never regained. However, there were many signs of the growth of anti-imperialist movement from 1928 onwards. These signs were visible in:

- Demonstrations and hartals in towns in the course of the boycott of the Simon Commission,
- Militant workers' movement in Bombay and Calcutta which alarmed Indian businessmen and British officials and capitalists alike,
- The revival of revolutionary groups in Bengal and Northern India (with Bhagat Singh's HSRA introducing a new secular and socialistic tone),
- Peasant movements in various regions, particularly the successful Bardoli Satyagraha led by Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat in 1928 against the enhancement of land revenue. During this period, when the Congress Left was emerging under Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose, slogans of Purna Swaraj rather than of only Dominion Status were voiced. After much hesitation, Gandhi accepted this change in Congress creed at the Lahore session in December 1929, setting the stage for the next major round of countrywide struggle in 1930-34. You would like to know how this new upsurge became possible, considering the extent of decline and fragmentation of the immediately preceding years. Historians of the 'Cambridge School' have tried to explain it by suggesting a direct causal link between the British policies and the ups and downs of the national movement. The appointment of the Simon Commission revived a "moribund nationalism". Irwin gave the Congress importance by talking with

Gandhi on a level of equality. But a closer look raises doubts about this entire thesis because the British policies often changed in response to nationalist pressures rather than vice-versa. For example, the all-white Simon Commission had planned a retreat even from the Montagu-Chelmsford framework in respect of the demands of Indians. But the mass upsurge of 1930 forced the British to make a promise of some sort of responsible government at the centre. Further, it was the pressure from the national movement and the heroic self-sacrifice of people which again forced Irwin to negotiate with Gandhi in February-March 1931.

Throughout 1928 and 1929 we find that political and economic tensions between British domination and a variety of Indian interests increased:

- Contradictions were enormously sharpened by the impact of the World Depression which set in from late 1929. Business groups were not happy with the British tariff policy. Lancashire textile imports were going up again, and there were growing conflicts in Calcutta between the Birlas and British jute interests, and in Bombay over coastal shipping.
- The workers facing large scale retrenchment started agitations with unprecedented militancy and organization.
- Rural tensions were sharpened by stagnation in agricultural production and by British efforts to enhance land revenue in raiyatwari areas in the late 1920s, till the Bardoli victory halted such endeavors permanently.

But socio-economic tensions did not necessarily or automatically take an anti-British turn, for the immediate oppressors would most often be Indian Zamindars, moneylenders, or millowners, groups which could have nationalist connections, or which nationalists generally tried to keep on their side. Yet a

massive country-wide upsurge did take place in 1930. Let us see, why and how it happened.

Civil Disobedience, 1930 – March 1931

The Lahore Congress (1929) had left the choice of the precise methods of non-violent struggle for Purna Swaraj to Gandhi. It was resolved that a Manifesto or pledge of Independence would be taken all over India by as many people as possible on 26 January 1930. On this date civil disobedience was supposed to commence. It was declared Independence Day.

Gandhi's Efforts Gandhi was still not sure of his plan of action. Before launching the movement he once again tried for compromise with the Government. He placed eleven points of administrative reform and stated that if Lord Irwin accepted them there would be no need for agitation. The important demands were:

- i. The Rupee-Sterling ratio should be reduced to 1s 4d,
- ii. Land revenue should be reduced by half and made a subject of legislative control,
- iii. Salt tax should be abolished and also the government salt monopoly,
- iv. Salaries of the highest grade services should be reduced by half,
- v. Military expenditure should be reduced by 50% to be begin with,
- vi. Protection for Indian textiles and coastal shipping,
- vii. All political prisoners should be discharged.

To many observers this charter of demands seemed a climb-down from Purna Swaraj. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his Autobiography:

What was the point of making a list of our political and social reforms when we were taking in terms of Independence. Did Gandhiji mean the same thing when he used this term as we did or did we speak a different language? The Government response to Gandhi's proposal was negative. Still Gandhi was hesitant. He wrote to the Viceroy

But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your ear, I shall proceed, with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most ubiquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint.

The Viceroy gave a brief reply in which he regretted that Gandhi was "contemplating a course of action which was clearly bound to involve violation of law and danger to the public peace". Gandhi in his rejoinder said, "on bended knees I asked for bread and received a stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply".

Beginning of the Movement

Gandhi took the decision to start the movement. On 12 March 1930 Gandhi started the Historic March from his Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi beach accompanied by his 78 selected followers. There Gandhi and his followers broke the law by manufacturing salt from the sea. The Programme of the movement was as follows:

- a) Salt law should be violated everywhere.
- b) Students should leave colleges and government servants should resign from service.
- c) Foreign clothes should be burnt.
- d) No taxes should be paid to the government.
- e) Women should stage a Dharna at liquor shops, etc.

The choice of salt as the central issue appeared puzzling initially. Events quickly revealed the enormous potentialities of this choice. "You planned a fine strategy round the issue of salt", Irwin later admitted to Gandhi. Salt was a concrete and a universal grievance of the rural poor, which was almost unique in having no socially divisive implications. With regard to food habits, the salt was a daily necessity of the people. It also carried with it the implications of trust, hospitality, and mutual obligations. In this sense it had a far-reaching emotional content. Moreover the breaking of the salt law meant a

rejection of the Government's claims on the allegiance of the people. In coastal areas where over the previous century indigenous salt production had been ruined by British imports, illegal manufacture of salt could provide the people a small income which was not unimportant. The manufacture of salt also became a part of Gandhian methods of constructive work like Khadi production. Rural Gandhian bases everywhere provided the initial volunteers for the salt satyagraha. Above all, the Dandi March and the subsequent countrywide violation of the salt law provided a tremendously impressive demonstration of the power of non-violent mass struggle.

What came to be undermined was the entire moral authority of the government and its self-image of being the paternalistic 'ma-baap' of the poor. An additional District Magistrate reported from Midnapur (Bengal) in November 1930 that even old villagers were talking "insolently -- the ordinary cultivator simply squatted on his haunches and laughing sarcastically said, 'We know how powerful the Sarkar is.'"

Movement Spreads

Social boycott of police and lower-level administrative officials led to many resignations. That the British realized the gravity of the threat was revealed by the sheer brutality of repression, as "unresisting men -- (were) methodically bashed into a bloody pulp", in the world of the American journalist Webb Miller. But the spectacle of unarmed, unresisting satyagrahis standing up to abominable torture aroused local sympathy and respect as nothing else could have done. The brutal repression invoked memories of innumerable acts of petty oppression by police and local officials, linking up the all India struggle with the lived day-to-day experience of the villagers. Sympathy quickly turned into participation, spreading the movement far beyond the fairly narrow confines. And such participation often took violent forms, with crowds of villagers attacking police parties. The Gandhian

restraints had been weakened, anyway, by the early removal of most of the Congress cadres by arrests.

- i) On 18 April 1930, Bengal revolutionaries inaugurated one of the most powerful and heroic epoch in the history of the revolutionary nationalist movement by seizing the Chittagong armoury, and fighting a pitched battle on Jalabad hill on 22 April. Revolutionary nationalism accompanied the whole history of Civil Disobedience in Bengal, with 56 incidents in 1930 (as compared to 47 for the decade 1919-1929). The Chittagong leader Surya Sen managed to remain underground in villages till as late as 1933, and there was the evidence of a new level of peasant sympathy. For the first time Muslims were also included in what had been a movement of educated middle class Hindu youth alone.
- ii) In Peshawar on 23 April 1930, the arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan provoked a massive upsurge, and a platoon of Garhwali Rifles (Hindu soldiers facing a Muslim crowd) refused to open fire, an instance of patriotic self-sacrifice, non-violence, and communal unity which deserves to be better remembered.
- iii) The industrial city of Sholapur in Maharashtra in early May 1930 saw a textile workers' strike, attacks on liquor shops, police outposts and government buildings, and even something like a parallel government for a few days.

The onset of the monsoon made illegal salt manufacture difficult and the Congress switched over to other forms of mass struggle, all characterised by a similar pattern of careful choice of socially non-divisive issues, followed by their broadening and radicalization through a variety of populist initiatives. The Working Committee in May 1930 sanctioned nonpayment of land revenue in raiyatwari areas, an anti-chowkidari (village police) tax in zamindari regions (not, significantly enough, no-rent), and 'forest satyagraha':

peaceful violation of forest laws restricting ageold tribal and poor peasant rights to free fodder, timber and other forest produce. The government struck back at no-tax movements through largescale confiscations of property, yet thousands of peasants heroically stood their ground, at times migrating en masse to neighboring princely states. Rural movements repeatedly went beyond the prescribed Gandhian bounds, through violent confrontation with the police at many places, and massive tribal invasions of forests in Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka. The rumour spread that the British Raj was coming to an end.

Response of Different Sections Urban intelligentsia's support for Gandhian nationalism was perhaps less in evidence in 1930 than during the Non-Cooperation Movement and there were few instances of lawyers giving up practice or students leaving official institutions to join national schools. Militant urban educated youth tended to be attracted more by revolutionary nationalism in Bengal, and in north Indian towns, Bhagat Singh's popularity briefly rivaled that of Gandhi himself. The most obvious weak point of nationalism as compared to 1919- 22, was of course Muslim participation which remained low, on the whole, except in Badshah Khan's NWFP and places like Delhi; for example only 9 out of 679 Civil Disobedience prisoners in Allahabad between 1930 and 1933 were Muslims. Social discontent turned communal in Dacca town and Kishoreganj village in May and during Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Unlike NonCooperation, Civil Disobedience did not coincide with any major labour upsurge. There were frequent hartals in town, but the Congress did not include industrial or communication strikes in its programme, much to the relief of British officials.

Such lags were largely made up by the massive peasant mobilization and considerable support from business groups, at least during the early months of Civil Disobedience. The movement, unlike Non-Cooperation, implied violations of law, arrests, and beating-up right from the beginning,

and the number of jail goers was 92,214; more than three times the 1921-22 figure. Support from Ahmedabad mill owners, Bombay merchants and petty traders (industrialists in the city being less enthusiastic), and Calcutta Marwaris headed by GD Birla can be cited as example of the solidarity of the Capitalists with the national movement at this stage. For example, the merchants in many towns took a collective pledge to give up import of foreign goods for some months. Combined with picketing and the overall impact of the Depression, there was a spectacular collapse of British cloth imports, from 1248 million yards in 1929-30 to only 523 million yards in 1930-31.

A novel and remarkable feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the widespread participation of women. The handful of postgraduate women students in 1930s still went to class escorted by their teachers, and yet there were women from far more socially conservative professional, business or peasant families, picketing shops, facing lathis, and going to jail. A U.P. Police official felt that “the Indian woman is struggling for domestic and national liberty at the same time ...” However, this sudden active role of women in politics did not produce any significant change in the conditions of women in or outside the family. Gandhian non-violence, after all, did not entail any drastic violation of the traditional image of women; rather, it was male action that had in some ways been ‘feminized’, through the emphasis upon self-sacrifice, acceptance of suffering, etc. The deeply religious ambience of Gandhi’s saintly image was perhaps even more crucial: joining the Congress movement was a new religious mission, and certain transgressions were permitted or even glorified in such a context, just as Mira had come to be venerated as a saint centuries back. The one form of women’s participation which came to be quite sharply condemned was an active role in direct revolutionary nationalist action, including assassination as happened several times in Bengal. Even Rabindranath Tagore, usually much in advance

of others in questions of women's roles, then wrote a novel – Char Adhyay (1934) – condemning such 'unfeminine' behavior.

Regional Variations

The recent spate of regional studies of Civil Disobedience has brought to light interesting variations and internal tensions. Gujarat - more specifically, Kheda district, Bardoli taluka of Surat, Ahmedabad, and the Gujarati business-cumprofessional community of Bombay City - had become the classic heartland of controlled mass mobilization through Gandhian satyagraha. Gandhian strategies and controls fitted in well with the interests of substantial landholding peasants like the Patidars of Kheda and Bardoli, where in the absence of big zamindaris, rent was not much of an issue. Rural movements tended to be more uninhibited where Congress organization was weaker, or where internal zamindar-peasant divisions were quite sharp. Thus in Central Provinces, Maharashtra or Karnataka, where Non-Cooperation had made little inroads, the Gandhian ideas had the flavour and vagueness of novelty, a near millenarian flavour could still be seen, absent in the well-established strongholds like Gujarat, coastal Andhra or Bihar. In the United Provinces, District-level comparisons have brought out clearly this inverse relationship between organization and militancy. Parts of Agra district, with a strong Congress organization and few big zamindars, followed the Bardoli pattern; talukdar-dominated Rae Baraeli saw powerful pressures from the peasants. In Bara Banki, where khadi or charkha were little in evidence, local activists were preaching that land was a gift of God and could not belong to zamindars alone. In Bengal, with its relatively weak and factionridden Congress, a near-coincidence of class with communal divisions in the eastern districts, and the presence already of a left alternative, the pattern was even more complex. There were powerful Gandhian rural movements in parts of West Bengal like Midnapur, Arambagh sub-division, and Bankura; a Praja movement was developing among Muslim rich peasants

which was aloof or hostile regarding Civil Disobedience; and in one Muslim-majority district, Tippera, Congress activists were combining agrarian radicalism with nationalism in ways branded as 'rank Bolshevism' by Government officials and local Hindu landlords.

1932-34: Civil Disobedience Again

Outmanoeuvred and facing repressive measures on an entirely unprecedented scale, the national movement still fought on valiantly for about a year and a half. 120,000 people were jailed in the first three months - an indication, however, not so much of a more extensive movement than in 1930, but of more intense and systematic repression, for the figures soon began to decline fairly fast. Bombay city and Bengal were described as the "two black spots" by Willingdon in April 1932: Gujarati small traders were still staunchly with the Congress, and Bengal remained a nightmare partly because of sporadic agrarian unrest and more due to revolutionary nationalist activities (104 incidents, the highest ever, in 1932; 33 in 1933). Rural response seems to have been less on the whole than in 1930, though a village like Ras in Kheda was still withholding revenue in 1933, despite confiscation of 2000 acres, public whipping, and electric shocks.

As the mass movement gradually declined in face of ruthless repression, political 'realism' combined with economic calculations of certain sections of Indians pushed Indian big business towards collaboration with the British. Bombay millowners concluded the Lees-Mody Pact in October 1933, aligning with Lancashire out of fear of Japanese competition. Ahmedabad businessmen and GD Birla bitterly denounced this betrayal, but Birla and Thakurdas from 1932 onwards were themselves pressing the Congress for a compromise.

Gandhi in jail not unnaturally began to think in terms of an honourable retreat. He suspended Civil Disobedience temporarily in May 1933, and formally withdrew it in April 1934. The Mahatma decided to make Harijan

work the central plank of his new rural constructive programme. This was his answer to the British policy of Divide and Rule which found expression in the official Communal Award declared early in 1932 by Ramsay Macdonald. The Award provided for separate Hindu, 'Untouchable', and Muslim electorates for the new Federal legislatures, treating Hindus and Harijans as two separate political entities. Gandhi opposed this Award. He demanded reservation of more seats for Harijans within the Hindu electorate. Ambedkar accepted Gandhi's stand. Another section of Congress preferred to go back to Council politics, and so the scenario of the mid 1920s appeared to be repeating itself. The 1935 Government of India Act was considerably more retrogressive than earlier drafts, for it was drawn up at a point when the British seemed triumphant.

Aftermath

That the Government's sense of victory' had been largely illusory was, quickly revealed, however, when the Congress swept the polls in most provinces in 1937. The Congress had been defeated by superior brute force, but its mass prestige was as high as ever. The Left alternatives emerged from the logic of Civil Disobedience itself, for the Movement had aroused expectations which Gandhian strategy could not fulfill. At the level of leadership, Nehru (and, less consistently, Bose) voiced the new mood, emphasising the need to combine nationalism with radical social and economic programmes. Some Congress activists formed a socialist ginger-group within the party in 1934. Kisan Sabhas with anti-zamindar programmes developed rapidly in provinces like Bihar and Andhra. The Communists, too, were recovering from the Meerut arrests and their own folly of keeping away from Civil Disobedience, and a significant section of disillusioned revolutionary nationalists and some Gandhian activists were moving towards them.

In this changed situation, the dominant groups within the Congress were able to retain control only by a series of adjustments and openings towards the left, though usually at the level of programmatic statements and not action. Thus land reforms directed towards curbing and eventually abolishing zamindari were coming to be included in the official Congress programme by the mid-1930s, in total contrast to all earlier pronouncements. An early indication of such a shift was the Karachi declaration on fundamental rights and economic policy, made significantly just after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This declaration was very moderate in content, yet reductions were promised, for the first time, not only in revenue but in rent, and living wages and trade union rights also entered the Congress programme. Peasant upsurges which had constituted so much of the real strength of Civil Disobedience like the labour unrest of the late 1920s, had not been entirely futile. Though crucial political controls within the national movement remained elsewhere, much of the Congress language and rhetoric, and some actual policies, did have to take a leftward direction as a consequence of the growing assertiveness of these sections of Indian society.

The **Vedaranyam March** (also called the **Vedaranyam Satyagraha**) was a framework of the nonviolent civil disobedience movement in British India. Modeled on the lines of Dandi March, which was led by Mahatma Gandhi on the western coast of India the month before, it was organised to protest the salt tax imposed by the British Raj in the colonial India.

C. Rajagopalachari, a close associate of Gandhi, led the march which had close to 150 volunteers, most of whom belonged to the Indian National Congress. It began at Trichinopoly (now Tiruchirappalli) on 13 April 1930 and proceeded for about 150 mi (240 km) towards the east before culminating at Vedaranyam, a small coastal town in the then Tanjore District. By collecting salt directly from the sea the marchers broke the salt law. As a part of the march, Rajagopalachari created awareness among the people by

highlighting the importance of Khadi as well as social issues like caste discrimination. The campaign came to an end on 28 April 1930 when the participants were arrested by the colonial police force. Its leader Rajagopalachari was imprisoned for six months. The march along with the ones at Dandi and Dharasana drew worldwide attention to the Indian independence movement.

Background

In response to a nationwide protest of the British salt tax, Mahatma Gandhi decided to initiate a march to Dandi—then a small village in the Bombay Presidency—on the western coast of India.^[1] When Gandhi's choice of salt was not welcomed by his peers, C. Rajagopalachari ably supported the idea and took part in the Salt March, which was organised on 12 March 1930.

A month later, Rajagopalachari was unanimously elected as the president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee (TNCC) at the conference held in Vellore.^[3] T. S. S. Rajan was elected as the secretary, while Panthulu Iyer, Swaminatha Chetty, Lakshmipathi, A. Vaidyanatha Iyer and N. S. Varathachariyar were among the prominent members of the committee. In the meanwhile, the party headquarters was shifted from Madras to Trichinopoly.^[4] A month later, Rajagopalachari intended to initiate a protest—on the lines of Dandi March—on the eastern coast to make salt at Vedaranyam, Tanjore District, Madras Presidency.^{[5][6]} Rajaji initially thought of choosing Kanyakumari, the point where the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean confluence with each other. Since the TNCC had decided not to conduct Satyagraha in non-native states, Kanyakumari, which was then a part of the princely state of Travancore, was ruled out.^[4] Vedaratnam Pillai, an active congressman and a resident of Vedaranyam, convinced Rajaji that his hometown be the preferred destination. Rajaji agreed with his idea as there were "convenient" salt marshes at the

Agasthiampalli salt factory, which was located near Vedaranyam. Further, Pillai was also a licensee of the salt factory and had knowledge about the manufacturing of salt. Further, Rajaji was influenced by the location of the town; it was a part of the Tanjore District, which was a Congress stronghold.

The March

As soon as the venue was finalised, Rajaji made further preparations for the march. A Government record pointed out that he was very much concerned about modeling the march on the lines of Gandhi's Dandi March. He estimated that a minimum sum of ₹20,000 was needed to organise the rally. He successfully managed to collect the funds with the help of Saurashtrians of Madurai and South Indians in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Rajaji had formulated an advance guard that consisted of T. S. S. Rajan, G. Ramachandran and Thiruvannamalai N. Annamalai Pillai. Even before the march took off, the guard traveled along the proposed route and met the villagers to ensure support from them. Rajan was in charge of fixing the halt points for the march and took care of food and accommodation at each stage. The promulgation of section 157 of the Indian Penal Code made it a difficult task for Rajan. J. A. Thorne, the district collector of Tanjore, issued a warning that those who provide food and accommodation to the marchers shall be punished. He tried his best by widely publicising his order throughout his jurisdiction.

The committee had received nearly 1000 applications for participating in the march. After scrutinising the applications, Rajaji selected a team of ninety-eight volunteers, most of them being young clerks, students and graduates. Out of the first batch, twenty-four were from Madurai, fifteen from Tirunelveli, twelve from Ramanathapuram, eleven from Madras, nine from Tiruchengodu, nine from Bombay, seven from Tanjore, five from Trichinopoly, four from Coimbatore and one each from North Arcot and Srirangam. Other prominent members included, Rukmini

Lakshmipathi, K. Kamaraj, Aranthangi C. Krishnaswamy, M. Bhaktavatsalam and Rajaji's son, C. R. Narasimhan. In addition, social activists like A. Vaidyanatha Iyer and G. Ramachandran joined the rally.

The march commenced on 13 April 1930, coinciding with the Puthandu (Tamil New Year), from Rajan's house in Trichinopoly Cantonment.^{[3][10][11]} As soon as the marchers reached Tanjore, Rajaji avoided the usual route to Vedaranyam, and instead chose a "circuitous" route via Kumbakonam, Valangaiman, Semmangudi, Needamangalam and Thiruthurai as he hoped that the marchers would receive hospitality in these places. He had organised fifteen sub committees to ensure a smooth functioning of the march. The idea was to gather enough support among the people by drawing their attention. They planned to cover a stretch of 10 miles each day for a period of about 15 days, thus reaching the destination before the stipulated time.

The Madras Government took a series of measures to bring an end to the march. It ordered the district officers to organize public meetings to persuade people upon the "impracticability" of the march and issued orders to arrest the participants of the march. Other preventive measures included, censoring news items related to the march and taking actions against the editors of the nationalist newspapers. Parents were warned not to send their children to participate in the satyagraha. The telegrams of the volunteers were confiscated, and the Government servants were cautioned about the consequences of participating in the march.

Commencement of the march

The 98 volunteers assembled at Rajan's house in Trichinopoly on 12 April 1930, while Rajaji reached the venue on the previous day from Tuticorin. All of them stayed at Rajan's Bungalow in Tiruchirappalli Cantonment. At about 5 a.m. on the next day morning, Rajaji, who was 51 at the time, began the march along with the volunteers and headed for

Vedaranyam. The marchers sang the hymn "Ragupathi Raagava Rajaram" and a Tamil song which was composed by Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai for the march.

Right from the beginning of the march, the volunteers faced many disruptions. When they reached Koviladi, a small village on the banks of Kaveri, they were denied accommodation at a famous inn. However, they found alternative accommodation on the banks of the river, while Rajaji stayed at a private house. Rajaji also had a code of conduct for the volunteers under which consumption of coffee and tobacco products, and smoking was prohibited.

As the marchers proceeded towards Tanjore District, its "astute and energetic" Collector J. A. Thorne (ICS) found ways to prevent them from proceeding further. Using newspapers, leaflets (printed in Tamil), town-criers and press, Thorne informed the would-be hosts that anyone offering food or shelter to the marchers was liable to six-months of imprisonment and fine. When Rajagopalachari learned of the collector's order, he said that he could understand the mindset of his own people better than a British ICS officer could and remarked, "Thorne and thistles cannot stem this tide of freedom." Panthulu Iyer, an ex-member of the Legislative Council and a resident of Kumbakonam, ignored Thorne's order and provided accommodation for the marchers for two days and arranged a grand dinner for them at his house. He was arrested and sentenced to six months of imprisonment. A few government servants who welcomed the marchers at Semmangudi lost their jobs.

On 25 April, the marchers reached Tiruthuraipoondi and had planned to stay at a choultry which was managed by Ramachandra Naidu, a close associate of Pillai. Despite the collector's warning, Naidu provided accommodation to the marchers at his choultry. His actions led to him being arrested by the police the following day. The arrest of Iyer and Naidu

frightened the people. Pillai, however, convinced the people that they could provide food without being caught by the police. As a result, food packets were found tied to the branches of roadside trees, and when the group rested on the banks of Kaveri there were indicators where huge food containers were buried. The policemen, who were deployed to suppress the marchers, suffered from starvation when local residents refused them food and water. The Indian staff who were employed by the British stopped performing their daily activities, while barbers and washermen refused to serve the government employees.

During the march, Rajagopalachari and the marchers highlighted the importance of Civil Disobedience Movement as well as khadi and social issues like caste discrimination. They socialised with the untouchables and refrained from entering the temples in which the former were denied entry. They also swept the streets of the villages and spoke up for the unity of Hindus and Muslims.

Defiance of salt laws

Despite numerous obstacles, the group reached Vedaranyam on 28 April 1930, 15 days after setting out. When Gandhi was informed he wrote back: "It is good that our hands and feet are tied so that we can sing with joy. God is the help of the helpless." The police, despite their previous failures, tightened the security at Vedaranyam to prevent the marchers from collecting salt. As soon as the group reached Vedaranyam, Rajagopalachari called for more participants and publicly declared that the salt laws would be broken on 30 April. Pillai offered accommodation to the group by constructing a camp on the shore. On the same day, when Rajaji and 16 others moved to the Edanthevar salt swamp, which was about 2 miles (3.2 km) from the camp. A police force led by the District Superintendent arrived at the spot and asked the group to surrender. When they refused, Rajagopalachari was arrested under section 74 of the Salt Act, and was produced before the district

magistrate Ponnusamy Pillai. He was sentenced to six-months of imprisonment and was sent to the Trichinopoly Central Prison

Aftermath

The following day, shops all over the province remained closed. Despite repeated arrests and the use of brutal force by the police, people continued to make salt at Vedaranyam. The collector, Thorne, who at first had been confident of his ability to prevent the march, was forced to report to his superiors: "If there ever existed a fervid sense of devotion to the (British) Government, it is now the defunct". Despite repeated arrests, people continued to make salt and Thorne ordered the police to lathi charge the crowd. Eventually he ordered a "wholesale" arrest, which led to 375 people in the district being arrested for protesting against the British. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, who was imprisoned for one year, became the first woman to serve a jail term for participating in the Salt Satyagraha movement.^[8] Kamaraj was arrested for exhorting 300 people to volunteer the march and inciting them to prepare salt. Since he did not refute the charges, he was sentenced to two years of rigorous imprisonment. At first, he was sent to the Trichinopoly before being transferred to the Bellary Central Jail.

Gandhi's visits to Tamil Nadu had a profound and lasting impact on the region's role in the Indian freedom struggle. His first visit to Madras (now Chennai) in 1915, shortly after returning from South Africa, helped him establish a connection with local leaders and the people of Tamil Nadu. Gandhi's presence and speeches in Tamil Nadu inspired many individuals to join the national movement, and his ideas of **Satyagraha** (non-violent resistance), **Swadeshi**, and **Khadi** resonated strongly in the region.

During his visit in 1921, as part of the **Non-Cooperation Movement**, Gandhi called upon the people of Tamil Nadu to boycott foreign goods and promote indigenous industries like hand-spinning and weaving. This led to widespread participation in the movement, with students, women, and the

working class actively involving themselves in the protests. Tamil Nadu became a center for the Khadi movement, and people began adopting simple, hand-woven garments as a symbol of resistance to British textiles.

In addition to this, Gandhi's appeal for **communal harmony** had a significant impact on Tamil society. His message of unity between Hindus and Muslims, as well as his advocacy for the upliftment of the Dalits, known as Harijans, found supporters in Tamil Nadu. The region saw the rise of leaders like **C. Rajagopalachari** and **K. Kamaraj**, who would later play prominent roles in India's freedom struggle and post-independence politics.

Gandhi's subsequent visits to Tamil Nadu, especially after the **Salt March** in 1930, further strengthened the spirit of resistance in the region. His call to break the salt laws saw massive participation from Tamil Nadu, where leaders like **Rajaji** organized similar marches to defy British rule. Gandhi's presence in Tamil Nadu helped to intensify the **Civil Disobedience Movement** and brought the struggle to the doorsteps of the common people.

The impact of Gandhi's visits can also be seen in the growth of local newspapers like **Swadesamitran** and **The Hindu**, which carried his speeches and ideas to the masses. His influence in Tamil Nadu left a legacy of political activism, with many future leaders adopting his methods of non-violence, simplicity, and service to society.

Quit India Movement

The adverse consequences of the Second World War affected Indian politics largely. When second world war was declared by English against Germany on 3 September 1939 the Indian Governor General also declared war against Germany on behalf of India without consulting the Indian Council. The members of the council and the patriots disliked and condemned this autocratic attitude of the English. To protest against this the Ministers of the states decided to resign. As a result of this the Ministry headed by Rajaji in

Tamilnadu also resigned. This move at this critical situation threw the English government into great shock.

To bring out a peaceful negotiation in this problem in India, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India, on 22 day of March, 1942 by British government. The efforts taken by the Cripps to bring about co-operation failed utterly. Provoked by this Indian leaders with the help of the people plunged into a new phase of struggle known as 'Quit India'. The congress working committee held on 14, 1942 passed a resolution demanding complete freedom to India. This resolution was published in the news papers with the heading 'Quit India'. On this basis, a resolution was passed in the Congress Committee partaken by Gandhiji in 1942 to have a large scale struggle. The very next day of this resolution leaders like Gandhiji, Azad and Patel, were arrested. This action of the English led the way to a complete restlessness in the land.

The outcome of this struggle reflected in Tamil land also. Leaders like Kamaraji and Prakasam gathered people towards the victory of this movement. Though the government dismissed congress party, this movement strengthened in Tamil land with the whole hearted participation of workers, students, traders politicians and ordinary people. Processions and meeting were held against the English. The picketing took place in front of the toddy shops and government offices. People set fire to government properties and offices. Within a very short period the propagation, against the government spread like a wild fire throughout the land and. the people became furious.

The Quit India Movement affected Madras largely. The Workers of Buckingham and Carnatic factories, Madras fort and Madras Corporation made a walkout. Extremism strengthened day-by-day and Madras city was paralysed. This movement was spread in Coimbatore also. Factories were closed. Trains carrying the manufactured goods were stopped then and there Particullary train which carried gun powder was stopped between Bhoothanoor and Chinganalur. The liquor shops were closed in Coimbatore

and some were put to fire. The municipality of Coimbatore passed a resolution in favour of this movement and it was dissolved permanently. Government office was picketed. Police stations were destroyed. The buildings inside the aerodromes were demolished. The village people also involved themselves in such activities. The similar activities took place in North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingelpet. The people of North Arcot cut short the communication facilities and set fire to government offices. Road blocking there had been a regular feature. In the movements at South Arcot and Chingelpet more of students participated. Many extremist activities took place in these places.

Due to the activities, of this movement at Madurai the city paralysed. Dharnas were observed in front of toddy-shops and several other shops were picketed. People who engaged themselves in road blocking heaped stones across the road and paralysed the transportation. Transport buses and government offices were set fire. Communication was curtailed. The government offices who acted against this movement were attacked by the freedom fighters. Taluk Boards were dissolved at Madurai, Dindugal and Palani taluks in support of this movement. The government declared suppressive orders against this movement. Police and military were let loose to subdue this movement. This put the people of this locality to a lot of trouble.

The flame of independence struggle was in full swing at Ramnad district. People arose in revolt under the leadership of Kumaraswamy Raja and Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Devar in places like Karaikkudi, Devakottai, Thiruvadhanai, Poolankurichi etc. Many rioters were shot dead. The court, treasury and the Registrar office at Devakottai were set on fire. The railway station at Nadarjapuram and Municipal school at Karaikkudi were burnt to ashes. The post office at Poolankurichi was devastated. As a protest against this struggle the district board at Ramnad and municipality at Virudhunagar were dissolved.

The freedom fighters plunged into activities against the government at Salem and Tanjore. Public meetings were held against the orders of the government in Tanjore district. To establish peace police conducted lathie charge and several were arrested and imprisoned. One M.Ramanathan was arrested and put in prison for he was involved in anti-government activities at Sirkali. But unfortunately he escaped without punishment.

The "Quit India" movement was in full swing at Tirunelveli. As a protest against the suppressive attitude of the government the Tirunelveli district board and the municipality were permanently dissolved. To oppose the police force the extremists adopted gorilla warfare. Those who violated the orders of the government were arrested; significantly Kamarajan and Rajagopal of Kulasekharapattinam. The contribution of Kamaraj towards the victory of this movement was of great importance. He convened secret meetings and gathered support in favour of this movement having dose contact with the leaders and noticing the situation very carefully.

The approach of the government:

As the situation had gone out of the control, the government led loose the suppressive measure one after another. Thereby the government banned the public meeting and picketing. Collective penalties were levied on the people to subdue the rioters. Many died of police firing. The angry people devastated the government properties in the cities; plundered the village; set fire to government offices. As a result of this struggle, thousand and eight people were wounded in India between the time of August and November in 1942. Moreover, 327\$ people were wounded, and about a lakh of people were arrested.

Reasons for the weakening of this movement

Congress leaders involved in this movement vehemently tried to subdue the autocratic attitude of the government. But the political situation in the Tamil land and the activities of the regional parties here made the struggle

weak. Due to the opposition of the Justice party towards the Congress party, they did not show much interest favouring this movement. Furthermore, E.V.R. started the struggle demanding independent Dravida State in conjunction with the national movement. This reduced the intensity of the national struggle. During the world war when the German force began to attack Russia, the disturbed communists withdrew their support to their movement and supported the government. Utilising this opportunity, leaders like Mohan Kumaramangalam, Remamurthi and Anandan Nambiar re-directed the people against the industrialists and land lords. This forced the Congress to curtail the link of Communists from the national struggle. For these reasons the "Quit India Movement" started by Gandhiji met with the failure in India as well as in Tamilnadu. When the ferociousness of the world war was cooled the leaders of the struggle were released from prison. Gandhiji on May 6, 1944 and others in 1945.

Towards Independence: 1945-1947

Introduction

In the earlier Unit, you have been familiarized with the various constitutional processes at work, political developments and their crystallization, the political maturing of certain sections of Indian society and finally the breakout of the Second World War and its consequences. As a result of all this the 1940s witnessed a vastly different political scenario. New tensions and conflicts emerged. The relationship, mainly conflictual, between the rulers and the ruled acquired new dimensions, and the range of political activities became much wider as the possibility of independence began taking shape. There were now on the one hand, new attempts being made for a negotiated settlement, for a peaceful transfer of power -- a politics of the negotiating chamber. On the other hand, the popular upsurges for freedom, dissatisfied with the methods of negotiation, looked for different outlets. These outlets were found in various confrontations with the British and were

different from the politics of the negotiating chamber. During this period the separatist politics also raised its head and the movement for Pakistan gathered greater momentum

The situation thus, was very complex. All streams of politics – nationalist as well as communalist -- were attempting for a transfer of power. But the popular struggles, direct anti-British fights as well as the anti-feudal struggles, challenged the British authority on a different plank. In this Unit we will attempt to unfold some of the complex characteristics and the different dimensions of India's struggle for freedom during 1945-47.

Background: India and the Raj

The period 1945-47 represents a climax of the political events of the preceding decades. It is important therefore, to have a look at the background to the development which took place in these decisive years. In particular, it was the Second World War and its impact on the British government and the Indian people which shaped the course of some of the events. Let us now look at how the War affected the Government, its policies and various sections of the Indian population.

Second World War: Impact on the Indians From the decline of the "Quit India" movement to the collapse of the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) in the Second World War, between 1943 and 1945, the Indian political scene was apparently rather quiet. Beneath the surface, however, disquiet was building up steadily over the acute War-time sufferings of the people. The Raj could hardly cope with this disquietude, despite all its show of strength, and only hoped to side-track it by leaning more heavily on diversionary tactics than ever before.

Popular distress was due primarily to an inflation caused by the channelizing of Indian products (agricultural, as well as industrial) to meet the military needs, and through a fall in imports of consumer goods (from British) to the Indian civilians. It was further accentuated by the British failure to pay

for the Indian contribution to the defence expenditure and the growing volume of their debt to India. For example, if we take 100 as the base for prices in 1939 the following figures show the rise during the year 1941-44.

Very exorbitant prices. Artificial, abnormal scarcities were thus added to the normal scarcities that resulted from ceaseless supplies to the Allied armies. Basic items were not ordinarily available to the public and when they did show up in extraordinary circumstances, the common man could hardly afford them. While the suppliers to the military – “the war contractors” – the hoarders and “the black-marketeers” were having a field day, the consumers in general, and even the producers and the industrial workers, were forced to live through a harrowing time. Such precarious economic rope-dancing could only result in gave disasters if:

the climate turned harsh and the crops failed;

- If the food procurers for the Government bungled their work and those for the army overdid theirs;
- If the officials mismanaged the movements of food grains from one place to another; and
- If the military adopted a “scorched earth” policy in a region to stem the apprehended march of an invading army.

As the cumulative effect of some of these disorders, a gruesome tragedy in fact took place in Bengal in the latter half of 1943 when a devastating famine – suspected largely to be “man-made” or the handiwork of an apathetic officialdom – starved more than 3 million people to death. Though not actually ravaged by famines, the condition of the rest of India was not much better than that of Bengal and presented more or less a uniform picture of the depressed countryside and the gloomy urban centres. Clearly, the suffering people had reached by 1945 almost the end of their tether, and the so-called all-powerful Raj could do very little to reverse the trend.

Second World War: Impact on the British Government

With a World War at hand, the British were also not really in a position to deal efficiently with the Indian situation, their eyes being fixed wholly on the prosecution of the fight, they had neither the time nor the inclination to bother about the plight of the Indians, or to ponder over the Indian reactions. And when the war came to a close, the Raj was too exhausted, too much in need for a respite, to start setting its Indian house in order afresh. The situation had changed considerably:

The European element in its armed forces was already hankering for demobilization - for an opportunity to go home - rather than staying on indefinitely in India;

- To many Britons India did no more appear to be an ideal place for their civil and military careers or an easy field for their protected expatriate entrepreneurship.
- It was no longer convenient, even impossible, in the face of obvious Indian hostility, to make use of India's economy for furthering Britain's global trade interests, except by forcibly silencing all opposition.
- The extent of force that Britain had to use upon India in its desperate bid for survival in 1942 was extremely difficult to repeat at the end of the war in 1945, and that, too, on an anticipated massive scale.
- Financially, India was no more a debtor to Britain, and Britain; on the contrary, Britain had become hugely indebted to India.
- Administratively, the Indian Civil Service – the famed “steel frame” of the empire – was reduced during the war to a wholly run-down state.

Harassed by such crisis-management duties as holding the prices, ensuring the supplies, tackling the famines or famine-like conditions, hunting the “fifth-columnists”, sounding air-raid signals, enforcing “black-outs”, and burdened with the ever-increasing weight of the daily executive and judicial

chores, the capabilities of a meagre number of men in the ICS were stretched so further that they did not seem to be able to carry on for long without being broken down completely. To make matters worse, the enlistment of the Britons for the war took precedence over their recruitment in the ICS, and the British entry into the cadre practically stopped at the height of the war in 1943. Irrespective of its putting up a brave face, the Raj had little reason to feel very secure with a minority of loyal Europeans in the ranks in the mid-1940 (587 in number) alongside an Indian majority (614 in total) of uncertain proclivities in a rapidly changing circumstance. The days of classical imperialism had come apparently to an end with the termination of the World War.

End of the War: The British Policy

Evidently after the war, it was no longer convenient for a metropolitan country – and far less profitable – to rule directly over a colony for the systematized reaping of all the economic advantages from it. However, the Second World War by no stretch of imagination marked the collapse of imperialism, rather it had heralded its survival, and opened up the possibility of rejuvenation on new lines – neo-colonialism.

That the Indian nationalists would not be willing to play into the hands of the puppeteers, and that a battle-weary and an internally wrecked Britain could not again be in a position to dominate the world market, did hardly discourage the British to dream on the wild neo-colonialist lines. Playing up the divergences of a pluralist people was expected by the British to be as useful in their tactical retreat from India as it certainly had been throughout in fostering the Raj's advance.

Of all the distinctions among Indians that the imperial authorities tried to magnify, and make use of, those between the followers of two co-existing religious, Hinduism and Islam, or between the Hindu majority and the substantial Muslim minority, proved to be the most effective. On most of the

important public matters, the Raj had succeeded in subtly setting one of these two communities against the other, by acknowledging the Muslim League as the only representative body of the Indian Muslims, by casting doubts on the nationalist character of a “Hinduised” Indian National Congress, and by using the League as a Political force to counter-balance the Congress. The way the Raj utilized the League’s demand for a Pakistan to thwart all constitutional negotiations with the Congress at the initial stage of the war, the manner in which it allowed the League practically through the back door (in the absence of the Congress from the legislative scene on account of the “Quit India” movement) to take over some of the provincial ministries, and the sardonic pleasure with which its officials noted the spreading of the League’s sphere of influence among the Muslims with the aid of intrigues and dispersal of official patronages – all clearly point to the careful building of a backlash that could thwart the progress of the anti-imperialist movement.

Congress and the Muslim League

On their part, the nationalist leaders could do precious little to counter the Pakistan Movement. Their self-righteous desire to do away with communalism merely through denunciation, disregard, and their criticism of the retrograde feudal leadership of the League however failed to check its growth because:

They made no serious attempts to contact the Muslim masses for wining them away from the League’s hold

The idioms which they spoke in, like *Bande Matram*, *Ramrajya*, etc, were used by the League to propagate against them among the Muslims.

What seemed worst from the nationalist viewpoint -- and contrary to all their great expectations – was not that the League had been benefiting from the exercise of some political leverage under the Raj’s shadow, but that its scheme of Pakistan – supposedly the panacea for all the evils of the Muslims – had gradually been attracting a considerable following among them.

- i) The educated Muslim middle class and the Muslim business interests started welcoming the severance of a part of the Indian SubContinent where they would not suffer from the unequal competition with the long-standing and overbearing Hindu business houses and professionals.
- ii) To this possibility of a Muslim hegemony over jobs and business in a region, was being added the anxiety of the Muslim peasants in Punjab and Bengal for freedom in a future Pakistan from the Hindu Bania and Zamindari exploitation.

The League's support-base among the Indian Muslims was broadening. This afforded its supremo, M.A. Jinnah, with an opportunity to assume – with unflinching British approval – an increasingly obstinate bargaining posture vis-à-vis the Congress. Jinnah's obstinacy was apparent as early as in July 1944 when he set Gandhi's belated initiative for a Congress-League rapprochement at naught, and refused to budge – even at the risk of weakening the over-all Indian claim for independence – from his obsessive demand for a wholesome Pakistan (comprising the Muslim-majority provinces of Sind, Punjab, Baluchistan, North West Frontier Provinces, Bengal and Assam in their entirety). The situation admirably suited the interests of the British, who could use it either to perpetuate their post-war imperial rule over India – at the best or to break-up at the worst – the Indian empire to their ulterior advantage. Howsoever distasteful to the common man and woman, and disconcerting for their hopes and aspirations, the communal tangle and the Pakistan issue were to dominate the Indian proceedings between 1945 and 1947.

The development during these crucial years ran on two perceptible lines:

The level of high politics for bringing about a negotiated settlement among the Congress, the League and the Raj on India's political future.

The level of popular actions for demonstrating sporadically the urge the Indian masses felt for resistance against the British and their indigenous collaborators. Although the two lines did hardly ever converge, they nevertheless attracted and distracted each other and constituted together the history of the three fateful years that culminated in the partition and independence of India.

Attempts at a Negotiated Settlements

Once the tide of the war turned in their favour, the British started realizing by the end of 1944 generally that the Indian situation should not be allowed to remain where it stood after the Quit India Movement. They realized that it would be impossible to hold India by force for long. A dialogue, therefore, had to begin with the imprisoned Congress leaders, at least for preventing them in future from taking advantage of an explosive post-war situation of economic hardships and unemployment. According to Wavell, the energies of the Congress and its fellow-travellers were required to be directed from the path of agitation into “some more profitable channel, i.e. into dealing with the administrative problems of India and into trying to solve the constitutional problems”. Churchill and his men stubbornly resisted this line of thinking till the termination of the war came in full view (with the surrender of Germany in May 1945) and the war-time Coalition Government in Britain was scheduled to make room for a freshly elected one.

The Simla Conference

Eventually permitted by the home authorities to set the ball of negotiations rolling, the Viceroy, Wavell, ordered on 14 June 1945 the release of all the Congress Working Committee members, and invited them along with others, notably the League leaders, to join in a Conference in Simla (24 June - 14 July 1945) for setting up a new Executive Council at the Centre -- practically Indian in composition -- excepting the Commander in Chief and of course, the Viceroy, presiding over its deliberations. The Council would have

equal representation from the so-called “Caste Hindus” and Muslims, and it should function within the existing constitutional arrangement without its being responsible to the legislature.

The British in fact were lukewarmly agreeable to discuss the making of a new constitution only at the actual end of the war. While attending the conference, the Congress naturally refused to be treated as a “Caste Hindu” body and, asserting its secular nationalist character, staked the right to select the representatives of any community, including Muslims (of whom Abul Kalam Azad and Abudal Ghaffar Khan presented themselves in Simla in the capacities of the leaders and distinguished members respectively of the Congress delegation), as the Congress nominees to the council. The league, which insisted -- more obdurately than with reason -- on its having the sole agency to speak for every Indian Muslim, objected to the Congress stand, and claimed an absolute jurisdiction for choosing all the Muslim members of the Council. The Claim even embarrassed the Viceroy who felt that the loyal Unionist Muslims, or those in power in Punjab without compromising themselves with the League, deserved some representation.

Not satisfied with this, the League further demanded a communal veto by asking for a two-third majority in the proposed Council, instead of a simple one, on any decision opposed by the Muslim members (or its own nominees) and related to the Muslim interest. In his anxiety for encouraging the League’s intransigent posture, and brushing aside the Congress offer to join the Council by keeping it open for the League to step in later, the Viceroy, Wavell, abruptly decided to abandon the British proposals and dissolve the Simla Conference. Judging by the subsequent development, his action implied not only an official recognition of the League’s monopoly to speak for all Muslims, and thereby inflated its stature in the Muslim eyes, but he also seemed to have conceded to the League in Substance the power to Negate any

future Negotiation that did not suit its own convenience. Hereafter, the satisfaction of the League became a pre-requisite to any major settlement.

The Labour in Power

Following a massive victory in the general elections, the British Labour Party came into power in Britain in July 1945 which thereby raised hopes for an early settlement of the Indian question. Known for their sympathies with the nationalist cause in India, the Labour leaders had already committed themselves to freeing India, if and when they were voted to power. They had also agreed to grant India freedom by transferring authority from the British to the Indian hands. So unequivocal appeared to be the position of the Labour Party on the issue of Indian independence, and so complete was its electoral victory, that even the Viceroy of India shuddered at the possibility of the new British rulers handing over India “to their Congress friends as soon as possible”. What Wavell did not know initially, but came to understand soon with some satisfaction, was that the Labourite enthusiasm for making a promise, without being in office, could not be the same for keeping it when in office. If the Whigs and Tories in Britain, or for that matter the Tories and the Liberals there, did not drastically differ in the past in their attitudes towards the maintenance of the Indian Empire, despite the difference in ideology, why should the Labours not agree – in spite of their socialist affectation – with many of the Conservatives, bureaucrats and vested interests on the most advantageous ways of dismantling it? Apparently, the Labours were as willing as the conservatives and the British officials to:

Let the Communalists holding all others in India to ransom.

- Silence popular outbursts in the country by the use of brute force,
- Become obsessed with the defence of British overseas interests, and
- Actually employ British-Indian troops in Indo-China and Java to prop up the French and the Dutch imperialists, respectively.

Consistent with the tenor of its overall approach, the first moves that the Attlee Government made in India were hardly path-breaking, or which a non-Labour Government could not make. It asked the Viceroy to announce on 21 August 1945, the holding of new elections for the Indian Legislatures in the approaching winter of 1945-46. The elections were not only overdue for the centre (last elected in 1934), as well as for the provinces (last elected in 1937), but also essential for reopening the constitutional game – the wrangles and squabbles in the name of negotiations. Viceroy was prompted further to renew on 19 September 1945 the promises of “early full self government” for India (refusing carefully to use the term “independence”), discussions with the elected legislators and the representatives of the Indian princes on the formation of a Constituent Assembly for undertaking fresh constitutional arrangements (by-passing conveniently the previous Labourite assurance to elect a Constituent Assembly on “universal suffrage”) and efforts to be made once again for setting up the Viceroy’s Executive Council with nominees from the main Indian parties .

Elections and the Cabinet Mission

The elections were duly held in the winter of 1945-46. By the time the elections took place, the Muslim League – following the congenial aftermath of the Simla Conference, and dangling of the carrot of Pakistan -- was in a favourable situation to deal with its separate Muslim electorate. For the Muslim traders and middle classes, to the dream of MusalmanonkiHukumat and the Indian Muslim’s special right of self-determination was added the fervent religious cry of “Islam in danger”. Although the Congress was at the crest of its popularity, especially with the people’s anticipations of the coming of independence, it was nevertheless not in a position in such religiously frenzied atmosphere to carry the bulk of the Muslim voters with it. The outcome of the elections, particularly the respective positions of the Congress and the League, clearly brought all these out.

The Congress won overwhelmingly in the General (non-Muslim) constituencies, securing 91.3 per cent votes, winning 57 out of 102 seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and obtaining majorities in all the provinces except Sind, Punjab and Bengal. The spectacular Congress victories, however, could not diminish the significance that the Government had already thrust upon the Muslim electorate. From the British point of view, and at the negotiation table to be presided by them, what mattered more in 1946 than the massive national mandate for the Congress was the League's ability to goad the Muslim voters to its side, by hook or by crook. Apparently in this the League attained remarkable successes by polling 86.6 per cent of the Muslim votes, winning all the 30 Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and grabbing 442 out of 509 Muslim seats in the provinces. But despite all its achievements, the League could not establish its Swaraj on those Muslim-majority provinces which it was demanding for Pakistan. It lost NWFP and Assam to the Congress and failed to dislodge the Unionists from Punjab. Even the League ministries that were set up in Bengal and Sind hinged precariously on official and European support. The fact was that the League's claim for Muslim support had hardly ever been tested in undivided India. The elections were held not only on the basis of separate electorate, which had been devised to keep the Muslims away from the national mainstream, but also on the strength of severely restricted franchise – barely 10 per cent of the total population. Had the elections been contested on the adult franchise, it is difficult to say what would have actually happened, in view especially of the Congress successes in such elections in India in 1952 and the League's reverse in East Pakistan in 1954, as well as of its failure thereafter to control affairs in West Pakistan.

Once the main parties emerged from the limited elections in their strength, as anticipated more or less by the British, the Attlee Government lost no time in commencing negotiations with them. A high-powered mission of

three British cabinet members (Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India; Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A.V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty) was sent to India to find out ways and means of a negotiated, peaceful transfer of power in India. As it had already been sensed in the British circles, time was running out of the British hands for all practical purposes, and India had reached the high point of ferment by March, 1946 with popular unrest finding intermittent expressions throughout the country. What was worse was the British fear that the disquietude of the people might take shape of another countrywide “mass movement or a revolution”, which it was in the power of the Congress to start, and which, the Viceroy felt, “we are not certain that we can control”. The Cabinet Mission, therefore, arrived in India to wrest the initiative. Aided by the Viceroy, it held discussion with the Indian leaders till June 1946 for setting the constitutional future of India, and for deciding upon an interim Indian Government

Following a series of long-drawn deliberations with the Indian leaders of all kinds, which had often run into stalemates on account of Jinnah’s brinkmanship over Pakistan and the Muslim right of self-determination, the Mission eventually came up with a complicated, but somewhat plausible plan for wriggling out of the Indian impasse. Although the Viceroy and one of its members (Alexander) had been sympathetic towards Jinnah, the Mission was unable to accept the League’s demand for a full-fledged Pakistan (comprising the whole of all the Muslim majority areas) on the ground that the right of communal self-determination, if conceded to Muslims, had also to be granted to the non-Muslims who formed majorities in West Bengal and Eastern Punjab, as well as in Assam proper. This would necessitate such a bifurcation of Bengal, Punjab and Assam which would go against all regional and linguistic ties, create insurmountable economic and administrative problems, and yet might not satisfy the League (for Jinnah at this stage was unequivocally opposed to the acceptance of a “truncated and moth-eaten

Pakistan”). Having thus rejected both the concepts of a larger and a smaller Pakistan, the Mission offered the plan of a very loose union of all the Indian territories under a centre that would control merely the defences, the foreign affairs, and the communications, leaving all other subjects to the existing provincial legislatures. The provincial legislatures would then elect a Constituent Assembly, with each province being allotted a specified number of seats proportionate to its population and distributed strength-wise among its various communities. The members so elected “will divide up into three sections”-- Section A for the non-Muslim majority provinces (Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces, Orissa and Madras), Section B for the Muslim-majority provinces in the north-west (Sind, NWFP and Punjab) and Section C for the same in the north-east (Bengal and Assam). All these sections would have the authority to draw up provincial constitutions and, if necessary, group constitutions, and setting up thereby provincial and sectional legislatures and executives. As the completion of all these longterm arrangements would take considerable time, the Mission proposed a short-term measure -- the formation immediately of an Interim Government at the Centre, enjoying the support of the major political parties, and with the Indians holding all the portfolios.

The Mission’s plan was intended to be a compromise, by placating the Congress through the rejection of the Pakistan scheme and by mollifying the League through the creation of autonomous Muslim-majority areas in some proximity. At the outset, therefore, both the Congress and the League were inclined to accept the plan. But soon difficulty surfaced over the provisions for forming sections or groups of provinces. The League interpreted the groupings to be compulsory, for that might brighten up the possibility of a future full-fledged Pakistan by bulldozing the Congress-administered Muslim-majority provinces of NWFP (in section B) and Assam (in section C) into it (in their respective sections the Congress majorities from NWFP and Assam

would be reduced to helpless minorities). It was precisely because of the opposition of NWFP and Assam to their being dragged into Sections B and C that the Congress wanted the grouping to be optional. The Congress was also critical of the absence of any provision for the elected members from the princely states in the proposed Constituent Assembly, though it appeared to be willing to swallow the limited and indirect nature of electing the Constituent Assembly which was blatantly contrary to its past demand for such an election on adult franchise. By the end of July 1946, the Congress and the League decided against trying out the Cabinet Mission plan any further, mainly on account of their difference over the grouping system, but partly because of the Mission's inability to clarify its intentions. In its anxiety for putting up a disarranged India under some nominal centre, and with the communally segregated autonomous units almost as a prelude to "Balkanization", the Mission failed to take note of all the important details. Still, the Cabinet Mission plan was the most that the British – in their haste to leave the ground to the neo-colonialists – could really offer. After July 1946, they had not even talked seriously of the necessity for maintaining the pretence of a weak Indian Union.

Course Outcomes

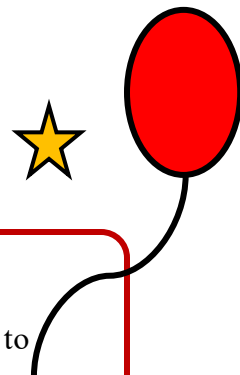
CO1: Explain the rise of nationalism in Tamil Nadu.

CO2: Describe the role of early political organizations such as Madras Mahajana Sabha.

CO3: Analyze the significance of movements like the Swadeshi Movement and Home Rule Movement.

CO4: Examine the contributions of nationalist leaders like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharati.

CO5: Evaluate the impact of major national movements and events leading to Indian independence.



Programme Outcome

PO: To develop students' understanding of regional contributions to Indian nationalism and their role in the broader freedom struggle.

S.No	Question (5 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	What is the Madras Native Association?	CO1	PO1	K1
2.	Write a short note on Madras Mahajana Sabha.	CO1	PO1	K1
3.	What was the Swadeshi Movement?	CO2	PO1	K2
4.	Write a note on V. O. Chidambaram Pillai.	CO1	PO1	K1
5.	What is the Home Rule Movement?	CO2	PO1	K2

S.No	Question (8 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	Explain the significance of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Tamil Nadu.	CO2	PO1	K2
2.	Analyze the importance of the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha.	CO4	PO1	K4
3.	Discuss the impact of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4
4.	Examine the role of the Quit India Movement in Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4
5.	Evaluate the contribution of Tamil Nadu to India's independence.	CO5	PO1	K5

Unit – III

Political and Social Awakening to Tamil Nadu: Dravidian Association – Non – Brahmin Movement – Justice Party Government – Social Justice Measures (Communal G.O.s) – Periya’s Self Respect Movement – Formation of Dravidar Kazhagam- Periyar’s Self – Respect Campaign for Social Equality and Women Empowerment.

Learning Objectives

- To understand the emergence of social and political consciousness in Tamil Nadu.
- To examine the role of organizations like the Dravidian Association and the Justice Party.
- To analyze the Non-Brahmin Movement and its demand for social equality.
- To study the contributions of Periyar E. V. Ramasamy and the Dravidar Kazhagam.
- To evaluate the impact of social justice measures such as the Communal G.O.s and the Self-Respect Movement.

Political and Social Awakening to Tamil Nadu

Introduction

The political and social awakening in Tamil Nadu during the 19th and early 20th centuries marked a significant period in Indian history. It was a time of profound transformation that set the stage for modern political and social movements in the region. This awakening was characterized by a growing awareness of socio-political issues, increased political participation, and a push for social reforms.

Socio-Political Context

During the late 19th century, Tamil Nadu was under British colonial rule, and the socio-economic conditions were challenging. The traditional social structure, heavily influenced by the caste system, faced criticism from

reformers who sought to address the inequalities and injustices prevalent in society. The region was also experiencing economic difficulties due to colonial policies that adversely affected local industries and agriculture.

Key Figures and Movements

Periyar E. V. Ramasamy:

One of the most influential figures in Tamil Nadu's social awakening was Periyar E. V. Ramasamy, also known as Periyar. He founded the Self-Respect Movement in 1925, which aimed to eradicate the caste system and promote social equality. Periyar's efforts were instrumental in challenging the Brahminical dominance and advocating for the rights of the lower castes. His movement emphasized rationalism, women's rights, and a break from traditional religious practices.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:

Although not a Tamilian, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's ideas and leadership significantly impacted Tamil Nadu. His advocacy for the rights of Dalits and his role in drafting the Indian Constitution inspired many in Tamil Nadu to join the struggle for social justice and equality. His teachings encouraged the upliftment of marginalized communities and provided a framework for political activism in the region.

The Justice Party:

Founded in 1917, the Justice Party emerged as a significant political force in Tamil Nadu. It was established to challenge the dominance of the Brahmins and address the concerns of the non-Brahmin communities. The party played a crucial role in advocating for political representation and social justice, leading to significant reforms in education and employment opportunities for the marginalized sections of society.

Social Reforms and Legislation

Temple Entry Movement

One of the major social reform movements in Tamil Nadu was the Temple Entry Movement, which sought to end the exclusion of Dalits from Hindu temples. Initiated by various social reformers, including Periyar, the movement gained momentum in the early 20th century and led to significant changes in temple practices, allowing for greater inclusivity and equality.

Educational Reforms

The socio-political awakening also led to significant reforms in education. The introduction of laws and policies aimed at improving access to education for all communities, regardless of caste, played a crucial role in uplifting the socially disadvantaged groups. The establishment of various educational institutions and the promotion of vernacular languages contributed to the intellectual and cultural development of Tamil Nadu.

Impact on Modern Tamil Nadu

The political and social awakening in Tamil Nadu laid the foundation for contemporary socio-political dynamics in the region. The efforts of reformers and political leaders have had a lasting impact on the social fabric of Tamil Nadu, promoting values of equality, justice, and democratic participation. The legacy of this awakening continues to influence political discourse, social policies, and cultural practices in the state.

Conclusion

The political and social awakening in Tamil Nadu was a transformative period that reshaped the region's socio-political landscape. Through the efforts of dedicated reformers, political leaders, and social activists, Tamil Nadu experienced significant changes that addressed long-standing issues of inequality and injustice. The impact of this awakening is still evident today, as Tamil Nadu continues to build on the principles of

social justice, equality, and democratic engagement established during this crucial period.

Dravidian Association

Introduction

The beginning of the 20th century marked the origin of political parties, forums and associations. All the national programmes of the Indian National Congress had considerable impact in Tamilnadu. The Indian National Congress, the Home Rule Movement and the Justice Party were prominent in Tamilnadu. Each had its own objectives and programmes. The Western Education, the British rule and its policies were responsible for the rise of some political and social forums demanding certain rights and privileges and change of the Government policies. English education awakened the educated non-Brahmins regarding their social status and the lack of opportunities in the Government service. They started a forum and chalked out the programme and worked for them.

Circumstances Leading to the Non- Brahmin Movement

Political condition in Tamilnadu was different from other states of India. The Varnashramadharm prevailed throughout India. Traditionally the Brahmin community received the Vedic learning and the rest of the community had no such opportunity and therefore the Brahmin Community held high esteem and dominance in the society. The rulers of the Tamil country also patronized the Brahmins and Vedic literature. The Brahmins were considered the guardians of the Hindu traditions. Though they were numerically small they were dominant in the society. It was mainly due to the Varna System.

But, with the British rule, the condition of Tamilnadu began to change. Education was imparted to all and English education awakened the people. The non-Brahmins realized that they were not only denied social privileges,

but also the political opportunities. This paved a way for organizing the forum and start agitation to attain equal opportunities.

Tamil – Dravidian Language

‘A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages’ written by Rev. Robert Caldwell, a Scottish missionary, awakened the thoughts of the Tamil scholars and the emerging elites. It spoke about the character of the Dravidian culture. It also clearly pointed out that the Dravidian culture had a separate and independent existence before the Aryans invaded South India. It stimulated the Dravidian consciousness among the Tamils.

G.U.Pope in his translation of Tiruvasakam stated: “Saivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times, and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people.” The above ideas became popular and gave the Tamil non-Brahmins an identity and a sense of cultural self-confidence.

Need of the Political Organization for Non - Brahmins

The non-Brahmins who received higher education, found that the educational institutions and public services were preponderated by the Brahmins. They began to feel that those social and political opportunities were usurped by the Brahmins. This feeling naturally gave the nonBrahmins an idea to organize a forum and combat the dominance of the Brahmins. By this time some of the pamphlets supported the cause of the non-Brahmins. The non-Brahmin races and the Indian Public Service criticized the Brahmins and stated that the British were called the rulers of India, but it was only the Brahmins who ruled it. It also said that the Indian National Congress represented only the Brahmin interests.

Madras Dravidian Association

P.Subramaniam and M.Purushotham Naidu organized an association namely “The Madras non-Brahmin Association’ in 1909. But, it met with

failure because of the lack of leadership. Then the grieved government officials who were non-Brahmins and started an organization namely the Madras United League. It was guided by Dr.C.Natesa Mudaliar, a native of Madras. The name of Madras United League was changed into Madras Dravidian Association and it started functioning from 10th November 1912. The non-Brahmins underwent higher studies and had experienced difficulties in getting accommodation in the hostels. Therefore, Madras Dravidian Association started a Hostel for the nonBrahmin students. It helped a lot of students of the mofussil areas.

The South Indian Liberal Federation

The election to the Imperial Legislative Council was held in 1916 in which non-Brahmins did not win. The non-Brahmins organized a conference at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras on 20th November 1916. It was decided to organize as a political association for the safeguard of the non-Brahmins. A joint stock company was formed under the name ‘The South Indian Liberal Federation’. Its main purpose was the promotion of political interests of non-Brahmin caste Hindus. The important persons in the federation were P.Thiagaraya Chetti, T.Madhavan Nair, C.Natesa Mudaliar and Uma Mageshwaran. In order to spread the ideas of the organization the journal in English was started – The Justice. There were journals run in Tamil and is Telugu in the name of the Dravidan and the Prakashini respectively.

Madras Presidency Association

The non-Brahmins who were in the Indian National Congress formed a forum in the name of the Madras Presidency Association. It functioned for about two years. Thiru Ve. Kalyanasundaram was the secretary of the Association. As he involved much in the Trade Union activities he could not concentrate on the Association activities.

E.V.Ramasamy Naicker, in a meeting held at Salem said, “Before leaving India the British has to find a solution to the problem of the Brahmin

domination in Tamilnadu. Otherwise the non-Brahmins will be affected by the Brahmins' domination.” In November, 1925, at the Congress Executive Committee meeting held at Kanjipuram, E.V.Ramasamy Naiker brought a resolution for communal representation. Though it was accepted by many in principle the members did not come forward to recognize it.

The Justice Party and the Non-Brahmins Movement

The elections for Councilors were conducted under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms Act in 1920. The Congress party did not take part in the election, as it boycotted the election and the Justice Party won in the elections and formed the ministry in Madras Presidency under Subbarayalu. The victory of the Justice party was meant as the victory of the Party's objective which stood for non-Brahmins' role in the political power. It stood for the representation of Dravidian communities and improvement of the status of depressed classes. The Party was in power for a period of seventeen years (1920 to 1937). Some of its achievements were that, it passed a law for Communal Representation in 1921 and in 1922, created the Staff Selection Board in 1924 and the Public Service Commission in 1929. The Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1921 enacted by the Panagal ministry for the management of temple properties. In short, the role of Justice Party worked against the Brahmins' domination and for the promotion of the non-Brahmins and depressed class in Tamilnadu.

After 1937 the Justice Party crumbled and went out of existence. The Justice Party declined and the Dravida Kazhagam engaged. Later the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam came out. Then the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam came into existence out of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. Thus the Parties mentioned above stood for non-Brahmins and tried to ameliorate their conditions.

Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu

The Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu emerged in the early 20th century as a significant socio-political force aimed at addressing the inequalities and injustices faced by the non-Brahmin communities in the region. The movement was primarily driven by the desire for social justice and political representation for communities that had been marginalized under the Brahmin-dominated social and political structures.

The origins of the movement can be traced back to the growing discontent among the non-Brahmin castes who felt that the Brahmin community had monopolized positions of power and influence in both the political and social spheres. This discontent was exacerbated by the perception that the British colonial administration was biased in favor of Brahmins, further entrenching their dominance.

One of the key figures in the Non-Brahmin Movement was Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, who founded the Self-Respect Movement in 1925. Periyar, a staunch advocate for social reform, sought to challenge the caste-based hierarchies and promote the rights and dignity of non-Brahmin communities. His philosophy emphasized rationalism, secularism, and social equality, and he was critical of the traditional Brahminical practices that he believed perpetuated social inequality.

The movement gained substantial momentum with the formation of the Justice Party in 1916, which was instrumental in advocating for the rights of non-Brahmins. The Justice Party sought political representation and government jobs for non-Brahmins and campaigned for educational and social reforms. The party's efforts led to significant policy changes, including the reservation of government jobs and educational institutions for non-Brahmins, thus challenging the Brahmin hegemony.

The Non-Brahmin Movement also had a profound impact on Tamil Nadu's political landscape. It laid the groundwork for the emergence of

Dravidian politics, which continued to evolve through parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). These parties adopted and expanded upon the principles of the Non-Brahmin Movement, focusing on issues such as social justice, economic development, and political empowerment for marginalized communities.

In summary, the Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu was a pivotal force in challenging the entrenched social hierarchies and advocating for the rights of non-Brahmin communities. Its legacy continues to influence the region's social and political dynamics, shaping contemporary discussions on social justice and equality.

Justice Party Government

Introduction

The rise of the Justice Party is an important political event in the history of Tamilnadu. It laid the foundation for the welfare of the non-Brahmins in Tamilnadu. It enacted certain laws useful to the people. It was viewed by some that it was basically the non-Brahmin movement. Since, the Brahmins were predominant in the Indian National Congress and the Home Rule Movement, the elite and educated non-Brahmins wanted to change this situation. They felt that it was only by an organized effort the desired goal of equality in the society could be attained. Therefore, they took effort to organize a forum.

The Justice Party officially known as the “South Indian Liberal Federation” (S. I. L. F.), was the political wing of the “Then Nala Urimai Sangam” (literal translation: The South Indian Welfare Association). The Justice Party derived its name from an English-language daily of that time, named Justice.

In 1920, elections were held in the Madras Presidency as per the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The Justice Party contested the elections and

was elected to power. The party ruled the province for six years before giving way to the independent ministry of P.Subbarayan in 1926. The Justice Party's period in power is remembered for the introduction of the caste-based affirmative action and also for the educational and religious reforms it introduced. The Justice Party under E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker spearheaded the anti-Hindi agitations of 1937 and allied with Mohammad Ali Jinnah in its demand for separation from the Indian union.

Origin of the Justice Party

In 1909 two lawyers, P. Subrahmanyam and M. Purushotham Naidu, expressed their plan to establish an organization named "The Madras Non-Brahmin Association", an organization that never saw the light of the day. Later in 1912 Madras United League was established with C.Natesa Mudaliar as Secretary. However, the League restricted itself to the social activities and distanced itself from contemporary politics. The Madras United League was a predecessor of the Justice Party and the establishment of a hostel for non-Brahmin students in Madras was considered to be its main achievement. The League was subsequently renamed as the "Madras Dravidian Association".

In November 1916, about 30 prominent non-Brahmin members met in Madras under the leadership of Sir P.Theagaraya Chetty and Dr.T.M.Nair to establish the South Indian People's Association which was later renamed as the South Indian Liberal Federation but was more popularly known as the Justice Party after the English daily, 'Justice' which the party published.

The Justice Party was established in 1917 as the South Indian Liberal federation by Sir P.Theagaraya Chetty and Dr. T. M. Nair as a result of a series of non-Brahmin conferences and meetings held in the Madras Presidency. The formation of the SILF or the Justice Party marked the culmination of a series of failed efforts to establish an organisation representing the non-Brahmins of the Presidency. The early political work of the party involved petitioning the imperial administrative bodies and British

politicians demanding more representation for the nonBrahmins in administration and in the government

The South Indian Liberal Federation wholeheartedly supported the British rule in India and launched virulent attacks on the Indian National Congress and the Home Rule League. At the same time, it also campaigned for the adequate representation of the non-Brahmins in the Madras Legislative Council. In 1919, Dr. T. M. Nair was sent to London to argue in front of the parliamentarians on behalf of the Justice Party for more representation of non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency in the Legislative Council.

Their efforts bore fruit, when in 1920 a dyarchy was established in Madras Presidency as per the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and elections were held to a designated number of seats in the Madras Legislative Council. The Justice Party won a landslide victory in the elections and formed the first elected government in Madras Presidency with A.Subbarayalu Reddiar as the Chief Minister.

The Aims of Justice Party

The aims of Justice Party are as follows:

1. To promote social, political, economic conditions of the Dravidians,
2. To establish responsible Government,
3. To demand Communal Representation in the Government Services and
4. To convey the Government the aspirations of the South Indians.

Justice Party In Power

In the first elections held in November 1920, the Justice Party was elected to power. A.Subbarayalu Reddiar became the first Chief Minister of Madras Presidency. However, he resigned soon after a short period due to declining health and was replaced with Sir P. Ramarayaningar, the Minister of Local Self-Government and Public Health. The party split in late 1923 when C. R. Reddy resigned from his primary membership and formed a splinter group which allied with Swarajists who were in opposition. A no-confidence

motion was passed against Ramarayananingar's government on November 27, 1923, which was however defeated at the ratio 65-44. Ramarayananingar, popularly known as the Raja of Panagal, remained in power till November 1926. The passing of the First communal Government Order (G.O. No.613) which introduced reservations to government jobs, in August 1921, remains one of the highpoints of his rule. In the next elections held in 1926, the Justice Party lost to the Swarajya Party. However, as the Swarajya Party refused to form the Government, the Governor set up an independent government under the leadership of P. Subbarayan and nominated members to support it.

Soon after the demise of the Raja of Panagal, the Justice Party broke into two factions: the Constitutionals and the Ministerialists. The Ministerialists were led by N. G. Ranga and were in favor of allowing Brahmins to join the Party. In 1930, the Justice Party was victorious and P. Munuswamy Naidu became the Chief Minister. However, the exclusion of Zamindars from the Ministry split the Justice Party once again. Fearing a no-confidence motion against him, Munuswamy Naidu resigned in November 1932 and the Raja of Bobbili was appointed Chief Minister. During this time, Justice Party Leader L. Sriramulu Naidu served as the Mayor of Madras. The Justice Party eventually lost in the 1937 elections to the Indian National Congress and Rajaji became the Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Anti-Brahmin movement evolved in the Madras Presidency. This movement was launched by a Congressman E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, who, unhappy with the principles and policies of the Brahmin leadership of the provincial Congress, moved to the Justice Party in 1925. E. V. R., or Periyar, as he was affectionately called and was against venomous attacks on the Brahmins, Hinduism and Hindu superstitions in periodicals and newspapers such as Viduthalai and Justice. He also participated in the Vaikom Satyagraha which campaigned for the rights of the untouchables in Travancore to enter the temples.

Achievements of Justice Party

The Justice Party Government introduced many reform measures with the active support of the Governor. The following are its noteworthy achievements:

1. The Madras Panchayats Act and the Madras Local Boards Act were passed in 1920. These most momentous Acts increased the importance of grass-root direct democratic organizations and opened them up to wide range of interests in local areas.

2. The Communal G.Os of 1921 and 1922 provided for the first time reservation of jobs in government bodies and educational institutions for non-Brahmin communities in an increased proportions.

3. The Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1921 sought to do away with the corruption in the religious endowments and committees were constituted for the proper management of the temple properties.

4. The despicable Devadasi system was abolished.

5. The Madras State Aid to Industries Act of 1922 was intended to provide credit to industries, allot land and water to them, helped to do research and to guarantee minimum return to the capital invested. It was the first major attempt to promote industrial progress in the presidency.

6. Primary Education was extended to the children of the depressed and deprived classes through fee concession, scholarship and mid-day meals.

7. Porampoke lands were allotted to landless poor to construct houses.

8. Women were granted voting rights on par with men.

9. The Staff Selection Board, created in 1924, was upgraded into the Public Service Commission in 1929.

10. The working of the University of Madras was reorganized. The Andhra and Annamalai Universities were established in 1926 and 1929 respectively

Social Justice Measures: Communal Government Orders (G.O.s)

The concept of social justice in Tamil Nadu is deeply intertwined with the implementation of Communal Government Orders (G.O.s), which played a crucial role in reshaping the state's social and political landscape during the early 20th century. These orders were a part of the broader non-Brahmin movement aimed at promoting equality and ensuring representation for marginalized communities.

The first significant Communal G.O. was introduced in 1921 by the Justice Party government. The Justice Party, formed in 1916, was instrumental in advocating for the rights of non-Brahmin communities, challenging the social dominance of Brahmins in government jobs and educational institutions. The primary goal of the Communal G.O.s was to ensure equitable representation for different castes and communities, especially the backward classes, in public employment and education.

The Communal G.O. of 1921 set quotas for different communities, including Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Scheduled Castes, Muslims, and Christians, in government jobs. This policy was a pioneering effort in affirmative action, aimed at addressing the historical injustices and socio-economic disparities faced by non-Brahmin communities. The G.O. was a landmark moment in Tamil Nadu's political history, as it marked the first time that the colonial government officially recognized the need for proportional representation based on caste and community lines.

This move was met with both support and opposition. On one hand, the non-Brahmin communities, particularly the backward classes, welcomed the G.O. as a step toward social equality. On the other hand, Brahmin leaders and organizations opposed the measure, arguing that it undermined merit-based appointments and perpetuated caste divisions. Despite the opposition, the Communal G.O.s continued to play a significant role in the state's policies, forming the foundation for the later reservation system in independent India.

Further modifications to the Communal G.O.s were made in the 1927 and 1930s to increase the representation of backward classes and other marginalized communities. These orders influenced not only government jobs but also admissions to educational institutions, ensuring that non-Brahmin and backward-class students had access to higher education. This was a key factor in enabling social mobility and reducing the socio-economic gap between different communities.

The legacy of the Communal G.O.s can be seen in Tamil Nadu's modern political and social fabric. The state's reservation policies, which provide quotas for backward classes, Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes in education and government employment, are direct descendants of these early measures. The Dravidian movement, led by parties such as the DMK and AIADMK, continued to champion the ideals of social justice introduced by the Communal G.O.s, making social equality a central part of their political platforms.

In conclusion, the Communal G.O.s were a significant social justice measure in Tamil Nadu, aiming to rectify historical inequalities and provide equitable opportunities for marginalized communities. They laid the groundwork for the modern reservation system and influenced the state's long-standing commitment to social justice, ensuring that diverse communities had a voice and representation in government and education.

Periya's Self Respect Movement

Introduction

E.V.Ramaswamy, popularly known as "Periyar" and "E.V.R", was the champion of social justice and an advocate of rationalism. Self-respect movement launched by him made a great impact on the Tamil society. He is respected and remembered even today because of his invaluable service to mankind.

Life Career of Periyar

E.V.Ramasway was born on 17t September 1879 at Erode. His father was Venkatappa Naicker and his mother was Chinnathayammal. He studied at a local school. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1921. He insisted among the people the propaganda of the abolition alcoholic drinks.

In Kerala the Ezhavas and other untouchables were forbidden from worship; in the temples and walk on the public streets. This determination to assert their rights to social equality found its manifestation in a Satyagraha organized at Vaikam in 1924. E.V.R rushed to Vaikam and took part in it and got arrested. The agitation continued till the Government of Travancore opened the temple road to all the Hindus irrespective of caste.

Periyar heard about a complaint that separate dining was enforced for Brahmin and non-Brahmin students in Cheranmadevi Gurukulam run by V.V.S. Iyer. E.V.R refused grants from Congress funds to Gurukulam. He insisted that Gurukulam must stand for an ideal for Indian Nationalism. He criticized V.V.S that he was attempting to bring up the non-Brahmin children in an atmosphere of inferiority. He also maintained that before Tamils sought freedom from the foreign yoke they must strive to attain complete equality with the Brahmins in the matters of interdinning. Due to this issue Periyar left the Congress Party.

E.V.R's campaign against the Cheranmadevi Gurukulam began to assume greater dimension awakening the people of Tamilnadu. Thus, the Cheranmadevi issue was the beginning of the social awakening movement in Tamilnadu that was launched by E.V.R.

Self-Respect Movement – Concept

Periyar founded the Self-respect movement in 1925 after his exit from the Congress Party. “The aim of the movement was the promotion of rational thinking, self-respect and self confidence in the people, so as to enable them to enjoy the benefits of the political and the social freedom.” He pointed out that it was the reason to guide them and not the religion. E.V.R felt that the

first thing to do is not doing constructive work but to doing destructive work. According to him the destructive work was that the time old institutions of caste, religion and zamindari system that should be destroyed and that evils of untouchability and inequality should be eradicated. The aims of Self-Respect Movement are as follows:

- a. To achieve a society where backward castes have equal rights and encouraging backward castes to have Self-Respect,
- b. To dispel the ignorance of the people and make them enlightened,
- c. There should not be inequality among the people; rich and poor,
- d. Men and women should be treated equally,
- e. To eradicate caste system and untouchability,
- f. To liberate the society from the evils heaped upon it by the religious custom and the caste system
- g. To promote rational thinking and self-confidence among the people.

Launching of the Self-Respect Movement

Periyar organized meetings all over Tamilnadu and spread the message of Self-respect. The propaganda of E.V.R moved the Tamil Public and led them to social awareness and created a sense of equality among the people. The non-Brahmin movement was strengthened. The press like “Kudi Arasu” and “Tamil Nadu” published the feelings of the nonBrahmin and stood for the upliftment of the non-Brahmins. Meeting of the Self-Respect Movement was launched in 1930 in Erode and in 1931 in Virudhunagar.

The important resolutions passed in it were as follows:

- “This conference views that appointing priest between the worshipper and the worshipped are against self-respect and the expenses made for worshipping God is unnecessary. Therefore the grants to priests are to be cancelled.”
- Periyar used all the techniques to propagate his ideas. Between 1934 and 1944, self Respect Movement increased its activities with the

cooperation of the Justice Party. C.N.Annadurai emerged as an able lieutenant of E.V.R and one of the dynamic leaders of the Self-Respect Movement.

- Periyar introduced a new rationalist marriage system called the Self-Respect marriage. According to this all religious rituals and uttering of mantras by the Brahmins in Sanskrit should be forbidden. Besides this new wedding system was also one where Periyar encouraged inter-caste marriage and widow re-marriage.
- E.V.R immersed himself in socio-religious transformation movement. His philosophy and ideology was iconoclastic and atheistic. His rationalism was a radical humanism. He started the “Dravida Kazhagam” for social reforms in the society. He condemned child marriage and encouraged widow remarriage. He advocated equal status for women and inter- caste marriage. He performed many self perfect marriages. The UNESCO praised him with great honour starting that “Periyar”, the prophet of the new age, was the Socrates of the South East Asia, father of the social reforms movement, arch enemy of ignorance, superstition, meaningless custom and base manners.” He passed away on 24th December 1973 at the ripe age of 94.

Justice Party in Power

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Formation of Dravidar Kazham

The Justice Party's break was inevitable. At the Salem Conference in 1944 there was little doubt that it was largely a Tamil party, with very little non-Tamil participation.

The radical elites who commanded the majority support reorganized the party. Thus, the DK under the dynamic leadership of Periyar came into existence. According to Balasundaram,

The non-Brahmin leadership passed on to men who held rather extremist ideas about society, religion and politics and actively sought the support of non-Brahmin sections, like the Naickers, Nadars, Mukkulathors and Adi-Dravida untouchables.

The conservative orthodox group led by Sir P.T. Rajan left the movement but continued to call itself the "Justice Party". It continued to adhere to its commitment to the idea of a Dravidasthan. It also reiterated its faith in caste representations in public services, legislatures, and educational institutions until the ultimate objective of a "casteless society" was achieved.⁴³ However, the party became increasingly irrelevant in Tamil Nadu politics. It won only one seat (Sir P.T. Rajan's) in the 1952 local legislative elections and lost even that in 1957.

The resolution calling on party members to drop caste suffixes in their personal names had an impact on many party leaders, members, and youths. From then onwards, it became difficult to identify the caste affiliations of such persons from their names. It represented a symbolic gesture on their part to advance the cause of a "casteless society". In some cases, they adopted new

Tamil names; for example, Narayanasamy became Nedunchezhian and Ramayya became Anbazhagan.

The Salem Conference represented a personal political triumph for Annadurai. His defense of Periyar's leadership won him the praise of many. The passing of the "Annadurai resolutions" increased his prestige tremendously and clearly established him as the most important political leader, next only to Periyar., in the Non-Brahmin political movement and also as the leading ideologue and spokesman of the party and Dravidian separatism. He also had a large personal following among the youth.

The DK, which came into existence immediately after the Salem Conference, held its first party conference at Tiruchi in 1945 and adopted black flag with a red circle in the centre as its symbol. 44 Organizational units of the DK were set up at village, taluk, 45 and district levels. The DK elaborated the anti-Brahmin theme of earlier Non-Brahmin political organizations but with greater 'militancy. Specifically, it attacked the injustices of the Hindu caste system which was an important theme of the earlier Self-Respect Movement. However, its major political objective was the achievement of a sovereign independent Dravidanadu and the energies of the party members were directed toward promoting this cause. Also, in order to rid the party of the; "pro--British" image of the Justice Party, Periyar called upon his followers to renounce all titles conferred by the British colonial regime and to quit the National War Front.

In order to mobilize anti-Brahmin, anti-caste system, anti-Hindi and anti-North sentiments and to promote a feeling of Dravidian identity, the party launched a "cultural offensive" on many fronts. Widow re-marriage, inter-caste marriage, and "reform marriages" were encouraged. No member was allowed to wear the sectarian marks of faith across' his forehead. Furthermore, the Hindu mythological figures were ridiculed and Hindu religious idols were

destroyed. The Hindu religious epics also became targets of attack. For example

The Kamba Ramayanam, a classic in Tamil literature sacred to Tamil Vaishnavites, was described as an attempt to glorify the Aryan, his culture, his superiority, his ideas, and also as an attempt to undermine the Dravidian South and its hero, Ravana. By way of a protest against this, the burning of Kamba Ramayanam in public was advocated.

There was also a conscious attempt to revive the Tamil literary classics, to popularize a new literary style, and to "purify" the Tamil language from Sanskritic "pollution". According to A. C. Chettiar, it was estimated that in 1900, nearly fifty per cent of the words in the written language were Sanskritically influenced. Fifty years later, its influence had been reduced to only twenty per cent.

The political goals, strategies, and the "cultural offensive" of the DK were exerting a tremendous influence on the social and political life of Tamil Nadu. The attempts by the DK to glorify the political and life of past of the Tamils, the radical political postures of Periyar, the oratorical abilities of Annadurai and the felicity of his prose style, the forceful writings of other party members and sympathisers proved to be crucial magnets for attracting mass support and also in creating a sense of identity and "political community" among the Tamils. The party was particularly successful in securing support for its objectives and activities from many Tamil youths. Among the active youth members of the party who later went on to play important roles in the political life of Tamil Nadu were E.V.K. Sampath, Nedunchezian, Anbashagan, and Karunanithi.

As the DK was making deeper inroads in the political arena of Tamil Nadu, very important changes were taking place within the party. There was increasing dissatisfaction with Periyar's political leadership mainly among the

younger members of the party. Periyar's chief lieutenant, Annadurai, was the leader and spokesman of the younger generation of the party.

Although there was a general consensus on political objectives between Periyar and Annadurai and their respective followers, there were basic disagreements between them on the methods of achieving their common objectives and also on other intra-party matters. These were the basic causes of the intra-party rivalry which developed a few years after the founding of the party. It must be pointed out that although the role of personal political ambition cannot be discounted in an analysis of any political rivalry, there were important differences in viewpoints on substantive issues between the two leaders and their respective followers. In the following paragraphs, we will examine in some detail the nature of Periyar-Annadurai relations and their political differences.

The relationship. In fact, Annadurai, on many occasions, had publicly stated that Periyar was the only person whom he had accepted as leader in public life. Similarly, Periyar, on various occasions, indicated that Annadurai would be his successor, and in the Erode Conference of the party on October 23-24, 1948, he publicly stated that he was handing over the "keys" to Annadurai because his old age did not permit an active role in the political arena of Tamil Nadu any longer.⁴⁹ Annadurai's disciple-like admiration and Periyar's guru-like response seemed to indicate that the relationship between these two men was based on deep personal attachments and that this was going to be a permanent relationship. However, a year after the Erode Conference, the "disciple" left the "guru" and became one of the founder members of the DMK.

"Party Uniform"

The issue of "party uniform" became a point of political controversy between Periyar and Annadurai. Just before independence, Periyar organized the Karuppu Sattai Thondar Padai or the Black Shirt Volunteer Corps.⁵⁰

According to Rudolph, "some of the inspiration for the Black Shirts may have come from Naicker's European tour in the early thirties when he visited both the fascist countries and Soviet Russia." 51 The Black Shirt Volunteer Corps was part of the organizational set-up of the DK and was supposed to be made up of full-time workers. It was formed "to strengthen the Dravidar Kazhagam/'62 and gave the partyJ a militant character. Maraimalaiyaan gives two reasons for the use of black shirts by members of the unit: firstly, "to identify those people who were prepared to make any kind of sacrifice"; and secondly, "to symbolise the downtrodden conditions of the Dravidians".

Annadurai did not raise any objections to the Karuppu Sattai Thondar Padai. Periyar, however, increasingly argued that all party members should wear black shirts. Those who did not abide by this directive of Periyar increasingly came to be regarded as "traitors" and "enemies" of the party by some members. Annadurai disagreed. His argument was as follows: "A policeman wears his 'khaki' uniform only when he is on duty. Similarly, black shirts should only be worn by members when they participated in political agitations". He pointed out that, at times, a party member or anyone wearing a black shirt may be engaged in an activity which was inconsistent with the party principles. In such a situation, it was highly likely that the public would associate the person concerned with the DK and ultimately the image of the party would be adversely affected. However, Periyar did not change his initial decision.

On May 1946, a conference of the Black Shirt Volunteer Corps was convened at Madurai with Periyar as chairman and Annadurai also participated. On the second day of the conference, some anti-DK elements set fire to the conference panthal (stage) and the meeting ended in confusion. At this time, the Congress party which was in power declared that the Black Shirt Volunteer Corps was an illegal organization. In order to condemn the government's action, Periyar organized a public meeting at the Memorial Hall

in Madras. Prior to this meeting, the executive committee of the party was to meet at Periyar's house in Meeraan Sahib Road in Madras. Periyar issued a directive that all those attending the two meetings must wear black shirts to symbolize their opposition to the government's action. One of the interesting questions posed then was whether Annadurai, given his objection to wearing black shirts, would attend the two meetings. However, to the surprise of many, Annadurai was given a tremendous welcome when he attended the meetings wearing a black shirt.

Attitude towards India's Independence

India was finally freed from about two hundred years of colonial bondage and became a sovereign independent state on August 14, 1947. In general, this represented the beginnings of the end of colonialism in AfroAsia. In particular, it was a day of national rejoicing for the Indian National Congress leaders and other freedom fighters. However, within the DK, the significance of "August 15, 1947" was a point of political controversy between the top two leaders of the party and their respective followers.

As Independence was approaching, Periyar warned his fellow Dravidians that "we must guard against transference of power from one British to the Aryans".⁵⁷ In his attempt to achieve a Dravidanadu, Periyar sought the political support of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-e-Azam, and the Muslim League so that Dravidanadu might be formed simultaneously with Pakistan but the latter's support was not forthcoming. Also, the British ignored the Dravidanadu demand. This led Periyar to declare (without consulting the party) "August 15, 1947" as a day of mourning for Dravidians and he called on them to boycott Independence Day celebrations. He argued that the departure of British colonialism meant the subjugation of the Dravidians to the political, economic, and religious imperialism of the Aryans.

Annadurai, however, gave a different interpretation of the significance of "August 15, 1947". As Hardgrave puts it, he saw "national independence

as the accomplishment of all India, not merely the Aryan North."⁵⁸ Annadurai argued that the exit of British colonialism meant the removal of one of the triple "enemies" of the Dravidians and therefore "August 15, 1947" was a day of rejoicing for the Dravidians. One of the slogans of the DK was "Wreck the Triple Alliance of the British, Brahmin, and Bania."

[T]he slogan tried to involve in a subtle manner both the Congress (which in Tamilnad was dominated by Brahmins despite the strident anti-Brahmin campaigns of Naicker) and the north (symbolised by the Bania because Mahatma Gandhi was a Bania by caste) and suggested a conspiracy by the British with north Indian Aryans (whose agents the Tamil Brahmins and the Bania Ghandi were supposed to be) to keep the Dravidian people in subjugation.

Annadurai also argued that by celebrating Independence Day, they could disprove Congress accusations that they were lackeys of British colonialism.⁶⁰ He further pointed out that in "independent India", the energies of the DK could now be directed mainly to rousing the masses against the north Indian Aryan exploitation and he was confident that they had the will and capacity to succeed.

The Dravidanadu, New Justice, Mandram, and Anbazhagan's Puthuvaazhu endorsed Annadurai's interpretation. However, with the DK, those who supported Annadurai's viewpoint did not constitute a majority.⁶² Also, Annadurai's persuasive arguments failed to change Periyar's decision to boycott Independence Day celebrations. This, however, did not deter Annadurai from defying Periyar's directive and he hoisted the Indian national flag atop his residence in Kanchipuram on Independence Day. This act clearly demonstrated Annadurai's determination to act on the basis of his own political convictions on fundamental issues.

"Intra-Party Democracy"

The issue of the lack of "intra-party democracy" also created dissensions within the party. Although the party had an elaborate organizational set-up, the various organizational units including the party's general council and the executive committee, which, in theory, were the most important decision making units of the party, did not have any real power. Most of the important decisions were taken unilaterally by Periyar himself. The "progressive" section of the party led by Annadurai opposed Periyar's authoritarianism in decision-making within the party and argued strongly for "intra-party democracy" but Periyar did not make any concessions at all.

all. Attitude Towards Electoral Participation

In Periyar's conception, the DK was not strictly a political party but a social and political movement whose basic objective was to bring about fundamental changes in the social and political attitudes and practices of the people rather than the capturing of political power through participation in elections. According to Moha.

But Annadurai and the "progressive" wing of the party disagreed. They argued that if the party did not participate in elections, which were to be held on the basis of adult franchise, its political support would be eroded by other election-oriented parties which appealed to the masses along the same lines as the DK and succeeded in securing representation in the legislature. Such parties would then become the real representatives of Dravidian interests and the DK would increasingly become politically irrelevant. On the positive side, they also pointed to the possibility of fulfilling their objectives through capturing constitutional power. As on other issues, Periyar did not yield and refused to lift the "keep off elections" signs.

the differing viewpoints between Periyar and Annadurai and their respective followers have been examined. However, none of the above issues really threatened party unity and solidarity to a significant extent. The differences were temporarily patched up and surface unity was achieved.

However, political differences between the two groups came to the forefront again very soon. In the party conference of 1948, Annadurai and his supporters staged a walkout in protest against Periyar's authoritarianism. Also, sensing Periyar's opposition to his political convictions, Annadurai deliberately kept off the Tuticorin conference of the party. At this time, there were speculations that Annadurai and his supporters might resign from the party. But the speculations were temporarily proved wrong when Periyar appointed.

Annadurai president of a special party conference at Erode in 1948. On the surface, it therefore seemed that Periyar-Annadurai differences had been resolved and that elite consensus had been achieved at Erode. There was a new mood of optimism within the party. But this was short-lived and within a year, there was a split in the party. Periyar's second marriage to Maniyammai was the main cause for this dramatic development.

Periyar issued two lengthy press statements under the title "Explanation" which appeared in the 19th and 28th June, 1949 editions of the Viduthalai.⁶⁴ In his "explanation", he made it absolutely clear that he did not have any confidence in his political lieutenants to lead the party after his exit from the political scene; he also announced the formation of a "trust" headed by a widow, Maniyammai., ("who has a genuine concern for my personal and the party's interests")⁶⁵ and four or five members for the management of his personal and the party's properties. By this act, Maniyammai became the political "heir" to Periyar. This came as a shock to many party members and sympathisers.

Periyar's "explanation" and the formation of a "trust" headed by Maniyammai do not logically follow from his earlier announcement at the Erode conference that he was handing over the "keys", that is, the leadership, to Annadurai. This sudden political turnabout by Periyar came as a surprise to everyone from the top leaders to the lower echelons in the party hierarchy.

Annadurai and Sampath (Periyar's nephew) certainly had greater political acumen and enjoyed greater popularity both within and outside the party than Maniyammai. Also, at this there was no evidence to indicate that Annadurai and/ or Sa'mpath were attempting to oust Periyar from the leadership of the party. Although their political viewpoints differed from Periyar on certain issues, they still accepted Periyar's leadership and many expected them to succeed Periyar. Under such circumstances, why were Annadurai and Sampath discarded in favour of Maniyammai? What were the real motivations behind these moves of Periyar? These were the unanswered questions of the day. There was a great deal of speculations within the party. Before the other leaders of the party could formally react to these developments, surprising news came into the open. A Madras daily newspaper reported that Periyar was about to get married to Maniyammai and that both had visited the Registrar of Marriages office on June 18, 1949. The report came as a real shock to party leaders and members. The central executive committee of the party and other members issued statements condemning the marriage and requested Periyar to give up the idea but Periyar's response was firmly negative.

In fact, it can be argued that Periyar was only practising what he preached (widow re-marriage) and that therefore he should have been supported: but the reaction was an almost unanimous condemnation of the marriage. Why did the party leaders and members object vehemently to the marriage? Their basic argument was that it was a poruntha thirumanam or "unequal marriage" (in terms of age). Periyar and Maniyammai were 72 and 26 years old respectively. The wide disparity in their ages meant that it was "a highly unequal union". As a social reformer, Periyar had been campaigning against the widely prevalent practice of old men marrying young women, proudly pointing to his own widower's life since the death of his wife, Nagammai. This was also one of the principal creeds of the Self-Respectors. Some supporters of Periyar's marriage argued that, as a social reformer, he

was not deviating from his principles because he objected to forced, "unequal marriages" only, that is, generally without the bride's consent. There was some element of truth in this argument. However, the objectors argued that the "unequal marriage" of the party leader himself would affect the party's image adversely.

The second argument centered around the fact that Periyar's re-marriage was not in keeping with the Dravidian tradition of "reform marriages" which.

Despite the barrage of protests, Periyar did not change his decision and the wedding took place on 9th July 1949. This threw the entire party machinery into confusion and for the next few months, party activity in terms of propagating party objectives came to a virtual standstill. During these months, Annadurai demonstrated remarkable skills of leadership and organized support for a new party, the DMK, which was inaugurated on September 17, 1949.⁷⁰ Most of the members of the DK resigned and joined the new party led by Annadurai, and the founding of the DMK represented the beginning of a new chapter in the politics of Tamil Nadu.

Periyar's self-Respect campaign for social equality and women Empowerment

Periyar E.V. Ramasamy (1879-1973), a towering figure in the social and political history of Tamil Nadu, launched the Self-Respect Movement in 1925 with the central aim of eradicating the caste system and promoting social equality and women's rights. His radical ideas challenged the existing socio-political order, targeting Brahmin dominance, caste-based discrimination, and patriarchy. Periyar's vision was deeply rooted in rationalism, anti-religious orthodoxy, and the empowerment of oppressed groups, including women. His efforts marked a turning point in Tamil Nadu's fight for social justice and played a foundational role in shaping modern Dravidian politics.

Social Equality through the Self-Respect Movement

1. Opposition to the Caste System

One of the main pillars of Periyar's Self-Respect Campaign was its challenge to the hierarchical caste system. Periyar believed that caste divisions, reinforced by religious doctrines, particularly Hinduism, were the root cause of social inequality in India. He vocally opposed the Brahminical dominance in Tamil society, which monopolized power, education, and religious authority. According to Periyar, the caste system dehumanized individuals and deprived them of their basic rights.

To dismantle this structure, Periyar advocated for the rejection of religious orthodoxy and caste-based privileges. The movement sought to uplift the so-called "lower" castes, especially the non-Brahmin communities, by promoting their access to education, government jobs, and political representation. The Self-Respect Movement made significant contributions to Tamil Nadu's political landscape by laying the groundwork for later affirmative action policies such as reservations.

2. Critique of Religion and Brahminism

Periyar's social philosophy was inseparable from his critique of religion, particularly the role of Brahmins in perpetuating caste oppression. He argued that religion was a tool used by the upper castes, especially Brahmins, to maintain their control over society. Periyar attacked religious rituals, idol worship, and the role of Brahmin priests, arguing that these practices reinforced social hierarchies and kept the lower castes subjugated.

He encouraged people to reject the authority of religious texts like the *Manusmriti*, which he viewed as reinforcing caste divisions and promoting gender inequality. Periyar's advocacy for rationalism and atheism became central to his movement, with the goal of creating an egalitarian society based on reason and not on religious dogma.

Women Empowerment in Periyar's Vision

1. Women's Rights and Gender Equality

Periyar's Self-Respect Movement was not limited to caste reform but also addressed the issue of women's rights, which he saw as essential for creating a just society. His movement fought against the deep-rooted patriarchy prevalent in traditional Tamil society, which restricted women's freedom and subjected them to various forms of discrimination, including child marriage, dowry, and widowhood. Periyar's feminist outlook was ahead of its time, as he actively advocated for women's education, equal rights in marriage, and personal freedom.

2. Abolition of Child Marriage and Promotion of Widow Remarriage

One of the movement's significant goals was to abolish child marriage, which was widespread in Tamil society during Periyar's time. He condemned the practice as a form of exploitation that deprived young girls of education and forced them into an oppressive family life. Periyar also opposed the societal stigma against widow remarriage. Widows, especially from higher castes, were often ostracized and subjected to cruel practices such as tonsuring their heads and prohibiting them from participating in family functions.

Periyar argued that widows should have the right to remarry and lead fulfilling lives. His progressive ideas about marriage reform were groundbreaking, as they challenged centuries-old traditions and sought to empower women by allowing them to make choices about their own lives.

3. Support for Women's Education and Economic Independence

Periyar firmly believed that education was the key to liberating women from the constraints of tradition. He viewed education as the most important tool to empower women, enabling them to challenge social norms, become economically independent, and participate actively in society. Through the Self-Respect Movement, he emphasized the importance of girls' education,

encouraging women to break free from the confines of domesticity and seek careers outside the home.

Periyar argued that economic independence was crucial for women's empowerment. He believed that as long as women were economically dependent on men, they would continue to be oppressed. By promoting women's education and employment, Periyar sought to create a society where women could live with dignity and make decisions about their own lives.

Self-Respect Marriages: A Radical Reform

1. Challenging Traditional Hindu Marriage Practices

Periyar introduced the concept of Self-Respect Marriages, a revolutionary practice that rejected traditional Hindu marriage rituals, which were dominated by Brahmin priests. He believed that these rituals symbolized caste supremacy and reinforced the subordination of women. Self-Respect Marriages were designed to be simple, secular ceremonies that emphasized the equality and consent of both partners.

These marriages were conducted without priests or religious rituals, focusing solely on the mutual respect and consent of the bride and groom. By promoting Self-Respect Marriages, Periyar aimed to democratize marriage, stripping away the caste and religious barriers that traditionally governed it.

2. Impact on Inter-Caste Marriages

Periyar also championed inter-caste marriages as a way to break down caste divisions and promote social integration. He believed that encouraging marriages between different castes was a powerful tool for dismantling the rigid caste structure. Self-Respect Marriages became a symbol of modernity and progressive thought in Tamil Nadu, allowing individuals to marry for love, irrespective of caste or community.

Course Outcomes

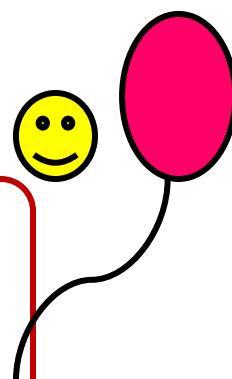
CO1: Explain the growth of political and social awakening in Tamil Nadu.

CO2: Describe the role of the Justice Party and Non-Brahmin Movement.

CO3: Analyze the contributions of Periyar E. V. Ramasamy in social reform.

CO4: Examine the significance of the Dravidar Kazhagam.

CO5: Evaluate the impact of social justice measures and the Self-Respect Movement on society.



Programme Outcome

PO: To develop students' understanding of social reform movements and their role in promoting equality, justice, and political awareness in Tamil Nadu.

S.No	Question (5 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	Write a short note on the Non-Brahmin Movement.	CO1	PO1	K1
2.	What was the role of the Justice Party?	CO2	PO1	K2
3.	What are the Communal G.O.s?	CO1	PO1	K1
4.	Who was Periyar E. V. Ramasamy?	CO1	PO1	K1
5.	What is the Self-Respect Movement?	CO2	PO1	K2

S.No	Question (8 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	Explain the growth of political and social awakening in Tamil Nadu.	CO2	PO1	K2
2.	Explain the formation and role of the Dravidar Kazhagam.	CO2	PO1	K2
3.	Discuss the role of social reform movements in promoting equality in Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4

4.	Evaluate Periyar's contribution to women empowerment and social justice.	CO5	PO1	K5
5.	Examine the long-term impact of Dravidian movements in Tamil society.	CO4	PO1	K4

Unit – IV

Government after Independence: Rajaji ministry (1952-54) – Kamaraj (1954 – 1963): Mid-day Meals Scheme – Industrialisation – Agriculture and Irrigation Reforms – Kamaraj Plan – Bhaktavatsalam – Anti-Hindi Agitations 1938 to 1965

Learning Objectives

- To understand the formation of government after independence in Tamil Nadu.
- To examine the administration of C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji Ministry, 1952–1954).
- To analyze the contributions of K. Kamaraj in education, industrialization, and agriculture.
- To study the policies and governance of M. Bhaktavatsalam.
- To evaluate the causes and impact of the Anti-Hindi Agitations (1938–1965).

Rajaji

Early Days

Rajagopalachariyar, popularly known as Rajaji was born in village Thorappalli near Osur in Salem district as the third son of Nallaan Chakkaravarthi Iyyangar and Chinkarammal on 10th December, 1878. After becoming a law graduate in 1898, he began his career as an advocate in Salem by 1900. He became popular in his profession.

His involvement in the struggle for freedom Rajaji, with his special features of straight forwardness, courage, independence, regularity, intelligence and god-fearing involved himself in politics and attracted the attention of both the people and leaders. Within a short period by his participation in several organisations he achieved a name for himself. When he had involved himself completely in the freedom struggle he was forced to forego his profession which fetched him high income. He represented Tamilnadu in the congress conference held at Calcutta in 1906. He met

Mahakavi Bharathiyar, who was a great patriot of freedom struggle with his inspiring songs, at Puthucheery in 1910. He was the chairman of Salem municipality between the period 1917-1919. Having attracted by extremist principles of Tilak, he became an extremist in the beginning. Then attracted by the non-violent principles of Gandhiji he offered his whole-hearted support to non-co-operation movement in 1920. In the same year by June, he attended the meeting of Hindus and Muslims in favour of Kilaphat movement. He was elected general secretary of All India Congress in 1921. Then by 1922 at the request of Gandhiji he became the editor of Young India, a weekly published from Ahamadabad.

Ashram at Tiruchengode

When Rajaji was active in politics, the justice party was very popular in Tamilnadu. Belonging to the Brahmin community, he was severely criticised by the Justice party. But inspite of all these oppositions, he established an ashram at Tiruchengode just like Gandhiji's ashram at Samarbathi. This ashram was inaugurated by E.V.R. From 1925 to 1935, Rajaji stayed in this ashram and served the people of that locality who were the most backward. He increased the medical facilities in that locality and worked against the drunkedness and untouchability found among those people. In his newspaper, Vimochanam, preference was given for the propagation of prohibition. Highly attracted by the doctrines of Gandhiji, he gave preference to the production of Khadhi in his ashram. The youngsters who got training in his ahsram became a set of disciplined soldiers of freedom.

When Rajaji was in Tiruchengode ashram Gandhiji visited the ashram in 1925 and 1934 and appreciated his endeavour. Moreover, Sarthar Vallabai Patel, G.D. Birla, Nehru, Kumarappa, Sathyamurthi, Lal Bhagadur Sastri, Thuckher Baba, Kirupalani, Mother Kasthuri Bhiganthi and the like, visited his ashram and added credit to his valuable service.

Rajaji and salt Sathyagraha

With the incoming of Gandhiji, the struggle against the English by the Indian National Congress strengthened. Announcing the non-co-operation movement as part of violating the law, Gandhiji started the historically important salt satyagraha in 1930. When Gandhi started salt Satyagraha at Dandi in Tamilnadu, Rajaji was assigned the responsibility to conduct salt Satyagraha. He conducted it successfully at Vedaranyam in spite of strong opposition. Rajaji followed by a hundred freedom fighters walked over to Vedaranyam on 15 April, 1930 to conduct salt Satyagraha. He was arrested and imprisoned for violating salt law. In continuation of that, he participated in several struggles and was given imprisonment many times.

The election of 1937 and his chief-ministership

Thoroughly dissatisfied by the activities of Justice party, people selected Congress party with a majority in the legislative assembly election held in 1937. Becoming the chief minister of Tamilnadu, on behalf of the congress party, Rajaji brought about several reforms towards the welfare of the people.

Prohibition Act

Drunkedness was a great social evil in those days. It not only affected the health of the people but also led to many social evils. To put an end to this evil, Rajaji passed an act of prohibition. But the proper execution of this act became less effective with the opposition of people, government officials and the owners of liquor shops.

Welfare committee for the peasants

When Congress party came to power in Tamilnadu majority of the lands were owned by landlords. Having high socio political influence, these landlords used landless peasants to cultivate this land. The condition of the peasants were miserable as they were treated as slaves and given, very small remuneration. To reorganise the life of these miserable peasants who lived in the manor land of landlords, Rajaji constituted a committee. The committee

under T.Prakasam, the Finance Minister visited the manor land, studied the condition of the peasants and submitted a report to the government. Just at this movement, the Second

World War broke out. As India was involved in the war without the consonance of India leaders, Rajaji's ministry resigned in 1939, as per the decision of the headquarters. Hence Rajaji was unable to pass any act towards the welfare of the peasants on the basis of the report submitted to the government.

Steps against untouchability

Though Rajaji belonged to Brahmin community, he vehemently protested the caste difference. The removal of untouchability was not only patronised but also executed by him. He admitted his son in the college where low caste students were studying. For these reasons, he was kept apart by the high caste and they abstained from having any relation with him. When he was the chairman of Salem municipality, he engaged a scheduled caste to open the water supply scheme. He appointed low castes to work in the college hostels. Further more, he invited some members of the downtrodden people to his house and gave them samabanthi feast. Encouraging the inter-caste marriage, he gave his daughter in marriage to Devadhas Gandhi, son of Gandhiji who belonged to Gujarat Paniya caste. Low caste people were deprived of entry into temple till Rajaji came to power. But Rajaji gave entry to the low castes of Tamil land just as it has taken place at Cochin and Travancore.

Mot against Hindi

Assuming the power in Tamilnadu/ he made Hindi compulsory in schools because he felt that learning hind was good to all people. This was opposed by D.K. under the leadership of E.V.R. Thousands of students and common people participated in this struggle and opposed the government of Rajaji. Predicting Hindi as the language of Brahmins, the members of D.K.

held processions and conferences against Hindi. The conference at Salem was significant among them. Severe steps including firing were taken to suppress the riot, two died of firing. Thousand and two hundred people including E.V.R. were arrested. Still the struggle continued till the resignation of Rajaji's ministry on 29 October, 1939. Governor James Hope who took up the administration of Tamilnadu not only stopped the compulsory introduction of Hindi in schools but also released all the prisoners of the struggle and thus established peace in Tamil land.

Difference of opinion within the congress

There evolved a stumbling block in Indian politics in 1942. Muslims demanded separate land under the leadership of Janaff Jinnah. But this demand was abruptly refused by the Congress. Realising the nature of Muslims and the political procedure of the English, Rajaji suggested the separation of Pakistan through voting. This resolution being refused by the Congress, Rajaji quit Congress party and kept aloof from politics. When he was desirous, of joining the congress again in 1945 members of Congress in Tamilnadu opposed it. But he became a congress member with the support of the Indian congress leaders and served in the Central Ministry, headed by Nehru, as the ministry for Trade and Industry in 1946. Then he became the Governor of Bengal in 1947. Then he acted as the first Indian Governor General from 1948 to 20th January, 1950 after Lord Mount Batton had left for England. From January to November of 1951, he held the post of Home Minister.

Becoming the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu Again

In the assembly election held in 1952, congress could not get majority on its own. Desiring to form the ministry with the help of some independent members, the congress sought the help of Rajaji and offered him the Chief Ministership. Some thought that Rajaji would not accept the offer because he had already assumed high posts. Contrary to this opinion, Rajaji gracefully accepted the invitation of Ramaraj and Kumaraswamiraja and became the

Chief Minister of Tamilnadu for the second time M.Baktavatsalam, A.P. Vetti, C. Subramoniam, K. Venkataswami Naidu, Raja Sammuka Rajeswara Sethupathi, M.A. Manickavellu, K.A. Kutty Krishnan, S.P.P. Pattabiramarow, D. Sanchivyya, K. Rajaram Naidu, Thirumathi Jothi Yenkatachalam and R. Renganna Naidu were the fifteen members in the Ministry of Rajaji. In spite of the internal and external opposition to his Ministry several reforms were implemented by Rajaji's Ministry.

Control of price of Commodities

The Second World War caused the increase in the price of the commodities. This gave a lot of sufferings to ordinary peoples. So necessary commodities were distributed the people through ration shops. Utilising this opportunity officials who were related to this ration were bribed by the merchants, this in turn led to the hoarding of necessary commodities. With the efficient steps taken by the government the black marketing and the bribing of officials were restricted. As a result, the price of the commodities were reduced all on a sudden.

New educational policy

Aspiring to bring about changes in the field of education. Rajaji introduced shift system in the educational institutions in 1953. Students who learned their lessons in the morning shift were expected to learn some work in the afternoon. Those who learned their lessons in the after noon session were expected to do some work in the fore noon. Rajaji anticipated the learning of traditional works by the students from their parents, thereby abolition of unemployment problem. Not realising the real effect of this system, a storm of opposition arose in Tamil land against the new educational policy. The opposition party vehemently criticised this scheme as Caste oriented educational scheme. This opposition threw Rajaji out of power.

Rajaji's Resignation

Rajaji's progressive thinking created internal conflict in the party. Kamaraj too protested the reforms of Rajaji. This led to the difference of opinion between Rajaji and Kamaraj and hence Rajaji resigned his chief ministership on April 13, 1954. The very next day Kamaraj assumed power as the chief minister of Tamilnadu.

The appraisal of Swatandra party

Thoroughly dissatisfied with the congress party Rajaji started a new party, Swatandra Party in 1959 and acted as its leader until his end. Later, he patronised D.M.K. and supported the cause of anti-hindi agitation. In 1962 he made tour to London, New York and Washington as a representative of peace among the world countries.

His service to Tamil language

Rajaji was famous in expressing things in simple and sweet Tamil language. He wrote philosophical articles in beautiful Tamil. He had also written Mahabharatha as Viyasarvirutham and Valmiki Ramayana as Sakravarthi Thirumagal. Moreover, he wrote religious, philosophical books like Kannan Kattiyavazhi, Upanidathaba palakani and Baja Govindam. A great man, who was equally intelligent in politics and in Tamil literature readied the foot of God on 25th day of December, 1972.

An estimate

Rajaji was a simple and dear thinker. He believed in the freedom of individuals. As an opponent of the British he favoured non-co-operation, but after his resignation from office, cooperated with the British. As a chief minister, Rajaji introduced Hindi but as a Swatandra leader opposed Hindi. He started his career as a nationalist in the congress party but ended his career as a regionalist in alliance with the D.M.K.

Kamaraj

Kamaraj Earlyhood

Kamaraj who reached the zenith of his life through hardwork; was bom at Virudhunagar on 15th July, 1903 as the son of Kumaraswamy Nadar and Sivakami Ammal. His orignial name was Kamatshi. He had his early education in the government primary school during his 5th year and during his 6th year. He began his education in Kshtrya Vidya Sakar school. As his father had died during the 6th year, he put an end to his education and joined as an assistant in textile shop owned by his uncle.

His connection with the congress

The news of Indian freedom struggle attracted Kamaraj. The inspiring speeches of the leaders made Kamaraj stir against the supressive attitude of the English. So he joined the congress party, held meetings and participated in the processions bearing the national flag and collected funds through undiyals. This made his wide Karuppaiya to send Kamaraj to Trivandrum to work, in a timber shop, owned by his sister. Loosing interest in the works of the timber shop, Kamaraj participated in the Satyagraha held at Vaikom of Kerala. So he was brought back to Virudhunagar again.

His deep involvement in the party

Fully involved himself in the congress party at the age of 18, Kamaraj became the source of congress growth at Virudhunagar. He participated in all the struggles conducted by Congress party. He partook the riot at Suchindrem, for the worship right of harijans, nonco-operation movement in 1920 and picketing of toddy shops at Madurai in 1923. He also participated with the disciples of the party in flag struggle held at Nagpur. When he participated in the salt Satyagraha in 1930, he was arrested and was given two years imprisonment. But he was released before time due to Gandhiji Irwin pact. A great crowd of people took him in a procession to his house from Virudhunagar railway station.

Party work and big posts in politics

Several posts came in search of Kamaraj. When representatives from the districts were elected for the Congress working committee Kamaraj was elected representative of Ramnad district. When Gandhiji was arrested for his involvement in the freedom struggle Kamaraj protested this arrest. Kamaraj was arrested, imprisoned at Vellore and later he was released.

Satyamoorthy, a great political sufferer in the party attracted Kamaraj very much. Assuming himself to be his master, Kamaraj acted as his right hand. When Satyamoorthy was elected the President of Tamilnadu Congress committee in 1936. Kamaraj was elected as its secretary. In 1937, Kamaraj became victorious from the Sattur constituency as the member of the legislative assembly. In 1940, supported by Satyamoorthy he defeated one Subbiyya patronised by Rajaji by three votes for the post of President of Tamilnadu Congress Committee.

When the second world war broke out India was involved in the war by the English without the least consultation of Indian leaders. The attitude of the British aroused the leaders of India, At this juncture, the Congress put forth a condition of complete independence. If India would be given independence. Congress was prepared to help the English in the war. As the English refused to accept this condition the anti-English riot strengthened, Kamaraj participated in the riot too. When James Hope visited Tamilnadu to collect war fund Kamaraj propagated throughout Tamilnadu not to give that fund. In 1941, when Kamaraj was carrying the list of participants in the Satyagraha to Gandhiji, he was arrested in the train and imprisoned in Vellore jail: When he was in prison, he was elected the Chairman of Virudhunagar Municipality. Again, he was given one year imprisonment for his participation in the quit India movement in 1942.

When Kamaraj was released from prison, he resigned the Chairmanship of

Virudhunagar Municipality by saying to his followers, I have the work of fighting for the freedom of Bharatham and you look after the welfare of Virudhunagar. Then he proceeded to Bombay and participated, All India congress committee meeting in which the Quit India resolution was passed. To execute the quit India resolution, he came back to Tamilnadu. But even before the starting of the struggle he was attested in Virudhunagar with several charges of offenses and he was imprisoned first at Vellore and then at Amaravathi for a total period of three years. His master Satyamurthy died during this imprisonment which was a great shock to Kamaraj. When India became free in 1947, the fame of Kamaraj had grown and he became a member of parliament in the election of 1952.

Becoming chief-minister Tamilnadu

With the removal of Rajaji from the chief ministership of Tamilnadu on 13th April, 1954, Kamaraj took up that post. When he assumed power as chief minister, he became M.L.A. from Kudiyatham Constituency. During his administration Tamilnadu reached its peak of its progress.

Unlike Rajaji's ministry, the ministry of Kamaraj was constituted of eight ministers. In spite of his aspiration to give representation to all sects of people in the ministry only efficient persons were given chances in his ministry. C. Subramonian, M. Baktavatchalam, Paramesvaran, A.P. Sethi, M.P. Manickavelu, Ramnad Raja and Ramaswamy Padyachi constituted 'Kamaraj's Ministry. By giving an opportunity to Parameswaran, a Harijan in his Ministry, Kamaraj became the favourite of harijans. In 1957 election forming an alliance with B.M.K. 151 seats were secured out of 205 total seats. Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu once again and administered it till 1963. During this period, he executed several welfare schemes.

Growth of education

Kamaraj felt the indispensability of education towards the socio-economic welfare of the society. He established school in every nook and corner of Tamilnadu including villages and reformed the existing educational institutions. To remove the ignorance of people, he made education compulsory upto the age of eleven. To help the poor students free education, free uniform and free noon meal were introduced. This gave a golden opportunity to all the poor children to become literate.

Since the funds for education were insufficient, he proposed to collect donations from well wishers and common people. For this purpose alone Kamaraj held 133 conferences and was able to collect six crores and 47 lakhs of rupees as donation. The whole amount was dedicated to the growth of education. Because of his utmost interest towards the growth of education 46.1 lakhs students were privileged to learn in 10,000 primary schools. Moreover, to encourage higher education, free education was introduced in the high schools also. Apart from this, technical colleges were started in every districts. Furthermore, two physical education colleges and ten teacher's training colleges and 39 teachers training schools were established. In addition to this, two medical colleges and two engineering colleges were started by him, Arrangements were made to start a new university. But this was made possible only by

Baktavatsalam, when he came to power, Hence arose the Madurai University. This university was the result of the efforts of Kamaraj and hence called Madurai Kamaraj University. Poor students who had their education in Medical colleges, engineering colleges and agricultural colleges were offered loans without interest for their education. Because of his efforts towards the improvement of education among poor people, Kamaraj was praised to be Kalvikanthiranthavar.

Land reforms and social welfare

Kamaraj implemented several constructive schemes to uplift the conditions of the downtrodden peasants in the society. He reorganised Landlords protective act of Tanjore and made it possible for the peasants to get 60% of the land produce. He also passed Land Reform Act so that it could offer land to the landless peasants. His Madras land reform act laid a ceiling, to the land possessions of land lords and the surplus land was distributed to the landless. A family having five members could have 30 acres of land. Family having more than five members was permitted to own five acres of land to each members; but it should not exceed sixty acres. Moreover, the Madras cultivating Tenants protection Act of 1955 protected the peasants from being squeezed by the landlords. Further more, the electrification scheme of villages and manor - lands gave good result. Introduction of pumps held the first place in India for the utility of electricity in cultivation and that increased the produce several time.

The annexure of South Travancore

Travancore Tamilnadu Congress President Nathaniel met Kamaraj in connection with the annexure of south Travancore (Present Kanyakumari District) with Madras State. Kamaraj assured to do the needful to solve this problem. But when responsible government was announced in 1947, the longstanding desire of the people of Kanyakumari ended indisappointment. So people revolted and the police opened fire against them. After visiting the affected areas, Kamaraj promised to solve the problem legally. But the government of Travancore stood against this. He wanted to make negotiation among the two groups of people. As Pattom Thanupillai did not participate in the negotiation talk no decision was reached. When the states were proposed to be reorganised on linguistic basis in 1953, solution to this problem was antidpated. But K.M. Panicker, a member of the commission appointed for this purpose considered only the proposals of Pattom Thanupillai; but not the interests of the people in Kanyakumari district, It was the general feeling

among the leaders and the people of Kanyakumari district that Kamaraj had not shown much interest in solving this problem.

Becoming the leader of all India congress

In the congress .conference held at Buvanesvar in 1963 Kamaraj was elected as the president of All India Congress. He showed deep interest in satisfying the needs of people and strengthening the party by conducting tours all over the lands. He also visited Russia and other Eastern European countries to witness their industrial growth, so that they might be implemented in India.

King maker

He was highly influential in state and central congress party. He was the' cause for the elevation of several people. As far as Tamilnadu is concerned Prakasam, Panthalu, Ramaswamy Reddiyar, Kumaraswamy Raja and Rajagobalachari got themselves elevated to higher posts only because of Kamaraj. In the centre, he was responsible for the unopposed selection of Lai Bahadur Sastri as the prime minister of India, in the event of the political uncertainty after the death of Nehru. When Sastri died unexpectedly at Tashkant in 1966 it was Kamaraj who made Indira Gandhi as the Prime minister and brought about unity among the leaders. Hence, he was called the King Makers.

Kamaraj set an example to the later administrators by his simplicity, straight forwardness, patriotism and eagerness in the welfare of the people. The present politicians expressed their desire in political stages to bring about the rule of Kamaraj once again just to set aside corruption and restlessness that are found in the to-day's politics. Kamaraj who was at his zenith of fame died on October 2, 1975. When MISA was prevalent in India. A memorial was erected at Madras to honour the great personality Kamaraj.

Mid-Day Meals

In 1956, poverty was rampant in India, with up to 73 per cent of the population in rural areas living below the poverty line and the number of

children enrolled in schools was abysmal. The chief minister, K. Kamaraj, was acutely aware of how poverty and hunger were conspiring to keep children out of school. He sought to address the issue by introducing a hugely ambitious and transformational scheme of serving an afternoon meal in all schools of Tamil Nadu.

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Among the new students was Mahendran, who ran barefoot to the elementary school in his village early every morning. The noon meal at school not only satiated him but also gave him a respite from his strenuous work. The meal made it possible for Mahendran to break the shackles of hunger, go to school, study and reach for the skies. It was his ticket to freedom from hunger, illiteracy and deprivation and would go on to change his life forever. He went on to become the first post-graduate from his community. Mahendran says, 'If the school had not served me a hot meal, there was no way I would have gone to school. I would have continued to wash clothes for a living.'

Like Mahendran, who went on to become the first post-graduate from his community in the village, many generations have benefitted immensely from this scheme, and it has changed the destiny of many from a life of stark poverty and hunger to dignity, self-respect and a life-changing education. The noon-meal scheme not only eradicated hunger from classrooms but also

substantially improved student enrolment, retention and education levels in Tamil Nadu, laying the foundations for the state to emerge as an economic powerhouse.

Origins of the Noon Meal Programme

The early 1900s saw many swift and dramatic political and social developments in the then Madras Presidency. Established power structures were challenged, and long-suppressed communities found their voice with the self-respect movement gaining traction. The South Indian Liberal Federation, which would later go on to become the Justice Party — was responsible for ushering in many of these sweeping social and political changes in Tamil Nadu.

One of the Justice Party leaders was Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, who also served as the president of Madras Corporation. He found that boys studying in a corporation school came from very poor families and constituted an insignificant proportion of the student population. After much deliberation, the Madras Corporation council passed a dramatically progressive resolution in November 1920: it would provide free tiffin to the students of the corporation school at the Thousand Lights area. The daily cost was capped at one anna per student. No one could have guessed that this small beginning would in years inspire one of the largest programmes for social transformation in the state.

Madras Corporation later made concerted efforts to introduce and expand the noon meal scheme and included four more schools. There was an increase in enrolments by children from poorer communities who were earlier reluctant to attend school. Policymakers were pleasantly surprised when the attendance in these five schools doubled in just two years—from 811 in 1922-23 to 1,671 in 1924-25.

However, the colonial British government played spoilsport by refusing to allot the required funds to support the scheme and it had to be

suspended in 1925. Sustained pressure on the government from various quarters eventually forced it to revive the funding after two years. This time the scheme was further expanded to cover about 1,000 poor students in twenty-five schools in the city.

The Kamaraj Mid-Day Meals Scheme is one of the most significant welfare initiatives in Tamil Nadu, introduced by K. Kamaraj during his tenure as Chief Minister in the 1950s. The primary objective of the scheme was to improve school attendance and reduce dropout rates among children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The introduction of this scheme marked a turning point in the state's education and welfare policies, as it linked nutritional support with educational development.

The scheme provided free meals to schoolchildren, ensuring that hunger would not be a barrier to education. It aimed at addressing both malnutrition and illiteracy by encouraging children to attend school regularly. The nutritional meals helped improve the health of young students, especially those from rural and poor families, fostering better academic performance and reducing the socioeconomic gap in education.

Kamaraj's Mid-Day Meals Scheme was a pioneering effort, inspiring other states across India to adopt similar welfare initiatives. Over time, the program expanded and evolved, becoming a national initiative under the name of the Mid-Day Meal Scheme. It also contributed to broader social benefits, such as enhancing community participation in schools, as parents became more involved in their children's education. The scheme helped raise awareness about the importance of education and highlighted Kamaraj's vision of social justice, upliftment, and inclusive development.

In essence, the Kamaraj Mid-Day Meals Scheme remains a symbol of progressive governance in Tamil Nadu and is a critical chapter in the state's educational and welfare history.

Industrialisation

Major industries with an investment in crores of Rupees were started in his period. Neyveli Lignite Scheme, Raw photo film industry at Nilgiri, Surgical instruments factory at Guindy, Sugar Factories, Bi-Carbonates factories, Cement Factories, Railway coach factory at Avadi, Mettur paper industry, were started only in the period of Kamarajar.

These are the backbone of the development of the nation. The result is that Madras state stood first in India in providing electricity to rural areas. About 13,300 villages were give electricity during 1955-61. Using electric power for agriculture purpose, Madras state stands first. Expense to improve electricity situation at Madras in 1959 was Rs. 2.71 crores. Hydro power station at Periyar was constructed at an expenditure of Rs. 9 crores. 1 lakh KW of electricity produced under this scheme. Well-known Kunda Dam project was constructed at an expenditure of Rs. 3.5 crores. Nehruji inaugurated this project. It was completed in very short period by over engineers which made foreigners to wonder. In 1958-59, the investment in electricity connection was 95 crores and the income increased to Rs. 12 crores.

Growth of Industry

During the administration of Kamaraj in Tamilnadu industries developed considerably. As the individuals were encourage to start new industries. Tamilnadu developed industrially within a very short period. In addition to the individuals, the government had also started new industries. During his period, a photo film industry at Qoty with the investment of 12 96 crores and a heavy boiler industry at Trichy with 25 70 crores of rupees investments, a heavy industry at Avadi, Oil refinery industry at Manali, composed manure industry and atomic industry at Madras, Bhavani project and Kundala project were started, As a result of these industrial progress Tamilnadu held the third place in India for industrial growth.

Irrigation

Major irrigation schemes were planned in Kamaraj's period. Lower Bhavani, Mani Muthuar, Cauvery Delta, Aarani River, Vailgai Dam, Amravathi, Sathanur, Krishnagiri, Pullambadi, parambikulam and Neyaru Dams were among them. The lower Bhavani Dam in Coimbatore district was constructed with an expenditure of Rs. 10 crores. 2,07,000 acres of land are under cultivation. About 45,000 acres of arable land are benefited through Mettur canal of Salem. Another scheme was Krishnagiri in the same district. Vaigai, Sathanur facilitate to Cultivate thousands of acres of lands in Madurai and North Arcot districts respectively. Rs.30 crores were planned to spend for Parambikulam River scheme in Kamaraj's period.

This has helped for the development of Coimbatore district agriculture field. In 1957-61 1,628 Tanks were de-silted under Small Irrigation Scheme 2000 wells were dugged with outlets. Long term loans with 25 per cent subsidy were given oil engines, electric pump sets on instalment basis. 150 lakhs of acres of lands were cultivated during Kamaraj's period. One third of this, i.e. 56 lakhs of acres of land get permanent watering facility.

Kamaraj Plan

After the Chinese invasion in 1962, the popularity of the congress party began to diminish. The congress party failed in a few interim elections. So Kamaraj proposed a plan in which he stated the elder leaders of the party should forego their ministerships and came forward to work towards the strengthening of the party. This plan was approved by Nehru also. As per this plan, Kamaraj left his Chief Ministership and involved himself in party work as a model. Following this Morarji Desai and Lal Bahadur Shastri had forgone their Ministership and engaged themselves in party work. Many leaders criticised this plan too.

M.Bhaktavatsalam

Minjur Bhaktavatsalam or Minjur Kanakasabhapathi Bhaktavatsalam Mudaliar (9 October 1897 – 13 February 1987) was an Indian lawyer,

politician and freedom fighter from the state of Tamil Nadu. He served as the Chief Minister of Madras state from 2 October 1963 to 6 March 1967. He was the last Congress chief minister of Tamil Nadu and the last to have taken part in the Indian independence movement.

Bhaktavatsalam was born on 9 October 1897 in the Madras Presidency. He studied law and practised as an advocate in the Madras High Court. He involved himself in politics and the freedom movement right from an early age and was imprisoned during the Salt Satyagraha and the Quit India Movement.

He was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1937 and served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Rajaji government and as a minister in the O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiyar government. He led the Indian National Congress during the 1950s and served as the Chief Minister of Madras Presidency from 1963 to 1967. Following the defeat of the Indian National Congress in the 1967 elections, Bhaktavatsalam partially retired from politics. He died on 13 February 1987 at the age of 89.

The Anti-Hindi Agitation of 1938 to 1965

The Anti-Hindi agitations of Tamil Nadu were a series of agitations that happened in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu (formerly Madras State and part of Madras Presidency) during both pre- and post-Independence periods. The agitations involved several mass protests, riots, student and political movements in Tamil Nadu concerning the official status of Hindi in the state.

The first anti-Hindi imposition agitation was launched in 1937, in opposition to the introduction of compulsory teaching of Hindi in the schools of Madras Presidency by the first Indian National Congress government led by C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji). This move was immediately opposed by E. V. Ramasamy (Periyar) and the opposition Justice Party (later Dravidar Kazhagam). The agitation, which lasted three years, was multifaceted and involved fasts, conferences, marches, picketing and protests. The government

responded with a crackdown resulting in the deaths of two protesters and the arrests of 1,198 persons including women and children. Mandatory Hindi education was later withdrawn by the British Governor of Madras Lord Erskine in February 1940 after the resignation of the Congress Government in 1939.

The adoption of an official language for the Indian Republic was a hotly debated issue during the framing of the Indian Constitution after India's independence from the United Kingdom. After an exhaustive and divisive debate, Hindi was adopted as the official language of India with English continuing as an associate official language for a period of fifteen years, after which Hindi would become the sole official language. The new Constitution came into effect on 26 January 1950. Efforts by the Indian Government to make Hindi the sole official language after 1965 was not acceptable to many non-Hindi Indian states, who wanted the continued use of English. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a descendant of Dravidar Kazhagam, led the opposition to Hindi. To allay their fears, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru enacted the Official Languages Act in 1963 to ensure the continuing use of English beyond 1965. The text of the Act did not satisfy the DMK and increased their skepticism that his assurances might not be honored by future administrations. As the day (26 January 1965) of switching over to Hindi as sole official language approached, the anti-Hindi movement gained momentum in Madras State with increased support from college students. On 25 January, a full-scale riot broke out in the southern city of Madurai, sparked off by a minor altercation between agitating students and Congress party members. The riots spread all over Madras State, continued unabated for the next two months, and were marked by acts of violence, arson, looting, police firing and lathi charges. The Congress Government of the Madras State called in paramilitary forces to quell the agitation; their involvement resulted in the deaths of about seventy persons (by official estimates) including two

policemen. To calm the situation, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri gave assurances that English would continue to be used as the official language as long as the non-Hindi speaking states wanted. The riots subsided after Shastri's assurance, as did the student agitation.

The agitations of 1965 led to major political changes in the state. The DMK won the 1967 assembly election and the Congress Party never managed to recapture power in the state since then. The Official Languages Act was eventually amended in 1967 by the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi to guarantee the indefinite use of Hindi and English as official languages. This effectively ensured the current "virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism" of the Indian Republic. There were also two similar (but smaller) agitations in 1968 and 1986 which had varying degrees of success.

Course Outcomes

- CO1:** Explain the early political developments in Tamil Nadu after independence.
- CO2:** Describe the policies and administration of C. Rajagopalachari.
- CO3:** Analyze the reforms and achievements of K. Kamaraj.
- CO4:** Examine the role of M. Bhaktavatsalam in state politics.
- CO5:** Evaluate the significance of the Anti-Hindi Agitations in Tamil Nadu.

Programme Outcome

- PO:** To develop students' understanding of post-independence political developments and reforms in Tamil Nadu and their impact on society and governance.

S.No	Question (5 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	Write a short note on the Rajaji Ministry (1952–54).	CO1	PO1	K1
2.	Explain the administration of C. Rajagopalachari (1952–54).	CO2	PO1	K2
3.	What is the Mid-day Meals Scheme?	CO1	PO1	K1
4.	Discuss the achievements of K. Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4
5.	Explain the importance of industrialization under Kamaraj.	CO2	PO1	K2

S.No	Question (8 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
1.	Analyze the role of M. Bhaktavatsalam in Tamil Nadu politics.	CO4	PO1	K4
2.	Explain the causes and course of the Anti-Hindi Agitations (1938–1965).	CO2	PO1	K2
3.	Discuss the impact of the Anti-Hindi movement on Tamil Nadu society.	CO4	PO1	K4
4.	Evaluate the political developments in Tamil Nadu between 1952 and 1965.	CO5	PO1	K5
5.	Examine the role of leadership in shaping post-independence Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4

Unit –V

Formation of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam – C.N. Annadurai Reservation – Women Welfare – Agriculture and Industrial Development – Renaming Madras State as Tamil Nadu – Karunanidhi’s Administration – Social Justice – Brith of ADMK M.G. Ramachandran – Nutritious Meal Schem – J. Jayalalitha – Welfare Measures – Contemporary Issues Tamil Nadu: Integration of Tamil Districts – River Water Disputes – Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee Crisis – Reservation Policy – Relations with Neighbouring States – Industrial and Educational Development.

Learning Objectives

- To understand the formation and growth of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under C. N. Annadurai.
- To examine the policies of reservation, women welfare, and development initiatives in Tamil Nadu.
- To analyze the administrative contributions of M. Karunanidhi and social justice measures.
- To study the emergence of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under M. G. Ramachandran and welfare schemes.
- To evaluate contemporary issues such as river water disputes, refugee crises, and industrial development in Tamil Nadu.

Formation of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

Introduction

On 17th September 1949, the state political party of Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) which means —Dravidian Progress Federation|| was founded by C.N Annadurai. The DMK was founded as a breakaway party from the Dravidar Kazhagam. The DMK currently headed by M Karunanidhi (former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu) and is the only other party other than the United Progressive Alliance (UPA)

to win a state-level election with a vast majority by itself in any state of the country.

The DMK found its origins in the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party) founded in 1916 by Dr. P.T Rajan, Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar and P. Thyagaraya Chetty, among others. The Justice Party's vision included social justice and equality won the 1920 General Elections in the Madras Presidency and came to power. E.V Ramasami Naicker, a well known Tamil Reformist of his time joined the Indian National Congress (INC) to protest against the most of the leadership belonging to the Brahmin caste. In 1935, Naicker left the INC and became part of the Justice Party. In 1937 the Justice Party lost the elections and the INC led by C. Rajagopalachari (also known as Rajaji) formed the government in the Madras Presidency. Rajaji's introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools gave rise to the anti-Hindi rebellion and was led by Naicker and his followers.

In August 1944, Naicker carved the Dravida Kazhagham out of the Justice Party, though the Dravida Kazhagham was started as a movement and not a political party. The Dravida Kazhagham wanted an independent country for Dravidians, which would be called Dravida Nadu and which would include areas of the Madras Presidency.

After many disagreements between Naicker and other party members over the years in 1949 many party members led by C. Annadurai parted ways with the Dravida Kazhagham after an elderly Naicker married a young woman Maniammai and named her his successor to lead the party. On 17th September 1949, Dr. P.T Rajan, Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar and P. Thyagaraja Chetty along with E.V.K Sampath and N.V Natarajan among others announced the formation of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Chennai.

Famous Tamil film actor M.G Ramachandran (popularly known as MGR) became part of the DMK and promoted the party and its message through his films. Soon MGR began to be looked at as an icon for the DMK.

MGR made a rather unsuccessful debut into politics in 1957. Initially even though Annadurai wanted a separated Dravidian nation, he changed his opinion after the Sino-Indian war in 1962 and supported India throughout the war. After the war ended, Annadurai's patriotic feelings were so deep that he gave up his demand for a separate country

In 1965 in response to the anti-Hindi turmoil the Central Government gave up its efforts to impose Hindi as the National Language of the country. The DMK finally came to power in the Madras Province in 1967, which marked the beginning of the Dravidian phase of the Madras Province which later became Tamil Nadu.

In 1969, following the death of Annadurai, there was a tussle for power between M. Karunanidhi and V.R Nedunchezhiyan. Most members of the DMK preferred Karunanidhi as their leader in comparison to Nedunchezhiyan. To satisfy both, a new post of the General Secretary was created, which was given to Nedunchezhiyan and Karunanidhi was made the Party President. MGR was made the treasurer of the party.

Formation of DMK

Anna who got a rude shock from Periyar's precipitate action (of marrying a woman named Maniammai half a century younger in age to him) was slowly recovering from the blow that fell on him. But there was no doubt that the DMK's fate was sealed and the people of Tamil Nadu would never respect the party, thought Anna. It was a great moment of crisis and a way had to be found to restore the Dravidian Movement to its former glory and the responsibility for giving a lead in this matter fell on Anna's shoulders since by that time Anna had built up a good following, only next to Periyar.' There were many leaders in the movement like N.V. Natarajan, E.V.K. Sampath (who is Periyar's brother's son) and others. But Anna was above them all and Periyar himself had to acknowledge Anna's status in the public eye at the Erode conference the year before Maniammai's affair. There was an executive

council in D.K. which consisted of thirty two members, notable among them were T.P. Vedachalam, an advocate of Tiruchi, K.K. Neelamegam of Kumbakonam and E.V.K. Sampath. A resolution was passed in the Executive, calling upon Periyar not to marry Maniammai." Anna discussed the issue with his esteemed colleagues within the party who also felt that the ideals of the D.K. should not be sacrificed at the altar of Periyar's leadership. It was for Anna to chalk out the future course of action.

Anna acted with great foresight. He called for a meeting of all the leaders in the party. In that the crucial meeting on 17-9-1949 which was held at Madras the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam came into existence[^]. The D.M.K was formed to continue the political work aimed at the formation of the Dravida Nadu which in really meant the ending of the exploitation of the southern region by the north and to remove the disabilities suffered by the Dravidian people. The D.M.K had to continue the movement for social reform also in the light of the previous experience gained under Periyar's leadership. The formation of the D.M.K by Anna showed that he was a great politician and man of action. Anna cared more for the party and as a shrewd politician he carried the entire executive committee members of the D.K along with him and he was able to organize the party in quickness of time to rally together the forces under the new banner and he succeeded in isolating Periyar who did not much bother about these repercussions.[^] The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam The Dravida Kazhagam, in spite of its appeals to the masses, retained its quasi - military organization and its basically elitist character. There arose within the ranks of the movement a challenge to the virtually deified position of Periyar. This "Progressive" wing of the party, upholding the principle of Democratic Party organization was continually frustrated by Periyar's intransigence. Through its elaborate structural organization, its broadened financial support and through its conferences and campaigns, the new party sought a mass membership as the base for political power.

The vitality of the Dravida Kazhagham had attracted many outstanding young men, of whom one of the most talented was C.N. Annadurai. Born in Kanchipuram in 1908, he took an M.A degree in Economics from Pachaiyappa college in Madras, but abandoned further studies in favour of a career in journalism . Joining the justice party in 1935, Annadurai became an ardent supporter of the anti ~ Hindi movement and participated in Naicker's 1938 campaign with the formation of the Dravida Kazhagham in 1944, Annadurai became one of Naicker's chief lieutenants". At the time of Partition, Naicker tried to secure the help of Jinnah, so that Dravidasthan might be formed simultaneously with Pakistan Jinnah refused assistance, and the British "betrayal" of the Dravidian peoples in turning the bureaucracy over to a Brahmin oligarchy, Naicker boycotted the Independence Day celebrations. He refused to honour the National flag. Just as he later refused to recognize the Indian constitution, seeing it only as a tool of Brahmin tyranny.^ Annadurai, however, saw national independence as the accomplishment of all Indian not merely the Aryan North. Naicker refused to listen, just as he ignored Annadurai repeated demands for a democratization of leadership within the party.

Naicker had no faith in democracy either in the organization or in his visualized Dravidasthan, and in the 1948 D.K conference, Annadurai led a walkout in protest against Naicker's political autocracy. Naicker utilized the conference to condemn the "renegades" but, alarmed at the possibility of a split, he attempted a compromise by appointing Annadurai president of a conference held later that same year. He refused, however to give into Annadurai's demands for a democratic party organization .

Naicker's popularity suffered a disastrous blow in 1949, when at the age of 72, he married a 28 year old girl who had been an active member of the party. In a statement giving the reasons for his marriage, he said that, as he had no confidence in his lieutenants, he was marrying a girl in whom he had

full trust and she would lead the party after his death". On the pretext that the marriage was contrary to the social objectives of the Kazaghams which included the elimination of the practice of unequal marriages, Annadurai seceded from the party to form the party to form the Dravida Munnetra Kazaghams (the Dravidian Progressive Federation). The original leaders of the DMK included N.V. Natarajan, Karunanidhi, and E.V.K. Sampath, who as nephew of Naicker, abandoned a considerable inheritance by leaving the DK. In reaction against the loose structure of the DK, Annadurai sought to weld the DMK into an effective political organization. As set forth in the party constitution, the basic structural unit of the party is the ward committee in cities and the village committee in rural areas, each requiring a minimum of 25 members. There were an estimated 3,000 such branches, as of 1960, having 17 grown from only a handful in the year of the party's formation. The Taluk committee, at the next level is made up of the respective secretaries of the basic units. The District committee is composed of all the taluk secretaries in the district. The district committee in turn elects 10 of its own number to the General council.

A man may be elected to the council after three years membership within the party. The district secretary becomes an ex - officio member of the council. The general council, as the supreme body of the DMK, elects a chairman and a General secretary of the party, a parliamentary Board a Treasurer, a party trust Board, an Appeal committee, and an Audit committee. The General secretary selects a working committee of 20, which is to include 5 party secretaries. First secretary in charge of head quarters; second secretary, in charge of organization; third in charge of propoganda; fourth, in charge of trade union activities; and fifth, in charge of party publications'^. The principal source of party fund is derived from the members in the form of 50 nayepaise membership fee (about 10 cents) for two years standing and from admission charges for district and special conferences held during the

year. The ticket cost covers a wide range and is bought according to the member's ability to pay. The conference often attract as many as 200,000 people, drawn by the spell binding oratory of Annadurai and by the popular Tamil film stars who glamourize the party functions. Annadurai, as well as with the film industry in Madras as writer, director and producer and many of the films produced are openly propagandistic. Many film artists have been drawn into movement by a desire to increase their own popularity by riding the support for the DMK. Others, however such as Shivaji Ganesan, found that at the height of fame, association with the DMK, became a serious liability. Shivaji Ganesan's acting career began with the Dravida Kazhagam and his role of Shivaji won such great popularity that Naicker christened him with the honoured name. As one of the founding members of the DMK, Shivaji - rapidly becoming the most popular film star in Madras - made large contributions to the party coffers and collected money at rallies. Bitter at a lack of recognition for his efforts on behalf of the DMK and perhaps feeling that the party was no longer an asset Shivaji attacked the DMK as a "glamour" party which exploited the Tamil film industry that was publicly abused by DMK members and his photographs and billings were defaced with mud and dung. Other film stars, however have continued association with the DMK, perhaps to protect their linguistic medium or out of vengeance against the congress supported tax on the cinema industry.

The immense popularity of the stars, such as M.G. Ramachandran, S.S. Rajendran and K.R. Ramaswamy, have been an important influence on the highly - impressionable electorate and have won support for the DMK. The cinema, perhaps the cheapest and most effective instrument of communication for social mobilization in India, has played a vital role in the creation of a nationally self conscious Tamil people, through the depiction of the former glory of Dravidian civilization and through its emphasis on social Justice." The DMK membership has grown yearly at accelerating rates to its

present number of about 175,000 (1960)'^ Though a member of the upper Mudaliar caste, Annadurai oriented his movement toward the urban lower classes, the proletariat lower middle class, and students. He appealed not so much to the prosperous non - Brahmin communities of his own caste or the Vellala landowners or industrialists who had been the foundation of Naicker's power, but rather to the masses, the lower castes of the Nadar, Maravar, and Adi - Dravida untouchables'^. The party constituency, concentrated in the age range of 20 to 40, is drawn mainly from the lower middle classes, workers petty official, small traders, urban unemployed and students, while its leadership is concentrated primarily among writers and journalists who utilize communications media as the catapult to political power. While DMK support has been virtually limited to urban centers and those immediately adjacent areas, it has, with expanding communication, begun to make in roads into the villages of interior and southern Madras.'^ The DMK, as a catalyst for social mobilization, has effectively exploited the identify anxiety of the transitional individual in his movement from a primordially determined universe of family, caste and village to an urban environment.

Through its appeal to basic language - nationality consciousness, the party has gained increasing support as the identity horizon of the Tamil people has expanded under the impact of the concomitant forces of communication, urbanization and industrialization^^. The traditional village institutions however did not remain unaffected by the impact of industrialization and communication. The market economy greatly reduced the autonomy of the village and with fluctuating prices, there was an increase in rural indebtedness, machine - made goods, of higher quality and lower price, undermined traditional cottage industries and the jajmani relationship between village crafts man and land owner, resulting in an economically displaced population among lower castes. Communication through the touring dramatic groups of the DK, the popular campaigns of both the DK and DMK, through

the cinema, radio and newspapers, inspired a discontent among the lower castes and classes which increasingly attracted them to the promise of industrial employment and equal opportunity in the city. As Bert Hoselitz indicates, it is those villagers with a higher degree of empathy that migrate from the rural into the urban areas.

C.N. Annadurai and his Ministry

Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai (15 September 1909 – 3 February 1969), popularly called Anna ("Elder brother") or Arignar Anna ("Anna, the scholar"), was an Indian politician who served as 1st Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for 20 days in 1969 and fifth, and last Chief Minister of Madras from 1967 until 1969 when the name of the state of Madras was changed to Tamil Nadu. He was the first member of a Dravidian party to hold either post.

He was well known for his oratorical skills and was an acclaimed writer in the Tamil language. He scripted and acted in several plays. Some of his plays were later made into movies. He was the first politician from the Dravidian parties to use Tamil cinema extensively for political propaganda. Born in a middle-class family, he first worked as a school teacher, then moved into the political scene of the Madras Presidency as a journalist. He edited several political journals and enrolled as a member of the Dravidar Kazhagam. As an ardent follower of Periyar E. V. Ramasamy, he rose in stature as a prominent member of the party.

With differences looming with Periyar, on issues of separate independent state of Dravida Nadu and on inclusion in the Indian Union, he crossed swords with his political mentor. The friction between the two finally erupted when Periyar married Maniammai, who was much younger than him. Angered by this action of Periyar, Annadurai with his supporters parted from Dravidar Kazhagam and launched his own party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). [The DMK initially followed ideologies the same as the mother party, Dravidar Kazhagam. But with the evolution of national politics

and the constitution of India after the Sino-Indian war in 1962, Annadurai dropped the claim for an independent Dravida Nadu. Various protests against the ruling Congress government took him to prison on several occasions; the last of which was during the Madras anti-Hindi agitation of 1965. The agitation itself helped Annadurai to gain popular support for his party. His party won a landslide victory in the 1967 state elections. His cabinet was the youngest at that time in India. He legalised Self-Respect marriages, enforced a two language policy (in preference to the three language formula in other southern states), implemented subsidies for rice, and renamed Madras State to Tamil Nadu.

However, he died of cancer just two years into office. His funeral had the highest attendance of any to that date. Several institutions and organisations are named after him. A splinter party launched by M. G. Ramachandran in 1972 was named after him as All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

C. N. Annadurai Death

Annadurai died just after two years in office. His health was deteriorating due to cancer and in spite of good medical care he died of his illness on 3 February 1969. His illness was attributed to his habit of chewing tobacco. His funeral had the highest number of attendees until then, as registered with The Guinness Book of Records.

An estimate of 15 million people attended the funeral. His mortal remains were buried in the northern end of Marina Beach, which is now called Anna Square.

C. N. Annadurai Legacy

The statue of Annadurai at the College of Engineering, Guindy campus of Anna University which is named after him. Annadurai was the only political leader at the national level in India during his era who was not involved in the Indian independence movement. After his electoral success with his DMK in 1967, the Congress has not yet returned to power in Tamil

Nadu. C. N. Annadurai government was the first in the country to be from a non-Congress party with full majority. When the DMK later split, with M. G. Ramachandran forming his own Dravidian party, the rebel fragment was named after Annadurai as Anna DMK.

Anna Nagar, a residential neighbourhood in Chennai is named after him. Sri Lankan Tamil nationalist leaders and writers are considered to be influenced by Annadurai's chaste Tamil movement. Anna University, a premier institution in science and technology was named after him. DMK's current head office built in 1987 is named after him as Anna Arivalayam. One of the major roads in Chennai was named in his honour, Anna Salai—it was previously called Mount Road, and a statue of Annadurai now stands there. The central government issued a commemorative coin of 5 denomination to mark the centenary celebrations of him on Sep 15, 2009 in Chennai. Jawaharlal Nehru hailed him as one of the great parliamentarians for speeches in Rajya Sabha. In 2010, Anna Centenary Library was established in Chennai in remembrance of Annadurai.

The Economic Development of Tamil Nadu after 1947 and the Development of Industries Social Welfare Measures

Tamil Nadu has witnessed tremendous industrial growth both in the pre and the post liberalization eras. The growth story has been consistent since the early years after independence, irrespective of the party in power in the state. Both the Dravidian parties in power since 1967, and the Congress Party earlier, encouraged entrepreneurship and industry. The first industrial estate zones of the country came up during the 1960s when R. Venkatraman and C. Subramanian were ministers under Chief Minister K. Kamaraj. Politicians and bureaucrats have played a major role in charting Tamil Nadu's growth trajectory, observed

Wide-Range

Elaborating further on Tamil Nadu's industrialization from the 1960s till the 80s, Sushila said that the state had several business houses which

manufactured a wide range of products from auto-parts, abrasives, to bicycles, mainly to serve as import substitutions. In the heydays of socialism, these companies manufactured products in limited quantities prescribed by the government. Hence there was no sense of scale and their growth was restrained. Nevertheless, these companies helped the economy chug along by providing employment, and more importantly creating a skilled workforce, especially in the automobile sector.

Commenting on the inclusivity of Tamil Nadu's economic growth, Sushila said that the state has performed well, both in terms of material growth and human development indicators. A combination of targeted economic policies and welfare schemes has resulted in the growth of industry and human capital in the state. Development of port facilities and state highways that connect hinterlands has ensured development even across districts. The mid-day meal scheme, preventive healthcare policy, liberalisation of higher education and the much controversial reservations in education and government jobs have all helped build a skilled, educated labour force which forms a corner stone of the growth story. Many social welfare schemes that originated in Tamil Nadu have been adopted at the national level, the mid-day meal programme being the most popular one. Despite the proven track record of these welfare policies, we hardly publicise the outcomes or the social benefits they've delivered.

Tamil Nadu is as entrepreneurial as Gujarat, Maharashtra or any other state. Tamil Nadu has dominated the automotive scene from the early years the 1960s, almost all auto majors such as Hyundai, Ford, Renault, and BMW have their production facilities in and around Chennai. The city has several auto ancillary hubs and highly skilled workforce, which makes it the most preferred destination.

Apart from Chennai, the Tiruppur-Coimbatore-Salem belt known as the Manchester of south India, sports a large cluster of textile industries.

Several other districts in Tamil Nadu such as Namakkal, Karur, Thiruchengode, etc. have all carved a niche for themselves, excelling in a particular trade or industry. When compared against Karnataka that has a larger share of PSUs, Tamil Nadu is far more industrialised and urbanised, much of the credit goes to the entrepreneurs.

Quality Revolution

Many Tamil Nadu companies had been pioneers in quality revolution. TVS was the first company in India to receive the Deming and ISO quality certifications. When the export market was opened in early 1990s, TVS became the biggest exporter of auto parts. Similarly, the Murugappa group has stake in myriad businesses, from sugar, finance to fertilizer. TAFE (amalgamations group) is the largest producer of small tractors in the world. Apart from these yesteryear business houses, there are several entrepreneurship success stories in the new millennium such as Lion Dates, Sakthi Masala, Ramraj Cotton, Cavin Kare etc. Despite their successful business models most of these companies do not get enough media coverage nor are any case studies done on these companies.

Welfare Schemes

Commenting on social welfare schemes, Sushila said that it is fashionable to sneer at the state's welfare schemes, but there is a subtle upside to these schemes. The low-cost rice programme and other subsidy schemes has benefited the marginalized and BPL population, thereby keeping a check on social discontent and violence. Many 'freebies' such as television sets, mixer grinders have helped instill a sense of prosperity among the rural masses. While it is common to criticize our politicians for doling out freebies in return for votes, one must not under estimate our political class. Both parties understand that economic development is essential to support the welfare schemes; hence policy making is always geared towards encouraging industry, trade and businesses.

Karunanidhi's Administration

M.KARUNANIDHI AND HIS MINISTRY Muthuvel Karunanidhi (3 June 1924 – 7 August 2018) was an Indian writer and politician who served as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for almost two decades over five terms between 1969 and 2011. He had the longest tenure as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu with 6,863 days in office. He was also a long-standing leader of the Dravidian movement and tentime president of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam political party. Before entering politics, he worked in the Tamil film industry as a screenwriter. He also made contributions to Tamil literature, having written stories, plays, novels, and a multiple-volume memoir. He was popularly referred to as "Kalaignar" (Artist) and "Mutthamizharignar" (Tamil Scholar) for his contributions to Tamil literature and the people of Tamil Nadu.

Karunanidhi died on 7 August 2018 at Kauvery Hospital in Chennai after prolonged, age-related illness.

Early life and family

Karunanidhi was born on 3 June 1924, in the village of Thirukkuvalai in Nagapattinam district, Madras Presidency, to Ayyadurai (Grand father) Muthuvel and Anjugam. He had two elder sisters, Periyamayaki and Shanmugasundari. There was some misconception that his birth name was Dhakshinamoorthy, later changed to Karunanidhi as influenced by Dravidian and rationalist movements, Karunanidhi himself stated that C.N. Annadurai asked him to keep his birthname "Karunanidhi", since it is already popular among the people. In his own writings Karunanidhi said that his family were of the Devadasi (renamed as Isai Vellalar) caste, a small community that traditionally played musical instruments at ceremonial occasions.

As recalled in the first volume of his biography Nenjukku Needhi, during his childhood Karunanidhi was more interested in music, writing and activism than schoolwork. He also recollects experiencing and revolting against caste-based discrimination during this period. His initial schooling was in Thirukkuvalai and then in 1936 he shifted to a high school in Tiruvarur. As

a teenager he was captivated by the political writings of Tamil leaders including Panagal Arasar, Periyar and Pattukottai Azhagirisamy (after whom Karunanidhi later named one of his sons). Karunanidhi joined the anti-Hindi protests sparked by the provincial government's legislation making Hindi-education mandatory in schools, and in 1938 organised a group of boys to hold demonstrations traveling around Tiruvarur on a cycle rickshaw. The law was rescinded in 1939. The taste for activism however stuck and in the ensuing years, after a brief flirtation with Communism, Karunanidhi started following the work and speeches of leaders of Justice Party, Self-Respect Movement and Dravidar Kazhagam. He ignored schooling and dropped-out after failing three-times in the final year.

Karunanidhi started his first magazine, at age 15, called Manava Nesan (Friends of Students), which was hand-written and distributed. It was soon followed by the establishment of Murasoli (Drum Roll). He expanded into writing plays propagating Dravidian ideology, and at age 20 starting writing and performing in plays for the Dravid Nadigar Kazhagam (Dravidian Actor's Group) professionally.

Personal life

Karunanidhi married three times. His first marriage was to Padmavathi in September 1944, and they had a son M. K. Muthu, who was briefly active in Tamil films and politics. Padmavathi died in 1948 soon after childbirth. In September of that year, Karunanidhi's marriage was arranged with Dayalu Ammal, with whom he had three sons, M. K. Alagiri, M. K. Stalin and M. K. Tamilarasu, and a daughter, M. K. Selvi. Alagiri and Stalin are active in state politics and competed to be their father's political successors, before Stalin prevailed. Tamilarasu is a businessman and film-producer and campaigner for his father and his party; Selvi campaigned for Karunanidhi elections too. With his third wife, Rajathi Ammal, Karunanidhi had a daughter, Kanimozhi, who is seen as his literary heir.

Politics

Entry into politics

Karunanidhi entered politics at the age of 14, inspired by a speech by Alagirisamy of the Justice Party, and participated in Anti-Hindi agitations. He founded an organisation for the local youth of his locality. He circulated a handwritten newspaper called Manavar Nesan to its members. Later he founded a student organisation called Tamil Nadu Tamil Manavar Mandram, which was the first student wing of the Dravidan Movement. Karunanidhi involved himself and the student community in social work with other members. Here he started a newspaper for its members, which grew into Murasoli, the DMK party's official newspaper.

The first major protest that aided Karunanidhi in gaining ground in Tamil politics was his involvement in the Kallakudi agitation in Kallakudi. Original name of this industrial town was Kallakudi and it was changed to Dalmiapuram after a cement mogul who built a cement plant there. DMK wanted to change the name back to Kallakudi. In the protest Karunanidhi and his companions erased the name Dalmiapuram from the railway station and lay down on the tracks blocking the course of trains. Two people died in the protest and Karunanidhi was arrested.

Rise to power

At the age of 33, Karunanidhi entered the Tamil Nadu assembly by winning the Kulithalai seat in the 1957 election. He became the DMK treasurer in 1961 and deputy leader of opposition in the state assembly in the year 1962 and when the DMK came to power in 1967, he became the Minister for Public Works.

Chief Minister

When Annadurai died in 1969, Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the first leader of DMK, since the leader post was customarily left vacant for Periyar during Annadurai time as Annadurai was

party general secretary only. He has held various positions in the party and government during his long career in Tamil Nadu political arena.

Scheme Kalaingar Kappeetu Thittam for life-saving treatments: Launched in 2009 by the then-ruling DMK government, the Chief Minister's Comprehensive Health Insurance Scheme aims to provide quality healthcare to eligible persons through enrolled government and private hospitals. The scheme provides coverage to meet all expenses relating to hospitalisation of the beneficiary. This insurance project was launched by Karunanidhi in 2009, for an annual premium of Rs 517 crore. It was aimed at families living below the poverty line (BPL) for life-saving treatment of up to Rs 1 lakh. This scheme won the 'e-India Jury Award, 2012' for the best Practices in Health Insurance with IT-enabled solutions.

Self-respect marriages with an aim to provide legal and political support to inter-caste marriages, Karunanidhi adopted and advocated Periyar's idea of self-respect marriages. DMK leaders, K. A. Mathialagan, V.P. Raman, C.N. Annadurai and M. Karunanidhi with Swatantara Party founder C. Rajagopalachari. In 1967, when Annadurai was the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, and Karunanidhi was his close associate, the DMK government brought an amendment in the Hindu Marriage Act to recognise 'self-respect marriages'. The reform helped make marriages valid even without rituals. In fact, the government not only encouraged inter-caste couples to marry, but also bore the expenses of the wedding. Till today, Tamil Nadu continues to be a state where one can get married without any rituals.

Farmers market The 'Uzhavar Sandhai' (farmers' markets), launched in 1999, was started to ensure farmers got fair prices for their produce, by removing middlemen. Areas were demarcated for the markets and basic infrastructure was provided, so that farmers could conduct business without losing out on commission paid to brokers. The first Uzhavar Sandhai was inaugurated in Madurai. In 2001, when the opposition Anna Dravida

Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) came into power, the scheme was stalled. It was revived again by the DMK after it came to power in 2006. In 2011, ADMK formed the government but continued with the scheme. The markets are maintained and regulated by the Tamil Nadu State Agricultural Marketing Board, and prices to the products are fixed on a daily basis.

For rural upliftment with an aim to uplift the rural populace, Karunanidhi launched the ‘Anaithu Grama Anna Marumalarchi Thittam’ (All Villages Anna Renaissance Scheme) in 2006. The state government realised that the centrally-sponsored schemes do not offer the flexibility to take up work that may be locally desirable, nor do they provide funds enabling village panchayats to carry out their statutory functions under the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994. The Anaithu Grama Anna Marumalarchi Thittam endeavours to plug both these gaps in the centrally-sponsored schemes by providing untied funds of Rs 5 lakh (out of Rs 20 lakh allocated per village panchayat), with the remaining funds to be spent on stipulated items. Further, funds from other schemes of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj department and other departments such as Highways, Public Works, Social Welfare, Health, Education, and Agriculture Engineering, among others, was also linked into the village panchayats welfare work.

Special welfare boards In 2006, Karunanidhi formed 30 ‘Special Welfare Boards’, who were tasked to advocate the rights of vulnerable and marginalised people. The aim was to involve the poor and backward communities who did not have a political or influential background to participate in policy making. The communities targeted by the scheme include people with disabilities, transgender persons, domestic workers, practitioners of traditional medicine, auto rickshaw and taxi drivers, folk artistes, hairdressers, construction workers, weavers and artisans, and washermen of the Kudurai-Vannar communities.

Welfare Schemes

The end of Congress rule in Tamil Nadu in 1967 marked a turning point in the political progress of the Tamils. The dynamic leadership of Kamaraj earned credit to the Congress Party through social welfare measures. Bhaktavatsalam as the successor in 1963 accorded opportunity for the Dravidian movement to gain upper hand in political mobility. The Congress rule motivated a holistic method of political idea under Kamaraj and the State attained all-round progress. Subsequently the Dravida Munentra Kalagam (D.M.K.) as a political identity supplied high promises and came to the mental expectation of the masses. The D.M.K Government emphasized on the social policy as —casteless and creedless society, the ideology titled towards socialism and as such it worked for the well being of the poor and the down trodden sections of the society.

The focus of the Government was towards welfare schemes as an outcome of political necessity. The concept of Welfare State designed as the social action resulting from social policies normally led to the establishment of a State. This State was one in which social security and social services formed birth right of every citizen.

Social policies were adopted due to humanitarian consideration or due to religious beliefs or utilitarian outlook. It was for the protection of others as in the case of protection of the aged or for promotion of security and economic prosperity of the communities which called for an educated population or for further social equality which in turn called for extension of opportunities in education, employment, social environment or home life.

Caste system was an integral part of India's social structure. It originated about 3,500 years ago when the Aryans first came to India. The Brahmins were at the top of the hierarchy followed by the Kshatriyas or warriors. The next the Vaisyas or traders and finally came the Sudras or the menials. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, considered the

untouchables were denied their rights in society and were trampled upon by the other castes. After independence, the constitution of India which envisaged the welfare of its citizens, laid down in Article 38 in Part IV under Directive Principles of State Policy that the State, —will strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and projecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political be uniform in all institutions of the national life

Child Welfare Plans

The First Five Year Plan (1952-1957) acknowledged that the need of children should receive much greater consideration than generally given to them. According to the First Plan the total responsibility of welfare was to be borne cumulatively by the family, community and the State. Voluntary agencies earlier organized child welfare activities, as they had been engaged in this task even earlier without adequate State. These organizations were sanctioned grants-in-aid by the State for strengthening, improving and extending the existing activities in all aspects of child development. The first national level organization, the Indian Council for Child Welfare (C.S.W.B) was established, in a significant development in 1953 to assist voluntary organizations and mobilize their support. In 1954 the C.S.W.B. launched the W.E.P. (Welfare Extension Project) to cater the rural population.⁵ The C.S.W.B. programmes were reviewed and it was decided to locate welfare extension projects in community development blocks and convert it into the Co-coordinated Pattern Projects. Demonstration Projects were set up in rural areas whose component consisted of education, health, nutrition and welfare. Yet these projects could not do well due to many unavoidable reasons. In 1959 United Nations General Assembly adopted U.N. Declaration of Rights of Children and accepted by the Indian Government.⁶ According to this declaration the children had the right to affection, love and understanding, adequate nutrition and medical care, free education, full opportunity for play

and recreation a name and nationality special care. The handicapped among the first was to receive relief in times of disaster; develop individual ability to bring up in spirit of peace and universal brotherhood and enjoy these rights, regardless of race, colour, sex, religion, national or social origin. During the following decade also the emphasis on child welfare continued and the Children Act, 1960 came into effect which provided penalization of offenders for cruel treatment of children, employment of children for begging; giving child liquor or dangerous drugs and employing a person below fourteen years in mines or factories. This Act was amended in 1978. On the basis of recommendations of Welfare Extension Programme (W.E.P.) and the evaluation committee a new scheme of family and child welfare was launched in 1967 which would provide integrated basic social service to children and promote cultural, educational and recreational activities for women and children.

The I.C.C.W. was entrusted with responsibility of providing trained personnel i.e. Mukhya Sevikas; Balsevikas and Grish Sevikas. In 1966 Kothari Commission was set up which recommended expansion of preschool facilities to children from disadvantaged areas in particular. In 1967 the Ganga Saran Sinha Committee was set up to identify the problems and needs of the child and to suggest action programmes. In 1968 the National Policy of Education was announced.

The State too was keen to look after the welfare of the weaker sections of the community. Article 46 laid down that the State should promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The Article ensured that separate and special welfare measures were to be followed for the advancement and protection of certain classes. Article 244 also laid down the right of Union Government to direct the states in respect of

administering scheduled areas (in the later case, scheduled tribes which are not in the scheduled areas).⁸ Further Part XVI of the constitution was concerned with —special provisions relating to certain classes. It dealt with reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Parliament and Legislative Assembly for a limited period and with reservations in the services.

Article 330 provided for a special officer for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to be appointed by the President to investigate into all matters, relating to the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Article 339 states that the President, —at any time and after the expiry of ten years from the commencement of the constitution; by order appoint a commission to report on the administration of scheduled castes and the welfare of scheduled tribes of a State. Article 341 and 342 authorized the President to specify the castes, races or tribes or part thereof groups within castes, races or tribes for the purpose of assistance particularly scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The usual forms that backwardness took in modern societies, for instance, poverty, lack of education, illiteracy, malnutrition, low standard of living and the like was as such accepted as criteria for backwardness by the commission. The backwardness was collective and its symptoms exhibited more or less uniformly by a whole social group.

Further the group was not be purely economic or a social group of the modern type e.g., industrial labour peasants; the group was purely economic or a social group had to be a hereditary group that exhibit disabilities and backwardness as a group confined lowliness by birth. The Government had opened one hundred single teacher Harijan Welfare Elementary schools during the academic year 1975-76 at an estimated cost of Rs.8.02 lakhs. The system of supplying midday meals to the Harijan students in the Harijan Welfare Schools was intended to encourage them to attend schools regularly

and also to prevent their parents from taking them out of the schools to augment their family income. A sum of Rs.30 lakhs was provided in the budget of 1974-75 towards the supply of midday meals to the Harijan Welfare schools run by the Department.

In selected schools other than Harijan Welfare schools a sum of Rs.9 lakhs was provided for the supply of midday meals to the Harijan children. About 1.5 lakh pupils were benefited by the midday meal scheme. Incentive prizes in the form of clothing were given to scheduled caste students who made regular attendance in the schools for inducing cent percent attendance. The boys and girls who secured the highest marks in the S.S.L.C public examination were awarded prizes in the shape of savings certificates to inculcate a spirit of competition to such students. A silver shield was also presented to the Harijan Welfare schools which secured the highest percentage of passes in the State every year.

The low literacy level of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was due to the inability of the students to continue their education in places other than their home town. This was because of the absence of inexpensive hostels. Hostel facilities were therefore provided for scheduled caste students who came from remote villages. Every year new hostels were opened based on the needs of the students and the financial resources available. In order to facilitate free mingling of Harijan students with caste-Hindus as a step towards eradication of the practice of untouchability, a certain percentage i.e. twenty per cent of backward class and five per cent forward caste students were admitted in the government hostels for scheduled castes.

There were 566 Government hostels run by the Harijan Welfare Department for the benefit of the depressed castes. The policy of the D.M.K. Government was not to recognize any private hostels for the purpose of grants; but to take over all the subsidised hostels in a phased programme. Most of the Government and private hostels were located in private buildings.

Aimed to provide suitable buildings for the hostels with all the basic amenities, a special programme of construction of 100 hostels at an estimated cost of one crore of rupees was launched during 1975-76. The various welfare programmes were granted to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the educational field enabled them to progress economically and socially.¹⁵ The various concessions like scholarships, free supply of books, clothing and preference in matters of recruitment in government offices gave them a permanent footing in the society. In order to develop the country, welfare measures were introduced to uplift poorer section of the society.

One such programme was Slum Clearance Programme. Social studies revealed that fifty per cent of the world population lived in the slums, especially in cities like Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Chennai. The Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act of 1971 defined the slum as any predominantly residential area where dwellings wreek of dilapidation, overcoming faulty arrangement, lack of ventilation, light or sanitary facilities or any combination of these factors to safety, health or morals of the people inhabiting these residences.

The slum was taken to mean hutting areas, with huts erected in a haphazard manner, without proper access, without water supply and drainage arrangements and so congested as to allow little free flow of air to get in. The formation of slums can be attributed to the flow of population from the rural to urban areas, untrained in any vocational skills and unemployed in the village. They were lured by bright lights of the city and hopes of employment. The industrial and commercial establishments and governmental offices were found in the urban areas, and they served as a powerful incentive to the people. The migrating people belonged to the working classes. Some managed to get employment, while many did not. Still they continued to live in the city. They managed to stay with relatives already residing in slums and continued

living with them even after securing employment, because it was found more economical.

They did not mind the inconveniences caused by overcrowding. If they did not have any relations due to the difficulty of securing accommodation within their means, the labourers lived on open spaces, near their working place and put up huts. C.N. Annadurai declared in the slum dwellers conference on 14 May 1961, that he was for clearing the slums, not merely for the benefit of those living there, but as much as to avail the abilities of the slum dwellers for the benefit of the country. The human energy in slums had to be fully utilized for the economic growth and social prosperity of our mother land. Further, he stated that the neglected slums cannot be improved by stray workers. It was only through Government conceived and implemented major scheme for clearance that the slums in and around urban areas, were changed. It was with this view that the Tamil Nadu Government had chalked out a programme to eradicate completely the slums in Madras city to construct new housing colonies to accommodate the slum dwellers in hygienic surroundings, instead of merely providing the facilities in the slums. Legislation called Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act was passed in 1971, to implement these decisions. The Slum Clearance Board formed under this Act was given the task of removing the slums; this Board has tried very hard to replace the slums with pucca tenemental blocks. Implementation of the slum clearance scheme in 1971 involved construction of multi-storied building on the same site on which the slums were located to prevent uprooting the slum dwellers from their place of work. Each family was provided with a minimum accommodation space of about 220 sq.ft consisting of a lockable room, a kitchen, lobby, bathroom and garbage facilities. These houses were provided with independent water supply and sewage facilities and were fully self-contained. Each housing unit was to be

provided with sufficient open space, community hall, neatly paved paths, street lighting and construction of storm drains, library and dispensary.

Further mini health centres were formed in 1971 with a community health nurse, a team of nurse and health visitors who visited each tenement and maintained family folders and child welfare records. The slum clearance programme made the society to move into the next stage of development focus that required more social welfare measures towards child protection in Tamil Nadu. Since 1971, Slum Clearance Board was emphasised on the total development of the State through various developmental programmes. The total development of the State was towards upliftment of the society. All changes were due to the protection and promotion of common well being, and social change moved with the economic and political focus. The midday meals scheme attracted the poorer section and made them to attend the school regularly. One third of the students in the age group of 6-11 were getting midday meals for 200 days in a year. The scheme was in operation in Panchayat Union schools, Dalit Welfare Department schools and Madras Corporation schools. The midday mealsscheme was looked after by the village people committee. The Government had expended vast sums to support this lunch programme which had grown larger and larger as the school population had increased. The expansion of this programme had reached to almost every elementary school in Madras State. In 1966-67 the scheme was in operation in about 29,444 schools including the schools under the management of the Harijan Welfare Department. About eighteen lakh children were benefited by it. The Government in 1967 provided an amount of rupees 202.20 lakh for the proper implementation of the scheme.

Applied Nutrition Programme

In Tamil Nadu, one third of the total population suffered from malnutrition, because they used to go to bed hungry every night. Because of this, pre-school children even lacked the energy. Children of twelve year age

were look like eight years old. Women of thirty five look like sixty years old. Thousands of people especially children below five suffered from deficiency, diseases like kwashiorkor, marasmus impaired vision, permanent blindness followed by high rate of mortality and morbidity. All these maladies were due to lack of proper nutrition.

Children below five years, pregnant and nursing mothers were most vulnerable sections affected by malnutrition. In Tamil Nadu, the standard of nutrition of the children was very low, when compared even to all India average. The actual intake of food in the State fell far below the standard requirements of 2400 calories and fifty five grams of protein, for adults and it was more than one third less than the requirements for children and pregnant and nursing mothers. There was wide prevalence of deficiency of vitamin A, iron and B complex deficiency especially among the vulnerable groups.

Even though poverty was the major cause of malnutrition among children in Tamil Nadu it was mainly due to the lack of knowledge of mothers about the diets of children, proper feeding practice and simple methods of child care. Applied nutrition programme was an educational programme at village and family levels in Tamil Nadu that aimed to bring about improvements in the nutritious meal to children.²⁸ The main objectives of the programmes were to increase the knowledge of mothers about the diets of infants and pre-school children and simple aspects of child care and family welfare planning, to utilize the cooperation of the health personnel to ensure necessary health care for the vulnerable group and also to organize a feeding programme for other malnourished children, pregnant and nursing mothers with the food materials produced under the programme.²⁹ Pre-school care centres Kuzhanthaigal kappagams (Children care centres, Pre-school care centres) were functioning in villages both under the women's welfare department and under the Applied Nutrition programme of this Directorate. These were like nursery schools, where children of the age group of two to

five were admitted. There were 1,240 Kuzhanthaigal kappagams Directorate were functioning in this state.

Cooperative American Relief Everywhere (C.A.R.E.) had come forward with assistance to put up buildings and supply food materials for midday meal programme. The Kuzhanthaigal kappagams were conducted in school verandhas and under trees. Suitable buildings were not available. C.A.R.E. had agreed to assist in putting up 1,000 buildings. The cost of the building ranged between 7000 to 8000 rupees. C.A.R.E. reimburses rupees 6500 of the cost. The balance was met from public contribution and from the panchayat or panchayat union funds. To prevent physical and neurological defects due to malnutrition among young children, leading to mental damages and retardation in later life, C.A.R.E. had offered high protein food, Corn Soya Meal (C.S.M) and salad oil for 1,20,000 beneficiaries, 300 days in a year for five years. The feeding was conducted in 1,000 kappagams for forty children of the kappagam, forty children who do not attend the kappagam and forty expectant and nursing mothers'. C.A.R.E. supplied the food of cost. The State Government commitment was as cost of containers for the food at eighty rupees per centre, additional remuneration for the balasevika of rupees twenty to kappagam teacher, pay of an ayah (helper) at rupees ten per person, nonfood charges towards cost of fuel, condiments etc at three pairs per beneficiary, transport charges of food stuff, and local cost of C.A.R.E. Feeding had been started in five hundred and fifteen centres from 14 January 1971. Initially the feeding was for forty beneficiaries in each Centre.

This was raised up to 120 from March 1981. Applied nutrition programme was started in Tamil Nadu with the assistance of U.N.I.C.E.F. and Government of India in 1966-1967 with seven blocks later. From 1974 this scheme was extended to throughout Tamil Nadu. U.N.I.C.E.F. (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) provides rupees 20,000 per block for five years, Government of India rupees 34, 000 per year per block

for the production components and the State Government spent rupees 51, 000 per block as year on production component and rupees 85, 000 on nutrition education.

As U.N.I.C.E.F aid was not available for the blocks started in 1978, Government of India had provided special additional allotment of rupees 30, 000 per year per block. U.N.I.C.E.F contributes one and half lakh rupees towards the cost of thirty kappagams buildings. The financial outlay per block for the operational period works out to rupees ten to twelve lakhs. The budget estimate under the State Government budget for 1979 was rupees forty five lakhs for the scheme. Propaganda meetings, exhibitions, competitions, drama and film shows were conducted in villages to impart nutrition education to all the people in villages. For young girls and women two demonstrations on nutrition were conducted every month in mahalir mandrams (Women groups) in each block. Demonstration equipment and demonstrative charges were provided for those mahalir mandrams. Talks and discussions on nutrition, child care, family welfare planning, health and environmental sanitation were arranged in these mahalir mandrams and women were encouraged to listen to radio programmes on the above subject.

Demonstration of feeding programme was organized to convince the mothers about the importance of nutrition for good health. About thirty child kappagms were organized in each block and feeding organized for one hundred and twenty beneficiaries. Forty pre-school children between the ages of two to six years, forty other children between six months and six years and forty pregnant and nursing mothers were selected by the local primary health centres. The vegetables, greens, pulses, fruits, eggs and fish produced by the production units of the programme and the food materials received from C.A.R.E. was utilized to feed 120 beneficiaries per day per centre for 300 days in the year.

The thirty child kappagams in the Applied Nutrition programme block were provided educational toys, cooking utensils, trained balasevikas and pucca buildings at a cost of rupees 10, 000 per building. In 1980, 1025 child kappagams were organized in the seventy five Applied Nutrition Programme blocks and 600 child kappagams buildings were completed. However nutrition education and supplementary feeding did not solve the problem of malnutrition. More protective foods had made available at family and of village level. Hence the programme of production was considered an important component of Applied Nutrition Programme, to encourage the increased production of green leafy vegetables, other vegetables, pulses and fruits and nursery was organized in each block head quarters. In ever year material worth Rs.3000 were distributed for home gardens in each block areas. In 1980, 74,383 Homegardens were organized under the programme. All schools with land and water facilities were encouraged to raise the vegetable gardens and assistance in the shape of supply of seeds, seedlings, fertilizers, sinking of wells and pumpsets were provided. These school gardens were utilized for imparting Nutrition Education to the boys by involving them in the production of nutritive vegetable and fruits and consuming them in the midday meals. In 1980, the government organized 1944 school gardens with thirty cents.

In 1981 to demonstrate the production of nutritiously rich vegetables, greens, pulses and fruits one or two community gardens were started in each block. Nutritious vegetables and greens were produced every season and fruit tree like gooseberry, papaya, mango, sapota, West Indian Cherries, etc. were planted. A portion of the produce was diverted to the supplementary feeding programme in child kappagams. For providing the supply of more non-veg protein in village areas poultry production was encouraged. In each block ten grower farms were organized for the supply of pullets to the programme. To encourage the needy low income group to benefit from poultry growing five

birds and a cockrel were provided at fifty per cent cost. This fifty per cent was received either in cash or in kind as eggs and supplied to the child kappagams for feeding programme for preschool children.

Two eggs per week per child were supplied to all the feeding centres in the blocks.³⁹ To encourage the production of villagers to increase the family income, deep litter units were also started. Twenty birds and two cockerels at fifty per cent cost were supplied and this cost was either recovered in cash or eggs. If cash was received eggs were purchased and supplied for feeding programme. This programme was introduced under the Applied Nutrition Scheme. More Schemes for Children Centrally sponsored Integrated Child Development Scheme is implemented in all thirty one districts of Tamil Nadu with 434 Projects covering 50433 Centres consisting of 47,265 children centres and 3168 mini centres. As per the revised norms, there must be one Children centre for 400-800 population in plain, rural and urban areas and one child centre for 300-800 population in tribal areas. A population of 150-300 has been fixed for opening one Mini Centre in the uncovered areas of the above two categories.

The main objectives of I.C.D.S. are to improve nutritional, health and psycho-social status of children in one to five years of age with particular emphasis on preventing malnutrition in under three years and improve child care practices at the household level, to improve nutrition and health of women particularly pregnant women and nursing mothers and adolescent girls. It also aimed at empowering them through increased awareness to take better care of their personal and household health and nutrition issues, to give special focus on nutrition to pregnant women and nursing mothers, infant, adolescent girls and the aged. The above objectives were formulated to make Tamil Nadu malnutrition free and to provide a 'whole life cycle nutrition security programme'. Beneficiaries of I.C.D.S. are children, expectant mothers, nursing mothers, adolescent girls, old age pensioners, community

groups and community leaders. Information, Education and Communication (I.E.C) was an inbuilt component in I.C.D.S. Nutrition Education and Nutrition Services were delivered concurrently. I.E.C. activities promote health and nutrition services and enhance the credibility and image of children centres. I.E.C aimed at improving maternal and childcare practices, encouraging community participation and motivating community to support I.C.D.S. services. The ultimate objective of I.E.C is to bring about positive behavioural change in health and nutritional practices among individual, family, community and thereby facilitate reduction of malnutrition in the community. As an integral part of the programme the I.E.C. was implemented in close coordination with the activities of other components of I.C.D.S.

The Integrated Child Development Service scheme sponsored by the Government of India had been introduced in three places in Tamil Nadu viz., Madras city, Thally in Dharmapuri and Nilakottai in Madurai District. Each project had 100 pre-schools. In each project 100 anganwadis have been started. In each anganwadi pre-school education was given for forty children and supplementary nutrition provided for forty pre-school age children, thirty infants below two to five years and thirty pregnant and nursing mothers. The indigenous food commodities were used in the feeding programme in these integrated child development service projects. Each anganwadi was under the charge of a trained anganwadi worker and helped by an ayah. The child development project officer was in charge of the integrated child development service project. He was assisted by five supervisors. There was a separate complement of medical officer and one lady health visitor. The medical staff was attached to the primary health centre and the entire staff delivered the health services contemplated under the Integrated Child Development Service Programme. In Madras city the one health staff was attached to the Institute of Child Health.

The objectives of the I.C.D.S programme was to lay the foundation for proper psychological development of the child and to improve nutritional and health status of children up to six years. Steps were undertaken to reduce incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school drop-outs and to enhance the capability of the mother and family to look after the health as well as the nutritional and development needs of the child. For achieving effective coordination of policy and implementation among various departments and the government to promote child development.

Targeted beneficiaries of the scheme targets the most vulnerable groups of population including children up to six years of age, pregnant women and nursing mothers belonging to poorest of the poor families and living in disadvantaged areas including backward rural areas, tribal areas and urban slums. The identification of beneficiaries was done through surveying the community and identifying the families living below the poverty line.

Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project the Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project (T.I.N.P.) was started in 1980 targeting at six to thirty six months old children, and pregnant and lactating women. The Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition project has supported by the World Bank and was heralded as one of the few successful, large-scale development projects which had relied heavily on Growth Monitoring (G.M.). The project brought integrated health and nutritional services to almost one million children in rural South India through village-based community nutrition centres. Short-term selective supplementary feeding, oral dehydration therapy, immunization, nutrition, counseling, deworming and prophylaxis against vitamin A deficiency were provided to complement the screening function of Growth Monitoring.⁴⁶ Children enrolled in community nutrition centres were weighed monthly community nutrition workers and mothers were educated about nutrition. Children who were severely malnourished or whose growth falters were fed supplementary at the centre for ninety days. Other

interventions may be taken following this period if the child's status has not turned for the better. T.I.N.P. aimed at reducing malnutrition up to fifty per cent among children under four years of age, to reduce infant mortality by twenty five per cent, to reduce vitamin-A deficiency in the under five year from about twenty seven per cent to five per cent and to reduce ammonia in pregnant and nursing women from about fifty five per cent to about twenty percent

Socio-Economic and Educational Developments during Dmk Regime

To improve the economic condition of the scheduled Castes and scheduled Tribes It was very necessary to provide them with proper education for progress through acquisition of knowledge. In the sphere of education, the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes occupied the lowest place. Till 1960, the Government of Tamil Nadu met the expenditure incurred for (a) the purposes of maintaining, schools; (b) provision of scholarships; (c) grant of stipends for training of teachers; (d) providing Mid-day meals; (e) maintenance of free hostels at important centres; (f) grant of financial assistance to hostels, schools, etc., for the benefit of the scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes.¹⁶ The scholarships awarded by the Central Government to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, helped them to continue their education. During the D.M.K. rule, the state Government introduced a new scheme known as 'the Gandhi Memorial Scholarship. Under this scheme, the Hindu Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who had secured highest marks in Pre-University Class in each district (one boy and one girl) were given a lump sum grant of Rs.500/- at the time of admission and a recurring scholarship of Rs.100/-per month for three months. The above said scholarship was granted for a period of six years. This was in addition to any other scholarships to which the student was ordinarily entitled. From the year 1970 - 71 to 1974 - 75, the Gandhi Memorial scholarships were awarded to 377 students amounting to about Rs.4,46,200/-.¹⁷ A new scheme known as

the 'Tamil Nadu Harijan Welfare Loan Scholarships' was introduced in 1971-72, by the Government of Tamil Nadu. These loan scholarships were awarded for 1960 students.

The expenditure incurred by the Government amounted to Rs.9,58,617/- during the period of four years stretching from 1971-75. Under this scheme an annual loan ranging from Rs.970/- to 1,750/- per annum was sanctioned to each candidate. No interest was charged on this loan amount. Financial assistance was also given to five law graduates belonging to the scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes to enable them to enroll and practice as advocates. A sum of Rs.500/- and Rs.750/- was given as loans to these candidates from the year 1974-75 onwards. The Tamil Nadu Government also approved a scheme of training 5 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes candidates for Chartered Accountant course in 1975.¹⁸ Financial assistance was given to these trainees to meet the cost of books, pocket expenses, boarding and lodging charges, examination fees, etc.

Incentive prizes in the form of clothing were given to Scheduled Caste students who have regular attendance in the schools, for inducing cent percent attendance. The Headmasters and Headmistresses who attain 100% attendance in these schools were given silver medals at the district level. The boys and girls who secured the highest marks in the S.S.L.C. Public Examination were awarded prizes in the shape of Savings Certificates to inculcate a spirit of competition among the Scheduled Caste students. A silver shield was also presented to the Harijan Welfare Schools which secured the highest percentage of passes in the State every year. A loan scholarship scheme was also implemented from 1971 to help the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students from pursuing professional courses. Due to increasing enrolment, more number of schools was opened and the teaching staff also increased. The teachers found it difficult to find accommodation in the places where the schools were located. So from 1967-68 a phased programme of providing

accommodation for teachers was inaugurated at a cost of Rs. 5,000/- per house. A proposal was made to increase the amount to Rs. 10,000/- in the plains and Rs. 11,000/- in the hills.

. Special Coaching Centres

The Government introduced the scheme of giving special coaching to boys and girls who had good academic record. The Director of Collegiate Education selected those students who had secured 60% and more marks for this special coaching. The students selected for coaching were given travelling allowance and daily allowance for their expenses during the period of coaching. This scheme was aimed at bringing rural students to Madras, so that they might Utilise educational facilities like libraries, laboratories, attending lectures and benefit from the guidance of College Professors in the city. This scheme was later extended to Madurai, Coimbatore, Trichy and Tanjore districts also. A sum of Rs.50,000/- was provided in the Budget Estimate for 1975-76 for the above mentioned scheme. Free tuition was proposed to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students in the Pre-University course and in the three year degree courses in two batches comprising of 200 students each in the morning and evening. These students were given special tuition in Presidency College, Madras. Also three hundred girls in two batches of 150 each got this tuition in the Government Arts College for Women, Madras. During 1974-75 about 306 boys and 33 girls were benefited under this scheme.

Training:

For Competitive Examinations As the standard of the candidates belonging to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe who appeared for the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission Examinations was found to be very poor, a scheme was started for imparting Special Counselling and Training to candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who applied for the posts of Junior Assistants and Typists in the Tamil Nadu Ministerial

and Judicial Services. This was sanctioned in the year 1965 even during the congress rule. The training started about five months before the commencement of group IV competitive examinations and fifty candidates were admitted in each centre. Candidates were eligible for a sum of Rs.40/- per month, a stipend to meet their boarding and lodging charges, conveyance, etc., during the period of training. Table III shows the particulars regarding training centres from 1966-67 to 1974-75.

Government Hostels

The low literacy level of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was due to the inability of the students to continue their education in places other than their home town. This was because of the absence of inexpensive hostels. Hostel facilities were therefore provided for Scheduled Caste students who come from remote villages. Every year new hostels were opened based on the needs of the students and the financial resources available. To facilitate free mingling of Harijan students with caste Hindus as a step towards eradication of untouchability, a certain percentage i.e., 20% of Backward Class and 5% Forward Caste students were admitted in the Government hostels for Scheduled Castes. There were 566 Government hostels run by the Harijan welfare Department for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes.

The entire Harijan student community cannot be accommodated in the Government hostels. Therefore boarding grants are given to voluntary and 141 private agencies who admit the Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribe students in their hostels. The policy of the D.M.K. Government was not to recognise any few private hostels for the purpose of grants but to take over all the subsidised hostels in a phased programme. Most of the government and private hostels were located in private buildings. To provide suitable buildings for the hostels with all the basic amenities, a special programme of construction of 100 hostels at an estimated cost of one crore of rupees was launched during 1974 - 75.³² These buildings were to be constructed by the

Tamil Nadu Harijan Housing and Development Corporation. The Government also made arrangements for the regular medical check up of hostel students by medical officers from Primary Health Centres and Government Headquarters Hospitals every week from 1970 - 71 onwards. The implementation of this scheme was through the Director of Health and Family Planning, Madras. Part-time tutors were appointed for these hostels to help the students in their studies.

Throughout his 19 years as Chief Minister, Karunanidhi championed a slew of laws in areas ranging from education to healthcare to reservation to industry. It is not an easy task to provide a report card of the legislative progress of a ve-time Chief Minister. It must be remembered that he rst took oath as Chief Minister on February 10, 1969, and stepped down for the last time on May 13, 2011. He governed Tamil Nadu at various points over a 44-year period during which the economic landscape underwent tectonic changes. To appreciate this, it must be taken into account that in 1970-71, India's per capita net national income (at factor cost at constant prices) was Rs.10,016 as against Rs.82,269 today. While the length and breadth of the legislative achievements over this era are enormous, like the person himself, it is the tenacious adaptability over the long period during which he strode the political arena that stands out. June 1970: A.N. Sattanathan handing over the report of the First Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission to Chief Min Karunanidhi in the presence of Minister of Labour and Backward Classes N.V. Natarajan. Photo: The Hindu Archives ₹ ₹ The early Karunanidhi years, namely 1969 to 1976, saw the prioritisation of social reforms over all others. The Tamil Nadu Agricultural Labourer Fair Wages Act, 1969, was enacted to enforce payment of fair wages to agricultural labourers in the Cauvery delta region and penalise landowners who exploited labourers. Another Act, in the same year, would ensure that all tenancy rights and interests were maintained in the revenue records for the rst time. In the following year, the Tamil Nadu

Land Reforms (Reduction of Ceiling on Land) Act, 1970, was passed, a law which sought to reduce disparities in landholdings by reducing the land ceiling limit from 30 standard acres to 15 standard acres (one acre is 0.4 hectare). This set of reforms culminated in the setting up of the Specialist University for Development of agriculture, learning and research into the agricultural sciences through the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University Act, 1971. Taken together, this set of agrarian and land-related laws formed the first bundle of administrative measures targeted at the development of rural Tamil Nadu. Not surprising, given that Karunanidhi was familiar with the problems faced by farmers and farm labourers, as even in his first term as a Member of the Legislative Assembly for Kulithalai, he spoke about the Nangavaram farm labourers' agitation of 1957. Commissioned administrative reforms during the early years as Chief Minister, Karunanidhi established some very important commissions.

The first was a committee —to study Centre-State relations and make recommendations on what powers to transfer to the States. It had always been the dream of former Chief Minister C.N. Annadurai (Anna) to amend the Constitution in a manner as to transfer power from the Centre to the States; it was Kalaingar who would act on it. During his first chief ministerial visit to New Delhi, in March 1969, Karunanidhi announced in a press conference that his government was considering setting up an expert committee to study Centre-State relations. Later, that August, he announced the formation of a three-member committee headed by Dr P.V. Rajamannar to examine the constitutional provisions to suggest measures to secure —utmost autonomy of the State in the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The recommendations of the Rajamannar Committee, submitted on May 27, 1971, laid out a comprehensive road map towards a more federal Constitution. It made far-reaching recommendations on a broad range of subjects, from setting up an inter-State council comprising all Chief Ministers, with the

Prime Minister as chairman, to the appointment of Governors. It suggested guidelines on matters ranging from the appointment of Chief Ministers to the dismissal of a minority government. A Backward Classes Commission was constituted under the chairmanship of A.N. Sattanathan to give recommendations on improving the welfare of the backward classes. On the basis of the Sattanathan Commission report, the government increased the reservation quota of the backward classes in educational institutions and government employment from 25 per cent to 31 per cent, and for the Scheduled Castes from 16 per cent to 18 per cent. Similarly, a Police Commission was constituted during this time, under the leadership of R.A. Gopalsamy, to give recommendations on revision of the pay scales of policemen.

Based on the report of the Police Commission, the pay scales of policemen were substantially increased and the meritorious service of police personnel was rewarded with annual awards. Other administrative reforms during those years included the acceptance and implementation of the Second Pay Commission for government employees and the abolition of the confidential report system. Another standout yet under-reported administrative accomplishment was the slew of incentives given to the education of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (S.C. and S.T.) students. According to the Tamil Nadu State Administration Report 1969-75, prizes in the form of clothing were given to S.C. students who demonstrated regular attendance in schools. Similarly, headmasters and headmistresses of schools that ensured 100 per cent attendance were given silver medals. The Mid-Day Meal scheme for the students in the Adi Dravidar Welfare Schools was sanctioned at a cost of Rs.30 lakh in the Budget Estimate of 1974-75. S.C. and S.T. students who failed in Standards IX and X were given special coaching through a government-sanctioned scheme. Incentive-based schemes, loan facilities and scholarships were expanded during the years 1969 to 1975.

Through a Government Order, in 1970, S.C. and S.T. students up to Pre-University Courses were exempted from paying tuition fees. Students were provided interest-free loans for pursuing professional courses through a Government Order in 1972. A total of 377 students benefited from this scheme from 1970-71 to 1974-75 and Rs.4,46,200 was disbursed. Other schemes sanctioned financial assistance for the training of 100 lawyers and 100 chartered accountants from S.C. and S.T. communities. According to the Department of Harijan Welfare, the number of training centres for S.C. and S.T. students for Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission examinations was increased from four in 1966-67 to 30 in 1973-74. A report of 2015 showing that S.C. and S.T. children from Tamil Nadu are less likely to be underweight than children belonging to Other Backward Classes and upper castes in States like Gujarat is testament to the impact of targeted education-related reforms undertaken by the Karunanidhi-led government between 1969 and 1976.

The slew of government orders issued during this period enabled tens of thousands of Dalit students to complete education, gain employment and lift their families out of poverty. Until 1989, when Karunanidhi was re-elected for the third term as Chief Minister, the property and succession rights of sons and daughters within Hindu families were different. While sons could exercise complete right over their father's property, daughters enjoyed this right only until they got married. The Self Respect Conference held in Chingleput in February 1929 had passed a resolution demanding equal rights for women. In 1989, The Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 1989, finally provided equal succession rights. This law has had an understated yet significant impact in addressing gender inequality. Bestowed with equal rights to the ancestral property, women, naturally, became economic partners within the households and were accorded due importance in decisionmaking. At the national level, the law was amended in 2005 to provide equal status for

women. Similarly, the State has also been a role model for the welfare of differently abled persons.

The Tamil Nadu Welfare Board for the Disabled Persons Act, 2007, and the creation of a dedicated department for the Welfare of the Differently Abled in 2009 prove this. Yet, for years, there was no separate department at the Central level and it was part of the Union Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment until the Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities was created on May 12, 2012. Also, in the case of transgender persons, Tamil Nadu set up a Welfare Board on April 15, 2008, under the Ministry of Social Welfare. The board was tasked with the formulation and implementation of welfare programmes for providing social security and status to the transgender community. These pioneering initiatives aimed at recognising the rights of transgender persons took shape years before the landmark judgment by the Supreme Court in *National Legal Services Authority vs Union of India* in 2014.

It is a matter of some concern that the Union government is yet to pass the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2016, through the two Houses of Parliament. The Dravidian economic model is best described, in Anna's words, as consumer socialism. The model envisages the State playing the role of an enabler or catalyst of industrial growth with the interest of the consumer or the citizen at the centre of the process. The early economic interventions of the Karunanidhi government focussed on increasing job opportunities by inviting industries—micro, small, medium or large—to the State. To facilitate the growth of smaller-scale industrial enterprises, the Tamil Nadu Small Industries Development Corporation Limited (SIDCO) was incorporated in 1970.

The establishment of the State Industrial Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu (SIPCOT) was crucial in the creation of an industrial estate spanning 730 acres at Ranipet (Vellore) in 1973. This initiative gave birth to

107 new industries and opened thousands of job opportunities. Building on these efforts, in 1997, The Tamil Nadu Industrial Township Area Development Authority Act was enacted to —promote and assist the rapid and orderly establishment, growth and development of industries. The Tamil Nadu Acquisition of Land for Industrial Purposes Act, 1998, was a flagship law passed to facilitate acquisition of lands, which is essential for setting up big industries. These and other such inherent qualities, including a skilled workforce, the rule of law, an efficient bureaucracy and allround social infrastructure, ensured that Tamil Nadu became an investmentfriendly State. The Karunanidhi government set up a state-of-the-art software park as a joint venture between two government agencies:

TIDCO (Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation) and ELCOT (Electronics Corporation of Tamil Nadu). The TIDEL Information Technology Park, which was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee in July 2000, cemented Chennai's place as a sought-after software industry destination. Building on the strong industrial base created over three decades, the automobile manufacturing sector took wing in and around Chennai. In 2008, it was estimated that 23 per cent of the cars and 15 per cent of the trucks and two-wheelers manufactured in India came from Chennai and Hosur. Around Rs.15,000 crore worth of new investments came directly into the automobile and ancillary industries within the State in that year. Chennai became a manufacturing leader and was called the —Detroit of South Asia. At times, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and, its predecessor, the Dravidar Kazhagam, have not been politically allied but they have stayed ideologically aligned on many issues.

A little more than a year after the acrimonious split and the creation of the DMK led by Anna, both organisations stood shoulder to shoulder to protest against the decision in State of Madras vs Champakam Dorairajan [a landmark case in which the Supreme Court upheld a High Court judgment

striking down a Government Order providing caste-based reservation in government jobs and college seats.] Under Karunanidhi, the Department of Backward Classes was started in 1969 and the Department of Most Backward Classes and Denotied Communities in 1989. After the Sattanathan Commission, the J.A. Ambasankar Backward Classes Commission was constituted in 1982, which provided its recommendations in 1985. However, it was not until 1989, when Karunanidhi formed the government that the subdivision of reservation for Most Backward Classes was carved out. In 2007, The Tamil Nadu Backward Class Christians and Backward Class Muslims (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions Including Private Educational Institutions and of Appointments or Posts in the Services Under the State) Act was legislated to create a subdivision of backward Muslims and Christians.

This was followed by The Tamil Nadu Arunthathiyars (Special Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of Appointments or Posts in the Services under the State within the Reservation for the Scheduled Castes) Act in 2009, creating sub-quotas to ensure that the benefits of affirmative action trickled down. There were other novel innovations such as preferential appointments for students who were educated in Tamil medium schools under the Tamil Nadu Appointment on Preferential Basis in the Services under the State of Persons Studied in Tamil Medium Act, 2010. In the same year, a scholarship scheme was announced to provide financial assistance to —rst graduates towards their tuition fees and other fees for any professional course.

The Karunanidhi years witnessed the opening of many government colleges for engineering and medicine than at any other time. In 1997, Dr Ambedkar Law University was set up in Chennai as a premier law institute and also to honour the memory of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. Periyar University was also set up in the same year. In 2006 and 2007, Anna

University was expanded to regional headquarters in Tiruchi, Coimbatore and Tirunelveli, quadrupling the presence of the premier engineering university. Similarly, The Tamil Nadu Admission in Professional Educational Institutions Act, 2006, was enacted to streamline the admission process to professional courses in engineering, medicine, dental, agriculture and architecture.

This law extended reservation to cover 65 per cent of seats in non-minority unaided (private) professional institutions and 50 per cent in minority unaided institutions. Two major legislative reforms were seen in the school education sector as well: capping of fees and setting up of uniform curriculum in education (Samacheer Kalvi). Over the years, the education sector—from primary to tertiary—underwent a gradual but denitive change. It is for this reason that the State has a Gross Enrolment Ratio of 42, which is comparable with European nations. More importantly, reforms such as the elimination of common entrance examinations have widened the base of students being admitted to professional courses. Empirical evidence shows that a large number of women, rural and rst-generation graduates beneted from these reforms. Apart from the slew of legislation and administrative orders dealt with already, there was one reform that was close to Karunanidhi’s heart.

His ideological mentor, Periyar, had succeeded in breaking temple-entry barriers by involving himself in the famous Vaikom agitation in Kerala when Karunanidhi was a toddler. Less than a year as Chief Minister, Karunanidhi was informed of Periyar’s demand to abolish hereditary priesthood in Hindu temples. In 1970, the Karunanidhi-led government took steps to amend the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act. The legislative amendment would say that a temple trustee was not under any legal obligation —to appoint the heir onlyl as the priest.

The law was short-lived as it was challenged and taken up for hearing before the Supreme Court. In what is now known as the Seshammal vs Union of India case, the apex court held that though there was nothing

unconstitutional about this amendment, the appointment of priests should not fall foul of Articles 25 and 26 which guaranteed the right to freedom of religion. The judgment of the Supreme Court was interpreted as a stalemate to temple reforms. Periyar announced protests against this judgment but he passed away before the scheduled date. After a decision of the Supreme Court in 2002 in a matter regarding the appointment of a non-Brahmin priest in a Kerala temple, *N Adityan vs Travancore Devaswom Board*, permitting the appointment of priests without any conditions, the decks seemed to have been cleared. Within days of returning to government, in 2006, Karunanidhi announced that his government would issue an ordinance to make way for the appointment of priests from all castes.

The government constituted a committee under A.K. Rajan to study the legal issues surrounding this matter and started centres to train priests in agamic rituals. The law was again challenged and the matter went up to the Supreme Court in *Adi Sivachiriyargal vs State of Tamil Nadu*. The final judgment, delivered in December 2015, upheld the law and opened the gates for appointments. On July 29, 2018, a few days after Karunanidhi was admitted to hospital, the first non-Brahmin, government-trained priest was appointed to a Madurai temple by the Department of Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments.

Throughout his 19 years as Chief Minister, Karunanidhi championed hundreds of pieces of legislation in areas ranging from education to healthcare to reservation to industry. But, the unfinished legislative business of his political life would have to be the appointment of non-Brahmin priests. The Justice Party began almost a hundred years ago to advance the cause of non-Brahmins. Periyar fought for temple entry but was not able to succeed in breaking the barriers to priesthood.

At the commemoration of Periyar's birth centenary in 1977, his wife, Maniammai, rued that the Dravidian icon had died with a —thorn embedded

in his heart because he was unable to see this reform through. Temples have been seen as an insurmountable bastion of caste hierarchy, and even Anna, during his two-year stint as Chief Minister, was not able to make a mark. It fell upon Karunanidhi, in his fifth and final term heading the government, to legislate reforms that essentially strike at the root of caste hierarchy. For an atheist Karunanidhi, who swore to remove the thorn embedded in his ideological heart, this legislative accomplishment would have meant more than all others. Karunanidhi's administrative achievements may have begun with land reforms and agrarian issues but he made a long-lasting contribution to impacting the education landscape as well as the industrial sector. More than anything else, Karunanidhi-led governments have always scored high on social justice reforms. The principles of the Dravidian movement underline every legislative reform undertaken during the terms of various DMK-led governments. In some way, a study into the legislative achievements of Karunanidhi are intertwined with the study into the unique, and uniquely successful, Dravidian movement itself. It is equally true that any history—there is a rich and diverse political and legal history waiting to be explored in depth—cannot be written without giving due credit to the legislative prowess of Karunanidhi.

Karunanidhi's Achievements

- Madras State was renamed as Tamil Nadu.
- Act to provide legal status to the Self-respect Marriages.
- Two language formula providing for Tamil and English.
- Surrender of Earned Leave and its encashment for Government Servants.
- Nationalisation of Transport.
- Transport Corporations established.
- Electricity to all the villages.
- Link roads to all the villages having a population of 1500.

- Slum Clearance Board.
- Drinking Water Supply and Drainage Board.
- Free Eye camps Scheme.
- Beggars Rehabilitation Scheme.
- Abolition of Hand-pulled Rickshaws and free distribution of Cycle Rickshaws.
- Free Concrete Houses for Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
- Act to provide conferment of ownership of house-sites (Kudiyiruppu Act); Act fixing fair wages to farm labourers.
- Police Commission – First in India.
- Separate Ministry for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes.
- Constitution of the Backward Classes Commission and increasing the quantum of reservation for Backward Classes to 31 per cent from 25 per cent and for Scheduled Castes to 18 per cent from 16 per cent.
- Free Education to all upto P.U.C..
- May Day declared as a Holiday with wages.
- Birthday of —Nabigal Nayagam declared as a Holiday.
- First Agricultural University at Coimbatore Family Benefit Fund Scheme to Government Employees
- Confidential Reports on Government servants abolished.
- Free Housing Scheme to Fishermen.
- Karunai Illam in Temples for children.
- Salem Steel Plant.
- Land Ceiling Act, fixing 15 standard acres as the ceiling.
- Second Mine-Cut and Electricity Scheme at Neyveli.
- Petroleum and Industrial Chemicals at Thoothukudi.
- Small Industries Development Corporation (SIDCO).
- SIPCOT Complexes.

- Inclusion of Urdu Speaking Muslims in the list of Backward Classes, like Tamil Speaking Muslims.
- Abolition of Land Tax on dry lands.
- Manu Neethi Thittaml.
- Poompuhar Shipping Corporation.
- Kongu Vellalarl included in the list of Backward Classes.
- Green Revolution.
- 20 percent separate reservation for Most Backward Classes including Vanniar and Seer Marabinar.
- 18 per cent separate reservation for Scheduled Castes and 1 per cent for Scheduled Tribes.
- Free Education to Most Backward Classes and subject to income ceiling to Backward Classes upto Degree level.
- Free Education to Scheduled Castes and subject to income ceiling to women upto Degree level. Free Electricity to Farmers – First time in the Country.
- Law for equal property rights to women.
- 30 per cent reservation for women in Government services.
- First Veterinary and Animal Sciences University – First in Asia.
- Financial Assistance to poor girls for marriages.
- Financial Assistance to Widows for remarriages.
- Financial Assistance to encourage inter-caste marriages.
- Direct Paddy procurement centres.
- Incentive and payment of cart-hire charges for procurement from farmers.
- Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation established.
- Financial assistance to pregnant women.
- Wage hike for Government employees on par with the Central Government Employees with retrospective effect.

- Women's Self-Help groups benefiting 10 lakh women.
- Manonmaniam Sundaranar University.
- Pavendhar Bharathidasan University.
- Dr. M.G.R. Medical University.
- Efforts to set up Cauvery Tribunal.
- Within six months after assuming office, elections for local bodies and cooperatives.
- 33 per cent reservation for women in local bodies – by which 44,143 women including 2 Women Mayors assumed office; of the two Women Mayors one belonged to SC community. =
- Madras' renamed as =Chennai'.
- Single window system for admission in Engineering and Medical colleges. Transparent New Industrial Policy. Single window system for obtaining all licenses for starting industries.
- Improved roads, new bridges.
- Concrete streets in villages.
- Desilting of rivers, tanks and canals in an unprecedented scale. 24 hour Primary Health Centres.
- For the first time in India, MLA Constituency Development Fund.
- Protected water for all villages.
- 15 per cent reservation in professional courses for rural students.
- Periyar Memorial Samathuvapuram Scheme to eradicate caste discrimination.
- Mini Bus Scheme for Rural areas.
- Dr.Ambedkar Law University – First in India.
- Periyar University in Salem.
- Tamil Virtual University to help world Tamils.
- Urdu Academy.
- Minorities Economic Development Corporation.

- Chennai Film City named after MGR, by changing the name —J.J. Film City
- Farmers Market Scheme.
- Varumun Kappom.
- Cattle Protection Scheme.
- Vazhvoli Thittam in Schools.
- 133 feet high Thiruvalluvar Statue in Kanniyakumari.
- Tidel Park in Chennai.
- Computer Training Scheme for Government college students. Over two lakh families given house sites in poramboke lands, where they were living in houses constructed.
- Community Certificate, Nativity Certificate, Income Certificate on completion of 10th and 12th standards from the year 1999-2000.
- Scheme for grant of expenses of higher education for first three rank holders in State and District levels in the 10th and 12th standard examinations from the year 1996.
- Bus Terminal at Koyambedu in Chennai – Biggest in Asia.
- Special Scheme for the economic development of Southern districts.
- Women’s Small Trade Loan Scheme with saving scheme.
- Separate Welfare Board for agricultural labour. Welfare Boards for unorganised labour.
- Manimandapam for Tamil Scholars and martyrs.
- Supply of eggs with nutritious meal.
- Construction of over 20 dams.
- New buildings for Collectorates in nine districts.
- For the first time Bench of High Court at Madurai; Construction of buildings for it and for courts in various districts.
- Free bus passes for students.
- Anna Marumalarchi Scheme.

- Nammaku Naame Scheme.
- Indigent Family Welfare Scheme.
- Rs.104 crore new buildings for Chennai General Hospital.
- Reappointment of 13,000 welfare workers.
- For the first time 10,000 road workers appointed.
- Nationalisation of the works of Tamil scholars.
- Nine fly overs in Chennai.
- 350 electricity sub-stations (power) at Rs. 1500 crores.
- Pension scheme for contract labour. Pension Scheme for transport workers.
- New Medical colleges at Vellore, Tuticorin and Kanniyakumari districts.
- Tamil Virtual University.
- 1 Kg. of rice for 1 Rupee.
- Distribution of palm oil, red gram, black gram, suji, maida and fortified wheat flour under Special Public Distribution system at subsidised rates.
- 10 items of provisions at Rs.50.
- Cooperative loan of Rs. 7,000 crores waived to benefit 22 lakh 40 thousand and 739 families of farmers.
- No interest on crop loan to farmers who repay on time.
- Enhanced procurement rice at Rs.1050/- for common variety of paddy and Rs.1100/- for fine variety of paddy per quintal.
- Renewal of 117 old Uzhavar Sandhais and 45 new Uzhavar Sandhais.
- Rs.2000 per tonne of sugarcane, including transport charges and incentive to sugarcane farmers.
- Linking of rivers within the State: Cauvery – Gundaru Linking Project taken up at a cost of Rs.189 crores.

- Tamirabarani – Karumeniyaru – Nambiyaru Linking Project taken up at a cost of Rs.369 crores.
- Unorganised Labour Welfare Boards numbering 31 established, including the Welfare Board for Agricultural labour and enrolment of 2 crore 2 lakhs 21 thousand 564 members in the Welfare Boards.
- Disbursement of 616 crores 43 lakhs 44 thousand and 832 rupees as financial assistance to 13 lakhs 6 thousand 492 members of the Unorganised Labour Welfare Boards.
- Free house-sites to 1 crore 58 lakhs 8 thousand and 288 families.
- Kamarajar Birthday celebrated as —Education Development Day in all the schools – A Special Legislation enacted.
- 5 Eggs / Bananas per week with Nutritious Noon Meal.
- Free Bus pass to 24 lakhs 82 thousand school students and 2 lakhs 99 thousand college students every year.
- Common Entrance Examinations to Professional Courses scrapped.
- Tamil made a compulsory subject upto 10th Standard in all the schools.
- Central Institute of Classical Tamil shifted to Chennai from Mysore.
- Kumbhabishekam and renovations works carried out in 4724 temples at a cost of Rs.523 crores; during the current year Kumbhabishekam 1100 temples at a cost of Rs.100 crores.
- 10,000 cycles on an estimate of Rs.277 lakhs, distributed to Archakas and Poojaris free of cost.
- Moovalur Ramamirdham Ammaiya Financial Assistance for marriages of poor girls increased to Rs.25, 000/- from Rs.10, 000/-.
- Financial Assistance of Rs.6000/- disbursed to each of 20 lakh 11 thousand 517 poor pregnant women.
- A new Medical Insurance Scheme for Government Servants for providing 2 lakhs worth of medical assistance in a period 4 years.

- Under —Varumun Kappom Thittamll 18 thousand 742 camps have been conducted so far, benefiting 77 lakhs 5 thousand and 8 persons.
- Nalamana Thamizhagam Thittamll for medical check-up to create awareness in regard to heart disease, diabetics and cancer.
- Under Kalaignar Insurance Scheme, 2 lakhs 70 thousand 265 poor people have got their life-saving surgeries at a cost of Rs.702 crores.
- Free 108 Emergency Ambulance Scheme with the Central assistance has benefited 8 lakh 8 thousand 907 persons so far; Further, lives of 42 thousand 232 persons have been saved.
- 25 MoUs have been signed for starting 37 new industries on an investment of Rs.46,091 crores, which would provide employment opportunities to about 2 lakh 52 thousand 569 persons.
- Monthly doles totaling Rs. 240 crores have been disbursed so far to 3 lakh 5 thousand 801 educated unemployed youth.
- New Employment to 4 lakhs 65 thousand 658 youth in Government offices.
- Tidel Parks at Coimbatore, Trichy, Madurai and Tirunelveli.
- Monthly Maintenance Grant of Rs.200 increased to Rs.500 for 10 thousand differently abled persons, who are severely affected.
- So far 4 lakhs 41 thousand 311 Self Help Groups for Women have been formed; Loan assistance of Rs.6342 crores has been given to these SHGs so far.
- Basic infrastructural facilities have been created in 10 thousand 96 Village Panchayats at a cost of Rs.2033 crores, under —Anaiithu Grama Anna Marumalarchi Thittamll.
- Basic infrastrutural facilities have been created in 420 Town Panchayats at a cost of Rs.210 crores, under —Anaiithu Peruratchi Anna Marumalarchi Thittamll.

- Improvement and maintenance works have been carried out on 57 thousand 787 kilometer long roads at a cost of Rupees 12 thousand 94 crores.
- 4,945 Kilometer long roads have been broadened and converted to two-lane roads. Local Cess,
- Local Cess Surcharge and water charges have been scrapped. A notional tax of Rs.2 per acre of dry lands and Rs.5 per acre of wet lands levied as a mark of land-ownership.
- Without increase in tariff 12 thousand 137 new buses plying on the roads; Further 300 new buses being added.
- Per cent separate reservation for Arunthathiyar Community.
- Persons of any caste can become Archakas in Temples – Legislation enacted to establish an equitable society.
- With a view to create a casteless society, 145 Periyar Ninaivu Samathuvapurams have already been established; 95 new Samathuvapurams are added.
- World class Anna Centenary Memorial Library at KotturpuramChennai at a cost of Rs.171 crores.
- New Secretariat-Assembly Complex in Omandurar Government Estate at a cost of Rs.1200 crores .
- Adyar Ecological Research Park established at a cost of Rs.100 crores.
- Semmozhi Poongal in the heart of Chennai City .
- Desalination of Sea Water Project at Minjur, North Chennai.
- Desalination of Sear Water Project at Nemmeli, South Chennai.
- Metro Rail Project at a cost of Rs.14,600 crores with the assistance of Japan Bank for International Cooperation.
- Hogenekkal Combined Water Supply Scheme at a cost of Rs.1929 crores with the assistance of Japan Bank for International Cooperation.

- Ramanathapuram – Paramakudi Combined Water Supply Scheme at a cost of Rs.630 crores completed.
- TESMA and ESMA scrapped; Concessions withdrawn from Government servants and teachers have been given back to them; Recommendations of the 6th Pay Commission have been implemented with effect from 1.1.2006, on an annual expenditure of Rs.5, 155.79 crores.
- Kalaingar Housing Schemes for converting 21 lakh huts into concrete houses in a period of 6 years.
- Pension for Pressmen increased from Rs.4000 to Rs.5000 and their family pension increased from Rs.2000 to Rs.2500.
- First World Classical Tamil Conference held at Coimbatore in June 2010.
- 119 new Courts have been opened; Rs. 302 crores allocated for providing infrastructural facilities in the Courts.
- Action has been taken to reduce the pendency of cases, by establishing Evening and Holiday Courts, as per the recommendation of the 13th Finance Commission.
- Anna Technical University at Trichy, Madurai, Coimbatore and Tirunelveli established.
- Rs. 331 crores allocated for filling 11,307 teacher vacancies and 648 non-teacher vacancies in Government-Aided Minorities Schools.
- Equitable Education being implemented. One Man Commission has been appointed for fixing the fee structure in private schools.

Welfare Schemes In 1967,

DMK came to power in Madras province 18 years after its formation and 10 years after it had first entered electoral politics. This began the Dravidian era in Madras province which later became Tamil Nadu. In 1967, the Congress lost nine states to opposition parties, but it was only in Madras

state that a single non-Congress party majority was achieved. The electoral victory of 1967 is also reputed to an electoral fusion among the non-Congress parties to avoid a split in the Opposition votes. Rajagopalachari, a former senior leader of the Congress party, had by then left the Congress and launched the right-wing Swatantra Party. He played a vital role in bringing about the electoral fusion amongst the opposition parties to align against the Congress. At that time, his cabinet was the youngest in the country.

Self-respect Marriages Act

Annadurai legalised Self-respect marriages for the first time in the country. Such marriages were void of priests to preside over the ceremony and thus did not need a Brahmin to carry out the wedding. Self-respect marriages were a brainchild of Periyar, who regarded the then conventional marriages as mere financial arrangements which often caused great debt through dowry. Self-Respect marriages, according to him, encouraged inter-caste marriages and caused arranged marriages to be replaced by love marriages. Annadurai was also the first to use subsidising of the price of rice for election victory. He promised one rupee a measure of rice, which he initially implemented once in government, but had to withdraw later. Subsidising rice costs are still used as an election promise in Tamil Nadu.

Madras State to Tamil Nadu (14 January 1969)

It was Annadurai's government that renamed the Madras State to its present-day form declaring officially as Tamil Nadu. The name change itself was first presented in the upper house (Rajya Sabha) of the Parliament of India by Bhupesh Gupta, a communist MP from West Bengal, but was then defeated. With Annadurai as chief minister, the state assembly succeeded in passing the bill renaming the states.

Two language policy (1967)

Smt Indira Gandhi, K. Kamraj & C.N. Annadurai, Chief Minister of Madras, 1968 Anna was instrumental in organizing the World Tamil

Conference under the aegis of UNESCO in 1967. Another major achievement of Annadurai's government was to introduce a two language policy over the then popular three language formula. The three language formula, which was implemented in the neighbouring states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, entitled students to study three languages: the regional language, English and Hindi.

World Tamil conference (1967)

It was during the period of his Chief Ministership that the Second World Conference was conducted on a grand scale on 3 January 1968. Nevertheless, when a commemorative stamp was released to mark the Tamil conference, Annadurai expressed his dissatisfaction that the stamp contained Hindi when it was for Tamil. Annadurai also issued an order for the removal of the pictures of gods and religious symbols from public offices and buildings.

To improve the economic condition of the scheduled Castes and scheduled Tribes It was very necessary to provide them with proper education for progress through acquisition of knowledge. In the sphere of education, the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes occupied the lowest place. Till 1960, the Government of Tamil Nadu met the expenditure incurred for (a) the purposes of maintaining, schools; (b) provision of scholarships; (c) grant of stipends for training of teachers; (d) providing Mid-day meals; (e) maintenance of free hostels at important centres; (f) grant of financial assistance to hostels, schools, etc., for the benefit of the scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes.¹⁶ The scholarships awarded by the Central Government to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, helped them to continue their education. During the D.M.K. rule, the state Government introduced a new scheme known as 'the Gandhi Memorial Scholarship.

Birth of ADMK

All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) (transl. All India Anna Dravidian Progressive Federation) is a regional political party in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu and union territory of Puducherry. It is currently in power in Tamil Nadu, though weakened considerably in the 2019 General Elections and in later months recovering, and is part of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) alongside the Hindu nationalist BJP.

AIADMK was a Dravidian party founded by M. G. Ramachandran (MGR) on 17 October 1972 as a breakaway faction of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). From 1989 to 5 December 2016, AIADMK was led by J. Jayalalithaa, who served six times as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on several occasions. The party has won majorities in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly seven times, making it the most successful political outfit in the state's history. J. Jayalalithaa was known as the "Mother of AIADMK" and was highly popular among the Tamil populace until her death in 2016.

The headquarters of the party is called Amma Anbu Maaligai, which is located at Avvai Shanmugam Salai, Royapettah, Chennai, Tamil Nadu. A building was donated to the party in 1986 by Janaki Ramachandran, MGR's wif.

Ideology and policies

MGR indicated he never "favored anti-Brahminism and AIADMK would oppose ethnic exclusion".Janaki and Jayalalithaa later fought for the lead position. The AIADMK sought to depoliticize the education policy of the government by not insisting that education be the Tamil language. Policies of AIADMK were targeted to the poorer segments of Tamil society – poor, rickshaw pullers, and destitute women and centralizing the massive noon meal scheme for children. There was ambivalence toward the reservation policy and interests of farmers.

The AIADMK and its prime opposition party, the DMK posted an array of populist schemes targeting the human development index of the state. Both the parties have schemes listed in the election manifestos covering segments of the population including fishermen, farmers, and school children. Till the 2000s, the parties had welfare schemes like maternity assistance, subsidized public transport, and educational grants. After the 2000s, the parties started competing at an increasing level for the distribution of consumer goods. The AIADMK government distributed free cycles to class 11 and class 12 students during its tenure of 2001–06. The DMK, in competition, promised free color televisions in its manifesto in 2006 assembly elections. The competition continued during the 2011 assembly elections when both parties announced free laptops for schools students and grinders mixers and fans for public.

M.G.Ramachandran and his Ministry

M. G. Ramachandran era (17 October 1972 - 24 December 1987)

The party was founded in 1972 as Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) by M. G. Ramachandran, a veteran Tamil film star and popular politician. It was set up as a breakaway faction of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) led by M. Karunanidhi, then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, owing to differences between the two. Later, MGR prefixed the All India (AI) tag to the party's name. Since its inception, the relationship between the AIADMK and DMK has been marked by mutual contempt. MGR used his fan network to build the party cadre with claims his party recruited more than a million members in the first two months. C. N. Annadurai's ideologue and movie mogul R. M. Veerppan was the key architect in unifying the MGR fan clubs and further consolidating the party structure in the 70s. Other key leaders such as Nanjil K. Manoharan and S. D. Somasundaram played major roles in consolidation.[25] The party's first victories were the Dindigul parliamentary by-election in 1973 and the Coimbatore assembly by-election a

year later. On 2 April 1973, AIADMK emerged as the third largest political party in Tamil Nadu, represented by 11 MLAs in the Assembly. By 31 January 1976, AIADMMK emerged as the second largest political party in Tamil Nadu with 16 MLAs in the Assembly. AIADMK grew close to the Congress Party by supporting the National Emergency between 1975 and 1977.

The DMK-led government was dismissed by a Central promulgation on corruption charges in 1976. The AIADMK swept to power in 1977, defeating the DMK in the assembly elections. MGR was sworn in as the 7th Chief Minister of the state on 30 June 1977. MGR remained in power until his death on 24 December 1987, winning consecutive assembly elections held in 1977, 1980 and 1984. In 1979, AIADMK became the first Dravidian and regional party to be part of the Union Cabinet, when two AIADMK MP's, Sathyavani Muthu and Aravinda Bala Pajanor, joined the short-lived Charan Singh Ministry which followed the Morarji Desailed Janata Party government (1977–1979).

Relations between the Congress and the AIADMK slowly became strained. In the mid-term parliamentary elections of January 1980, the Congress aligned with the DMK and the alliance won 37 out of the 39 state parliamentary seats. The AIADMK won just two seats. After returning to power, the new prime minister, Indira Gandhi, dismissed a number of state governments belonging to the opposition parties, including the AIADMK government.

Elections to the state assembly were held in late May 1980 with the opposition DMK continuing the electoral alliance with the Congress. In a massive reversal of fortunes following the Lok Sabha elections, the AIADMK won a comfortable majority in the state assembly with 129 of 234 seat. MGR was sworn in as chief minister for the second time on 9 June 1980.

In 1984, even with MGR's failing health and hospitalization, the party won the assembly elections in alliance with the Congress. Many political historians consider MGR's persona and charisma at this point of time as "infallible", and a logical continuation of his on-screen "good lad" image, strengthened by his "mythical status" in the minds of the masses. MGR continued to enjoy popular support in his third tenure until his death on 24 December 1987.

Succession Crisis (25 December 1987 - 1989)

Following MGR's death, his wife, actress-turned-politician Janaki Ramachandran, rose to the party's leadership under support of R. M. Veerappan and 98 MLAs. She led the government for 24 days as the state's 1st woman chief minister from 7 January 1988 until the state assembly was suspended on 30 January 1988 and President's rule imposed. The party began to crumble due to infighting and broke into two factions, one under Janaki Ramachandran and the other under J. Jayalalithaa, an associate of MGR and another film actress-turned-politician who had starred with MGR. The 1989 assembly election saw the DMK regain power after 12 years in the opposition with M. Karunanidhi returning as the Chief Minister for the third time. AIADMK, due to its split, suffered heavily in the elections, with the Janaki and Jayalalithaa factions winning only 2 and 27 seats, respectively. Following AIADMK's rout in the elections, the factions led by Jayalalithaa and Janaki merged under the former's leadership. The DMK government was dismissed in 1991 by the Central Government led by Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, an ally of the AIADMK at that time, on charges that the constitutional machinery in the state had broken down.

M.G.Ramachandran and His Ministry Clause (1) of Article 154 of the Constitution provides that the executive power of the State shall be vested in the Governor and shall be exercised by him either directly or through Officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution. Article 163 lays down

that there shall be a council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as the head to aid and advice the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The chief Minister is appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, as provided in Clause.

(1) of Article 164. After the Sixth General Election held in 1977, a new Ministry with Thiru M. G.Ramachandran as Chief Minister was formed on the forenoon of the 30th June 1977. The names of the Ministers with their portfolios are given below: -

1. THIRU M.G. RAMACHANDRAN, Chief Minister:- Minister in-charge of Public, General Administration, Matters relating to Indian Civil Service and Indian Administrative Service Officers, District Revenue Officers, Deputy Collectors, Police, Elections, Passport, Prohibition, Health, Medicine, Religious Endowments, Prevention of Corruption and Industries.
2. THIRU K. MANOHARAN, Minister for Finance: - Minister in-charge of Finance, Planning, Commercial Taxes and Excise, Revenue and Legislature.
3. THIRU S. RAMACHANDRAN, Minister for Public Works: - Minister in-charge of Public Works, Minor Irrigation including Special Minor Irrigation Programme Works, Mines and Minerals, Iron and Steel Control.
4. THIRU K. NARAYANASWAMY MUDALIAR, Minister for Law: - Minister in-charge of Law, Courts Prisons, Legislation on Weights and Measures, Legislation on money lending, Legislation on chits and Registration of Companies.
5. THIRU G.R. EDMUND, Minister for Food and Co-operation:- Minister in-charge of Food, Food Production, Co-operation and Fisheries.

6. THIRU R.M. VEERAPPAN, Minister for Information and Publicity: - Minister incharge of Information and Publicity Film Technology, Tourism Development Corporation and Cinematograph Act.
7. THIRU C. ARANGANAYAGAM, Minister for Education: - Minister incharge of Education, including Technical Education, Official Language, Approved Schools, Employment and Training.
8. THIRU K. KALIMUTHU, Minister for Local Administration: - Minister in-charge of Municipal Administration, Community Development, Panchayats, Panchayat Unions, Village, Industries, Rural Industries, Project and Rural Indebtedness.
9. THIRU S. RAGHAVANANDAM, Minister for Labour: - Minister incharge of Labour, Housing, Slum Clearance Board, Statistics, Tamil Nadu Water supply and Drainage Board and Town Planning.
10. THIRU P. SOUNDARAPANDIAN, Minister for Harijan Welfare: - Minister incharge of Harijan Welfare, Backward Classes, Stationary and Printing, Government Press and Hill Tribes.
11. THIRU C. PONNAIYAN, Minister for Transport: - Minister in-charge of Transport, Nationalized Transports, Motor Vehicles Act, Highways and ports.
12. SELVI P.T.SARASWATHI, Minister for Social Welfare: - Minister incharge of Social Welfare including Women and Children Welfare, Animal Husbandry, Beggars Home, Orphanages, Vigilance Service, Indian Overseas and Refugees and Evacuees.
13. THIRU P.KOLANDAIVELU, Minister for Agriculture: - Minister incharge of Agriculture, Agriculture Refinance, Agricultural Engineering Wing, Agro-Engineering Wing, Milk, Dairy Development Corporation and Operation Flood Project.
14. THIRU K. RAJA MOHAMMED, Minister for Handlooms and Textiles: - Minister in-charge of Accommodation Control, News Print

Control, and Agro Service Cooperative Societies at Block, District and Apex Level including Federation, Wafts, Textiles, Yarn and Handloom. THIRU S. RAMACHANDARAN, Minister for Public Works was on foreign tour during September 1977 and during his absence, the subjects allocated to him were dealt with by Thiru G.R. Edmund, Minister for Food and Co-operation.

With effect from 7th May 1978, Thiruvargal K.A.Krishnaswamy, S.D. Somasundaram, R. Soundararajan and Thirumathi Subbulakshmi Jagadeesan were appointed as additional members of the Council of Ministers. Consequently, the business of Government of Tamil Nadu was allocated among the Ministers as follows: -

1. THIRU M.G. RAMACHANDRAN, Chief Minister:- Minister in-charge of Public, General Administration, Indian Administrative Service Officers, District Revenue Officers, Deputy Collectors, Police, Passport, Prohibition, Prevention of Corruption, Large Scale Industries, Mines and Minerals.
2. THIRU K.MANO HARAN, Minister for Finance: - Minister in-charge of Finance, Planning and Legislature.
3. THIRU S.RAMACHANDARAN, Minister for Electricity: - Minister incharge of Electricity, Public Works (Buildings), Iron and Steel Control.
4. THIRU K.A. KRISHNASWAMY, Minister for Co-operation:- Minister incharge of Co-operation and Registration.
5. THIRU S.D.SOMASUNDARAM, Minister for Revenue: - Minister incharge of Revenue, Commercial Taxes and Excise.
6. THIRU G.R. EDMUND, Minister for Food and Co-operation:- Minister in-charge of Food, Fisheries, youth Service Crops, Backward Classes, Elections and Ex-Serviceman.

7. THIRU R.M. VEERAPPAN, Minister for Information and Hindu Religious Endowments: - Minister in-charge of Information and Publicity, Film, Technology, Tourism, Tourism Development Corporation, Cinematography Act, Hindu Religion and Charitable Endowments, Forests and Cinchona,
8. THIRU K. NARAYANASWAMY MUDALIAR, Minister for Law: - Minister in-charge of Law, Courts Prisons, Legislation on Weights and Measures, Legislation on money lending, Legislation on chits and Registration of Companies.
9. THIRU C. ARANGANAYAGAM, Minister for Education: - Minister in-charge of Education, including Technical Education, Official Language, and Employment and Training.
10. THIRU K. KALIMUTHU, Minister for Local Administration: - Minister in-charge of Municipal Administration, Community Development, Panchayat, and Panchayat Unions
11. THIRU S. RAGHAVANANDAM, Minister for Labour: - Minister in-charge of Labour, Housing, Slum Clearance Board, Statistics, Tamil Nadu Water supply and Drainage Board and Town Planning and Accommodation Control.
12. THIRU P. SOUNDARAPANDIAN, Minister for Harijan Welfare: - Minister in-charge of Harijan Welfare, Stationary and Printing, Government Press, News Paper Control, Hill Tribes and Bonded Labour.
13. THIRU C. PONNAIYAN, Minister for Transport: - Minister in-charge of Transport, Nationalized Transports, Motor Vehicles Act, Highways and ports.
14. THIRU P. KOLANDAIVELU, Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation: - Minister in-charge of Agriculture, Agriculture Refinance,

Agricultural Engineering Wing, AgroService, Co-operative Societies, Irrigation including Minor Irrigation.

15. THIRU K. RAJA MOHAMMED, Minister for Rural Industries: - Minister incharge of Rural Industries including Villages, Cottage and Small Industries, Milk and Dairy Development.
16. THIRU R. SOUNDARARAJAN, Minister for Health: - Minister incharge of Health.
17. SELVI P.T. SARASWATHI, Minister for Social Welfare: - Minister incharge of Social Welfare including Women and Children Welfare, Animal Husbandry, Beggars Home, Orphanages, Indian Overseas, Refugees and Evacuees and Correctional Administration
18. THIRUMATHI SUBBULAKSHMI JEGADEESAN, Minister for Handlooms:- Minister in-charge of Handlooms, Khadi, Textiles and Yarn. The subjects "Public Works (Buildings)" and the "Establishment Matters relating to the Public Works Department" dealt with by Thiru S. RAMACHANDARAN, Minister for Electricity were allocated to Thiru K. Manoharan, Minister for Finance, with effect from 8th May 1978 and 18th May 1978 respectively.

During June 1978 certain subjects were allocated among certain Ministers and the subjects are indicated below: -

1. THIRU G.R. EDMUND, Minister for Food-Price Control
2. THIRU K. KALIMUTHU, Minister for Local Administration-Rural Indebtedness.
3. THIRU P. KOLANDAIVELU, Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation Agro Engineering.
4. THIRU K. RAJA MOHAMMED, Minister for Rural Industries-Wakfs.

During 1978, Thiru M.G. Ramachandaran, Chief Minister was on a foreign tour and during his absence the subjects allocated to him were distributed among other Ministers as indicated below: -

1. THIRU K. MANOHARAN, Minister for Finance: - Police, Passport and Prevention of Corruption.
2. THIRU S. RAMACHANDARAN, Minister for Electricity: - Public, General Administration, Indian Administrative Service Officers and District Revenue Officers
3. THIRU K.A. KRISHNASWAMY, Minister for Co-operation: - Mines and Minerals.
4. THIRU S.D. SOMASUNDARAM, Minister for Revenue: - Deputy Collectors.
5. THIRU R.M .VEERAPPAN, Minister for Information and Hindu Religious Endowments: - Prohibition.
6. THIRU C. PONNAIYAN, Minister for Transport: - Large Scale Industries

During February 1979, the subject "Prohibition" dealt with by Thiru M.G. Ramachandaran, Chief Minister, was re-allocated as follows: -

1. THIRU M.G. RAMACHANDARAN, Chief Minister: - Prohibition, other than grant of liquor permits.
2. THIRU R.M. VEERAPPAN, Minister for Information and Religious Endowments: - Grant of liquor permits. During April-May 1979, Thiru K.Manoharan Minister for Finance was on foreign tour and during his absence; the subjects allocated to him were dealt with by Thiru S. Ramachandaran, Minister for Electricity.

J.Jayalalitha and his Ministry and Developmental Schemes

Jayalalithaa era (1989 - 5 December 2016)

The AIADMK allied with the Congress and swept to power in the 1991 assembly election under the leadership of Jayalalitha who became the

second female chief minister and the 10th chief minister of the state. Political observers have ascribed the landslide victory to the anti-incumbent wave arising out of the assassination of the former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi[by suspected Tamil separatists fighting for a homeland in neighboring Sri Lanka. The ensuing government was accused of large-scale corruption, but Jayalalitha held on to power for a full term of five years. In the 1996 assembly election, AIADMK continued its alliance with the Congress but suffered a massive rout, winning only four out of the 234 assembly seats, with even Jayalalithaa losing from Bargur.

The AIADMK formed an alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Vaiko's Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), another breakaway faction of the DMK, during the parliamentary elections in 1998. AIADMK shared power with the BJP in the Atal Bihari Vajpayee headed government between 1998 and 1999, but withdrew support in early 1999, leading to the fall of the BJP government. Following this, the AIADMK once again allied with the Congress.

In the 2001 assembly election, the AIADMK-led alliance, consisting of the Congress, the Tamil Maanila Congress (TMC), the Left Front and the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), regained power, winning 197 seats, with AIADMK winning 132. Due to the proceedings in a disproportionate assets case which occurred in her previous tenure, Jayalalithaa was prevented from holding office. O. Panneerselvam, a close confidant of Jayalalithaa was appointed as the Chief Minister on 21 September 2001. Once the Supreme Court overturned Jayalalithaa's conviction and sentence in the case, O Panneerselvam resigned on 2 March 2002, and Jayalalithaa was again sworn in as Chief Minister.

Unlike her first term, her second term was not marred by corruption scandals. She took many popular decisions such as banning of lottery tickets, restricting the liquor and sand quarrying business to government agencies and

banning tobacco product sales near schools and colleges. She encouraged women to join the state police force by setting up all women police stations and commissioning 150 women into the elite level police commandos in 2003, a first in India. The women had the same training as men and included handling weapons, detection and disposal of bombs, driving, horseriding, and adventure sports. She sent a special task force to the Sathyamangalam forests in October 2004 to hunt down notorious sandalwood smuggler Veerappan. The operation was successful as Veerappan was finally killed by the task force on 18 October 2004.

However, despite the popular measures taken by the government, in the 2004 Lok Sabha election, the party, in alliance with the BJP again, was humiliated, winning none of the 39 Lok Sabha seats from the state. The Democratic Progressive Alliance (DPA), a DMK-led alliance consisting of all the major opposition parties in the state, swept the election.

Later, in the 2006 assembly election, in spite of media speculations of a hung assembly, the AIADMK, contesting with only the support of MDMK and a few other smaller parties, won 61 seats compared to the DMK's 96 and was pushed out of power by the DMK-led congressional alliance of the PMK and the Left Front. The AIADMK's electoral reversals continued in the 2009 Lok Sabha election. However, the party's performance was better than its debacle in 2004, and it managed to win nine seats.

Following widespread corruption and allegations of nepotism against the DMK government, in the 2011 assembly election, the party, in alliance with parties like the left and actor-turned-politician Vijayakanth's Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam (DMDK), swept the polls, winning 202 seats, with the AIADMK winning 150. Jayalalithaa was sworn in as Chief Minister for the third time.

In the Union territory of Puducherry, the AIADMK allied with N. Rangaswamy's All India N.R. Congress (AINRC) and won the 2011 assembly

election, which was held in parallel with the Tamil Nadu assembly election. However, it did not join the newly elected AINRC-led government. The AIADMK's good electoral performance continued in the 2014 Lok Sabha election. Contesting without allies, the AIADMK won an unprecedented 37 out of 39 seats in the state of Tamil Nadu, emerging as the third-largest party in parliament.

On 27 September 2014, Jayalalithaa was convicted in the Disproportionate assets case by a Special Court along with her associates Sasikala Natarajan, Ilavarasi and V. N. Sudhakaran, and sentenced to four-year simple imprisonment. Jayalalithaa was also fined 100 crores and her associates were fined ₹10 crore each. The case had political implications as it was the first case where a ruling chief minister had to step down on account of a Court sentence.

Due to her resignation O. Panneerselvam was sworn in as Chief Minister on 29 September 2014.[33] Jayalalithaa was denied bail by the High Court and moved the Supreme Court for bail. The Supreme Court granted bail on 17 October 2014. On 11 May 2015, the high Court of Karnataka said she was acquitted from that case, and was again sworn in as Chief Minister. On 22 September 2016, she was admitted to Apollo Hospital, Chennai due to fever and dehydration. After a prolonged illness, she died on 5 December 2016.

Expansion beyond Tamil Nadu and Puducherry

Under Jayalalithaa's regime, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam spread beyond Tamil Nadu and Puducherry. State units are established in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Kerala. The party floated 54 candidates across the state of Kerala in the 2006 assembly election and had contested on its own.

In Karnataka, the party had members in the state assembly and has influence in the Tamil-speaking areas of Bengaluru and Kolar district. The All

India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has a following in places like Mumbai and Delhi and in countries where Tamils are present.

Criticism

Being a popular actor, MGR's fan clubs became a source for electoral mobilization. The head of his fan club, R. M. Veerappan, became a lieutenant, and fellow actress J. Jayalalithaa was groomed as a possible heir apparent. There was a near administrative collapse during MGR's rule, and the state's rank in industrial production dropped from 3rd in the nation in 1977 to 13th position in 1987. Populist schemes that consumed two-thirds of the state's budget resulted in long-term economic costs. MGR was running a centralized administration which caused a severe toll on the state administration during his extended period of ill health.

Jayalalithaa was also accused of creating a personality cult, with fans and party activists calling her 'Amma' ('mother' in Tamil). Her face adorned food canteens, pharmacies, salt packets, laptop computers, baby care kits, bottled water, medicine shops and cement bags. Following her imprisonment on 27 September 2014, her supporters held protests and wept openly. Her replacement, the party's former minister O. Panneerselvam, also wept during his inauguration, with colleagues saying they were in mourning. Due to the centralized leadership of Jayalalithaa, the state of Tamil Nadu was experiencing policy paralysis, with most legislators and party cadres protesting against her conviction with hunger fasts, road and rail blockades.

Development Schemes

8 Welfare Schemes by Jayalalithaa that made her Tamil Nadu's „Amma“

In December 2016, the death of Tamil Nadu's former chief minister Jayalalithaa Jayaram sent the entire state into mourning. People came out on the streets, grieving the loss of their beloved leader, their Amma, who was no less than a goddess as far as they're concerned.

But what made Jayalalithaa, a former actress, the Amma of this southern state? Why were so many people just not ready to accept her demise?

Today, on her birth anniversary, let's take a look at a few of the schemes rolled out by Jayalalithaa that made her the mother of her people. Many people have labelled these welfare schemes as populist, but only the people of TN can explain what it meant to them:

1. **Amma Canteen** While there are Congress politicians like Raj Babbar who make tall claims that one can get a meal in Mumbai for ₹12 in Mumbai, Jayalalithaa actually made it possible. With an aim of providing food to the people at the least possible price, Amma Unnavagam or Amma Restaurants were founded in 2013. With idlis for 1, chapati with dal or kurma at ₹3 and curry rice at ₹5, Amma Restaurants actually put food on everyone's plate.
2. **Amma Laptops** To bridge the digital divide and ensure a wider access to technology, Jayalalithaa launched a scheme in 2013 wherein needy students were given laptops for free. It is said that the programme didn't achieve its desired results as a large number of laptops found their way to the grey market. But nonetheless, you can find lots of students in Tamil Nadu who will be ever grateful to Amma for this scheme.
3. **Amma Salt** Tata Salt may have branded itself as desh ka namak but Jayalalithaa went a step ahead and launched her own salt called Amma Salt. Amma Salt comes in 3 varieties: Double Fortified Salt, Refined Free Flow Iodised Salt and Low Sodium Salt, promising to help those with anaemia and goitre disorders. These are also priced lower than other brands.
4. **Amma Seeds** During Amma's reign, the farmers were also well taken care of. Jayalalithaa launched the Amma Seeds Programme in 2014 to provide high quality seeds to the farmers. Under this programme, kits

with ingredients required for vegetable farming at home were distributed to people. The programme was also allocated a separate budget of 5.37 crore.

5. Amma Cement There's hardly any avenue in the common man's life that Jayalalithaa did not improve. Amma Cement was launched in early 2015 and within six months, the TN government sold around 1 crore bags of the subsidised cement, priced at ₹190 per bag.
6. Amma Baby Care Kits In 2015, the mothers of newborn babies were given an Amma Baby Care Kit worth ₹1000. These contained 16 kinds of products meant for baby care, including baby towel, a dress, bed, mosquito net, napkin, oil, baby soap, bath soap, soap box, liquid sanitizer and nail cutter.
7. Amma Mobiles Jayalalithaa left no stone unturned to make sure that people in her state led a comfortable life. The Amma mobile phone handset with a 3G sim card, a camera and GPRS was given to SHG (Self Help Group) trainers to supervise the work of all SHGs.
8. Amma Call Centres After providing everything from food to homes at subsidised rates, Jayalalithaa also devised a public grievances redressal mechanism by opening Amma Call Centres in 2016. It functions round the clock, receiving calls from citizens whose complaints are then sent to concerned officials via email, text messages or phone calls.

The Mullaperiyar dam

The Supreme Court in its May 2, 2014 verdict had held that the 120-year-old dam is safe and allowed Tamil Nadu to raise the water level to 142 feet. The dam located in Thekaddy is owned and operated by the Tamil Nadu government. The Court's judgement was considered a 'sweet victory' for the state and the increase in water levels greatly helped the agricultural communities.

Global Investors

Meet In the two day Global Investors Meet event held on September 2015, the Tamil Nadu government attracted close to Rs 2.42 lakh crore in investments. Jayalalithaa was lauded for ensuring huge investments.

Library turned children's Hospital

Anna Centenary Library was established by former Tamil Nadu chief minister M Karunanidhi. During Jayalalithaa's tenure as CM, she took the initiative to turn it into a children's hospital. In 2011 she had announced a proposal to convert the new legislature and secretariat complex into a multispecialty hospital and medical college.

Gold scheme for Women

She introduced the 'Thallicku Thangam' scheme to provide gold for mangal sutra and also financial assistance for conducting a marriage ceremony. According to the government website, 4 grams of gold with Rs 25,000 towards marriage assistance have been given to 86,676 educated poor women.

Phased Prohibition

In her tenure as CM she cut down the number of liquor outlets and ordered for the closure of 500. The shop timings altered from 10 am to 12 noon. While other parties called in for a total ban on TASMAs (Tamil Nadu State Marketing Corporation), Jayalalithaa pushed for a phased prohibition.

Rainwater Harvesting

Tamil Nadus experiment with the alternative water conservation technique of rain water harvesting (RWH) is a rare success story. The RWH scheme, a brainchild of Jayalalithaa, was launched in 2001 in the parched state despite opposition from many people. The CM made RWH mandatory for all government and residential buildings. The scheme soon helped people in water-starved regions such as Chennai by raising water tables in most neighbourhoods.

The Cradle Baby Scheme

The 'cradle baby' scheme, another brainchild of late Chief Minister Jayalalithaa in 1992 was initiated to battle female infanticide. The project which started in 1992 runs in towns and villages across Tamil Nadu. In this scheme parents are allowed to anonymously hand over newborns to Cradle baby centres. They are well equipped with life saving drugs, bed sheets and gas connections and other facilities. The centres have been set up in various districts across Tamil Nadu like, Madurai, Theni, Dindigul, Dharmapuri, Erode and Namakkal.

Other Achievements

The Jayalalithaa government in 2003 banned sale of all lotteries, including online, within the territory of the state, despite the risk of the state losing revenue. Dreaded poacher and sandalwood smuggler Veerappan was also killed when she was in power though it would be unfair to give the entire credit to her for the killing.

Socio-Economic and Educational Developments During ADMK Regime

MGR indicated he never "favored anti-Brahminism and AIADMK would oppose ethnic exclusion". Janaki and Jayalalithaa later fought for the lead position. The AIADMK sought to depoliticize the education policy of the government by not insisting that education be the Tamil language. Policies of AIADMK were targeted to the poorer segments of Tamil society – poor, rickshaw pullers, and destitute women and centralizing the massive noon meal scheme for children. There was ambivalence toward the reservation policy and interests of farmers.

The AIADMK and its prime opposition party, the DMK posted an array of populist schemes targeting the human development index of the state. Both the parties have schemes listed in the election manifestos covering segments of the population including fishermen, farmers, and school children. Till the 2000s, the parties had welfare schemes like maternity assistance,

subsidized public transport, and educational grants. After the 2000s, the parties started competing at an increasing level for the distribution of consumer goods. The AIADMK government distributed free cycles to class 11 and class 12 students during its tenure of 2001–06. The DMK, in competition, promised free color televisions in its manifesto in 2006 assembly elections. The competition continued during the 2011 assembly elections when both parties announced free laptops for schools students and grinders mixers and fans for public.

The Aims of the Scheme are

- Protecting children from classroom hunger.
- Increasing school enrollment and attendance there by reducing drop out.
- Improving socialization among children belonging to all castes.
- Addressing the issue of malnutrition among children.
- Social empowerment to women by creating empowerment.
- Krishna water project
- The releasing of krishna water to chennai by providing 24 crores annually at that time (it faced critics from dmk, as it should be released for free)
- His strict actions which eliminated naxals from the state.
- Conduction of 5th Tamil conference etc.

The many things Amma was: List of schemes implemented by Jayalalithaa

List of schemes implemented by Jayalalithaa

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalithaa is well known for populist schemes. Most of them were either free or highly subsidised. Crores of people, especially women, have benefited from these in her two-decade-long reign.

The cradle baby Scheme

The first welfare scheme launched by the Jayalalithaa when she came to the power in 1991. Under this, anyone could anonymously give their new born babies to the state. The state would take care of the baby. Even the state has the right to give them up for adoptions. The scheme was aimed at lowering the number of female foeticide and gender-based abortion.

Thalikku Thangam Thittam

Thalikku Thangam Thittam or 'Gold for marriage' scheme was implemented in 2011. The scheme was named after the popular social activist Moovalur Ramamirtham.

It offers four grams of gold and cash of up to Rs 50,000 to financially backward women who have completed degree or diploma.

Amma canteen

All the canteens run by City Corporation, offer food for as little as Rs 1. The canteen was an instant hit. It was maintained by women self help groups.

Amma Laptops

Tamil Nadu government provided free laptops to all the students studying in state-run higher secondary schools or colleges.

Amma Water

If you are in Tamil Nadu, you will often notice water bottles with Amma's logo on it. It costs Rs 10 per litre. Popularly known as 'Amma water', it is the least expensive packaged drinking water available in the market. Another populist scheme by AIADMK government where every mother who gave birth in the government hospital gets 16 types of products worth Rs 1000 without paying a penny. This kit contains a baby towel, dress, bed, mosquito net, baby oil, soap, sanitizer, doll, medicine (for both the mother and the baby).

Amma Grinder, Mixie, Table Fan

After AIADMK came back to power in 2011, they announced free table fan, mixie and grinder for the poor.

Amma Insurance

In 2012, Amma implemented this measure -Amma mediclaim. Under the scheme, each family was guaranteed Rs 1 lakh per annum for the period of four years.

Amma Pharmacy

These medical shops sell all kind of medicines - generic and branded lower than the market rates. Daily wage labourers are the most benefited from this scheme.

AIADMK Integration of Tamil Districts

The AIADMK

(All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) has played a significant role in the political and administrative evolution of Tamil Nadu, particularly in the integration and reorganization of its districts. Since its formation under the leadership of M.G. Ramachandran (MGR) in 1972, and later under the stewardship of J. Jayalalithaa, the party focused on improving governance and enhancing administrative efficiency, which included the reorganization of districts to bring the government closer to the people.

During the AIADMK's tenure, several new districts were carved out of larger ones, making administration more accessible and responsive to local needs. The reorganization of districts was done with a focus on improving infrastructure, ensuring efficient delivery of government services, and addressing the developmental aspirations of different regions. These efforts were also aimed at fostering regional balance and giving greater attention to backward or underdeveloped areas.

For example, the bifurcation of large districts like Thanjavur and Madurai into smaller units enabled more focused development projects,

especially in rural areas where socio-economic disparities were more pronounced. This process helped decentralize administrative functions and ensured that each district had its own set of resources and governance apparatus for managing education, healthcare, infrastructure, and local industries.

The AIADMK's focus on the integration and reorganization of districts was also aligned with its populist policies, which aimed at empowering the common people. By creating smaller districts, the party made governance more accessible and accountable, enabling better monitoring of development schemes. This policy of creating new districts reflected the party's commitment to ensuring that all regions, especially those that were previously neglected or marginalized, received due attention in the state's development agenda.

Overall, the AIADMK's approach to the integration of Tamil districts stands out as a key administrative reform that contributed to the state's socioeconomic progress. It enhanced the state's ability to address local challenges while promoting equitable development across Tamil Nadu.

Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee Crisis

The mass inundation of Sri Lankan refugees had initiated on 24.07.1983 and had held delayed history of haven in India. The refugees had landed in four stages to Tamil Nadu. In the primary stage 1,34,053 displaced people touched base to Tamil Nadu which was start in 1983 and kept on working 1987. Table 1 indicates periods of Sri Lankan refugee person's flood to India.

The second flood of refugees touched base in 1989 and finished in 1991. The third flood of refugees deluge started in 31.07.1996, harmonizing with the statement of Elam war III. Accordingly Sri Lankan armed force and Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Elam (LTTE) have battled together in Sri Lanka. The immediate fight between Sri Lankan armed force and LTTE, the

fourth rush of refugees inundation had started in January 2016 and proceeded till January of 2010. 8,450 families comprising of 24,527 people including 18,222 grown-ups and 6,305 youngsters have touched base at Rameswaram amid the fourth stage. All in all, 3,03,076 are came to India since 1983 and around one lakhs of outcasts are repatriated in Two stages (First stage from 1987 To 1989 and Second stage from 1992 To 1995).

Sri Lankan refugees remain generally in Tamil Nadu and live in refugee camps dispersed over the state. At present, in excess of 66156 thousand Sri Lankan refugees live in more than 113 camps in Tamil Nadu. Also, a further 30,000 Sri Lankans are living outside the administration camps. Those that live outside must enrol with the neighbourhood police and visit the camps on a fortnightly premise to enlist their participation. The issues identified with human right infringement are by all accounts extremely high in refugee camps. Their entitlement to the development and appropriate to live have been dealt with indiscriminately and the organization of some refugee camps is like jails. In the prior long stretches of landing, displaced people are invited by neighbourhood individuals and given help. Since the death of Rajiv Gandhi had spread the dread of aggressor exercises.

Details of Refugees Camps in Tamil Nadu

Sl.No	District	No. of Camps	Total Families	Single Families	Total No. of Persons
1	Coimbatore	4	1029	150	3221
2	Cuddalore	4	439	65	1390
3	Dharmapuri	8	698	79	2433
4	Dindigul	7	1016	120	3407
5	Erode	3	1209	151	4713
6	Kanniyakumari	4	425	51	1420
7	Karur	2	637	85	2052
8	Krishnagiri	2	329	23	1151
9	Madurai	3	1570	170	5881

10	Namakkal	3	701	122	2247
11	peambalur	1	76	12	260
12	Pudukkottai	3	1009	142	3369
13	Ramanathapuram	1	629	0	2125
14	Salem	8	864	98	3457
15	Sivaganga	6	1061	138	3486
16	Theni	2	5	0	24
17	Thiruvallur	2	1364	192	4562
18	Thoothukudi	3	496	0	1659
19	Tiruchirappalli	2	926	136	2951
20	Tirunelvel	9	852	133	2717
21	Tiruvannamalai	13	1109	155	3574
22	Tiruppur	5	321	65	992
23	Vellore	6	1085	116	3690
24	Villupuram	2	518	63	1800
25	Viruthunagar	7	1081	0	3522
	Special camp				
26	Kanchipuram	1	40	0	40
27	Thiruvallur	1	8	0	8
28	Tirchy	1	5	02267	5
		113	19502		66155

There are upwards of 66156 Sri Lankan refugees living in around 113 refugee camps in Tamil Nadu alone that are arranged in 28 out of 32 districts inside the state. A portion of these camps are very huge and can suit in excess of 1000 families. Such expansive camps with a limit of lodging more than 1000 families are situated in the accompanying six regions of Tamil Nadu like Thiruvallur, Vellore, Tiruvannamalai, Erode, Madurai, Shivaganga and Mandapam. Every one of these six locales has ingested and obliged at least 3,500 refugee people throughout the years (Government of Tamil Nadu,

2008). The arranged in activity by the decision government has evaded issues related to mass migration. Amid the 1983 mass migration, when the entry of Sri Lankan refugees was at a pinnacle, the officeholder Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr M. G. Ramachandran had the foreknowledge to draw up an arrangement that sent clumps of arriving exiles to whatever number diverse locale as would be prudent. This would guarantee that they were not all restricted in a couple of spots and no specific region bore the whole budgetary and social weight. Under the arrangement, the different District Collectors of the considerable number of regions in the state were coordinated to allocate land and assets for the restoration of refugees. This strategy of dispersal has figured out how to give the displaced people various focal points too. It enabled them to have all the more living space and guaranteed better openings for work – particularly for the general population who figured out how to achieve an asylum close to one of the District Headquarters. An expansive number of refugee camps are situated in Tiruvannamalai region, which involves thirteen camps pursued by Tirunelveli (9), Selam (8) and Dharmapuri (8). Moreover, Madurai regions have obliged 1570 refugees families, where three camps are involved in the area and are the greatest camps based on the family measure. The quantity of families in Tiruvannamalai area is 1109, in this manner refugee camps in Tiruvannamalai, all in all holds the fourth position in the family measure. The biggest number of refugees is conceded in three camps of Madurai region, in particular, Anaiyur (2440), Thiruvathavur (1761) and Uchapatti (1680) and all out refugees in Madurai area is 5881 people. Three special camps are situated in Kancheepuram, Thiruvallur and Trichy regions.

The refugees aged 0-8 years has involves 6171 male and 5882 female. The substantial number of youngsters beneath the age of 8 is recorded in Erode region. Youngsters in the middle of 9-11of age establish 16182. Out of this, 2092 are male and 2037 are female. Vast number of youngsters in this

age is situated in Selam. All out grown-up populace of evacuees in Tamil Nadu comprise 49974 people. Out of this, 15717 individuals are in the middle of 12-17 years of age and 34257 are matured over 18. From the grownup populace, absolute male is 24948 and number of female is 25026. The number of refugee families in 2009 was 19593, which was expanded to 19741 out of 2011 and declined to 19435 out of 2016. The grown-up male and female proportion is genuinely steady and declining. The number of kid male and female in 2011 was 8699 and 8391, which was 9542 and 9090 out of 2009 separately. In January 2016, kid male and the female distinction are 10.

The government of Tamil Nadu has been giving a monthly dole of Rs.1000 and free education to refugees. However, the interest in citizenship not gets genuine consideration from different governments. The nonsegregated existence with neighbourhood network and their social and semantic fondness have brought the likelihood. Refugees entitlement to move is limited to camp environment and the nonappearance of socio, economic and political rights have escalated the seriousness in enduring camps. There is a need to sympathize exile's craving before shaping each approach. At that point, just the current issues settled. The improvement in way of life contrasted with before has actuated the refugees to return.

Reservation Policy

The recent Constitution (103rd Amendment) Act of 2019, which guarantees 10% reservation for the economically weaker sections (EWS) within the unreserved category, was met with opposition by the majority of political parties in Tamil Nadu. This constitutional amendment surpasses the 50% reservation cap established after the Indra Sawhney Vs Union of India case. While it does provide flexibility for states to exceed this limit in exceptional circumstances, the judgment emphasized that mere economic disadvantage cannot be the sole basis for implementing reservations.

Former finance minister Arun Jaitley, however, construed that the 50% cap was specifically intended for reservations based on caste.

Tamil Nadu's refusal of this constitutional amendment stemmed from the lack of empirical or scientific support. The Supreme Court has consistently opposed altering reservations without comprehensive study, as evidenced in the 2006 case of *Atyant Pichhara Barg Chhatra Sangh Vs Jharkhand State Vaishya Federation*, the 2016 10% reservation initiative for EWS in Gujarat, and similar endeavors by Rajasthan, Odisha, and Maharashtra in 2014.

Tamil Nadu's effective reservation policy has fostered inclusivity in the public sphere, previously controlled by upper caste Brahmins at the start of the 20th century. Furthermore, the state's outstanding performance in human development indicators provides strong evidence of the significant impact of reservations in Tamil Nadu. Periyar's anti-Brahmin movement not only played a pivotal role in dismantling Brahmin hegemony but also set the stage for inclusive development by eliminating various caste-based barriers in public education and employment.

The reservation percentage in Tamil Nadu has increased from 41% in 1954 to 69% in 1990 in response to demands. Recent data from the All India Survey for Higher Education (2018-19) demonstrates a relatively equitable representation of Other Backward Classes in both public and private higher education institutions in Tamil Nadu.

However, there is still much to be addressed regarding the representation of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Muslims. OBCs also lack adequate representation in national institutions, with their presence at 25.7%, while SCs are represented at 6.2%. Particularly alarming is the underrepresentation of Dalits and OBCs in IITs, where their representation stands at only 2.05% and 9.42% respectively. The history of reservations in the state provides further insight.

The initial backward classes commission of Tamil Nadu, established by M. Karunanidhi and led by A.N. Sattanathan, highlighted in its 1970 report that an elite segment within the backward caste community had been benefiting the most from reservations, hindering the development of the genuinely backward castes.

According to the Sattanathan Commission, nine castes including Vadugas, Thulluva Vellalas, Aghamudiyans, Gavaras, Veerakodi Vellalas, Sourashtrans, Sadhu Chettis, Kaikolan (Sengunthar and Sozhia) and Devangas, which constitute approximately 11.3% of the total backward classes' population, occupied 37% of non-gazetted and 48% of gazetted posts. Additionally, they secured 44% of engineering seats, 47% of medical seats, and 34% of scholarships, thereby creating significant disparities in access to reservation benefits.

The Commission recommended the creation of a distinct 'Most Backward Class' category and proposed an increase in quota in order to accommodate all eligible individuals. To prevent the reservation of seats from disproportionately benefiting specific communities, the Commission suggested the introduction of economic criteria to prevent the accumulation of all reservation benefits by the "creamy layer."

Additionally, the Commission recommended the exclusion of certain castes from reservation benefits due to their perceived advancement. Consequently, based on the Commission's suggestions, the backward class reservation was raised from 25% to 31%, and that of SCs and STs increased from 16% to 18% by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam government in 1971. However, the recommendation regarding the "creamy layer" was disregarded, and no castes were excluded from reservation benefits. Furthermore, a separate category of 'Most Backward Classes' was not established as suggested.

Hagam endeavored to implement the creamy layer concept based on the recommendations of the Sattanathan Commission. However, due to vigorous political opposition, it was later retracted. The subsequent loss in the parliamentary elections in 1980 further complicated the situation. The MGR government defended its decision to introduce the creamy layer concept, asserting that it aimed to benefit economically disadvantaged communities and prevent the rise of a 'neo-Brahminical cult' among the affluent segments of the backward classes.

In response to the political unrest sparked by this development, the government amplified the reservation for backward classes from 31% to 50%. However, the Supreme Court mandated the government to establish a commission to investigate the genuine standing of backward classes in Tamil Nadu. In 1982, the MGR government appointed the Second Backward Classes Commission, chaired by J.A. Ambasankar. The commission diligently undertook a scientific assessment of the backward classes' status, ultimately finding that approximately 11 castes (Kongu Vellalar, Nadar, Agamudaiyar, Labbai, Gavara, Sengunthar, Kallar, Maravar, Sozha Vellalar, Devangar, and Sadhu Chetty), constituting around 34.8% of the backward classes, held 50.7% of positions in the public service commission, 62.7% of seats in professional courses, and 53.4% of scholarships.

The remaining seats were allocated to as many as 211 castes, constituting approximately 65.2% of the total backward class population in the state. The Commission determined the backward class population to be around 67% and proposed the inclusion of 17 forward communities in the list while eliminating 34 communities from it. Subsequently, the government augmented the backward classes list with 29 additional communities, retaining the existing 68% reservation for backward classes, SCs, and STs without removing any community from the list.

The Vanniyar caste's protest against the concentration of reservations among a small segment of the backward class population prompted the Karunanidhi-led DMK government to restructure the reservation system in 1989. This led to the allocation of 30% for backward classes and 20% for Most Backward Classes and de-notified communities. Subsequently, the Jayalalithaa government aimed to safeguard the 69% reservation following the Indra Sawhney judgment, which curtailed reservations to 50%. To achieve this, the government enacted the Tamil Nadu Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions and of Appointments or Posts in the Services under the State) Act, 1993. This act was included in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution to evade judicial review.

Under the direction of the Supreme Court to provide quantifiable data justifying the decision, the Janarthanam Commission submitted a report in 2011 titled 'Justification of Reservation under the Tamil Nadu Act 45 of 1994 on Quantifiable Data'. This report, based on data provided by the state government, referenced the Sattanathan and Ambasankar Backward Class Commission reports. However, it failed to address the issue of certain castes within the backward classes disproportionately benefiting from the reservation.

In 2000, the White Paper on job reservations was presented in the state assembly by Chief Minister Karunanidhi, highlighting the over-representation of backward classes and the under-representation of Most Backward Classes, SCs, and STs in jobs in Tamil Nadu. The Janarthanam Commission did not adequately assess the impact of reservation by failing to compare the data collected by the Ambasankar Commission with present-day reality. This comparison would have facilitated a more rationalized approach to the reservation policy in Tamil Nadu.

The concept of the creamy layer has been widely misused across various regions, whereby the exclusion of the creamy section has led to the conversion of reserved seats into the general category under the pretext of not finding suitable candidates within the OBC section. However, allocating seats within the community, post the exclusion of the creamy layer, could potentially create opportunities for truly deserving individuals within the backward communities. Nevertheless, influential figures within the backward communities, possessing political and economic influence, are prone to obstructing such democratization processes.

With 46% of unassisted private universities and 76% of unassisted private colleges in Tamil Nadu failing to adhere to the reservation policy in recruitment, the original purpose of reservations has noticeably waned in the state. The underrepresentation of SCs and STs in government institutions and their limited presence in private institutions has further diluted the core principles of social justice in Tamil Nadu. There is an immediate necessity to reevaluate Tamil Nadu's reservation policy on a scientific basis without diminishing its scope or providing leeway for those opposed to reservations based on Brahminical beliefs to undermine what has been a progressive reservation policy.

Relations with neighbouring states

During the AIADMK's tenure in Tamil Nadu, relations with neighboring states were shaped by a combination of cooperation and conflict, primarily driven by issues related to water sharing, border disputes, and regional development. Tamil Nadu, being geographically situated with several interstate rivers and common borders with states like Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Puducherry, faced a range of challenges that required diplomatic handling.

One of the most contentious issues during the AIADMK regime was the water-sharing disputes, particularly the Cauvery River water dispute with

Karnataka. This long-standing issue saw heightened tensions between the two states as Tamil Nadu depended on the Cauvery River for agricultural irrigation, while Karnataka controlled the river's upper catchment areas. The AIADMK, under leaders like M.G. Ramachandran and J. Jayalalithaa, engaged in extensive legal battles to secure Tamil Nadu's share of Cauvery water, approaching both the Supreme Court and the central government to intervene. These legal confrontations often strained relations with Karnataka, but the AIADMK's stance was clear in defending Tamil Nadu's rights over water resources.

Relations with Kerala were marked by the dispute over the Mullaperiyar Dam. Tamil Nadu relied on the dam for irrigation and drinking water, while Kerala raised concerns about the dam's safety. The AIADMK government consistently maintained that the dam was safe and opposed Kerala's attempts to lower the water level, taking the matter to court to assert Tamil Nadu's water rights. This dispute became a major point of friction in Tamil Nadu-Kerala relations during AIADMK rule.

Tamil Nadu's relations with Andhra Pradesh were also impacted by river disputes, particularly the Palar River. The construction of check dams by Andhra Pradesh reduced the water flow into Tamil Nadu, which the AIADMK government opposed. The state government regularly engaged with its Andhra counterpart to negotiate water-sharing agreements and mitigate the impact on Tamil Nadu's agricultural regions.

Despite these disputes, there were also periods of cooperation. For instance, the AIADMK worked with neighboring states to improve infrastructure, trade, and regional development. Economic ties between Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, particularly in industries like textiles, automobiles, and energy, helped strengthen relations despite occasional conflicts.

The AIADMK's handling of interstate relations during its tenure demonstrated a balancing act between defending Tamil Nadu's regional

interests, particularly in water disputes, while also fostering cooperation where possible. This approach helped the party maintain a strong stance on protecting Tamil Nadu's rights while navigating the complex web of regional politics.

Industrial and Educational Developments

During the AIADMK period, Tamil Nadu witnessed significant industrial and educational developments, driven by the leadership's focus on modernizing the state's economy and improving access to education. Under the stewardship of leaders like M.G. Ramachandran (MGR) and J. Jayalalithaa, the AIADMK government implemented policies that fostered both industrial growth and educational reforms, contributing to Tamil Nadu's emergence as one of India's most industrialized and literate states.

Industrial Developments:

The AIADMK government promoted industrialization through several key initiatives. Under MGR, Tamil Nadu saw a push toward industrial expansion, with the establishment of industrial estates, special economic zones, and initiatives to attract both domestic and foreign investments. The manufacturing sector, particularly in textiles, leather, and automotive industries, grew rapidly during this time.

Under Jayalalithaa, industrial development took on a new dimension with the emphasis on high-tech industries such as information technology (IT), electronics, and automobile manufacturing. Tamil Nadu became a major hub for IT services, particularly in cities like Chennai, Coimbatore, and Madurai. The AIADMK government's policies, including the establishment of IT parks and favorable investment conditions, led to rapid growth in the sector. The automobile industry also expanded significantly, with global car manufacturers setting up production units in Chennai, leading to the city being called the "Detroit of Asia."

The AIADMK focused on improving infrastructure to support industrial growth, such as the development of ports, highways, and power generation capacity. The state also introduced industrial policies aimed at encouraging micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) as a means of generating employment and regional development. Tamil Nadu consistently ranked among the top states in India for attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) during the AIADMK rule.

Educational Developments:

On the educational front, the AIADMK government undertook a series of reforms to improve access to and the quality of education. M.G. Ramachandran's introduction of the Mid-Day Meal Scheme, which aimed to reduce hunger and improve school attendance, was one of the most significant educational initiatives. This scheme not only boosted enrollment but also contributed to improved literacy rates among children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

Under Jayalalithaa, the state made substantial progress in higher education. The AIADMK government facilitated the expansion of colleges and universities across Tamil Nadu, increasing the number of educational institutions in rural and urban areas. Special attention was given to the development of technical and vocational education, leading to the establishment of engineering colleges, polytechnics, and institutions focused on skills training. The state also promoted schemes like free laptops for students and financial assistance for higher education, ensuring greater access to education for students from marginalized communities.

The literacy rate in Tamil Nadu increased substantially during the AIADMK's rule, with the state becoming one of the most literate regions in the country. The AIADMK's focus on education, combined with its welfare policies such as free textbooks, uniforms, and bicycles for students, helped bridge the gap between rural and urban education.

In conclusion, the AIADMK period marked a phase of rapid industrial and educational development in Tamil Nadu. The government's emphasis on industrialization led to the growth of various sectors, while its education policies helped improve access to quality education, fostering socio-economic development across the state.

Course Outcomes

CO1: Explain the formation and growth of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

CO2: Describe the policies and reforms of C. N. Annadurai.

CO3: Analyze the administration and social justice measures of M.

Karunanidhi.

CO4: Examine the role of M. G. Ramachandran and J. Jayalalithaa in welfare and development.

CO5: Evaluate contemporary socio-political and economic issues in Tamil Nadu.



Programme Outcome

PO: To develop students' understanding of regional political movements, governance, and contemporary issues, enabling critical analysis of Tamil Nadu's socio-economic development.

S.No	Question (5 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
		CO	PO	K
1.	Explain the formation and growth of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.	CO2	PO1	K2
2.	Write a short note on C. N. Annadurai.	CO1	PO1	K1
3.	What is meant by reservation policy?	CO1	PO1	K1
4.	Examine the role of M. G. Ramachandran in Tamil Nadu politics.	CO4	PO1	K4
5.	What were the achievements of M. Karunanidhi?	CO4	PO1	K4

S.No	Question (8 Mark)	LOCF Mapping		
		CO	PO	K
1.	Analyze the importance of reservation and social justice policies.	CO4	PO1	K4
2.	Explain the causes and impact of river water disputes in Tamil Nadu.	CO2	PO1	K2
3.	Discuss the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee crisis and its impact.	CO4	PO1	K4
4.	Examine the industrial and educational development of Tamil Nadu.	CO4	PO1	K4
5.	Evaluate contemporary political and social issues in Tamil Nadu.	CO5	PO1	K5

Recommended Books

- Ramaswamy, *TharkalaThamizhnattuVaralaru*, New Century Book House, Chennai, 2018 (In Tamil)
- G. Venkatesan, *History of Modern Tamil Nadu 1600-2011*, VC Publications, Rajapalayam
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- Ma. Po. Civananam, *History of Freedom Movement in Tamil Nadu*, Tamil University, 1988
- N. Subramanian, *History of Tamil Nadu, 1336 to 1984*, Koodal Publications, 1976
- Noboru Karashima, ed., *A Concise History of South India: Issues and Interpretations*, OUP, New Delhi, 2014
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- P. Rajaraman, *The Justice Party – A Historical Perspective, 1916-1937*, Poompozhil Publishers, Madras, 1988