

# ***THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES***

## **Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar and Subash Chandra Bose**

**Dr. P. Ganesan**

Assistant Professor, Department of Ancient History,  
School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India

### **Abstract:**

*Thevar wants to participate in the congress party meeting was held in 1928 at Mylapore in Chennai. That time Subhas Chandra Bose coming to participate the meeting, then Ayyangar introduced, Thevar to the Subhas Chandra Bose. Thevar and Bose become good friends. Thevar and Subhas Chandra Bose the same ideology about the Independence could be achieved only through revolution. Both of them believed that India was one Nation people of India must have the supreme power. Apart from these two, Thevar did not mention any other positive impressions. Gandhi, Nehru and Patel in the All – India context, Rajagopalachari and Kamaraj in the regional context, provided only a negative stimuli. On the other hand, Thevar got inspirations and solace from the ever – lasting classics and epics in the Tamil language. In the Annual session of the Indian national congress held at Tripura two candidates contested for President ship one was Pattabi Sitaramiah supported by Gandhi and other being Subash Chandra Bose supported by Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar. Bose get victory with the strong support of Thevar and Sitaramiah was defeated. Gandhi admitted his failure and observed, “Sitaramiah’s failure is my failure”. Thevar felt that the salvation of India as of the world depended only on socialism and for this, India need not import Subhasism was the only way out for the development of India. He defined Subhasism thus uncompromising revolution until the achievement of fully fledged socialism to suit the Indian National system of culture and civilization. If a person is a true socialist he would be considered as true Subhasist. Thevar did not like those who never and vacillated in their struggle against imperialism and rejected them as ‘compromising rightists’. Thevar wanted the following to be carried out as essential steps to found the socialist state of India.*

### **1. Introduction**

Thevar and Ayyangar have similar political views and attracted for true ideology of Subhas Chandra Bose, who believed that Independence achieved through passive resistance, would not contribute to the consolidation of the Nation. Thevar wants to participate in the congress party meeting was held in 1928 at Mylapore in Chennai. That time Subhas Chandra Bose coming to participate the meeting, then Ayyangar introduced, Thevar to the Subhas Chandra Bose. Thevar and Bose become good friends. Thevar accompanied Subhas Chandra Bose when he returned to Calcutta, Thevar and Bose often to meet together and discussed them political matters because Thevar and Subhas Chandra Bose the same ideology about the Independence could be achieved only through revolution. Both of them believed that India was one Nation people of India must have the supreme power.<sup>1</sup> After the meeting Thevar along with Bose went to Calcutta. There, Bose was introduced Thevar to his parents. He was treated as the 9<sup>th</sup> son of his family from the South. Later, Thevar painfully observed that the replacement of British imperialism in India by the Indian National Congress did not bring the economic, political and moral regeneration and convinced that the Congress had become an organization of the few, by the few and for the few. Thevar began to generate, organize and sustain few forces, along with the merger of old ones, to unhook the Congress from positions of power. Perhaps the garrulous attitude of the debased Congress politicians made him sick, and consequently he strove for better moral standards in personal life essentially, and in public life compulsorily.<sup>2</sup> Very definite influences on the personality of Thevar had existed while he tried to respond to his socio-political milieu. The leftist outlook of Srinivasa Iyengar and the camaraderie of Subhas Chandra Bose had left indelible impressions on his mind. Apart from these two, Thevar did not mention any other positive impressions. Gandhi, Nehru and Patel in the All – India context, Rajagopalachari and Kamaraj in the regional context, provided only a negative stimuli. On the other hand, Thevar got inspirations and solace from the ever – lasting classics and epics in the Tamil language. In fact, they provided him food for thought on the ideal polity. Vivekananda and Ramalinga Adigal set him on the track of spirituality. Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar after a few months stay in Calcutta returned from Calcutta to Tamil Nadu. This, period of his lifetime stay at Calcutta it was turning point of Thevar’s career. Both, leaders developed their principles and ideas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W.H.Morris Jones, The Government and Politics of India, New Delhi, 1971, p.137.

<sup>2</sup> K.Bose, Forward Block, TamilNadu Academy of Political Science, Madras, 1998, p.77.

<sup>3</sup> Madras Legislative Assembly Debate, Vol.XII, Madras, 1954, p.103.

## 2. Thevar's Role in the Tripura Congress Election 1935

In the Annual session of the Indian national congress held at Tripura two candidates contested for President ship one was Pattabi Sitaramiah supported by Gandhi and other being Subash Chandra Bose supported by Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar. Bose get victory with the strong support of Thevar and Sitaramiah was defeated. Gandhi admitted his failure and observed. "Sitaramiah's failure is my failure". This, election proved Thevar was one of the dominating personalities in the National level. This, election was considered as a turning point in the history of the Indian National congress.<sup>4</sup>

## 3. Subhasism

Thevar felt that the salvation of India as of the world depended only on socialism and for this, India need not import Subhasism was the only way out for the development of India. He defined Subhasism thus uncompromising revolution until the achievement of fully fledged socialism to suit the Indian National system of culture and civilization. If a person is a true socialist, he would be considered as true Subhasist. Thevar did not like those who never and vacillated in their struggle against imperialism and rejected them as 'compromising rightists'. Thevar wanted the following to be carried out as essential steps to found the socialist state of India.<sup>5</sup>

The right given to property in the constitution must be replaced by the right to all living wages for every citizen.

- ❖ All the means of production and distribution and all the trusts and the connected institutions should be taken over by the state.
- ❖ Calling on Income and expenditure should be enforced without any adjustment or compromise.
- ❖ The foreign exploitation in the name of trade and friendship should be curbed on a phases programmed by huge production of local commodities.
- ❖ The socialist theory must be inculcate in the minds of all children etc.,<sup>6</sup>

## 4. Muthu Ramalinga Thevar and Forward Bloc

As planned earlier the new party started its work earnestly. An article with the caption "the congress split and after" was published. An extract of that the young and tender shoot of nationalism has now emerged above the group full of silent aspiration towards the high heavens and the first two leaves which it has put forth inclined seemingly towards opposite directions, but connected by it remembered at one germinal centre should but gladden the heart of those who are interested in the development of that priceless plant". Subash Chandra Bose founded the Forward Bloc in 1939 within the Indian National Congress.<sup>7</sup> Because, of his imprisonment, he could not vigorously work for the growth of the party in the beginning. So, when Subhas Chandra Bose started Forward Bloc. Thevar joined the party and soon became his right hand. From then onwards he was a very enthusiastic congressman and later he became the leader of the "Forward Bloc" in Tamil Nadu. He was holding vice-president ship of the All India Forward Bloc since 1939. Thevar supported Subash Chandra Bose against Gandhiji and became a member of the Forward Block Movement in Tamilnadu. Nethaji started Forward Block movement on May 6<sup>th</sup> 1939. Naturally, most of the Thevar community people become the supporters of Nethaji. Kamaraj continued to support the Congress. So, most of the Nadar community people become the supporters of Congress Party.<sup>8</sup> Hence, the two leaders deviated in their political carrier. But, Thevar found that both Rajaji's and Kamaraj's government in Tamilnadu and Nehru's government at the centre had ridden with corruption, favoritism, pseudo secularism and opportunism guided by lack of future vision. Hence, Thevar opposed both Rajaji and Kamaraj in 1952 and 1957 general elections. Thevar opposed tooth and nail Nehru's attempt to merge Forward Bloc with the Indian National Congress in 1955. On 6<sup>th</sup> September 1939 SubasChandraBose addressed a meeting at Tamukkam ground in Madurai.<sup>9</sup> It was a turning point in the politics of Tamil Nadu. As a result of the sustained efforts of the leaders, Forward Block gained popularity, in Madurai. Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli nearly 10 districts of south. Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar wielded considerable influence in those areas. All such things took place because of his honest and just political behavior. Muthuramalinga Thevar defined the democracy as the quality is in a position of being strangled by quantity. But, that quantity is considered to be democratically emblem. According to Thevar, that the Government should work for the welfare of the people.<sup>10</sup> It is for the people's betterment. The Government should serve the people and not the people for the government's sake. People's voice should be heard and their grievances redressed. Forward Bloc is not a party, but an organization working for achieving socioeconomic equality. It believes in a casteless society. Thevar believed, Nation is our God and the people are our wealth and welfare". As a voice of the poor masses and peasants Thevar vehemently opposed to the domination of the landlords and maharajahs and he was heady to do anything for the cause of the people.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Radhakrishnan Meenan, Dishonoured by History Criminal Tribes and British Colonial History, Hyderabad, 2001, p.88.

<sup>5</sup> K. Shanmugasundaram (ed.), Pasumpon Pettagam (Tamil) Chennai, 2011, p.126.

<sup>6</sup> M.A. Palaniappan, Pasumpon Thevar Thirumaganin Thirumigu Varazharu, Chennai, 2010, p.48.

<sup>7</sup> Arulmoli Thevar, Pasumpon Thevar Thirumagan Veerathin Vilavukalum, Chennai, 2012, p.65.

<sup>8</sup> K. Shanmugasundaram, Pasumpon Charithiram, Chennai, 2008, p.42.

<sup>9</sup> G. Boopathy Raja, Pokkisham, Chennai, 2010, p.77.

<sup>10</sup> R. Sakthimohan (ed.), Pasumpon Thiru Muthuramalinga Thevar – A Biography, Madurai, 1995, p.77.

<sup>11</sup> K. Shanmugasundaram (ed.), 2011, Op.Cit., p.120.

## 5. Forward Bloc Its Aims and Objects

1. Build up anti-war platform and expose the war mongers
2. Defeat the imperialist conspiracies against the National security.
3. Strive towards achieving unity among the socialist community and support National liberation movements.
4. Convert the Non-Aligned movement as an anti-imperialist platform.
5. Fight-for world peace.<sup>12</sup>

### 5.1. National Level

1. Make all efforts to defend the country against external threat.
2. Presence national unity and integrity.
3. Fight against the imperialists who influence and destroy the economic policies of the country.
4. Fight against the drive of the ruling party towards authoritarianism
5. Defend civil liberties.<sup>13</sup>

### 5.2. A Mass Fronts

1. Defend Trade Union rights.
2. Speedily implement land reforms.
3. Fix remunerative prices for agricultural produce and fair wages agriculture workers.
4. Reduce unemployment.
5. Plan – job oriented education policy.
6. Combat corruption at all levels.
7. Struggle to curb the price rise.<sup>14</sup>

## 6. Policy

One should be very careful in programming policies for a country. It should not be a policy for the sake of it. But, it should be creative and should encourage the citizens to take active participation in all walks of life.<sup>15</sup>

## 7. Piety

The politeness is the index of braveness. The politeness enables piety. Piety and bravery are the two faces of a coin. In Indian thinking of rich tradition looms large even in our present culture.<sup>16</sup>

## 8. Difference of Opinion between Thevar and Gandhi

Gandhi used Non-Violence as a tool to achieve his goal, but Thevar used revolution as a means to achieve his end. Owing to difference of opinion with congress leaders Thevar left the congress party. Soon after India's Independence and he founded the Tamil Nadu Forward Bloc in 1948 and became its leader.<sup>17</sup>

## 9. Anti – Congress and Subhasism

The Indian socialists in India stood for socioeconomic qualities. When congress policies deviated from the needs of the masses. Thevar became vociferous, still the people believed in the ways of the congress. Bose was the first to understand the “Closed Door Policy” of the congress as regards its ideology. Socialists had woken up to this reality in 1948 and began to remove their thinking. Lohia was instrumental in rallying the socialists and others against Indian National Congress.<sup>18</sup> While, planning electoral adjustments, ministerial common programmed and building the nation the socialist differed with the congress. He realized anti-congressism would not pay dividends and therefore he compromised himself to the practical course of non congressism and gave his best to achieve it. He became moderately successful in that Thevar's opposition to the congress was based on the following grounds.<sup>19</sup>

- ❖ The congress framed an improper constitution neglecting the hungry masses.
- ❖ The conservative genius of the constituent Assembly assured right to property.
- ❖ Bureaucracy had entrenched itself in the country by creating an empire of its own.
- ❖ Congress misused authority and money for their partisan goals.
- ❖ Congress made a cheap propaganda time and again that were the only sufferers of British Authoritarianism.
- ❖ The congress was supporting common wealth and Anglo – American Neo-imperialism, vested interests of the Capitalists, Zamindars and landlords and big industrialists.

<sup>12</sup> R.Sethu, Sethu Nattu Singanal, Chennai, 2010, p.99.

<sup>13</sup> M.A.Palaniappan, Op.Cit., p.50.

<sup>14</sup> K.Jeeva Bharathi, Pasumpon Thevarin Katturaigal, Chennai, 2009, p.192.

<sup>15</sup> Arulmoli Thevan, Op.Cit., p.68.

<sup>16</sup> A.R.Perumal, Mudisuda Mannar Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar Veera VaralaruMadurai, 1985, p.29.

<sup>17</sup> K.Shanmugasundaram, 2008, Op.Cit., p.45.

<sup>18</sup> K.V.Jayaraj, G.Sethuraman, Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar Oru Aaivu Kannottam, P.M.T.Chair, Madurai, 1999, p.188.

<sup>19</sup> S.T.Vaithiyalingam, Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, Chennai, 2012, p.1.

- ❖ The policy and programmed of the congress was vague and ad.hoc.
- ❖ The congress rule had brought about only Nehru dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

After getting victory they formed a committee under Prakasam ministry ultimately there was a law passed to abolish the Zamindari system, and received the assent of the Governor General on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1949 which helped the up liftment of this poor class .In 1949 Thevar went to Calcutta and met Subhas ChandraBose. He discussed about the politics of India and returned to Tamil Nadu. In the same year Subhas Chandra Bose birthday was celebrated at Madurai. The people celebrated the birthday in a fitting manner.<sup>21</sup> Thevar took part in the meeting and revealed the shocking news that Subhas Chandra Bose was alive and he did not die in a plane crash and he would appear on Indian soil at an appropriate time believes in the people of India but Subhas Chandra Bose about this above statement foils of his fame he was a great warrior no need to his underground life.It is unfortunate to note that Thevar never wrote a single work to express his ideas regarding socio–political reforms. However, a sincere effort is made here to give a synoptic view of Thevar’s convictions regarding socio-political and economic reforms. These, views are incorporated in the Forward Bloc election manifestos of 1952 and 1957.<sup>22</sup> They are;

1. Enacting a New Indian constitution by the representative of the people as the existing constitution is conservative and not enacted by the people, which also does not reflect the real will of the people.
2. Land to the tillers and nationalization of all the means of production without giving any compensation.
3. Providing the Right to recall the representative of the people to make the democracy function effectively.
4. Sovereign Power must rest with the body of the representative of the people.
5. Quitting from the commonwealth<sup>23</sup>
6. Abolition of upper houses both at the centre and states.
7. Formation of States on the basis of linguistic groups.
8. Cancellation of Privy – purses.
9. Guaranteeing work according to ability, wage according to the need, and amenities like fixed working hours. Medical facilities, old age pensions, etc. to the workers.
10. Encouraging village and cottage industries which serve the needs of Indians and application of science to improve them.<sup>24</sup>
11. Taking suitable measures for speedy development of villages.
12. Encouraging Mixed Economy and punishment for tax evasion.
13. Avoiding foreign debt and mobilizing Indian resources.
14. Participation of workers in Management.
15. Abolition of zamindari system and implementation of suitable land reforms<sup>25</sup>
16. Scientific application for Agricultural development.
17. Tax relief for the marginal farmers
18. Insurance scheme for cattle’s, and Fire and Health insurance for farmers.
19. Provision for marketing agricultural production by the government and abolition of black market.
20. Free and compulsory education till secondary level.
21. Encouraging scientific education for the increased production of agriculture and peaceful activities of Atomic research.
22. Implementation of Nutrition Programmed for the needy.
23. Housing for all the workers.
24. Population control and extending health facilities of all areas.
25. Equal pay for both State and Central Government employee, etc.

Besides, Thevar played a vital role in establishing the Congress Government, which was full of corruption, favoritism and, etc. by formulating a non–Congress election alliance from 1952 election onwards to till his death in 1963. He also helped in successful conducting Harijan Temple entry programme at Madurai in 1939. While working for Congress in early 1930’s he participated in Many Samapandi Bojanam Programmes to bring communal harmony.<sup>26</sup>

## 10. Conclusion

Thevar stood as and unique example of blending of three model of leadership such as saintly, traditional and modern. His socioeconomic ideas are more revolutionary and pragmatic. But, Thevar could not compromise with the leaders like Gandhi, Kamaraj and others like Nethaji. Hence, his ideas still remain in a dark room and yet to be popularized.Thevar’s ideas with other ideological camps. The support rendered by Thevar the Congress party was able to get 26 seats in the Madras Legislative Assembled during the election of 1957. So, the Congress party and Kamaraj became the enemy of Thevar and Forward Block Party in Tamilnadu.

<sup>20</sup> W.H.Morris Jones, Op.Cit, p.52.

<sup>21</sup> K.Duraisingam, Idaliyal Parvaiyil Pasumpon Thevar, Chennai, 2006, p.7.

<sup>22</sup> Sinthani Selvam, Pavalarr Porrum Pasumpon Thevar, Chennai, 1994, p.7.

<sup>23</sup> B.L.Rajendran, Thevar Thevar Thirumagan, Madras, 1994, p.14.

<sup>24</sup> G.Arumugam, Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, Karaikudi, 1989, p.89.

<sup>25</sup> V.Sethupathy (ed.), Thevar Edmund Burgum, Chennai, 2007, p.127.

<sup>26</sup> P,Muthu Thevar, Moovendarkula Thevar Samuga Varalaru (Tamil), Madurai, 1975, p.82.

**11. References**

- i. Arulmoli Thevan, Pasumpon Thevar Thirumagan Veerathin Vilavukalum, Chennai, 2012.
- ii. Arumugam G., Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, Karaikudi, 1989.
- iii. Boopathy Raja G, Pokkisham, Chennai, 2010.
- iv. Bose K, Forward Block, TamilNadu Academy of Political Science, Madras, 1998.
- v. Duraisingam K, Idaliyal Parvaiyil Pasumpon Thevar, Chennai, 2006.
- vi. Jayaraj K.V., Sethuraman G, Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar Oru Aaivu Kannottam, P.M.T.Chair, Madurai, 1999, p.188.
- vii. Jeeva Bharathi K, Pasumpon Thevarin Katturaigal, Chennai, 2009.
- viii. Madras Legislative Assembly Debate, *Vol.XII*, Madras, 1954.
- ix. Morries Jones W.H., The Government and Politics of India, New Delhi, 1971.
- x. Muthu Thevar P, Moovendarkula Thevar Samuga Varalaru (Tamil), Madurai, 1975.
- xi. Palaniappan M.A., Pasumpon Thevar Thirumaganin Thirumigu Varazharu, Chennai, 2010.
- xii. Perumal A.R., Mudisuda Mannar Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar Veera VaralaruMadurai, 1985.
- xiii. Radhakrishnan Meenan, Dishonoured by History Criminal Tribes and British Colonial History, Hyderabad, 2001.
- xiv. Rajendran B.L., Thevar Thevar Thirumagan, Madras, 1994.
- xv. Sakthimohan R (ed.), Pasumpon Thiru Muthuramalinga Thevar – A Biography, Madurai, 1995.
- xvi. Sethu R, Sethu Nattu Singangal, Chennai, 2010.
- xvii. Sethupathy V. (ed.), Thevar Edmund Burgum, Chennai, 2007.
- xviii. Shanmugasundaram K (ed.), Pasumpon Pettagam (Tamil) Chennai, 2011.
- xix. Shanmugasundaram K, Pasumpon Charithiram, Chennai, 2008.
- xx. Sinthani Selvam, Pavalar Porrum Pasumpon Thevar, Chennai, 1994.
- xxi. Vaithiyalingam S.T., Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, Chennai, 2012.