

RAJAJI

89

A Garland of Tributes

RAJAJI

89

With the best compliments of

T. Sadasivam

Kalki Buildings, Kilpauk, Madras-10

A Garland of Tributes

Price : Rs. 2

Published in December 1967 by T. Sadasivam and
Printed at the Kalai Press, Kilipauk, Madras-10

CONTENTS

	Page
Interpreter of the Wisdom of our Classics— <i>S. Radhakrishnan</i>	... 5
A Leader with Unerring Vision— <i>Sri Prakasa</i>	... 6
India's Authentic Voice— <i>D. V. Gundappa</i>	... 11
A Wise and Far-seeing Statesman— <i>B. Shiva Rao</i>	... 15
An Ideal Satyagrahi— <i>J. B. Kripalani</i>	... 19
Gandhiji's Truest Follower— <i>K. Santhanam</i>	... 21
A Strenuous Defender of People's Rights— <i>Prof. N. G. Ranga</i>	... 23
A Purposeful Life— <i>S. Narayanaswamy</i>	... 26
The Great Sentinel— <i>G. Ramachandran</i>	... 28
An Apostate's Guru Dakshina— <i>S. Ramanathan</i>	... 30
One Who Listened to Reason— <i>C. V. Rajagopalachari</i>	... 32
Lineal Successor of Gandhiji— <i>Saka (Khasa Subba Rau)</i>	... 35
A Spectacular Career— <i>C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar</i>	... 38
Simple and Gracious— <i>Navaratna Rama Rau</i>	... 40
Divinely Endowed— <i>Anantarama Dikshitar</i>	... 43
A Man of Religion— <i>Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy</i>	... 45
A Moral Colossus— <i>K. Iswara Dutt</i>	... 46
Rajaji, As I Know Him— <i>V. P. Menon</i>	... 49
The Living Symbol— <i>Monica Felton</i>	... 51
Leader and Teacher— <i>B. Sanjiva Rao</i>	... 52
Timeless Teacher of Man— <i>Jayaprakash Narayan</i>	... 55
A Unique Personality— <i>Rajendra Prasad</i>	... 58
Rajaji, As Short Story Writer— <i>P. Mahadevan</i>	... 63
The Great Dissenter— <i>Philip Spratt</i>	... 66
Finest Flower of Indian Heritage and Culture — <i>M. A. Venkata Rao</i>	... 68
A Man of Wisdom— <i>H. H. Jayachamaraja Wadiyar</i>	... 70
A Born Guide to Men— <i>Pothan Joseph</i>	... 71
A Rare Spirit— <i>Lord Mountbatten</i>	... 73
He Has Transcended Politics— <i>Thomas W. Simons</i>	... 75
Our Bheeshmapitamaha— <i>K. M. Munshi</i>	... 77

WHAT GANDHIJI SAID:

I have boundless faith in his (Rajaji's) wisdom, his uprightness, and his unsurpassed ability as a Parliamentarian . . . He has to his credit no mean achievements . . . We have in our ranks no abler fighter in Satyagraha.

—*Harijan* (September 10, 1938)

I know Rajaji enough to understand that he is too brave to need any support from anybody and he is too philosophic to harbour an injury . . . I know also that his fine sense of humour enables him to enjoy a joke at his expense.

—*Harijan* (September 22, 1940)

Rajaji never takes up a standpoint without the fullest consideration and having taken it up, he follows it to the bitterest end. He had abundant faith in my loyalty and he never gave me up as I have never given him up.

—September 28, 1944

Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent, in word and deed, of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me, I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question.

—*Harijan* (February 10, 1946)



INTERPRETER OF THE WISDOM OF OUR CLASSICS

By S. RADHAKRISHNAN

RAJAJI IS OUR most eminent elder statesman. He participated in the struggle for freedom. After Independence he filled many of the high offices in the country. He was Chief Minister of a State, Governor of a Province, Minister in the Central Cabinet and Head of the State. By his experience and innate good sense he has earned the right to rebuke us when he feels that we are following wrong ways.

He is disturbed by the increase of lawlessness in the country. He feels that we have lost our moorings. In spite of the great advances in science and technology, we have not grown more virtuous or civilized. Rajaji has faith in the wisdom of our classics some of which he has interpreted for us. In these days of advances in science and technology, when we are trying to conquer the skies, bridge the seas, defeat pain and postpone death, he feels that our classical wisdom may prove a necessary corrective.

Rajaji asks us to shed all prejudices. He is far too clear a thinker and has far too honest a mind to accept venerable institutions which have come down to us from the past simply because they are very ancient.

We cannot recover a lost life. In life's journey we cannot go back by the way by which we came. As a true democrat Rajaji believes in the capacity of man to shape his future. It is no fault of the sun or the stars if our future is ruined.

A democracy is not only Government of the people but by the people. Even communism claims to bring in an era of great personal freedom for the private citizen. Dogmatism is a mark of intellectual immaturity. The right to dissent should not be suppressed in a democracy.

Rajaji has stood for causes which can never be lost so long as men seek wisdom and follow righteousness.

We wish him many years of service to the country.

A LEADER WITH UNERRING VISION

By SRI PRAKASA

IT IS INDEED a privilege to be asked to write about Rajaji; and I deem myself fortunate to be alive when so many of the old guard and old comrades and friends have passed away, to greet him on his 89th birthday. It is indeed fortunate for our country that he should still be in our midst, and full of vigour and enthusiasm at his advanced age, devoting every ounce of his energy and every moment of his time to give the proper lead to his countrymen and their rulers when times are so critical and everything seems to be going wrong.

Today Rajaji is the sole survivor of the brave and gallant band that joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi, and started on the great adventure of freedom over fifty years ago. Every member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress of those days derived much of his inspiration from Gandhiji. It is good, therefore, to know that he at least still lives to help us to remember the old ideals, and to show us where we are straying so that we might be pulled back to the right course of conduct, and do our best to stop the evils that have crept in the body politic because of the peculiar complications that have invaded us in the very special social and political conditions which, curiously enough, Swaraj has brought with it.

My association with Rajaji—if I may call it so without seeming to be impertinent—goes back to the Gaya Congress of Decem-

ber 1920. Mahatma Gandhi was in jail; and Rajaji along with a few other stalwarts—all of whom also have now been laid to their rest—fought hard against such intellectual giants as Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sri Vithalbhai Patel so that Gandhiji's programme might continue to be accepted by the Congress, and there should be no deviation from it as these other leaders desired. There were endless round-the-clock speeches on the banks of the Phalgu—and Rajaji won. That was indeed a great victory, and every one knew that the people were behind him, and not any one else in the great national movement for Freedom.

I can today recall many occasions when I had the good fortune of being with Rajaji including the occasions when he honoured the family by being our guest at Banaras (Varanasi). Rajaji, I have found, has an unerring vision, and can see far ahead as to how things would develop. It was he who saw that Pakistan was coming, and warned every one that that was going to be so. The situation worsened as the idea was opposed; and while we could have got a very reasonable Pakistan without tears if Rajaji had been listened to at the start, we actually got it in a form which has created problems that defy solution, and has bred hostility and enmity among persons and peoples who should really have remained friends.

Rajaji is not only a politician, though he is that also of a very

ideal type, with very high moral principles which he puts into practice in his own life all the time. He is a person with a remarkable knowledge of almost anything that one can think of. So far as the country itself is concerned, he knows it in all its varied facets; and I was amazed to find that he is familiar with the way in which a washerman washes his clothes or a prince lives in his palace. He has sympathy with every one. So, at his suggestion, I was able to construct a Dhobi Ghat—a hall where washermen could rest on the banks of the Adyar river in Madras—and I find him now fighting for the continuance of the privy purses of princes. He embraces one and all in his wide-reaching sympathy; and while he has no mercy with wrong doing, and would not save a murderer from being hanged, as I remember only too well when, as Governor of Madras, I argued with him to let some condemned persons go, he would not allow any injustice to be done to any one however high or however humble he might be.

Today I particularly recall the two happy years when I was brought in very close touch with him in the Government of Madras. He was good enough to take upon himself the burden of Chief Ministership at a very difficult moment while, to my embarrassment, I was the Governor of the State. The interview I had with him at which he was generous enough to allow me to nominate him a Member of the Legislative Council, and then become the Chief Minister of the State, is perhaps the most important and unforgettable incident of my life; and how wonderful were those

two years of his stewardship of the State of Madras! He was able to quiet the Communists ranged against him in the legislature by just one sentence: "I am your enemy No. 1 and you are my enemy No. 1". The Congress Party under him, which was in a minority, soon became the majority; and the legislature easily gave him a vote of confidence.

It may perhaps be just as well to recall the atmosphere of that time. The members of the earlier Congress Government had all been defeated in the General Elections of 1952. They were asked to carry on till the new Government was formed. It was at this stage that I arrived in Madras. I visited the Secretariat. The defeated ministers were heart-broken, scarcely taking any interest in their work. The secretaries had also almost downed their pens, all bemoaning the fate of their dear State, and fearing that all was lost. I myself felt most unhappy at the situation. When Rajaji took charge, there was an electric change in a moment. Everybody sat up and started working with full steam. There was no more any inefficiency. He chose a wonderful team of Ministers all deeply devoted to their mission, and all was well with the State, its Government and its people.

I for one can never forget those days; and I shall ever remain grateful to Rajaji for the great personal kindness and affection he extended to me, and for all the encouragement and assistance he gave me in my own work. I fear I very often embarrassed him by my own rather childish ways; and he was always reminding me that I must not forget that I was the

Governor and must behave with dignity and decorum—virtues which despite my advanced age of 77 I have not yet been able to imbibe, and which virtues Rajaji certainly possesses to the full.

I may go back a few years and recall the sad occasion when Rajaji could not see eye to eye with Gandhiji any more. Rajaji is a strict disciplinarian and followed the behest of the Congress to the utmost possible extent; but when he felt that a policy was being pursued that was harmful, he decided to withdraw. In 1940 when Gandhiji was evolving his scheme for what was called individual Civil Disobedience, I happened to be at Sevagram, Gandhiji's residence and the centre of his activities at that time. Rajaji, one afternoon, came out of Gandhiji's cottage in a sad mood. He was unhappy at the talk he had had with Gandhiji. He told me about it. He did not agree with Gandhiji's programme. Still he joined him in that particular movement, and invited imprisonment for himself as Gandhiji had proposed for all of us. Two years later, however, the break came. He did not join the Quit India movement of 1942. He was, however, busy all the time so that the situation might be eased and wisdom dawn both on the Congress and on the British rulers of the day. Despite everything, every one—even his opponents and those who suspected his motives and saw lack of courage in him—could not but have the highest respect for him. Independent India sent him first as the Governor of Bengal, and later made him the first Indian and the last Governor-General of the country. Even though he held such high offices,

he did not later decline to become a Cabinet Minister at the Centre at the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru and still later the Chief Minister of Madras to save the State from impending chaos.

Today saddened by many things that are happening in the land, he is pouring out his heart week after week through his journal *SWARAJYA*, and even travelling from place to place to warn people against what they are doing, and to show them the path of virtue and righteousness and right thought and conduct, which alone can justify our Freedom, and establish real good government in the land.

Rajaji's personal life is very simple. He has kept to his simple clothing, simple diet and simple ways in all situations of life. High offices have meant nothing to him. He is an ideal friend and householder in private life. He is a person of vast knowledge, but he carries all his learning very lightly, and makes no show of it. He has the manners of a person who has been brought up in a royal court. I have often been greatly amazed at the way he has talked and behaved in public and private. At the Gaya Congress, for instance, I remember some members of the audience asking him to come a little forward, and his saying: "How can I turn my back towards the President?", who was Mr. C. R. Das. He is a person who observes the highest courtesies of life, and I believe expects that from others also which they do not always extend. "Good manners", I remember him saying on one occasion, "are like oil that keep the machine of human relations moving smoothly and satis-

factorily." How I wish we remembered that in our own lives.

Unfortunately, Rajaji has kept bad health practically all his life. He has been a martyr to asthma from which he has suffered very grievously. It is indeed a most painful disease; but curiously enough he has cured himself as no one else I have known has done. Many prominent leaders of the Congress have suffered from asthma. I may mention Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Narendra Deva among others, but they continued to suffer to the last. Rajaji, however, cured himself by sheer strength of will. He regulated the quantity, the quality and the time of his meals; took light but proper exercise; and has been able to climb high flights of steps, and put in enormous amounts of work involving great mental and physical strain.

Rajaji indeed, in every possible sense of the word, has been an ideal man. No one can point a finger of scorn at him for anything mean or underhand. He has been always devoted to truth; and has had the courage of his convictions to sponsor unpopular causes, face hostile audiences and challenge the most powerful of men.

An opportunity of a conversation with him is indeed a pleasant privilege; and anybody who has the good fortune of being able to be with him for even a short time, cannot help coming out a little wiser than when he went to him, and with some useful knowledge which he did not possess before. President Kennedy of America, for instance, was so deeply impressed with him that though he had given Rajaji only a few

minutes, he insisted on Rajaji remaining with him for quite a long time during which he cancelled some of his other important engagements. He is reported to have said that no one had exercised such great influence over him as Rajaji had done.

Politicians are usually long-winded and always seem to take a long time to come to the point. Rajaji has the uncanny knack of being able to put a great deal in a small compass. With the help of parables and illustrations from the everyday occurrences of life which are within the experience of the most ordinary of human beings, he is able to explain complicated issues, and drive home like the preceptors of ancient India, the truth, practicality and desirability of the propositions that he is putting forward. Not unoften his interlocutor begins to feel how foolish he himself had been. To confess candidly, I must say that I have myself often felt that Rajaji's brain is so incisive that he can forcibly and convincingly propound one view at one moment, and equally propound and convincingly establish the opposite only a few moments later. I wonder if other friends have also felt the same. Some persons, I know, suspect that he delights to make fools of others, and make them see their intellectual inferiority. But that can scarcely be so, for he is too good and great to harbour such a complex. His own intellectual eminence is so secure.

Luckily, no miracles surround him. He is just a man like all other men; and, therefore, others also can live as he lives; and if they all cannot attain his heights, they can at least be as good and

great in their own limited spheres of life as he has been on the extended stage of the country and the world.

It is indeed wonderful how and where he found the time to study so much, and to observe things so extensively in the midst of all the heavy public work that he has done. He is a very careful correspondent, and keeps in touch with friends far and wide. I have myself been very often surprised to receive a letter from him appre-

ciating something that I had done or written. I have often been touched by his message of sympathy in my bereavement, and the words of consolation that he has offered in my sorrows.

May he be long spared to us! We need him badly at this moment. May those in authority hearken unto his words of practical wisdom, and seek his advice and guidance which will be all for the good for themselves and the country as a whole !

INDIA'S AUTHENTIC VOICE

By D. V. GUNDAPPA

"MANY LONG YEARS of strength and happiness to Rajaji"—is the prayer that goes up today from millions of hearts in India and every quarter of the globe where concern is felt for the lot of man. Things are in bad shape everywhere today and everyone feels the need of a steadfast and gentle light which can bring cheer and hope amid the confusion and gloom.

Rajaji has risen far above the altitudes of national patriotism. His place is among the great international humanists of our day, as surely as among the authentic spokesmen of India's conscience.

A humanist is to us here one who has made the good of all mankind his concern, without reference to race or country, creed or class, and regards man's whole living as an opportunity and an instrument to promote that good. Life is to him not merely a bodily process, and physical life is not an end in itself. It has, on the other hand, a great moral and spiritual purpose and that purpose requires the training of the instincts of the flesh as much as the development of the faculties of the intellect.

II

A sage in the *Mahabharata* says:

When Gods wish to save a man, they do not go to his help in the manner of a cowherd, stick in hand, to point the direction of safety and to punish the straying. They endow him with intellect to understand and judge for himself. Conversely, when they want to punish a man, they take away his judgment.

Such is the function assigned to the intellect of man and such is his responsibility. You have first to ascertain the nature and form of the good you have to strive after and you have then to contrive the means for that end.

To say that Gods take away man's judgment is to say that they let him indulge his own self-love. A potent instrument though intellect is, man's natural self-love is even more potent, and it has the initiative in all his doings. Man's self-love expresses itself either in bodily hunger or in hunger for praise and admiration. Whichever the form, self-love first makes its choice and then sets intellect at work to rationalize and justify the choice. Intellect is apt to be like a mercenary servant unless it be controlled by a disinterested purpose. Purpose is a matter of moral judgment. It is a judgment as between the good and the bad from the point of view of man's indwelling soul, and as between degrees of the good and degrees of the bad. Let altruism take the place of egoism in your choice; and your intellect will then be a reliable counsellor and friend.

मनीषिणस्सन्ति न ते हितैषिणो

हितैषिणस्सन्ति न ते मनीषिणः

There are men of high intellectual power; but they have no concern for the good. On the other side, there are men who wish to serve the good, but they are without the gift of intellect.

This has been the irony in man's history since it began; and the

leader in whom power of intellect is wedded to nobility of purpose is a gift from Heaven. Rajaji is that gift to us and to the world.

III

When we think of an intellectual humanist, another name that leaps to memory is Bertrand Russell's, and to mark the distinction between the two is to come on an all-important point. Both are men of eminence in intellectual power. But while Russell's concern for the safety and peace of his kind is a sentiment, Rajaji's concern is the logical culmination of a positive faith in soul-values. The soul is to Rajaji a fact as much as thermodynamics is a fact to Bertrand Russell even as it is to Rajaji.

IV

Why should one care about humanity and world-peace? If you say it is for the sake of one's own convenience, the objector would retort that one man's notion of convenience need not be the same as another man's, and also that one man's calculation of convenience may not be the same as another man's. But world-kinship is a fact—basic fact—to Rajaji and fellow-feeling is a duty that flows from that fact:

यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीडं

In God, the Great Being, all creation lives (like birds) as in a single nest.

It is from the *upanishads* that Rajaji derives his philosophy of life. His favourite *Isa* asks:

ईशावास्यं इदं सर्वं... कस्यस्विद्धनम्
कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेत्...

Whose is the world and the wealth thereof? It is all the Lord's. Do not

covet it for yourself. The world is not your private property to be used as you like. It is a trust property of which you are put in temporary charge. Your use of it is limited. You are a farm-labourer. Your duty is diligently to cultivate and tend the garden and place the fruit thereof at the disposal of the Owner, contenting yourself with what it pleases Him to allot to you.

This scheme of the values of life comprises five points:

(1) There is a Great Spirit (Brahman or God) enveloping the known world and all beyond, pervading all in it and ruling over all as Lord (Isvara).

(2) That invisible Spirit is the common essence of all that exists. Intelligence and joyousness being its intrinsic properties, the Great Spirit forms the means of communication between a living being and the world around.

(3) Man, lured and distracted by the glammers and flavours of the external world, loses sight of his membership of the inner Commonwealth of the Spirit. He erects himself into a separate entity as "I" and "mine" as though in opposition to the rest of creation. He looks upon the world as though it were absolutely his own to use as he would. Hence the division of humanity into rival camps. Hence conflict and strife.

(4) The highest that there is for man to do is to recover his lost sense of his innate and inviolate relationship with all that exists through God the supreme Reality and the common inner essence of all.

(5) The world is a school for the soul of man. Through its discipline, he has to wear out the barriers that separate him from his fellow-citizens of the Common-

wealth of Spirit and realize his sense of belonging to God. Then comes peace and then is felicity of felicities.

A signal service of Rajaji to the cause of the Good of Man is in his having popularized the concept of *Dharma*, the discipline described above. *Dharma* is the law of universal Good—individual good as an incident and ingredient of world-good and good from the point of view of the soul even more than of the body. Through simple and charming interpretations of the *upanishads* and the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, he has inculcated the disciplines of *Dharma* and made *Dharma* the basis of his philosophy of the State and citizenship. It betokens no ordinary courage that he has sought to put *Dharma* in the vocabulary of current politics at a time when aggressive science and economic strife have made that word look obsolete and unfashionable.

Rajaji's life is the translation of this faith in terms of his country's and the world's needs as he sees them; and he is able to see them by his superb powers of analysis and instinct for strategy. Sometimes when reflecting on an article or a speech of his, I have let my mind speculate on what might have been if, instead of law, *tarka* had attracted him. He should have been a formidable *taarkika*—a veritable *Prativadi-Bhayankara*. It is the country's good luck that he was drawn to a field nearer to our lives. To lay bare the basic constituents of a problem in elemental simplicity and to show their respective strengths and their mutual reactions, is no small service to understanding; and when to it is added the comple-

mentary gift of recommending the season and the instrument appropriate to the task, we have received help of the kind described in the *Mahabharata* verse quoted above—judgment, the gift that can save.

V

That there is a great deal for strategy to do in politics is a fact not generally realized in this country. Strategy is eye for the favourable factor and the advantageous concatenation of circumstances, and the skill to utilize them to the desired end.

And statesmen at her council met
WHO KNEW THE SEASONS when
to take

Occasion by the hand and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet.

Seasonableness is the secret of fruitfulness in action. Those who think that statesmanship is theorizing and speechifying are sometimes puzzled by the moves made by Rajaji. But those who know that statesmanship is the management of operative forces cannot withhold admiration from him. On a certain occasion Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer,—who stood as far apart from Rajaji as any two good-hearted and sincere men could in the service of a common end,—remarked to the present writer: "C.R. is the only man who could have broken the back of that pestilential party. We must all be grateful for his astuteness." As the poet Kalidasa puts it:

फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः ।

From the result we infer the import of the moves made.

The vedas cite with respect the type of seer who is a *Dheera*.

Literally, the *Dheera* is the man of intellectual daring. He is a path-finder. He is the pioneer who makes a way out of a dark dilemmatic situation. Such a *Dheera* is Rajaji.

VI

What is it that Rajaji has achieved?

First, he has influenced life and thought—more particularly throughout South India.

Second, next to Gandhiji, he is one of the three seminal figures in the history of India's Independence, the other two being Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel.

Third, he has built up an opposition to the Congress and made monopolism and party dictatorship impossible.

Fourth, he has roused the conscience of mankind to the evil of militarism.

These are services of enduring significance.

But we are not out of the wood yet. The success of Swatantra remains to be completed and the revival of a sense of religion remains to be made universal so that the blight of a Godless materialism may be blown away from our planet.

No one has ever claimed that Rajaji never misjudged and never miscalculated. Many of his swans turned geese and not a few of his anticipations have gone the way of all things mortal. Men are

human and politics is not mechanics. Once when Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya (Dewan of Mysore) was criticized for certain appointments he had made, he said "The administration cannot stop. I have to get along with such men as there are—till you come up with your ideal men."

When we remember the prevalence of mercenaryism and adventurism promoted by the policies of the Congress Governments and also the general inconstancy and lack of principle among leaders of political parties, as witnessed in the recent instabilities of ministries in several States, we must acknowledge that the success won by Rajaji's party at the General Elections is a remarkable tribute to his leadership. And more than election statistics is the definite recovery made by the country of its own mind. It has shown that it has at last come to think and judge for itself. Is this not true *Swarajya*? Is it not the essence of democracy?

When Gladstone paid a visit to the tabernacle in London headed by Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, that eloquent divine welcomed the statesman in these words:

"We take no man to be infallible. But it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity."

It is out of such gratitude that comes with the assurance of having found such a firm tower of faith, that we pray today: "Many long years of strength and happiness to Rajaji."

A WISE AND FAR-SEEING STATESMAN

By B. SHIVA RAO

ONE CANNOT THINK of Rajaji as he enters his ninetieth year—active, mentally as alert as in the best years of his life, wise and far-seeing—without a stir of deep emotion. During the struggle for Freedom casualties in the top ranks of the movement were heavy: Gokhale, Tilak, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, all went before their time, victims of overwork and excessive strain.

We have reasons therefore to be specially grateful that a veteran statesman of Rajaji's stature and vast experience is still in our midst, capable of taking in his normal stride a range of activities that would tax beyond endurance the energies of a much younger man.

It was the home rule campaign in the middle of the First World War, exactly fifty years ago, that drew Rajaji out of the local politics of Salem. For nearly two decades thereafter he served his apprenticeship under Gandhiji, actively interesting himself in his constructive programme. The inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1935 after the general elections two years later, gave him an opportunity to exercise his influence, with the Congress finding itself in a position of strength in the legislatures of six or seven provinces.

With the disappearance of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru (the joint architects of the Swaraj Party) from the scene, the Congress had come in the 'thirties of this century strongly under the influence of the younger Nehru and his left-wing associates. It was in such

circumstances that Rajaji assumed the unenviable role of standing out against some of their impracticable policies at the cost of being misunderstood by many of his colleagues.

I have sometimes wondered whether Gandhiji's constructive statesmanship and the spirit of accommodation that he displayed during and after the Round Table Conference—and in fact until after the breakdown of the Cripps Mission in the summer of 1942—was not partly at least the result of Rajaji's association with him. At the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 Gandhiji made a passionate appeal for a lasting and honourable settlement. He told the then Labour Government:

If I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order that I, belonging to a nation which contains one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race upon earth or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. I would love to go away from the shores of the British Isles with the conviction that there was to be an honourable and equal partnership between Britain and India.

My first real contact with Rajaji was immediately after the 1937 elections. I was at that time the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* and the *Manchester Guardian*. He saw me with a formula which seemed to him promising,

because it was designed in substance to meet the objections of the Congress to the exercise of the special powers vested in Governors of provinces without challenging the provisions of the 1935 Constitution. Its acceptance by the British Government, he was hopeful, might enable Gandhiji to recommend acceptance of office to the Congress Working Committee.

A carefully worded message on the basis of the formula went from me to the two papers I represented. A couple of weeks later I was summoned for an unscheduled interview with the new Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, had authorized the Viceroy to ascertain from me the grounds for my optimistic conclusion about Gandhiji endorsing the formula. I disclosed to him that it was Rajaji's formula drawn up with an intimate knowledge of the workings of Gandhiji's mind.

The Viceroy's reaction was immediate: would I see Gandhiji (he asked me) in strict confidence and obtain from him an elaboration of certain points which both he and Lord Zetland regarded as vital for a settlement? The suggestion seemed to me worth exploring and I saw Gandhiji in a village in Belgaum District where the annual meeting of the Village Industries Association was being held. I passed on to him a slip of paper to indicate that they were really the Viceroy's (and Lord Zetland's) questions. After three days of careful drafting he gave his final approval in Poona to a statement which later opened the door to a settlement. As I was leaving, he said to me, "I have only to be coaxed by the Bri-

tish . . . they are a decent people; it is easy to make a deal with them".

On a subsequent occasion a little later, he was quoted by Rajaji as having said:

"I would die in an effort to prevent (the) tragedy (of a deadlock), but there must come a time when my efforts will be fruitless."

There is no doubt that Gandhiji lent his weighty support in the pre-war years to those in the Congress Party like Rajaji who held, in Gandhiji's language, that "the Government of India Act of 1935 was an attempt, however limited it might be, to replace the rule of the sword by the rule of the majority".

It is idle to speculate at this distance of time on the consequences of the Congress as a whole pursuing a course with the support of Gandhiji, Rajaji and the soberer elements in the organization. Their triumph in 1937 in obtaining the approval of the AICC for the formation of ministries proved to be short-lived. The withdrawal of the Ministries after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 was a blunder of the first magnitude, for which the left wing of the party was primarily responsible. The abandonment of a position of strength was fatal for effective negotiations, as Rajaji knew all the time. Men like him were caught in a vortex of conflicting forces, Congress intransigence being matched by British short-sightedness.

In 1940 and the following year, a series of behind-the-scenes negotiations took place in which the prime movers were Rajaji, Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant from the Congress and Sir Sikan-

dar Hyat Khan from the Punjab Unionist party. These efforts, which had Gandhiji's blessings, were intended to bring into being a war-time federal government under the 1935 Act (with suitable conventions to confer on the executive the spirit of constitutional responsibility) with the Premiers of all the provinces authorized to form the nucleus of a Constituent Assembly at the end of the war for drafting a new Constitution. Gandhiji was fully aware of the nature and the course of these negotiations. Every time success seemed near, the way was blocked by British unwillingness to accept the proposals.

Then came the crucial year—1942—when India faced a perilous situation baffling in its complexity. The Japanese fleet was in control of the Bay of Bengal, with India's east coast at its mercy. Cripps had returned home after a strenuous but unsuccessful mission, misunderstood by his colleagues, bitter, disappointed and angry with the Viceroy and the Congress leaders, and aware that failure had left his political career in ruins.

Churchill was in no mood to attempt a renewal of effort with India's leaders, and Roosevelt seemed reluctant to needle him further with the fortunes of the war fluctuating and unpredictable. Never did Rajaji exhibit such courage and foresight as in this unprecedented crisis. He had good reasons to go ahead with a bold and drastic proposal. Madras he knew better than anyone else was in imminent peril of a Japanese landing, and the British had declared their intention of not offering resistance. Only a National Government could possibly rouse

the morale of the Indian people for self-defence, but its formation was contingent on the support of the Muslim League. On the acceptance of the principle of partition by the Congress hung the slender prospects of an immediate settlement and the hope of preventing Japanese conquest.

Rajaji was in a small minority in urging the Congress to commit itself to such a policy. He could have chosen the easier course of going with the majority of his colleagues at the sacrifice of his convictions. He preferred to strike out a path for himself, isolated from the great majority of the party. At the AICC meeting in Bombay in August 1942, he again found himself in a small minority in his opposition to the "Quit India" resolution and the policy it implied. But he used his subsequent freedom admirably well, finding an invaluable colleague in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

It would be relevant here to refer to the precise terms of Rajaji's formula for Pakistan which he evolved during the detention of Congress leaders in 1942-44: (1) the Muslim League to endorse the demand for complete independence and join the Congress in forming a provisional National Government during the interim period; (2) a plebiscite, after the termination of the war, of all the inhabitants of districts in the north-west and north-east of India demarcated by a Commission, to determine whether a separate State or States should be established; (3) in the event of separation being the verdict, an agreement for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc., to be drawn up for acceptance by both sides; (4) the above terms to

be binding only on British willingness to transfer full power and responsibility to the Indian people.

The other points in the formula were of minor significance and are not mentioned in this summary. Gandhiji, in accepting it as the basis for his discussions with Mr. Jinnah in September 1944, relied on the promise, implicit in the formula, of a treaty of separation which, as he told the leader of the Muslim League at the time, "should provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, communications, customs, commerce and the like which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties". The breakdown of these talks barred further discussions but the point to remember is that neither Gandhiji nor Rajaji ever contemplated an abrupt separation. In the establishment of Pakistan as a sovereign, independent State an essential feature from their point of view was the treaty of separation to provide for an indefinite period of transition.

This is neither the time nor the occasion for a comprehensive estimate of Rajaji's contribution to the Freedom movement. One episode, however, I cannot help narrating again, though it falls into the post-Independence period. It was a privilege for me (and Mr. Diwakar) to accompany him in 1962 to some of the world's capitals on a great quest—a treaty for the suspension of nuclear tests. As we drove one September afternoon in 1962 past the gates of the White House in Washington to keep an appointment with President Kennedy, Rajaji leaned to-

wards me in the car, looking quite exhausted after a long and arduous programme all through the day. "What am I going to say to the President? I am so tired", he whispered to me, almost in despair. "Don't worry", I assured him, "the right words will come to you." And it proved to be as I had anticipated, a moving appeal in flawless language for restraint in the use of nuclear energy. It was an unforgettable scene in the President's room: Mr. Kennedy sat in his rocking chair, fascinated by Rajaji's exposition of the case for a treaty suspending all except underground atomic tests.

The minutes sped far beyond the allotted time of twenty-five minutes. Messengers kept coming in at regular intervals with notes from impatient aides to remind Mr. Kennedy that other appointments were falling behind schedule. The President ignored them all: with a face aglow with admiration he seemed absorbed in the practical wisdom of his Indian visitor. "Governor" he said every few moments for a brief intervention—but made it clear that in ultimate purpose he was in complete accord with Rajaji. The President later turned to one of his advisers to confess that it was for him a unique experience. For us, too, who had accompanied Rajaji it will ever remain a day to remember.

Rajaji seems to embody in his long life the spirit so well conveyed by Shelley in *Prometheus Unbound*:

To defy Power which seems
omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope till
Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing
it contemplates.

AN IDEAL SATYAGRAHI

By ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI

OUR STRUGGLE for Freedom under Gandhiji's leadership was unique in many respects. It was fought through direct action, peaceful and open. This made it possible even for the members of the legal profession, who in ordinary circumstances would not break the law, to join the movement. Among the distinguished advocates who joined the movement was Sri Rajagopalachari. Satyagraha while asking people to break certain laws that are iniquitous insists upon the general observance of the laws. If this were not so, every criminal would be a satyagrahi. It is therefore that satyagraha is called civil disobedience.

Rajaji had been a leading lawyer at Salem and had recently begun practising at the Bar in Madras when Gandhiji initiated the campaigns of satyagraha in 1920. Boycott of courts by lawyers and litigants was a part of the movement. Rajaji was one of the first in the South to respond to Gandhiji's call. He gave up his lucrative and expanding legal practice and threw himself heart and soul into the movement.

He was an ideal satyagrahi. He provided to others by his conduct an example of what an ideal satyagrahi should be. He was also one of the pioneers of constructive work in Tamilnad and organized the Gandhi Ashram in Tiruchengode, which was his headquarters for many years. Khadi, village industry, Harijan uplift, etc., claimed his undivided attention between the satyagraha campaigns. He is a staunch believer

in Prohibition and is even today raising his powerful voice against its abandonment by several States.

I have known Rajaji for nearly half a century. He has never been afraid of championing unpopular causes. He was a determined "no-changer" in the 'twenties as against more powerful leaders like C. R. Das, Motilal and Vithalbhai, who advocated council entry. He was able to carry with him the delegates at the Gaya Congress, presided over by C. R. Das, to defeat the resolution of council entry. C. R. Das had, therefore, to resign his Presidentship. However, afterwards Rajaji joined the ranks of the "pro-changers" and presented the case for acceptance of office by the Congress under the 1935 Constitution as vehemently as he had done against council entry. He then became the Premier of Madras. He opposed the move for the resignation of the State Ministries when the Viceroy on behalf of India, without consulting the country, declared war against Germany. Rajaji, however, resigned the Prime Ministership and went to prison. Afterwards, when the Quit India movement was started, he remained aloof.

Many instances can be cited to prove that Rajaji is not a consistent politician. But this charge can be brought against any politician. Rajaji has never believed in mere consistency. It may be that he feels that the circumstances under which he had previously advocated a cause no longer exist. An example of this 'inconsistency'

is provided by the present language controversy. Rajaji was one of the founders of the *Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha*. As the Prime Minister of Madras in 1937, he introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in high schools, in the teeth of opposition from certain sections of the public led by the present Chief Minister of Tamilnad. Of course, with his dialectical debating skill Rajaji would prove that there is no inconsistency between his previous and present stands on the language issue.

Rajaji is not an orator, but he is an effective public speaker. He is clear in his thought and lucid in his expression. For years we were colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and frequently differed on public issues. But whenever Rajaji wanted to convince me about the correctness of his views, I told him that I did not want to enter into an argument with him. His debating skill reminded me of a story in which a man was charged of having committed a murder. After the prosecution counsel had argued the case against him, the accused told the judge that he had not committed the crime, but hearing the argument of the prosecution counsel he felt that he could have done so.

The life of an active politician is exacting and leaves little time for concentrated writing, especially on non-political subjects. Rajaji, however, has found time to write on a variety of subjects. He is an accomplished writer of short stories, especially in Tamil, and has received many literary awards. His commentaries on the *Gita*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are

considered classics. I am told that he has tried his hand at composing hymns also. His books for neoliterates and children are as popular as his serious work. His writings are characterized by deep scholarship, original thinking and simplicity of style. His incisive logic and precise expression combine to make his articles and essays not only eminently readable but also easily understandable. His typical wit and humour make them enjoyable as well.

All his life Rajaji has known no rest. He has constantly found himself in the midst of controversy. He has a great reserve of strength. At the age of eighty, he took upon himself the task of organizing the *Swatantra Party*, which in a few years has become the largest Opposition party in Parliament. He has suffered from various ailments but he maintains his health by strictly regulating his life. Even at the age of 89 he is mentally alert.

He has occupied some of the highest positions in the Government before and after Independence. But today he is one of the determined opponents of the Congress Party and its rule. He played a conspicuous part in the discomfiture of the Congress Party in Madras during the last elections. It would be interesting to know his opinion about the present set-up there! But he has achieved his object.

I offer my felicitations to him on his 90th birthday. May he live many more years with us to serve the nation. In these difficult days the country stands in need of the services of a veteran leader like Rajaji.

GANDHIJI'S TRUEST FOLLOWER

By K. SANTHANAM

ALL GOOD MEN and women of India and her friends abroad will rejoice that Rajaji is completing his 89th year. I pray that he may live as long as the great Ramana-jacharya, to whom I have compared Rajaji once or twice before. Future historians will, I believe, find the comparison truer and more appropriate than may appear now. But for the purpose of this note I may point out only the similarities in two matters, their many-sided public activities and the comprehensive nature of their intellects, equally strong in analysis as well as synthesis.

It is not easy to say anything purposeful about Rajaji without touching upon his relations with Mahatma Gandhi and the other great leaders of the struggle for Freedom like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad.

Rajaji is the sole survivor among the front-rank chieftains of that struggle. Each of them had his unique qualities and all of them were devoted to their incomparable commander-in-chief. I hope I am not doing any injustice to the others if I say that Rajaji was the truest as well as the most difficult follower of Gandhiji.

Between 1920 and 1930, Rajaji's exposition of non-violence and satyagraha was considered to be nearly as authoritative as that of the Great Master himself. From the beginning of the Second World War, Gandhiji's differences with his principal co-workers became wide and serious, especially in relation to India's

attitude towards the Allied nations, but only Rajaji stuck to his views and refused to join the Quit India campaign. In this very act of apparent revolt, he was following Gandhiji more fully than the others, for according to Gandhiji, the call of one's conscience must supersede every other consideration.

Sardar Patel loved Rajaji and attached great value to his lucid views and decisive thinking, but Sardar was rather impatient with Rajaji's indifferent attitude towards the Congress organization and was greatly upset by his opposition in 1942. Jawaharlal was no less fond of Rajaji, but the latter's realism and cold logic was a damper to the former's over-optimism and uncritical enthusiasm. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's love for Gandhiji was generally one of meek submission. It was this virtue which made him the first President of India but it also made him an unhappy occupant of that high office, in sharp contrast to Rajaji's rising political stature as the chief critic of Congress in power.

The real test of an individual's intrinsic worth is that his impact upon public life should be no less when he is opposed to those who are popular and powerful than when he himself occupies a position of power and influence.

As Prime Minister of Madras in 1937, he initiated Prohibition, opened temples to Harijans and scaled down the debts of agriculturists, remarkable achievements in a short period of less than three

years. But the services he rendered to the country during his spells of retirement from active politics, and recently in opposition to the Congress, have been of even greater value. His expositions in English and Tamil of the *Upanishads* and the *Gita*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* will be cherished by future generations even more than the present.

Rajaji's views and actions have given rise to many controversies. What would have happened if he had not opposed the Council entry scheme of Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru at the Gaya Congress? Would the Congress Ministry have been formed in 1937 but for his persistence? Would the partition of India in 1947 have been possible but for his preparatory work in elucidating its implications, particularly in relation to the division of Punjab and Bengal? Was he wise in giving up his place in the Central Cabinet to become the Governor of Bengal? And should he have re-entered the Cabinet after retiring as the last Governor-General

of India? Should he have come to the rescue of the Congress in Madras in 1952?

It is open to anyone to take different views in all these matters. His final revolt from the Congress and the founding of the Swatantra Party may be even more controversial, but it can be said without any possibility of contradiction that every one of these matters demonstrated his courage of conviction and indifference to their effects upon his personal position or popularity.

Rajaji's life has shown that a single individual of conspicuous intelligence and unchallengeable integrity can mould public opinion even more effectively than political parties and newspapers. Throughout her history, India has thrown up such individuals and this has ensured her survival through dark centuries. There is even greater need for them in the present stage of our national evolution. May he be with us with undiminished vigour of thought and writing for many years to come!

A STRENUOUS DEFENDER OF PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

By PROFESSOR N. G. RANGA

PUJYA RAJAJI is eighty-nine this December. On this happy occasion we all pray that God should spare him at least for another ten years and keep him in full health and good cheer and thus bless our masses and our country with his services and noble presence.

Rajaji is the oldest statesman advising and serving the world and trying to stave off the evil of this atomic arms-race. He is one of the two noble champions of humanity—the other being Bertrand Russell—espousing their rights against all those who wish to operate the atom bomb, the ICBM, and other such weapons of destruction. All those who believe in the world's greatest and noblest invocations, "Sarve jana sukhino bhavantu", and "Lokasamasta sukhino bhavantu", hail Rajaji as their greatest exponent and pray for his long life.

Coming to our national plane, Rajaji continues to be the surest source of inspiration to our patriots and diviner of the aspirations of our masses.

To all those who were getting exasperated in 1966 with what seemed to be the never-ending Congress misrule, he gave the heartening assurance that there would be deliverance, in very great measure, for the masses. He worked tirelessly towards that end. Our masses in a majority of the States are today enjoying freedom from Congress thralldom.

Rajaji felt the thirst of the masses for good government more

than for anything else. He repeatedly warned the Congress rulers that their 'Welfare State' and Development plans were only impoverishing the people and inhibiting their natural impulses to work for their own improvement. The Congress politicians turned a deaf ear to his teachings. Now that some non-Congress Ministries have provided at least good government, despite all the political differences among the constituent political units, there is comparative political calm in those non-Congress States. Such is the correctness of Rajaji's reading of people's needs and moods.

Rajaji has been pleading for a non-party National Government of all the talents for the past two years, long before the general elections. Now that the majority of States are under non-Congress Ministries his demand has assumed greater concreteness, and more and more State Cabinets are urging the recasting of the Union Cabinet to be more in tune with the changed leadership in the States. Rajaji continues to advise forming of a non-partisan National Government of all the talents in order to save the people from the ills of partisan politics.

Our nation has to march in that path and accept his advice to provide a non-partisan and all-party government, if there is to be progress during this decade.

It was Rajaji who made bold to oppose the power-mad Planning Commission and its control-

oriented plans. We of the Swatantra Party pleaded under his inspiration for a plan holiday. Today the Congress Government at the Centre has had to stumble into that attitude despite all its futile protestations to the contrary.

Rajaji foresaw how English could and would prove to be a non-discriminatory linguistic bond between our people who have welcomed the linguistic reorganization of our country. He realized how Hindi being the mother-tongue of the people of Northern States and conferring upon them all the natural advantages associated with a mother-tongue, would fail to provide equal advantages to the non-Hindi people and regions and therefore would prove to be a divisive influence. Therefore he hastened to advise other people all over India to continue to welcome and utilize English, which is an equally advantageous second language for all students and intellectuals.

The Congress rulers and the leaders of other parties who have so far turned a deaf ear to his sage and patriotic advice are today aghast at the suicidal, divisive and disintegrating forces that have gained such strength because of their mad insistence upon a time limit for the non-Hindi people to learn Hindi, on pain of discrimination against their youth and intellectuals seeking employment in the all-India services and institutions. Today Rajaji is in the vanguard of those who are working for national integration, binding together all these linguistic provinces and their peoples through the internationally powerful and nationally unifying English language. Sri Chagla's heroic

gesture and the Vice-Chancellors' and savants' demands for English for all universities and advanced studies and courts and all-India administration have come to reinforce the wise lead given by Rajaji during these fifteen years.

Rajaji has given a clarion call to our people to turn their faces against the licence-permit-quota raj. He foretold that the zonal controls and check-posts over food distribution would only worsen the food situation and lead to expanding areas of famine. The increasing sufferings of our masses during the past decade have proved the correctness of his warning. India has yet to gain its liberation from this control regime.

He came to the rescue of our long-suffering peasants and strengthened their efforts to resist Nehru's challenge against their self-employment and proprietorship in their holdings. It was because of his wholehearted and powerful support that our peasants offered such nation-wide resistance against the Seventeenth Amendment of the Constitution.

Rajaji it was who gave to the kisan demand for the abolition of land tax priority in the national manifesto of the Swatantra Party on the eve of the General Elections in 1961. Today several State Governments are busy with the proposal to abolish wholly or in part this oppressive land revenue. No wonder the kisan masses hail Rajaji as their champion.

Rajaji is the most powerful and eloquent conscience-keeper of our democracy. He is the most uncompromising champion of the Fundamental Rights of our people against all encroachments. He

wishes and works for the welfare of the masses and resists authoritarianism. Rajaji is giving us the guidelines for achieving true progress with an ever-expanding vista of hope and happiness.

Rajaji is today the greatest moral force inspiring our democracy, the marrow of our civilization. He raised his powerful voice against the continued detention of Sheikh Abdullah and also against the Naxalbari violence and gharaos. He expressed his horror of the Shiv Sena and communal violence and at the same time advised people not to adopt retaliatory measures. He has

pleaded for equality of treatment for the Negroes of the USA, but warned them against indulgence in violence out of impatience. He is keen on the uplift of all the backward classes, but not upon social crutches given them as appeasement by other classes. He deplors the present misuse of adult suffrage but urges the development of literacy and political education and higher moral standards of our masses as a solution. He enriches every social cause and political issue that catches his attention by his incisive and deep analysis, lit with his enlivening and inspiring moral fervour.

A PURPOSEFUL LIFE

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

IT SEEMS MANIFEST impertinence to write about a savant whose moral stature and intellectual calibre keep continuously dwarfing those around him. You feel it as difficult an assignment as describing the majesty of the Kanchenjunga or the Niagara, which other people have done with greater skill and deeper understanding. But, in a world that has learnt to settle for the second best in many sectors, there is no harm in letting the world loose on your assessment of men and matters and taking the attendant risk of its being deemed puerile.

I have known Rajaji since my boyhood in Salem. He was the Scout Commissioner and I was a Boy Scout. When you are young, physical impressions dominate over others. I recollect that what impressed me deeply at the time was his graceful long coat, his *softness of speech and his smile*. I remember as a schoolboy, who took an interest in public affairs, the Varadarajulu Naidu Case which he handled with such superb skill. My recollection is that it was Section 124-A charge (sedition) where a person could invite drastic punishment on himself. I remember his induction into the Non-Cooperation Movement, when the call of the Mahatma roused the country from its torpor. Rajaji discarded his gown and his profession, though he had just then set up practice in Madras with a view to widening his activity. It must have been a double wrench, because he

relinquished a profession in which he occupied an honoured place and left a town that he had made his own, of which he was Municipal Chairman for a time and an honoured citizen. Everybody now knows that Rajaji never paused to count the cost, and what this throw-away of a cosy life of provincial affluence meant for him and members of the family.

The rise of the Swarajya Party as the second phase in the Freedom Movement under those dynamic and glamorous leaders, Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru, which believed in fighting from within the ambit of the legislatures (as opposed to the triple boycott programme) was the signal for Rajaji going into the political wilderness—and the Pudukpalayam Ashram became his self-chosen abode, where Khadi and Harijan work became his twin dedications.

It was years later that the turn of the political wheel brought Rajaji from out of his rural abode in remote Tiruchengode. We soon saw in him a great administrator and a statesman of unrivalled calibre when he became Prime Minister of Madras in 1937. His handling of the legislature as Prime Minister, his debating capacity and his capacity to master detail were a revelation even to his close admirers. Then Independent India found him holding positions as Minister at the Centre holding diverse portfolios over the years and then as Chief Minister of Madras in a moment of crisis. His near-clairvoyant vision was the

essence of his skill as an administrator. Perhaps he was least at home as Governor of Bengal—because there is nothing that fits Rajaji so ill as a decorative position. As Governor-General, he was so near the hub of major happenings, that the temptation to take counsel with a man who combined the wisdom of Agastya with the rectitude of Dharmaputra was too much for even the top brass to resist. Those were troublesome days. There were so many crucial decisions to be taken, and in taking them nothing was handier than to have a person of the moral earnestness and sagacity of Rajaji available. However, all the purple and the ermine of exalted office sat lightly on his shoulders. When he arrived in Madras, he settled down to his simple routine with all the alacrity of a home-come tourist.

He never wasted time even during the long years of incarceration. He was and continues an assiduous reader. His books—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—are still the common man's pipeline to the great classics. Sri K. M. Munshi has narrated the story of a candidate before the UP Public Service Commission, who, when asked who wrote the *Mahabharata*, promptly said it was Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

When he established the Swatantra Party and enunciated its policies, he did so with painful

awareness of the parting of the ways with many former colleagues in the Freedom struggle. This was by no means the first political parting of his life. But he felt the country needed the sobering touch, the anti-demagogic dose of realism that he spelt out through his programme as the only corrective to a socialist war-whoop that for a time mobilized the adult vote of India but lost all sense of direction later. When the Swatantra Party commenced work, there was at least one eminent man who said in private conversation, "What a pity Rajaji is not twenty years younger!" It is a very constructive thought but fails to reckon with the fact that age has not withered his speech nor custom staled the infinite vigour of his penmanship.

His writings in the SWARAJYA are awaited with more eagerness than ever before, because they have a remarkable clarity, brevity and incisiveness which can only be the outcome of decades dedicated to thinking on matters impersonal. Let us not robe Rajaji in the colourful garments of priests, prophets or kings, in order that we may conveniently put him on a pedestal and burn incense at the altar. Let us learn to cultivate at least some of the qualities of which he is a sublime amalgam. That way we should profit by his inspiring presence in our midst in his 90th year.

THE GREAT SENTINEL

By G. RAMACHANDRAN

IT WAS GANDHI who once called Tagore "The Great Sentinel". There was a political controversy between Gandhi and Tagore then. They were not in agreement over several issues. Tagore wrote in the *Modern Review* under the title, "The Call of Truth". Gandhi answered in *Young India* under the title, "The Great Sentinel".

Today our Great Sentinel is undoubtedly Rajaji. He stands sentinel over the destiny of India with a passion and conviction for the truth, as he realizes the truth, as no other Indian or world leader. He has pulled himself to heights of vision above mere politics or even nationalism. Within India, millions of men and women, irrespective of party, creed, religion or community look up to him with deep reverence and trust in his judgment and character. Even those who do not agree with all his opinions do not for one moment challenge his integrity or even his wisdom. But we are all so tied up in our own parties, groups and clans that we are unable, often painfully, to add strength to his elbow. But he is not reckoning on everybody's agreement. He is looking at realities, as they strike him, without fear or favour, and giving a ringing call for the rededication of the people to build a good, prosperous, peaceful and great India. His voice now reaches every corner of India and goes out even far beyond India. Statesmen in many countries of the world listen to his voice with respect and gratitude. In India, leaders of parties as

removed from each other as Swatantra, the Jana Sangh and the Socialists and the Communists study his utterances and writings with care.

What is the secret of Rajaji's continuing greatness in spite of astonishing political changes in his own life and in the life of India? Different answers will be given and I have no doubt many of them will be right. I have my own answer, and let me give it for what it is worth. There is an ancient Indian teaching that, when the mind is free from the burden of the ego, it becomes like a burning arrow shooting straight to its mark. Through the long years of struggle, suffering, meditation, study and work, Rajaji's mind has now become the burning arrow shooting to the mark of reality. Only selflessness can produce supreme courage. Rajaji has become the embodiment of such courage. He is waiting for the call of God and there is nothing he is asking from life except that he be allowed to serve India till his last breath. Only experience, suffering and love can produce true wisdom. It is thus that the wisdom of Rajaji has become like molten gold beaten out of the fire of life.

One of his greatest flashes of wisdom came from him before the partition of India, when he asked Congress to accept the partition long before Congress would do so. He was then attacked and terribly maligned. He stood it without losing his nerve. When India finally accepted partition he rejoiced without elation. He has

understood the Hindu-Muslim problem as perhaps none else in India except Gandhi, and if Gandhi and he had been given a free hand that problem would have died out long ago.

Even those who doubt his wisdom are compelled to look at it, to listen to it, and take some lesson or other from it. It is his wisdom and courage put together on the foundation of his selflessness which makes Rajaji sometimes turn back on his own past. This appears as betrayal to some, whereas it is fulfilment from inevitable contradiction.

To these great qualities of the head he adds the deep and unsentimental compassion of his heart. The thought of the poor and the suffering is always with him. Let us recall that it was Gandhi who asked us to remember the poorest man or woman in the deepest suffering when we did something, and to ask ourselves the question how our action would affect him or her and to make that the test of our action. This is instinctive with Rajaji and is part of his ethical and spiritual life. He has been a dauntless iconoclast of social and religious traditions, and yet he has preserved

the unbreakable conservatism of ethics and spirituality without which neither can endure.

I have written elsewhere that the man is yet to be born who can deceive Rajaji. His insight into the character of men and women whom he comes across is absolutely uncanny. From this he derives the highest quality of leadership, knowing people fully with all their strength and weakness and yet uniting them to work together for great purposes. In this he shared the quality of generalship with Gandhi.

Rajaji is now 89. His body of course is slowly weakening, which is the law of nature, but his mind is crystal clear and his spirit is watching us from the mountain top. May he touch his century, as the late Sri Visweswarayya did, but with unimpaired physical and mental vitality. In the confused picture of India today, wherein we see clearly the weakening of the moral and spiritual fibre of the nation, God can give no greater gift to our country than to preserve this great son of India for as long as the grace of God sustains him in body and spirit. Let all our prayers turn to God in this direction.

AN APOSTATE'S GURU DAKSHINA

By S. RAMANATHAN

C.R. IS MY GURU. I must pay tribute to him on his 90th birthday. But am I worthy to pay tribute? Am I a proper disciple? No. Then how dare I pay my tribute? Why shouldn't I? The fact is there, that I was once near and dear to him. Here is my *guru dakshina*.

Gandhi was an ideal being. But he was so distant and unapproachable. Moments of intimacy with him were few and far between. But C.R. was near at hand and was one of us. He did duty for the ideal Gandhi and, in my opinion, did it better than Gandhi himself. He smoothed away some of Gandhi's angularities. In Gandhi's camp we had to get up at 3 o'clock in the morning, children and all. We hurriedly washed our faces and sat down for prayer. We sang from the *Gita* the description of the *sthitha-pragnan*. No one understood a word of what we said. This same trend in Gandhi's character made him, towards the end of his life, persuade his huge audiences to sing 'Ram-dhun', which estranged him from non-Hindus and made Pakistan inevitable.

C.R. could never be guilty of such exhibitionism. Indeed, I have a feeling that C.R. and I do not differ about religion. Only C.R. is more practical. Politics is the science of the possible. People are religious and are bound to be religious. C.R. thinks I am set upon the achievement of the impossible. Hence I am unable to stay in C.R.'s company. Circumstances have now forced C.R. into Anna's company. Perhaps Anna is

more pliable, or the possible of former days is extending its sphere of operation. What is not possible today may become possible tomorrow. There is nothing wrong in that. Indeed, that is the natural order of things.

It was 1919. Then I was a boy just out of college. My apprenticeship to the bar was still running. There were a dozen of us forming the "League of Youth". We framed a platform of action and put into it all the good things of the world as we fancied them then. The removal of foreign rule was prominent. Then industrialization and scientific advancement. We intended to undertake sweeping measures of social reform and much else. I remember we put in proportional representation by the single transferable vote! Mrs. Annie Besant was our patron though we did not approve of her politics. She gave us a free column once a week in *New India* which she edited. In it we wrote what we liked. We were not moderates. But we admired Gokhale and Srinivasa Sastri. Our pet aversion was the Nationalist Party in Madras, of which Satyamurti and Rangaswami Iyengar were spokesmen.

Then came Gandhi and took us by storm. On Satyagraha Day we fasted. We met C.R. and took hundi boxes from him to collect money for the Jallianwalla Bagh memorial. C.R. was pleased that so many educated young men came to do national service. We collected quite a heap of coins. Then Mohammed Ali started the

National Muslim University in opposition to the Aligarh University. We sent half a dozen M.As to serve as professors. K. S. Subramanian, G. V. Kripandhi, N. S. Varadachari, K. Santhanam were among the number. Mohammed Ali was pleased at this rich contribution from Madras. When the boycott of liquor shops started I went to jail for organizing the campaign at Trichinopoly. I was given hard labour and broke stones and carried mud on my head to build a supplementary jail. There were no facilities for washing. I was given an illegal punishment of solitary confinement of two weeks. Somehow these facts came to be known outside and there was excitement in Trichinopoly. When I was released I was thrilled that C.R. himself received me at the jail gate. But the first thing he made me do as a free man was to shave off the moustache that I sported inside the jail. Then, at the Nagpur Flag fight led by Jamna Lal Bajaj the Madras contingent under W. P. Ignatius was prominent.

We carried on like that under C.R.'s leadership until we reached the present stalemate and disillusionment. There is one fact in the present situation which all must acknowledge. There is no towering personality in the present-day Congress of the stature of Gandhi, Nehru, Bose or Patel, while in the opposition to the Congress there is C.R., who is respected not only in India but throughout the world. C.R. once said he is enemy No. 1 of the Communists. But that was only a figure of speech. When it came to fight the demon of the Congress, communism proved to be a

valuable ally. Now that the Congress is practically destroyed the danger of communism is again oppressive. What is really wrong about communism? Practically all political parties in India call themselves socialists. Socialism is the essence of communism. What C.R. objects to is totalitarianism.

During Hitler's war Nehru played a dubious role. He refused to join the world which rose up in arms to fight the demon of Hitler and did not accept Cripps's offer which was honest and honourable to India. C.R. wanted India to wage the war against Hitler. It would have been magnificent if India had listened to C.R.'s advice. India would then have been one of the Big Powers, and would have nuclear arms. Nehru's vacillation cost us dear.

Congress is a sinking ship and when it goes under all the values which it promoted will be gone, like Khadi, Prohibition and Hindi. C.R. will be powerless to rescue them even if he tries. India is now integrated with the world outside and the problems of the world affect us intimately. The world is divided into two opposing camps, each trying to perpetuate its own dogma. The one wants to save religion and the other violent class war. Religion is fighting a rearguard action against the progress of science. It's a losing battle. The popularity of Boris Pasternak is a blow against the mentality that makes class war a crusade. Russia has come into the American orbit. China is fighting a losing battle. India has been rescued from the Congress muddle by C.R. Hindi domination is a chimera. Long live C.R.!

ONE WHO LISTENED TO REASON

By C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I WAS THE Secretary of the Civil Liberties Union, Madras, from 1952 to 1954. During that period Rajaji was Chief Minister of Madras. It was then that Rajaji disposed of the City Traffic Constables' Association's appeal to him.

The Association formulated its appeal under five categories:

(1) The leaky roofs of the constables' houses did not receive any attention in spite of repeated requests to the authorities concerned.

(2) Casual leave applications were not disposed of promptly.

(3) The house rent allowance paid to the constables who were living in rented houses was very inadequate.

(4) Frequent transfers from the city to far-off places caused hardship to them.

(5) The scales of pay needed to be increased.

Rajaji asked the President and the Secretary of the Union to meet him on a particular day, specifying the hour, at the Secretariat and they did as directed. To their surprise they found top police officers sitting by the side of the Chief Minister.

Rajaji read out the list of the constables' grievances and remarked that the first three in the list were reasonable, but the fourth and the fifth were unreasonable. If the fourth point were conceded it would affect the maintenance of discipline, while the financial position of the State was against considering the fifth.

Unfortunately, the office-bearers remained unreasonable and they notified their intention not to receive their salaries till all their five demands were conceded. Thereupon the higher police officials acted promptly. More than 100 constables were arrested and remanded in custody under various sections of the I.P.C.

As Secretary of the Civil Liberties Union, I then took an interest in the matter and sent an appeal to Rajaji requesting him to intervene and withdraw the cases pending, to enable the constables to rejoin their respective duties. I did not receive any reply from Rajaji to the appeal, but his personal assistant sent me a note saying that I should try to convince the court that what I was pleading on behalf of the constables was just. I then wrote to Rajaji a personal letter telling him that it was not easy to convince a magistrate of the justness of my plea and persuade him to disbelieve the evidence of a cross-belted police official and acquit the constables concerned.

Finally, after the lapse of two months, the cases against the constables were withdrawn and they were allowed to rejoin duty. The high police officers, I was told, passed orders to the effect that the constables were under suspension for a period of about two months. Many constables later confessed to me that Rajaji's first order was perfectly reasonable.

A selection of tributes, in chronological order, already published in some journals, to which due acknowledgement is made.

LINEAL SUCCESSOR OF GANDHIJI

By SAKA (KHASHA SUBBA RAU)

FROM THE standpoint of national welfare, Rajaji is the most important man in India today. Importance is different from power and is measured by the influence that one exercises on the lives and thoughts of others. The British Viceroys in their time were powerful but they have been proved at the bar of history not proportionally important. Mahatma Gandhi who started a campaign of resistance against them, wielded no power when he started it, but he is acclaimed by the whole world as the most important man born in India in recent times. His importance arises from the fact that he performed the feat of liberating his country from foreign rule at a time when it seemed to have no adequate resources. He supplied the strength and the resources with his leadership.

INDIA TODAY is in the throes of a second liberation movement. The freedom that the Mahatma won has not fulfilled its promise of happiness to people. Two reasons have mainly contributed to this distressing result. First, the leaders of the indigenous government formed after the withdrawal of the British, ran after power, and in the process of making themselves more and more powerful, they swallowed up popular liberties one after one relentlessly. Secondly, in the course of consolidating their power they abandoned intrinsic concepts of justice, and replaced them with organized mob clamour. Anything that a large number of people could be

got together to demand became administrative policy. The pampered covetousness of the multitude, let loose on society with State patronage, made class hatred fashionable and deprived property of its sanctity. To cover up the depredatory character of this policy and make it look grand, the name Socialism was given to it.

UNDER NEHRU-SOCIALISM the people of India have as individuals lost their liberties. Their property and possessions have ceased to have any assured legal validity. An atmosphere of insecurity permeates the land. The Government on the other hand has made itself more powerful than any previous government had been by drawing unto itself more and more of economic power, thereby tightening its stranglehold on the lives and occupations of the people. Existence for citizens is being rendered practically impossible without the favour of the ruling party.

WE ARE NOW in need of a second liberation movement but the fight for it is complicated by the all-pervasive character of the opponent's power. Just as civil war is more dreadful than war against a foreign enemy, the wresting of individual liberties from a government established within the country is more difficult than the achievement of national freedom from a foreign power. It is to the undying glory of Rajaji that, at a time when Congress rule had come to be accepted as invincible and irreplaceable, and people had

lost all hope of ever being saved from its Communistic regimentation and oppression, he came forward to essay this supremely difficult and seemingly impossible task.

THE SWATANTRA movement of Rajaji is thus the lineal successor of the Mahatma's movement in the cause of freedom. The odds against Rajaji seem tremendous at the moment. So they were against the Mahatma when he embarked on his apparently foolhardy Quit India movement. The ordinary pattern of leadership is built on a psychology of expectancy in the human pursuit of power and prosperity. The successful leader has to distribute favours to his followers at the moment of success as its penalty, and these favourites not only corrupt the administration with their interference, the privileges they enjoy serve as a constant temptation to one and all to improve their fortunes by copying them in rallying round the leader. This type of leadership is mainly in the nature of a commercial transaction. It flourishes on votes that are in many cases secured in return for some profit.

IF RAJAJI'S movement had depended on this sort of leadership, it certainly could not have hoped for success, as its power of purchasing support is practically nil compared to that of the Congress rulers. It is the unique distinction of Rajaji as a leader that he offers no personal gain to any follower in exchange for his loyalty. From the Prime Minister downwards, Congress leaders when they rose to power rewarded their followers, friends and relatives with rich plums in various forms. This was

their strength, as it bound large numbers of acquisitive fortune-seekers to their standards with the secure bond of self-interest. Such nepotism is conspicuously absent in Rajaji's record as political leader and administrator. There has not been a single instance of administrative or other favour conferred by Rajaji out of domestic affection or clannish partiality or as undeserved reward for political allegiance. Those who rally round the Swatantra Party in the expectation of personal advantage through its success are therefore foredoomed to disappointment.

THIS IS THE true significance of the Swatantra movement. The leader expects all who join it to discard self-interest in their politics, and to impel them to do so, his own life is exemplary and dynamic. With the resources of character in the country Rajaji seeks to combat the ramified enslavements of organized greed and power emanating from an exceedingly selfish and self-centred ruling set. Here we have the actual political content of renovated *dharma*. To believe that character is more important for the nation's welfare than cunning bidding for votes, and that *dharma* and purity of mind will lead to people's happiness and not covetous grabbing at others' property is to realize the true significance of the Swatantra movement initiated by Rajaji. *Dharma* means a fair deal to all, administrative justice, treating others as one would like to be treated by them, and it is the only potent solvent capable of ridding the people of the corruption, waste and nepotism, apart from the aggressions on the community of the rulers' greedy quest for

power, rampant in the present set-up of the government.

Dharma is not like propaganda which has two faces, reality and make-believe. The margin between reality and make-believe is occupied by falsehood in propaganda. There is no scope for such falsehood in *dharma*. It is by prescription something that cannot cheat. Truth and *dharma* go together and all religions teach that there is no greater power than *dharma* based on truth. But the teaching of *dharma* cannot be done by all and sundry. It needs a leader whose life is cast in the resplendent mould of dharmic example from which all false values, pettiness and self-seeking have been burnt out. Such a leader of flaming probity is Rajaji. The historic role of saving our democracy from the perversions imposed on it by the

false disciples of the Mahatma has fallen on him by divine dispensation.

INDIAN HUMANITY is blessed in having a leader like Rajaji to inspire and guide it in the present crisis of character in the country. At eighty, according to all human calculations, he must be reckoned frail. But there is no limit to the strength of causes ordained by divine will. Rajaji is an instrument of God doing God's work. On his eighty-first birthday he enjoys the adoring trust of practically the whole of intellectual India, and his millions of admirers are buoyed up by the deep faith that the crowning glory of his life is yet to come and Providence will endow him with time and strength enough to carry to victory the noble mission he has taken on hand.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1959)

A SPECTACULAR CAREER

By Dr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

I HAVE STRIVEN very often to emphasise the importance, or rather, the necessity of maintaining friendly personal relations amongst persons holding different views in the political, social or economic spheres. It has been my good fortune that, with Sri Rajagopalachariar, I have preserved ties of amity notwithstanding that, at various times, we have seriously differed on several topics both privately and openly. His personality is complex and not easy to fathom. A man of strong affections and emotions, he is still able to preserve an uncanny attitude of detachment and many have told me that it is possible to be close to him but never too close. His long continued and intimate contacts with Gandhiji did not preclude him from often expressing disagreement with him or from parting company with the Congress in 1942 when his views proved to be temporarily unpopular. He is one of those men, moreover, who, in the language of a well-known philosopher, can be inherently consistent although he may overtly contradict himself.

Sri Rajagopalachariar's career has been spectacular. He and I flitted temporarily across each other's horizon in the Presidency College where he studied Tamil for a short period. We parted company politically when he joined the Satyagraha and the Non-cooperation movements as a trusted lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi and when I adhered to Dr. Besant's programme. He edited with distinction Gandhiji's *Young India*

when the Mahatma was imprisoned. He has been the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress and a member of its Working Committee for a long period and he has been associated with the All-India Spinners' Association, with the Hindi Prachar Sabha and with the prohibition movement. On many matters of policy and even of ideology, I have had the misfortune of differing from him, but always with the respect due to the steadfastness of his resolve and the one-pointedness of his mental process.

One of the most crucial periods in his life was the occasion when he assisted in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in 1944 and when, against the weight of public opinion expressed in diverse quarters, he converted Gandhiji into assenting to the partition of India in the hope of thereby facilitating and speeding up the grant of Indian independence. Here again, I took the opposite view and have always maintained that, as happened in the United States, it was better to experience even a civil war rather than to consent to a partition of India. Even Gandhiji has often conceded limitation to the doctrine of *ahimsa*. Again, in the case of the separation of Andhra, Sri Rajagopalachariar took a view from which I differed because I have been a determined opponent of the linguistic, in contra-distinction to the alternative method of territorial and administrative, division of India, as in the United States. My administrative experience converted me to the ideal of

the autonomy of States and Provinces subject to the residual control of the Centre. Gandhiji himself took this view in England though many circumstances have led to the creation of a strong—perhaps a too strong—and monolithic Centre.

Sri Rajagopalachariar has occupied all the key positions in national organizations. On critical occasions, he has been the Chief Minister of Madras and has held the portfolios of Home and Finance. He has, as a member of the Central Cabinet, profoundly influenced the policies of the Government. He administered West Bengal as Governor with conspicuous success and he was the last Governor-General of India. After resignation from that exalted position, he accepted a Ministership in the Central Government and, later, the Chief Ministership of Madras as his motto has always been to utilize every opportunity for public service irrespective of its importance in the eyes of the public. The union in him of diverse qualities and the combination of a profound acquaintance with and deep love for our ancient Scriptures and Itihasas along with a fascinating capacity to teach by parable, have enabled him to make a mark as an inspiring author, both in English and in Tamil.

It is relevant here to conclude with a story and a moral. On a memorable occasion, Carlyle and one of his visitors spent many hours together and at the end of what was practically a monologue Carlyle made the sage observation that theirs had been a wonderful conversation and that they became good friends differing only in many of their opinions. Today, transcending domestic bereavement and his, by no means robust health, Sri Rajagopalachariar has flung himself into a struggle *à l'outrance* with a historic and well-organized party of which he was one of the protagonists and is engaged in controversy with many of his erstwhile colleagues and is collaborating with some of his erstwhile antagonists. The inauguration of the Swatantra Party, his unremitting journalistic efforts in SWARAJYA and elsewhere covering an amazing multitude of topics and his whirlwind tours in furtherance of the new Party have, to all seeming, rejuvenated him. Having no affiliations with any party or group but possessing valued friends belonging to all parties and having had to face similar predicaments in the past, I still feel impelled to marvel at his tenacity of purpose and his political flair and I specially admire him for his literary and spiritual perspectives.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1959)

SIMPLE AND GRACIOUS

By NAVARATNA RAMA RAU

IN AUGUST 1948 I received a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore asking me to be present at an aerodrome on the Nanjangud road to receive H.E. the Governor-General who was honouring the State with a visit. I am a resident of Bangalore. The call was a pleasant surprise, for I had given offence in high quarters by an outspoken comment on a then recent G.O. and was being pointedly dropped out of official functions. I was surprised, but not too overcome to guess where the inspiration came from, for the Governor-General was Rajaji. It was a glorious muster of Mysore's highest and best under the leadership of His Highness the Maharaja that waited for His Excellency's arrival on a wet August afternoon on the bleak upland at Nandukatti. We were all presented to our illustrious guest in proper form, and when my turn came, he turned to His Highness with a smile and said "Oh, I know him". We then went in a jubilant procession to the Palace Gymkhana Gardens, where we had tea. How honoured and happy we felt to have him in our midst, and how every word and look of his became a cherished memory! Simple and gracious, he had a smile for everybody, and when he drove off with his host to the Lalitha Mahal Palace not one of us in that vast crowd but felt the increase of stature which comes with the realization of being a free nation. As I threaded my way through a happy crowd to my room in the Indian Guests' Quar-

ters, my mind was cast back over a space of twenty-four years to another visit of Rajaji to Mysore.

It was, I think, in 1924 that I received a telegram from Rajaji. I do not now remember the very words, but it was to the effect that he had just been released, was broken in health and needed rest. Could he come to me? You can imagine how this call from my dearest friend, my more than brother, affected me. Need he ask? I immediately wired back that my roof was his and he was most welcome then and always. Late in the afternoon the same day I had a visit from the District Superintendent of Police. After an inconsequential exchange of civilities he came to the object of his seeing me. He had reliable information, he confided, that Rajaji was coming to Mysore and would be staying with me. Was the report correct, and did I think it prudent on the part of an officer of Government (I was then the Head of the Sericultural Department) to receive as guest a person who was one of the most prominent enemies of the British Government—who was in fact second, if second at all, only in importance to Mahatma Gandhi? I replied that it was entirely my affair, and I knew what I was doing. He apologised; it was only his regard for me that had made him speak on the subject; he hoped the British Resident would be satisfied with my answer. With this parting shot, he took his leave of me. The same evening I was honoured by a visit from the District Magis-

trate, the late Mr. B. Ramaswamaiya, who was a personal friend of mine. On this occasion he "quenched all familiarity with an austere regard" and administered a naked warning. I appealed to his sense of decency and self-respect, but he was cap-a-pie encased in official armour and went away with a look of outraged authority.

I wondered what they expected me to do, but my own course was absolutely clear to me. I was however disturbed by thoughts of the trouble I was preparing for myself—the demands for explanation from authorities red-hot in their loyalty to the suzerain, official censures, and possibly more serious notice. Was there no such thing as regard for personal affection and the ordinary decencies of life in the official world? The District Magistrate and his Police Superintendent were after all officers who were apprehensive of being found fault with. Why should I not seek support from a higher authority? The most influential person in the State at that time, in fact the power behind the throne, was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Mirza Mohamad Ismail, Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, who afterwards became Dewan of Mysore. He was a great gentleman in the good old tradition, and did not need to stand in awe of official superiors. It occurred to me that I might count on his inborn instinct for support. It turned out to be a happy thought. I called on him and said I sought his advice as to right conduct in a delicate situation. His eyes twinkled behind his thick glasses. I put the case to him as a suppositious one:

Suppose his dearest friend, who happened to be ill, and wanted a change and rest, sought his hospitality, would he refuse it? "What a question to ask," he replied. "How could anybody refuse and continue to respect himself?" I thanked him, and told him my story. He said I had done the right thing and need not worry about consequences. He himself had great respect for Rajaji, and would be glad to meet him. I felt reassured, and went to the railway station the next morning in happy expectation to meet my friend. When the train arrived, there stepped out of it not only Rajaji, but a handsome young gentleman whom I had never seen before, and who was introduced to me as Devadas, the Mahatma's son. Devadas was a charming youth, at once sprightly and modest. His deportment towards Rajaji was a pleasing combination of the freedom of a friend, with an almost filial deference, a tribute not only to age but to Rajaji's character and patriotic sacrifices. It seemed to me an indication of the esteem in which the Mahatma held him. It was in the fitness of things that Devadas afterwards married Rajaji's daughter, and became his son in relationship as he had long been in affection. That afternoon the District Magistrate called at our place and had a talk with Rajaji. I was amazed to note how he tried to cross-examine Rajaji and was presently pumped dry himself by that matchless tactician. He came out of the interview quite pleased with himself, and was hardly put out of countenance when in reply to a request for daily reports as to the doings of my guests, I told him to do his spying himself.

Rajaji's stay with me in Mysore would have been an unmixed delight but for the crowds of visitors who came at all hours of the day and would not be denied *darsan*. My house became a place of pilgrimage. There were, I believe, policemen in mufti among the pilgrims, but there was no unpleasantness of any sort. I particularly remember that my venerable friend Mr. Venkatakrishnaiah, known popularly as the G.O.M., was frequently there, because he was never tired of pointing a moral at me, contrasting my lace turban and western suit of clothes with Rajaji's chaste khadi, and what he called my official hauteur with Rajaji's simple affability. This was all very nice and we were of course delighted with our guests but it was not exactly the rest that was good for Rajaji. We therefore moved to T. Narasapur, a taluk town about 20 miles from Mysore picturesquely situated at the confluence of the Cauvery and the Kapila. We had visitors here also, but not so many, and Rajaji, who at this time suffered from asthma, enjoyed some rest. When we returned to Mysore, Devadas expressed a wish to see the Cauvery falls at Sivasamudram, and we started to go there in my car. On this trip we spent a night in the travellers' bungalow

at Muddur. At my request Devadas sang some of his father's favourite hymns, including Newman's *Lead Kindly Light* and a Hindi description of the true Vaishnava. He had a rich young voice and sang with simplicity and feeling. I also sang a couple of Purandara Dasa's *Kritis* and only hoped he did not think South Indian music was no better than my samples of it.

Starting from Muddur next morning we spent almost the whole day admiring the Falls, and wandering among the woods and temples of that historic island. I don't remember that we were much interested in the hydro-electric works. Devadas was so delighted with the Falls that he caused me some anxiety by venturesome clambering up and down slippery rocks to get a good view.

From Sivasamudram we came to Bangalore. At Bangalore we parted. They went on to Madras. This visit of Rajaji and Devadas is one of my and my people's most cherished memories. The stately pageant of the Governor-General's official visit to Mysore 24 years later with imperial honours and the applause of waiting multitudes brought vividly to my mind that other visit of long ago which was my own, my private joy.

God bless Rajaji.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1959)

DIVINELY ENDOWED

By ANANTARAMA DIKSHITAR

IT IS AN ARTICLE of faith among the believers, *asthikas* as we call them, that all our miseries in this imperfect world can be overcome only with divine grace. Our holy scriptures deal elaborately with the various ways in which divine grace could be obtained. The quintessence of our scriptures has been presented to us in the diverse works of the three great Acharyas, and a host of others; but it is not easy for all to understand fully or comprehend all that is expounded by these great teachers. Only those who are versed in Samskrit, can hope to benefit from these works. For the less fortunate, the great Nayanmars and the Alvars have poured forth enlightenment in the language of the land in prose and poetry and have brought the great truths of the Vedas within the ken of the ordinary man. What the Alvars and Nayanmars have done in Tamil, great sages like Valmiki and Vyasa had done in Samskrit even in very early days. The immortal classics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, contain the great truths in an easily assimilable form, but even these are beyond the ordinary man's understanding. For their benefit primarily Sri Rajaji brought out admirable tomes like *Kannan Kattiya Vazhi* (The Path that Lord Krishna showed), *Vyasar Virundu* (Sage Vyasa's Feast) and *Chakravathy Thirumagan*.

The *raison d'être* of the Ithihasas is to propagate the ideals of *dharma*, truth and godliness. What is contained in these Samskrit originals has been so well brought

out by Rajaji in brief compass, condensed where necessary, annotated where needed, that even those who have read the Samskrit texts relish reading Rajaji's Tamil versions and are moved to tears by his narrative power and exquisite simplicity.

Some there are who can write books but lack lucidity of exposition. Others can write exquisitely, but on the platform they are abject failures. There are yet others whose rhetoric may be powerful but not so their thought content. There is only one, as far as I know, who combines all these qualities, and that is Rajaji. I have read all his books very carefully. I have also heard him speak in the midst of my audience. Every one of his speeches contained gems of thought, over which I used to reflect at leisure and cherish them as a treasure. What truths are embedded in our Dharma Sastras, Neethi Sastras and Artha Sastras, and what our sages have enshrined in the scriptures flow from Rajaji with an amazing ease in every one of his talks. In a composite crowd of differing faiths and divided followers, Rajaji's sagelike utterances find universal acceptance, a feat not possible for ordinary humans without the touch of divine inspiration. Sincerity is the keynote of all his utterances. He does not speak what he does not believe in. What he says out of conviction invariably turns out to be also true. He does not write just for the sake of writing, but primarily for his own inner peace. Such writings incidentally also

benefit the general public. In moments of fear, conflict or doubt, it is Rajaji's conviction that a few moments' meditation on Hanuman will help to dispel them. He once revealed to me a personal experience of his of divine help in critical moments. To listen to Rajaji recounting some of his experiences is an ennobling experience even for an ordinary person.

Often I used to wonder whether Rajaji is a modern incarnation of Vyasa or Valmiki or Vidura. Universal admiration is bestowed only on rare individuals who, by a combination of soul force, godliness, adherence to truth, compassion for the downtrodden, selfless service, and personal example of

rectitude, have elevated themselves to divine levels. Such men abounded in our land in the epic ages, but in the modern age they are rare. Rajaji is one such rare being. Verily he is the gift of the gods, the fortune of Bharat, the good luck of South India.

Praise such as mine will not be relished by Rajaji, essentially humble as he is. But it is the duty of all of us to express our thanks to Providence for having given such a rare being to be amongst us, and to pray to the Almighty to give him long life and perfect health to enable him to continue to propagate *dharma*, truth and godliness among the masses.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1959)

A MAN OF RELIGION

By PROF. M. RUTHNASWAMY

SRI RAJAGOPALACHARI is a man of religion. Side by side with political thought and action he cultivates religion. Listening to religious discourses and taking part in them, reading and studying by himself or with sympathetic groups the classics of his religion, he looks upon religion as the most important thing in life. Religion is the inspiration and *motif* of his politics. It is for the protection of *dharma* that he has taken to active politics from which one would have thought he had retired five years ago. And the *dharma* that he seeks to protect and promote is not the *dharma* of the religion of his birth but the *dharma* of all religions. Universal *dharma* comprises justice, the promotion of justice and the prevention of *injustice*, the rule of conscience in public as in private life, the influence of spiritual values in social, economic, and political life.

Dharma ensures the equal treatment of all classes as well as individuals with justice, the rich and the poor, employers and employed, capital and labour, master and servant.

The Swatantra Party's respect for the individual, and the individual's rights and liberties is based on its respect for personality. The personality of the individual is built on the personality of God. And Sri Rajagopalachari is a believer in a personal God, and *bhakti* to Him. And as such he and the party which he leads have a right to expect a hearty response from Muslims and Christians. In these days of doubt and difficulty, of many and uncertain voices, it is fortunate that believers in religion have in Sri Rajagopalachari and the party he leads support and strength for their loyalty to the strongest influence in their lives.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1959)

A MORAL COLOSSUS

By K. ISWARA DUTT

WITH THE SOLITARY exception of Sir Winston Churchill (who was 86 on the last day of November this year), there is none on the world scene comparable to our own *Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari* (who is 82 this week) for the glory that age and eminence have with a rare concord made his own, or for the halo that "the medieval saints beheld gleaming around the Holy Grail". I am clubbing them together, unabashedly and deliberately, though they are of the most divergent types, for both are cast in a heroic mould and have attained superlative greatness, with their intellectual power and moral courage, ever in readiness to answer the call of Destiny.

It was long years after he was supposed to have been "finished" that Sir Winston Churchill rose to be the saviour of his country; it was years after he was described as "a spent force" that Rajaji awakened the national conscience about the menace to the well-being of India and entered the lists, Churchill-like, to wrest victory out of a seeming void. Both are at once suggestive, indeed, of a certain transcendent effulgence in the darkest of hours.

Six years ago when it was generally assumed that he had no more active political life left, I ventured to speak of him as a Colossus in Reserve, punning on his initials with a peculiar relish. It seemed to many at that time to be an extremely hazardous prophecy, but those who came to scoff at the idea have remained to

pray. Today we find that "age is shamed" and that "he doth bestride the narrow world, like a Colossus": Rajaji is more than a veteran political warrior: he is a Moral Colossus.

It is interesting to recall that it was Mr. Nehru, and no other, who in one of his expansive moods hailed Rajaji as a "warrior", as "an old fighter", and too, as "a man of peace, a philosopher and a seeker after truth". And he also felt sure that "when necessity demands it", the country will call him to other services. In finding Rajaji hearkening to "the call" of the country for rendering "other services", Mr. Nehru possibly finds in the words he uttered on that occasion, fulfilment but in an ironic sense. If he however probes, as he should, he will realize the stupendous significance of Rajaji's re-appearance in the political arena. When in their eighties men turn again crusaders, it can only be out of a sense of moral compulsion. And the world has got to reckon with the uncommon man who, with an unknown prestige, makes something like a final bid, to shatter into bits the existing perverse order imposed on the country by Congress absolutism, before it gets too late for others, however likewise inclined, to turn the tide of affairs.

None knows better than Rajaji the stern implications of Polonius' poetic maxim: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear it that the opposer may beware of thee". Every one knows that, when he is involved in a political

controversy or conflict, there is no "opposer" of his who can afford not to beware of him, whereas, if by any chance, he does not, he simply asks for trouble. He is so supreme a political strategist as to be able to cast, with a Disraelian charm and ease, the net that could just enmesh any shining helmet or sword. He is never more resourceful than when he draws the opponent into his net, and never more resolute than in making mincemeat of him. Long years ago an adept in pen-portraiture, in sizing up Rajaji as a political opponent, described him as an iceberg in motion, for, whether the iceberg strikes the ship or the ship collides with the iceberg, it is the ship that will go down the depths. It is a tribute to him that even those who do not yet take the Swatantra Party as such very seriously, are mightily afraid of—to use Mr. Nehru's phrase—"the old fighter" who has launched his lightning campaign. And it is just like Rajaji that he should make any fight which he makes his own, a fight to the finish and nothing less.

Though "a man of peace" and "a philosopher" all his life, Rajaji has found himself pitted against forces, individual and organizational. With no tears to shed, he has fought, sometimes with some behind him and sometimes all alone, but never has he compromised on any issue. And he has done the fighting without malice and with clean weapons, often the only weapon being the tongue which speaks great language, giving the clearest expression to the thoughts that perennially spring from a capacious mind. For all the ruthlessness with which he brushed aside puissant personalities

like Srinivasa Iyengar nearer home, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das on the northern plane, and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru when the issue of Partition first raised its head, never has he been known to bear any ill-will towards a political adversary. If he was too subtle for them or unanswerable in political argument, he could not help, for he was born to excel in controversy. He knew what eclipse or adversity meant but he never found his fortitude unequal to its anguish. He knew what it was to be a victor, with his dignity unimpaired. Whether victorious or vanquished, Rajaji is the same man, with his mind far too elevated for the noisy scheme of things here below. It was so when he was fiercely flung into the wilderness in 1942: it was again so when he was 'enthroned' in 1948. While he has never lacked confidence, his confidence in himself has always come only next to his faith in Providence.

He has exercised his mind, as few men of his generation have done, on the most bewildering variety of subjects, from the dangers of nuclear weapons to the evils of political patronage. For beauty of exposition of a theme or invincible argument in controversy, he has few equals and no superior in our annals. It has always been a marvel how by his parables he could make so immediate and so sure an appeal to his hearers and what heights he could reach by a simplicity of language, almost Biblical alike in its texture and fervour.

Of all his great qualities, there is nothing so resplendent as his moral courage. It was only he that could once tell Gandhiji that his outlook was blurred; it is only

he that could again tell Mr. Nehru some unpleasant truths. When he does a thing out of a sense of duty, he is unrepentant. He will fight Congressmen today with the same resoluteness, vigour and zest with which he had fought the Communists yesterday. It has made all the difference to the world that it is he—Rajaji the incorruptible and the invincible—who has shown today the Red light to the country, lest it should become near-Red first and completely Red next.

As one who has really his eyes on the dangers to society in a larger setting—on political decay as well as moral collapse, the twin evils of the times—he commands the attention that only the prophets of old did. He is no prophet of doom for all the dark-

ness that seems to him to be enveloping the world. Never has his faith in the over-ruling Providence been shaken by the worst that has threatened either his countrymen or his fellowmen. So, we find him thinking of evil with the wrath of a Carlyle and talking of it with the mellowed wisdom of a Marcus Aurelius—and seeking to fulfil his mission as the nation's pre-eminent friend, philosopher and guide.

This great land of ours which produced great men, sometimes in a hurry and sometimes a trifle leisurely, having produced only one Rajaji, the prayers of myriads will go forth to the Almighty Father, that many more years may be vouchsafed to the venerable patriarch—for our good and the larger good of mankind.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 10, 1960)

RAJAJI, AS I KNOW HIM

By V. P. MENON

ON THE 8th December falls the 83rd birthday of Rajaji. Though for his part he has been averse to the celebration of his birthday, yet it is difficult for those to whom he has been a leading light, an infallible guide and mentor, to refrain from expressing on this happy occasion at least their gratitude to a benevolent Providence, whose gift he has been to the nation.

My first contact with the work and greatness of Rajaji was when he was Chief Minister of Madras and I was then Secretary to the Governor-General. It was the practice of Governors in those days to send a fortnightly report to the Governor-General giving their appraisal of the work of Provincial Governments. I cannot recollect even a single report of a Governor in which he had not expressed his admiration and respect for the integrity, foresight and balanced judgment of Rajaji.

My contact with Rajaji became more personal and closer when he assumed the office of the Governor-General of India. During this period I had many an occasion to take to him vital issues of the day for advice and guidance. When I left him I always had the satisfaction that I had had the opinion of one who had considered every aspect of a problem and that if he had endorsed a proposal I could go ahead with the supreme confidence that no facet of the matter had escaped attention.

His fervid patriotism and his selfless sacrifice in the cause of the country's freedom are too

well known for me to mention. But during all these long years of unrelenting public activity the most outstanding feature of his career has been his fearlessness as a fighter. Once he is convinced after deep thought that a cause he has taken up is right, no amount of criticism or cavil from any quarter can deflect him from the path he has chosen as being the best in the interests of the country. He was one of the few unswerving "no-changers" along with Gandhiji in the days of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sri C. R. Das during the council-entry controversy. Subsequent events only proved him right.

Again when he was clear in his mind that the policy which the Government of India had been following would bring no good to the country he had no qualms in breaking off from his erstwhile party and colleagues to lead a party and movement of his own warning the people of the dangers inherent in the policies and programmes of the party in power. Politicians of the ordinary run can see no further than their nose but Rajaji is a statesman of unique calibre and he can with unerring precision look far into the unknown future.

To reminisce on a recent experience of mine I might recall the conversation I had with Rajaji in the company of my friend Khasa Subba Rau, when we discussed various topics at random. It was a memorable and exhilarating experience of my life. None could have come away from such a con-

versation with Rajaji without being struck by his profound wisdom, his clarity of vision, the comprehensive sweep with which he could encompass an issue and his knowledge of men and things.

Rajaji is a man of many-sided splendour. He is not only a politician, he is a litterateur, a philosopher by precept and practice, a sage and a savant. He is not one amongst many; he is one of the very few. He is an institution and a host in himself. When the cry against the proposed imposition of Hindi was a voice in the wilder-

ness, Rajaji constituted himself into a one man Language Commission in opposition, and the powers that be had to sit up and revise their thoughts. His campaign against nuclear test explosions had its reverberations the world over. He is not a man of the day or of the nation only. He is a moral and intellectual giant of an era and of the world. There are not many of his stature who walk the earth and may it please Providence to keep him with us for many more years of selfless service and guidance to the nation.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 10, 1960)

THE LIVING SYMBOL

By MONICA FELTON

*Today's your birthday—so the rumour goes ;
And you are eighty-one—or eighty-two ;
A public figure whom the whole world knows,
A secret soul whom no one ever knew.*

*No one ? But Gandhi knew you, didn't he ?
You kept his conscience, strove with him for truth,
Practised non-violence, struggling to free
Old India, and to restore its youth.*

*And others knew you, too. But they are gone
Into the shadows. Of those who in the past
Taught that the truth alone could make men free
You are the living symbol—and the last.*

*So count no years. Don't fritter time away—
But say the things which only you can say.*

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 24, 1960)

LEADER AND TEACHER

By B. SANJIVA RAO

"We want men and women to be less selfish and more considerate about others; we want people to be honest and to value Truth and Goodness above money and so on. If we wish this and hope to achieve it in the short space of, say, one or two years or what is worse 'within my lifetime', there is to be a leader and a movement which he leads. If, on the other hand, we wish and hope to achieve this by the method of slow indoctrination of true values and shaping behaviour and conduct accordingly we can fix no time-limit. The process is necessarily slow and we want Teachers who will teach and do their mission in a different way from the Leader of a movement".

—C.R.

RAJAJI IS ON the threshold of eighty-three today. He is, therefore, in a hurry to accomplish his mission of persuading his countrymen to establish a social order on the basis of *Dharma*. In all that he says and writes there is an echo of a very ancient teaching, of a voice that has never ceased to ring through the ages urging that men and women can never be happy unless they live in harmony with the universal order of things. Five thousand years ago, according to ancient tradition, there was a breakdown of *Dharma*, caste confusion, a great struggle between the forces of good and evil, and it was on the battlefield of Kurukshetra that the great teaching of the *Gita* was given and the great promise made that "whenever there is a decay of righteousness and there is an exaltation of unrighteousness, then I myself come forth. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness, I am born from age to age". That promise is a poetic symbol of a great process that is taking place both on the material and mental planes. Whenever there is the injection of a poison into our body,

there is a self-regulating action set going by which the body seeks to throw out the poison. In this process the fate of the individual cell is of no concern. We do not usually realize that what is true of the physical plane applies equally to the mental and moral planes of existence. That every psychic or mental or emotional act creates its own opposite is accepted by psychologists. A crisis is an acute phase of the conflict between these pairs of opposites.

In our modern world the economic and political conflicts have to some extent obscured the fact that the crisis of today is a moral and spiritual crisis. We forget or tend to forget that history is merely the precipitate (on the physical plane) of events that have already taken place on the plane of ideals. After the two world wars moral and spiritual values have broken down. Technology and popular scientific thought have largely dissolved the metaphysical foundations of our beliefs in a moral order. The modern youth has lost its belief in the sanctity of human relationship and its respect for moral codes. "Why should I be faithful to a wife who was selected for me by my parents without my

knowledge or consent?" was the question once put to me by a pupil of mine, a very serious student of philosophy. This is typical of the mental climate that prevails among young people all over the world. They are struggling for a philosophy of life that will enable them to give themselves a more intelligible basis for what is right and wrong than that which tradition gives to them. This is a task too difficult even for the greatest among us, and it is no wonder that young and immature minds are finding the burden of having to establish a new basis for right action too heavy for their young minds.

The crisis is deepening. We are dangerously near the collapse of our world of values, in which we have lived in comfort for thousands of years. We have to be in a hurry and achieve the task of creating honest and unselfish men and women who have the intelligence, the clarity of vision that will enable them to live wisely and tranquilly in a world of confusion. They must possess the capacity to distinguish those values which vary from age to age, from those which are timeless. Most of our young men blindly adopt the new Western outlook and have merely exchanged one set of values for another. But there are large numbers of young people all over the world who long for a new outlook, a new vision.

To help such people is the task of the mature and the wise among us. As the task has to be done immediately, there is the need for a leader. But he must also be a teacher. For the problem is essentially the confusion of mind that prevails among the most intellectual, the most gifted among us.

Both Russia and America possess today the best equipped intellectuals and technicians and yet their leaders seem to be unable to perceive the most obvious of facts, that their search for deterrents that will bring security from external attack creates perpetual insecurity.

Alone amongst our leaders stands out Rajaji, a frail old man of 82 who has inherited the ancient wisdom of our Rishis and undergone the discipline of Western science, giving week after week grave warnings to all the nations of the world against the fate that awaits those who violate the laws of Nature and super-Nature. One is reminded of Bhishma who gave to India the grand concept of *Dharma*, the concept of a relationship of perfect harmony and love between the individual and the world around him. With a clarity of vision almost amounting to the insight of genius, Rajaji goes into the heart of every problem, great and small, and illumines the truth that is hidden within. Rajaji is not only a leader, but also a teacher. Every issue of *SWARAJYA* bears testimony to his extraordinary insight into not only political problems but into those subtle, imponderable elements of human nature that create social and political crises.

Today Rajaji is known to the world as the leader of the Swatantra Party. Many competent and sympathetic friends express grave doubts about the success of the mission that he has undertaken. It is worthwhile to remember that the main purpose of that mission is the rousing of the conscience of the public to the grave errors that are being committed by our

rulers. Rajaji is particularly fitted for the task of educating the public mind. He not only exposes the blunders of the ruling party, but analyses with great subtlety the moral and psychological effects of the policies pursued by the Government. It is this education of the public mind that is being achieved week after week, and now day after day, that is far more important than mere success at the polls.

The intellectuals have lost their power. In the present democratic set-up it is the vote of the ignorant that counts more than the wisdom of the man who *knows*. But in the psychic and spiritual world it is different. When Rajaji started his movement for halting the rapid destruction of freedom in this country, he was practically alone. Old, almost alone, with no power or wealth behind him he started on his great adventure of winning freedom for his countrymen. Arrayed against him is the vast army of the Congress led by old friends and comrades with whom he had led the Freedom struggle in the past. How can he fight against his old friends? Why should he thus spend the few years that are left to him in this life? He is a sad, disillusioned, unhappy man. What can success mean to a man at the age of 82?

We are reminded of an ancient battle on the field of Kurukshetra where Arjuna is confronted with the vast hordes of the Kaurava armies led by great warriors belonging to his own kith and kin. He has chosen Sri Krishna, un-

armed, as his charioteer—wisdom without power. Duryodhana has on the contrary preferred power, the might of numbers, or armed forces without wisdom. This is ever the way of the world, this the constant battle between the forces of good and evil. The battle is fought at different levels and on different scales. Rajaji has to face the present crisis without the support of wealth and numbers. Whatever influence he had through the prestige of the position that he occupied in the Councils of the Nation is no longer his. The only asset he possesses is his incorruptible integrity, his selfless devotion to what he feels to be right, his faith in the power of Truth.

Rajaji has accepted his role of leader and teacher and made himself the instrument of that Power that ceaselessly operates on all the levels of our existence; he is the servant of that "Law which moves to righteousness which none at last turn aside or stay. The heart of it is Love, the end of it is Peace and Consummation sweet." Rajaji is a Hindu by birth and conviction but a Hindu to whom there is no non-Hindu. He is an Indian to whom the world conveys the idea of the universal.

To one who is the Instrument of the Divine Will, success and failure have no meaning. For to that Will there is no variableness, no shadow of turning. Rajaji needs no tribute or praise. His work is its own highest reward.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 9, 1961)

TIMELESS TEACHER OF MAN

By JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

IT WOULD BE fatuous for anyone in India to try to heap praises on Rajaji. At the same time, it would be difficult for anyone to avoid doing so when writing about him. Let me therefore say without further ado that in Rajaji India has one of her great sons, not only of the modern age, but of all times. The two organs, head and heart, that distinguish man from his fellow creatures have reached in him the highest level of development, so that we see before us a truly great intellect enriched with the wealth of a high spiritual and moral quality.

Rajaji is one of the makers of modern India and architects of her Swaraj. Even at the hoary age of eighty, he has a political influence on this country which is quite beyond the influence of the party he leads. But it is not as a political leader—though he has reached a supreme rank in that sphere—that he will be remembered by later generations, but as a teacher of humanity. His deep insight into human nature, his extraordinary knowledge, his ripe wisdom, his capacity to make his way through a forest of inessentials and externals to the heart of a problem, all go to make him a timeless teacher of man. It is his commentaries on the ancient classics, Samskrit and Tamil, his interpretation and exposition of religion, that will give him in history a far more secure place than his political endeavours and achievements.

Politics are of evanescent value, but at the moment they dominate

national life. Things of the mind and spirit have to take a back seat. This is perhaps because bread is of such compelling and urgent importance and necessity. And politics and bread have somehow got linked up in this age of welfare State. It is not God or the Earth, or the labour of man, that is supposed to give us bread, but politics. So, something must be said of Rajaji as a political leader, particularly since his break with Jawaharlalji and the Congress. It is easy to evaluate his political career up to that event and I do not propose to do that here. Suffice it to say that he was till then one of the five topmost national leaders who, next to Gandhiji, dominated the Indian political scene for three decades: Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru, Rajaji, Rajen Babu and Maulana Azad. There were occasional meteors during that period who lit the political sky, but these were the planets who made up the Gandhian solar system. Only, Rajaji shone brightest as a mental phenomenon.

It is his later contribution to politics, however, that is more interesting and difficult to evaluate. What he did during the Freedom movement, though important and valuable, was part of a great job that others were also doing equally well. But Rajaji's contribution to the post-Independence politics of this country is something which he alone could have made. This is perhaps not so apparent yet. Had he been ten years younger,

there is no question that he would have put that beyond doubt.

The first of his achievements that I would mention in this context is his action as a solvent of fear. Fear, as every one knows, is morally a great corrosive quality. It warps human behaviour as perhaps nothing else does. It makes cowards and bullies of men, it produces wars and tyrants and dictators; it debases culture and degrades man. There was fear growing in India, in the India that had learnt not to fear the greatest imperialism of its day, and even the great did not dare speak out frankly against the Government or the Prime Minister or the Congress. But since Rajaji entered the arena, armed not only with the courage of selflessness but also with rare qualities of devastating criticism, the situation has changed dramatically—though God knows, there is still a lot of boot-licking, cant and humbug afoot, all due to fear of the powerful.

Secondly, Rajaji has been able to construct an Opposition personality that is, at least, recognizable. All the other expressions of political Opposition merge, in various degrees, into the dominant colours of the ruling party, with the result that the Opposition and the Government often seem to be like reflection and mirror. Ram Manohar Lohia once rather aptly described the Prime Minister as the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition rolled into one. Thus, the situation that obtained was that on both sides of the House the colours were mixed and blended. Rajaji's intervention in Opposition politics has altered

that. Now, we have a true, clear-cut, recognizable Opposition.

That that Opposition is of a *conservative* hue is but natural, and in no way detracts from Rajaji's success in creating, at least, a programmatic Opposition, whatever be the electoral fortunes of the Swatantra Party in 1962. After all, Rajaji is eighty and has already done more than one has reason to ask of any one individual.

Every society, including Khrushchov's and Mao's, has its conservatives as its radicals. If, at any time, only one of these should have the opportunity for self-expression, the society concerned would not only be an undemocratic society, but also mentally and physically sick and unbalanced. The situation was something like that after Swaraj, when almost every party was anxious to be considered radical and progressive. Even the communal parties talked of some kind of Bharatiya socialism! So, when Rajaji came forward to become the mouthpiece of the conservative forces of present-day Indian society, he did the latter a great service. There is no use denouncing conservatism. While conservatism has certain, rather abiding, characteristics, such as opposition, or cautious approach, to change of every kind, and a certain moral integrity because of adherence to established ethical values, it is not the name of any fixed political or economic dogma. The communists have their conservatives and radicals, just as the 'imperialists' have them. If appearances and the political analysts are right, Molotov is a conservative and Khrushchov a radical. The conservatives are

the ballast that prevent the young and the hot-heads from rocking the boat too dangerously. Without its conservatives, society would be faced with unpredictable destiny upon every break of day.

Because I had said all this when the Swatantra Party was born and had welcomed it from this point of view, it was believed that I was about to join the party. No doubt, Rajaji wanted me to do that, and perhaps even now hopes against hope that I might so decide. But I have made it clear that though I recognize the value and role of conservatism, I myself am not a conservative. Both by head and heart I am a radical and if I were to join a political party, I would be with the democratic socialists—though it would be difficult to locate them, because they are scattered all over the political spectrum. But, I am not in party politics, though deeply committed to political work of a fundamental nature. I go further and affirm that parties are not necessary for the democratic way of life. Indeed, they seem to me to be a hindrance, because they are so divisive and mutually competitive. Democracy to be real, to be full, must be co-operative, all-inclusive and unitive. If society is organized on the communitarian

principle, as it should be, economically and politically, the party system would become redundant and the State shrink to skeletal proportions. The community, the enlarged family, so to say, would take the place of the State. But, I have digressed.

Before I conclude, I should like to draw attention to one quality of Rajaji's conservatism, which I am afraid is not shared by his colleagues, but which perhaps draws me to him personally. Rajaji has made individual freedom the central point of his political philosophy. Thereby he has rendered a great service to Indian democracy. But, at the same time, he has emphasized that freedom would be in perpetual danger if it were used as an opportunity to exploit and oppress. So, he has put into the very programme of his party the idea that possessions of all kinds are in the nature of a trust, to be used not for personal gratification and aggrandizement but for the public weal and the good of fellow human beings. This ingredient of Gandhian economic principle converts Rajaji's conservatism into a substance of an entirely different quality. I am afraid the Swatantra Party has reconciled itself to that idea only as a token of regard for its great leader.

—SWARAJYA ANNUAL, 1962

A UNIQUE PERSONALITY

By RAJENDRA PRASAD

SHRIYUT RAJAGOPALACHARI, or Rajaji as he is lovingly called, has been amongst front-rank politicians of the Gandhian era and on every occasion his contribution has been unique and magnificent, whether one agrees with the particular line taken by him at a particular moment or not. He was in the Congress but was not so well known as some other stalwarts when Mahatmaji appeared on the scene. Mahatma Gandhi discovered him and ever since then he has been in the front rank for the last forty years and more. I will illustrate this by referring to particular incidents. He joined the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement not only with great zeal but with a clear perception of its programme and implications, and soon became one of the finest advocates and interpreters of it. He organized the province of Madras with the help of others, of course, in a way which at once attracted the attention of the people and commanded the respect of other provinces. After Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration early in 1922 differences arose amongst congressmen about the programme of the Congress. As will be recollected, the programme comprised boycott of legislative councils, boycott of government - recognized schools and colleges, boycott of law courts and boycott of government honours and titles. Later on encouragement of spinning and weaving and boycott of foreign cloth were added. The difference that arose was with regard to the boycott of legislatures. The group

led by the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and N. C. Kelkar and others was in favour of entering the legislative councils and practising non-co-operation from within, whereas others under the leadership of Sri Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj and others were in favour of continuing the boycott of legislatures.

The Congress appointed a committee to enquire into and report on whether the country was prepared for undertaking civil disobedience, and after the report of the committee, the movement for lifting the boycott of legislatures gained force and momentum as civil disobedience was considered impracticable for the time being. As most of the biggest and most influential leaders were in favour of lifting the boycott of legislatures, the task of defending and maintaining the boycott of legislatures fell on Rajaji who became the leader of the group of "no-changers". His power of acute analysis, trenchant criticism and resourceful argument were seen at their best not only at public meetings which he addressed all over the country but also in the meetings of the All India Congress Committee and those of others similar organizations. It was not a little due to his rhetorical gifts that the no-changers—that is, those who opposed any change in the Congress programme—succeeded in gaining the majority of about two-thirds against one-third at the annual session of the Congress at Gaya over which Deshbandhu Das pre-

sided and which lasted longer, and had more speeches from all sides than any other annual session of the Congress or any other subject in its history. Not only did he address the meetings of the Subjects Committee but he also went round the camps of the delegates from different provinces and addressed them separately before the matter came up for final voting in the Congress session. His speeches were models of trenchant criticism, constructive suggestion and shrewd analysis. Some time later he undertook a tour of the country on which it was my privilege to join him and also translate his speeches, which were delivered in English, into Hindi, which, while giving me an opportunity of learning a lot, also saved me the trouble of delivering independent speeches of my own, which I doubt not would have fallen flat after his brilliant performance.

It has been one of the inexplicable circumstances in his life that at times he has practically withdrawn from public controversy and remained aloof until the time when he could come again on the scene and shine at his best. Such a period came after the active controversy regarding entering the councils had subsided. During that period Mahatma Gandhi concentrated on constructive programme, one main item of which was the revival of spinning and weaving and propagating the cult of the *Charka*. He was appointed the chief organizer for his State and he did the work so extremely well that Madras Presidency became one of the best organized provinces for khadi. There is no doubt that at that time that Presidency includ-

ed the province of Andhra which was famous for its fine spinning and weaving and had an independent place of its own which was recognized not only within India but even outside for its fine work. Rajaji was not directly concerned with that, because in those days the Congress provinces were constituted on the linguistic basis. It was my good fortune to visit the Ashram which he had established in the interior of the Salem district where khadi work was organized on an extensive and intensive scale by friends like K. Santhanam under the guidance and supervision of Rajaji. As is his wont, he himself became a fine spinner and worked out all the details of the khadi programme with his own special knowledge and experience, and the Madras khadi became well known all over the country. I remember to have visited the Madras State to see its khadi work and was always able to see with my own eyes how well the organization had been built up and how well not only the production part but also the distribution and sales departments were organized. Of course Rajaji was speaking whenever an occasion arose about khadi and allied subjects.

This went on for some years and then the great movement of civil disobedience came in round about 1930. As was to be expected he was again in the forefront and led the movement and was naturally in jail as so many others were. At the end of this period of active civil disobedience with breaks, the Congress in 1937 decided to accept not only the programme of entering the councils but also of accepting Ministerships if the Government of the

time fulfilled certain conditions. Rajaji was one of the first to form the Ministry in his State, where he did excellent work as the Chief Minister. In that capacity he enforced some of the programmes which Gandhiji had suggested and which Congress had accepted, such as the promotion of prohibition of intoxicating drugs and liquors, prohibition of untouchability and spread of Hindi, and ruled his province with a clear grip on facts. Ultimately the Ministry which he had formed had to resign like other Congress Ministries on account of the Second World War. As Chief Minister he did very good work and this used to be held up as a model to be followed by other Ministries of different States. It showed that he was as successful as an administrator as he had been as a debater, and in this capacity he utilized the talents of all those who had worked with him and under him during the Non-co-operation Movement.

It may be noted at this stage that although he has been a leader within the Congress and carried out its programmes with his great ability whenever the call came, he has not always been a silent and passive supporter of these programmes. There have been occasions when he differed, and differed rather acutely, with his colleagues, including even Mahatma Gandhi. But the most wonderful thing about it is that although he differed from Gandhiji occasionally, he retained the deep respect which he had for him and Gandhiji also reciprocated this gesture of Rajaji. On account of his keen intellect he has been admired as much as he has been feared by his opponents in public controversy,

and there have been quite a few such occasions. There were serious differences between him and others, including Gandhiji, in connection with the movement which culminated in the Quit-India Resolution of the All India Congress Committee in August 1942. He was out of that Movement because he did not approve of it. But that did not lessen the respect in which he was held by all including those whom he opposed, and so when power again came into the hands of the Congress in 1947, his services were sought after and obtained in different capacities. He became the first Governor, then the Governor-General; then a Minister in the Central Government, and ultimately again the Chief Minister in his State. Incidentally it may be noted that he was the last Governor-General of India. As power was transferred, India declared itself a Republic doing away with the post of Governor-General and electing its own President.

In all these roles, wherever he worked, he always showed remarkable gifts of organization and capacity for administration. After his retirement from the post of Chief Minister he has been leading more or less a private life in the sense that he is no longer associated with the Congress Party as such, and has been carrying on on his own as an independent and free thinker. During later days he has felt that in a democracy a well-organized Opposition is as necessary as the party in power. With that end in view he has founded what is called the Swatantra Party which has a programme of its own, which differs from that of the Congress and can very well form an alternative to

the Congress programme, if it can gain the support of the people. With the exception of the Communist Party no other party has got such a clear-cut and well-defined programme differing from that of the Congress as the Swatantra Party has. But it is a remarkable thing that he has remained only a founder of the party and has put others in charge of its detailed working as president and secretary, or as members of the legislatures when the elections have come. It is not for me to discuss in detail his programme and point out wherein it differs from the Congress programme or that of other parties. It is enough to say that it has its distinctness and has its able advocates, the most noted being he himself, who have created an impression on the people at large. Although the Swatantra Party was formed but just a little over two years before the last general elections, it put up candidates in the different States and in one or two of them it gained a pretty large number of adherents and in one State at least it formed the main Opposition to the Congress Party. There is no doubt that a great deal of this success has stemmed from his great personality and his great contribution to the discussions on matters of public importance.

Only a short time ago the Gandhi Peace Foundation organized a Convention to protest against nuclear tests and a deputation with Rajaji as one of its members was sent to Western countries like America and England, etc., and another went to Russia with Sri Dhebar as the leader. These delegations had to explain to the heads of the various States the implications of the resolution of

the Convention and to impress on them the necessity and importance, from the point of view of peace in the world, of cessation of nuclear tests. It is no exaggeration to say that Rajaji created a great impression wherever he went and his arguments were appreciated wherever he spoke and discussed his subject.

In his later years he has been writing especially in the SWARAJYA from week to week applying his trenchant criticism to the present Government policy, programme and action, and there is no doubt that his writings have contributed very largely not only to the formation of the Swatantra Party with its own distinct policy and programme, but also to the creation of a general interest even amongst those who do not belong to that party in its policy and programme. His articles are read not only by readers of a particular paper for which he writes but by a very much wider circle as these are reproduced in other papers also, and there is no doubt that even where people disagree with his views they read his articles with respect. He is eighty-five today. But for a man of his age to undertake not only writing day after day and week after week for papers on current and even abstruse subjects but to go on deputation to different countries is a feat of endurance and hard work which might well be envied by many of very much younger age. And for all his age there is no weakening noticeable in his writings and he seems to be going as strong as he was, say, in 1922—forty years ago. Only the subject has changed, the point of view has changed, the persons concerned are changed, but his logic and

analysis and his opinions are as pointed and searching as they ever have been.

He has not been a mere political agitator. As I have said, he has made positive contributions in various administrative capacities and has left his mark on the subjects he has dealt with. He has also been an active social reformer in his own person and has given a direct blow to the system of caste although originally he belonged to one of the most orthodox groups among Brahmins. He has not been blessed with robust health and I know how grievously he suffered from asthma in those early years, 1922 and after, when I had just begun to get the preliminary experience of this fell disease. But the most remarkable thing is not the fact that he has worked hard in spite of it, but that he has also succeeded in curing himself of it, not so much by medication as by regulating his life, his food and his habits. I sometimes wonder if I should be envying him for his great mental gifts or for the strength of his will which he has shown not only in matters of public importance but also in his personal and domestic life. He has, however,

not been happy in domestic life in having a widowed daughter and a widowed daughter-in-law to be looked after, and has never been affluent at any time of his life. But he has never allowed any of these depressing things to influence him in public affairs and has carried on like one who has no private cares.

No appreciation of Rajaji can be complete without a reference to the devotion with which he has made available to the readers, both of Tamil and English, the gems of the great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. On the whole if I were asked to say in one word what he is, I should say: he is unique, unique where he agrees with one, unique where he disagrees with one, unique in his thought and unique in action. It has been my privilege to have not only gained his affection and goodwill but also to have retained these all these forty years and more without a single break or a single moment of flurry, in spite of differences in points of view, and all that I can hope and pray is that he may live for many years more and give the country his unique guidance and leadership.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 8, 1962)

RAJAJI AS SHORT-STORY WRITER

By P. MAHADEVAN

THE LITERARY output of Rajaji during the last forty-odd years has been both varied and considerable. Although he can command the twin harmonies of English and Tamil he has, by deliberate choice, given pride of place to his mother-tongue in all his serious or purposeful work. His earliest work was a Tamil rendering of the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, and it was a prophetic anticipation of his personal and literary predilections. He next wrote commentaries on the *Gita* and the major Upanishads besides contributing copiously and vigorously to a host of journals on aspects of the Gandhian philosophy and discipline. He practised mass-contact by going down to live amidst villagers and sharing in their joys and sorrows, thereby realizing, at first hand, the intimate impact of life on letters. Then followed masterly renderings of both the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* which proved best-sellers. In between these major attempts, he wrote almost *currente calamo* a number of short stories, fables and apologies or allegories all of which put old wine in new bottles. A selection of those short stories was done into English by his son (who died prematurely) and published about eighteen years ago. I believe this volume is now scarce, but on re-reading it recently, I recaptured something of the nostalgia of a past time when there was a glamour in the air and an exhilaration in the spirit, both induced by Gandhi's magnetic ministry.

There are sixteen stories in this volume which is entitled *The Fatal Cart and other stories*. With an exception or two, all of them deal with rustic life and manners, while the incidents picked out from the seemingly dull tenour of daily occurrences are woven into patterns of epic grandeur with undertones of tragedy, pathos and irony in the Greek sense. Rajaji does not waste time over fine writing as such, for the unfolding of the narrative generates a tempo which is derived from the sequence in which we find them presented. In the title-piece, "The Fatal Cart", we get a stark tragedy unfolded with an almost impersonal objectivity. A young rustic couple make a promising start, but slide down-hill with initially unperceived but fatal inevitability. The husband succumbs to drink, neglects and ill-treats his wife, while she falls to a Muslim seducer, much as Tess does the second time in Hardy's famous novel. The husband assaults his betrayer with murderous intent and is sent to jail for a long term. The wife might have saved him, but finds herself unequal to the confession that would have established extenuating circumstances in the husband's favour. Execrated and excommunicated by her people in the village, she puts an end to her life by hurling herself down from a hill-top. The ironic implication of the title is casually hinted at early in the story, when the man is asked not to buy a bullock-cart of a drunkard seller who came to no good. The workings of fate are

transferred to the luckless cart instead of being recognized or overcome by the helpless actors in the tragedy! The obvious moral is to avoid drink as the accursed parent of all other woes, but it does not obtrude anywhere in the story itself.

The long story entitled "Re-birth" is a little more intricately developed. Here again the title suggests the literal and figurative meanings at once. A good but orthodox brahmin woman lames a pariah boy (who carries into her house her injured son) because he has polluted it. Out of this starting-point, delicate and exquisite variations are played on the doctrine of Karma, its consequences and corollaries. The pariah boy goes his ways and marries, while the brahmin woman dies soon after her attack on the boy. Her son grows up, becomes a doctor and comes in due course to treat a pariah woman who has been severely belaboured by caste-men for having polluted a well by drawing water from it. The doctor feels an uneasy stir of childhood recollections in the presence of the pariah girl, who reminds him in some mysterious and overpowering manner of his own mother, and then he gets a brain-wave that the pariah girl must be his mother reborn. He begs his childhood friend to come with his wife and live with him as his brother. Thus retribution and expiation are indicated to the chief actors in what at first sight seems a minor *contretemps*. The supremacy of Dharma is thus vindicated in small things as in great, and our apprehension of it is further chastened by a realization of its power to chastise as well as to protect.

Other aspects of cruelty or callousness sanctioned by tyrannical custom are dealt with in some other stories dealing with the hardships of daughters-in-law and sorrows of step-sons, while the temptations of urban life are vividly portrayed when starving rustic men and women trek away from their homes in search of a livelihood. The *saeva indignatio* is controlled, the pathos or compassion distilled and there is a reticence, an artistic control that cumulatively leave a searing impression on the reader.

Two of the stories are in a somewhat lighter vein with humour lightening the irony of the situation. "Sabhesan's Coffee" and "Can Astrology err?" carry an incisive point amidst a background of amusing comedy, and both pose problems which the reader is free to solve according to his fancy. In "Hunchback Sundari" we have a practical joke ending in a burst of tenderness and understanding sympathy which help us to glimpse a truth put into the mouth of a child. For the boy comes to love his misshapen step-mother because of her devotion to him, while all others pity her for being ugly. Says the boy to her one day: "Mother, when I see you, I do not see the hunchback, but when I see the hunchback I do not see you!" The second part is a trifle precocious for childhood, but it is obviously intended for the more supercilious of senior readers. Some other items are no more than sketches, but are cast in the allegorical or parable form which is artfully managed.

Rajaji thus shows a mastery of the short-story form which is classical in conception and execution.

Had he cared to develop it, we would certainly have been the gainers for it. For he belongs to a choice company of master-spirits with three of whom he has elective affinities. Like Milton he has scorned delights and lived laborious days; with Bunyan he saw the Celestial city in all its crys-

talline glory amidst the filth and squalor of a prison. And like Tolstoi he fled from the world of comfort, luxury and opulence to discover his soul and announce his discovery to the world. Like them he is didactic, and as with them, we must take him with it or not at all.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 14, 1963)

THE GREAT DISSENTER

By PHILIP SPRATT

RAJAJI HAS a place in history as one of Mahatma Gandhi's chief advisers and collaborators. I think he will also be remembered as one who had the strength and clarity of mind to differ from his great leader.

At the beginning of the Second World War the Congress had to make important and difficult decisions. Its words and actions were not very consistent, but it seemed to be impelled in spite of itself along a straight road which led first to the resignation of the provincial ministries, then to the individual protest movement of 1940-41, and finally to the all-out Quit India campaign of 1942. Other leaders disagreed with some parts of this policy at various times, but in the end all supported it. The only exception among the old guard was Rajaji.

The differences became public during the negotiations in 1940 when France had collapsed and Churchill had become Prime Minister. Whereas others stressed Independence, Rajaji stressed defence. He also realized the potentialities and the strategic position of the Muslim League, and he began his series of attempts to reach an agreement with it. His initiative came to nothing, and he joined the individual Civil Disobedience campaign. But in 1942, after Cripps had failed, he made a bolder attempt. At his instance the Madras Legislature Congress Party met and voted for a conditional acceptance of the League demand for separation, and for negotiations with the League for

the formation of a national government. The AICC rejected the proposal, the Madras Legislature Congress Party withdrew it, and Rajaji resigned from the Congress.

A few months later Mr. K. Santhanam published a pamphlet which was taken as expressing Rajaji's thought. "A constitution through a constituent assembly is impossible," it said, "except for areas which accept the sovereignty of that assembly . . . The obstacles deposited by the stream of history cannot be charmed away by our wishes . . . Non-violent agitation and resistance have taken us to the farthest point they can . . . It has become the fashion to say that we shall achieve and maintain our independence through our own efforts. But in actual practice we need the friendship and sympathy of some powerful nations to achieve and maintain our independence . . . The only practicable policy now is to join one of the sides, share their fortunes in this war and make them our friends for the future . . . We have to choose the lesser evil."

Such ideas aroused much hostility, but twenty years later many who then disagreed will admit that they have been proved wise.

Satyagraha was intended to make it clear that India must be freed, but to do so without making enemies of the British. The campaigns of 1920-22 and of 1930-34 had that effect: they had done their work. The campaign of 1942 was unnecessary and produced enmity. The British regarded

satyagraha as like labour strikes: legitimate even if regrettable in peace time, but irresponsible and impermissible during a great war. (In fact hitherto that had been Gandhiji's view.) Since 1947 people have been puzzled by the hostility of the British, as contrasted with their friendship towards Pakistan. Quit India and the INA have not been forgotten in England, and they may have affected the Americans' attitude also.

If the Congress had adopted Rajaji's view and compromised with the League in 1940 or even 1942, partition might have been avoided. For it is probable that, at that time, the demand for Pakistan was still only bluff; and in any case the League was still weak, and the Congress might have been able to check it. For if Rajaji's strategy had been accepted, the Congress would have entered the Government instead of going to jail. As it was, the League was left unopposed right through the war, to grow strong with the help of the British, who felt that the Muslims were their only friends. The Quit India campaign also hardened the Muslims' attitude. In short, opposition to the war proved to be a terrible mistake, and Rajaji was the only leader who saw that it would be so.

Though often on opposite sides, Nehru and Rajaji liked and respected each other. When Nehru had taken Gandhiji's place, it must have been just as difficult as before for Rajaji to lead a campaign of opposition. He might have expected younger men to take on the job, but the public demand an established leader.

In some respects his new campaign continued that of the war period. He was again opposing the ideologist's assumption that "obstacles deposited by the stream of history can be charmed away". The mentality of the people is a hard reality, which will not quickly adapt itself to a radically new system of property and economic relations. Rather, the people's mentality will twist theoretical systems into something quite different from what was intended by their authors.

He also resumed his war-time protest against the assumption that India is strong enough to stand alone in the world. Well-meant protestations of high ideals are proving no more effective now in meeting the danger from China than they did in defeating the "soul-killing militarism of Germany and Japan", as Mr. Santhanam's pamphlet put it. Once again it is necessary to choose the lesser evil, and to join one side, share their fortunes and make them our friends for the future.

When thinking of these events, I have been reminded of the late M. N. Roy—in my opinion one of India's neglected great men. He also resigned from the Congress over its war policy, and he held that in these disputes India should explicitly support the democratic side. Roy thought in abstract, theoretical terms, and wrote a harsh style. Rajaji thinks in traditional Indian terms and writes simply and charmingly. But their conclusions are very much the same, because they both take long views, they refuse to be overawed by power, and they do not let words take the place of facts.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 5, 1964)

FINEST FLOWER OF INDIAN HERITAGE AND CULTURE

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

RAJAJI'S MANY-SIDED leadership today in our political and social life has elicited the epithet of *Bhisma*. Though this is eminently justified in terms of stature, it does less than justice to Rajaji's extraordinary loyalty to conscience and integrity, irrespective of consequence by way of unpopularity or disapproval of the great (colleagues or others). Rajaji relies on his own reason and experience conscientiously to the best of his lights and puts forth his convictions in the service of the nation and humanity.

Prof. Popper in his sensational book written during the high tide of the war against Hitlerism, entitled *The Open Society and its Enemies*, traces elaborately the roots of current form of totalitarianism—fascist and Nazi, on the one hand, Marxist-communist on the other, to the philosophies of Plato, Hegel and Karl Marx. He makes an elaborate effort mobilizing an extraordinary deal of European learning through the centuries in order to debunk these great thinkers. He calls for the exercise of intellectual trusteeship by trained thinkers in the social sciences to debunk the meretricious and dangerous errors of great thinkers, which are costing humanity so dear in the shape of totalitarian doctrines supporting tyrannies of unimaginable harshness and thoroughness.

Rajaji too has called for trusteeship but in the economic field. He has in mind the social responsibility of the wealthy and well-

to-do by way of voluntary charity—*daana* and endowment of funds for public service in one way or another—"for the relief of man's estate". But in his daily work, speeches and writings in SWARAJYA and elsewhere, and in the clarifications and guidance he gives to the Swatantra Party and others, and advice to the holders of power both at the Centre and in the States, he is giving a great example of intellectual trusteeship himself in the field of ideas and policy.

It was not so difficult, especially after the establishment of Gandhian influence in Indian politics after the Mahatma's return from South Africa, for political and other leaders to break the shell of conformity and express themselves in public in favour of national independence. Even the British shared the liberal sentiments of national freedom and independence and could not treat critics as "lepers" beyond the pale of humanity. But with the climate of political and social opinion and sentiment after the advent of Independence in August 1947 and the enthronement of Nehru on the throne of power, invested with the privilege of an infallible prophet in matters of policy and national guidance, nonconformity became almost impossible. It got no hearing.

Though the Opposition party of the socialists was formed pretty early after Independence in 1948, it also rode on the high tide of

Leftism, of ready-made stereotypes, borrowed from abroad, deriving their appeal from the prestige of the Great October Revolution of Soviet Russia (1917). Its leaders made no genuine attempt to re-think social and political problems and devise solutions adapted to Indian conditions. Their policy seemed to be—it still seems to be—to steal the thunder of the communists by making the same promises of an "earthly paradise" by central planning and common ownership and management of the economy on a monopoly basis. Their only difference from communism lies in the matter of *violence*, but even those who start with democracy will be led by the drive of circumstances to acquiesce in its demise as officialization of property makes headway, reducing citizens to the position of "indentured labourers" (to use Rajaji's apt phrase).

In the field of economy (foundations and pattern), therefore, Rajaji has cut through the fog of socialist and communist dogma and logomachy, distortions and half-truths and has laid his finger on the real nerve of *human nature* involved in creative production. Regulation by the State, as the agent of social co-operation, there may be (must be) but it must be the minimum necessary and must be motivated by the purpose of removing hindrances and minimizing friction and maintaining an area of freedom for production to do its utmost.

Modern individualist economists like Von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Hazlitt, Rothbard, Eberhard, Ropke and others have shown the indispensable element of truth in "capitalism". Capital is common to both capitalism and socialism. The difference lies in the *locus* of enterprise. Rajaji has been displaying the hard truths of empirical experience in economic policy and the disasters brought on by our policy-makers in every field. This is an essential lead and needs to be followed up by educated persons in all ranks of life.

Rajaji's mind has deeper aspects of religion and morality as evidenced in his interpretations of the Upanisheds, the *Gita*, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, and in his stories. This cultural background confers stature on his personality.

He is akin to Martin Luther who nailed his eighty points of criticism to the door of the Cathedral at Worms with the celebrated words "*I can do no other*". That act split Europe and saved conscience and liberty for the modern world.

Today Rajaji's lead is showing how to clear a pathway through the jungle of current ideologies (mostly borrowed without assimilation) and to re-build India on sounder foundations—those of verified reason and experience in terms of our own life today—and the best values of our heritage.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 19, 1964)

A MAN OF WISDOM

By HIS HIGHNESS JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR

I MET RAJAJI for the first time in 1936 when he was on a visit to Mysore and was staying at "Lake View". My revered uncle, the Maharaja, and my father desired that I should meet the great patriot and national leader. I was then an undergraduate. Indian independence and Rajaji's exalted position as the Governor-General of India were yet in the womb of the future.

My meeting with Rajaji was a memorable one. The impact of his personality on my young and impressionable mind was striking and it left an abiding impression. Like every one else of my generation I knew of his sacrifices and his achievements and his closeness to Mahatma Gandhi. I could not but be struck by his great wisdom, his matchless clarity of thought and expression, his ardent patriotism and his anxious interest in the well-being of his fellow-men. I am also happy to think that he liked what he saw of me and his fatherly affection towards me has been a great source of pride and encouragement to me for nearly three decades now.

Rajaji is one of those rare personalities who have inscribed their names in many chapters of history at one and the same time. In the field of political affairs he played a great and significant part in the historic movement for the achievement of the independence of our land. He has held the highest offices open to statesmen in the country and has been Chief Minister of Madras, Cabinet Minister at the Centre, Governor of West Bengal and Governor-General of

India. He has adorned every position he has held and has laboured and left his impress on Indian History.

He is a gifted author in Tamil and English and in anything he writes or speaks he has the enviable talent of going directly to the heart of the matter, of analysing facts and implications with acuteness and unerring judgment and explaining his position and views in language of crystal clearness and irresistible force. It is entirely in keeping with his comprehensive and many-sided intellect and wisdom and the wide range and depth of his interests that his short stories should be much more than stories and should partake of the character also of vehicles of social reform and ethical teaching.

Among his greatest achievements is his propagation of the meaning and message of the Upanishads and the Mahakavyas among the people. These great works are at the basis of our culture and, whether we are fully conscious of the fact or not, they form a substantial part of our intellectual and moral make-up and are among the greatest forces that help to keep us alive and strong as a civilized people. By his inimitable interpretations of these works in Tamil and English Rajaji has done a great service in the preservation and popular appreciation of our glorious heritage, and this single achievement by itself is sufficient to establish his fame as a great son of India.

I pray that Rajaji may be long with us to give us his invaluable guidance and counsel.

—SWARAJYA ANNUAL, 1965

A BORN GUIDE TO MEN

By POTHAN JOSEPH

QUERULOUS CRITICS of Rajaji will do well to recall the following estimate written by Mr. K. M. Munshi long before they joined hands as co-leaders of Swatantra :

Astute and subtle, he is wise, discerning and considerate. He possesses a deep spiritual fervour, which he delights in concealing under a mask of mild cynicism. There is a superficial view that he is clever and tricky; the fact is that intellectually he is superior and can see much more clearly than most people; this, the ordinary people cannot forgive. So he has been badly treated by friends and foes alike; quite often he has paid the price for his clear vision; but he has never grumbled.

Among those alive who were close to Gandhiji in his career there is no one of the order of Rajaji. Recently a stamp commemorating Sardar Patel has been issued, but now he belongs to the dead past. In epoch-making events like the partition of British India, the Sardar had equal responsibility, but throughout the critical days of 1947 Rajaji and the Bismarck of India were both active influences until the assassination. Rajaji was always particular about keeping Hindus and Muslim together in order to make liberation worth while. I give the following extract from Kewal L. Panjabi's biography entitled *The Indomitable Sardar* :

Vallabhbhai was faced with a crisis at the special session of the AICC held at Delhi. He was associated with Rajendra Prasad and Rajaji in opposing council entry. But Maulana Mohammad Ali announced that he had a 'wireless' directive from Mahatmaji in jail to continue the

programme of boycott of the legislatures or not, as he thought fit. Vallabhbhai sought the advice of Rajaji who was not present. Rajaji replied by telegram: "Accept whatever Maulana Mohammad Ali decides because the Congress cannot afford to lose him."

Mohamed Ali was a firm leader who with his brother Shaukat Ali had been prosecuted by Lord Reading in order to tame the Congress movement. Rajaji believed in the cause of unity by offering to work with Mohamed Ali, come what may.

Rajaji had deep affection for Nehru but he always feared that Jawaharlal's emotionalism might get the better of his reason. When Prime Minister Nehru promoted the Nagpur Resolution on the future of India's agronomy, there was a parting of the ways between Nehru and C.R. in the field. Jawaharlal was proud of being a planner but his sense of grandiose-ness led him to finance mansions designed by Corbusier as the leading architect of the age. When Rajaji visited the Punjab, the edifices, so unsuited to Indian life, were an eyesore to him.

It was after the Sardar's passing away that Nehru felt that the accession of many tiny feudatory States around Bhopal had been signed behind his back. Mr. V. P. Menon's published books testify to the facts. Nehru thought he had not been continually consulted, a feeling resulting in Nehru's aversion to the Sardar's right-hand man. He had no use for V.P. in "Nehru's India". At the time of the police action in

Hyderabad, Nehru had his hesitations derived from his lifelong notion that Muslims should be specially patronized and protected in the evolution of India. Those who controlled the Hyderabad operation from behind the scenes were the Sardar, Lord Mountbatten and the then Governor-General, C. Rajagopalachari.

A sense of perspective and proportion governs Rajaji's thinking. At the Gaya Congress Rajaji was a Gandhian No-Changer, but on other critical occasions he has vehemently pleaded for change in prudent adjustment to circumstances. And even now during the conflict between India and Pakistan, he must be having in mind the vision of a Confederation to save the entire country from the Chinese Communist peril in expansion over the Himalayas, an obsolete frontier.

So versatile has Rajaji been as a political educator that he has to make himself understood to the meanest intelligence in India where adult franchise has come to stay. Here he is under constant reproach from juvenile communists who hold that the "Old Man" is but a parable-monger. Statisticians and charlatans simply do not understand how difficult it is to present parables and analogues at challenging moments. Certain teasers of his time once met Jesus asking: "Master, who is my neighbour?" Let me quote the incident from the New Testament itself (St. Luke, Chapter X, verses 29 to 37):

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?

And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.

And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him.

And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

Here the questioner is compelled to furnish the answer himself. There is no shallow jugglery about it. It requires profound knowledge of the human mind and a straightforward mentality to refute the opponent in a manner convincing to himself. Parables are not cheaply producible.

Rajaji is still with us, admonishing those who in their shallowness differ from him. The man is myriad-minded, a born guide to all of us. May he live long.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 11, 1965)

A RARE SPIRIT

By LORD MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

I SHALL NEVER forget my first meeting with Shri Rajagopalachari in Viceroy's House, Delhi, in March 1947, for his personality made such an immediate impact upon me. Rajaji, as I soon came to call him, was clearly a wise statesman, and I knew his long history of political struggle. I was therefore agreeably surprised to find the warmth and friendliness with which he greeted me. From the first moment he showed implicit trust and faith in me and expressed his conviction that I was going to find a happy solution for the future of India.

It was impossible not to return this warm feeling and so we made friends in record time. This friendship was soon shared by my wife and daughters who took an instant liking to his charming personality. I had many heart-to-heart talks with him during the period of negotiations which were of the utmost help to me. It was gratifying to find what a real affection he had for England and indeed for the British. He did not, of course, agree to the policy they had been pursuing in India but he did not conceal his respect and liking for them.

The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, originally wished me to stay for as long as I was willing but we came to an early agreement that it would be wrong for me to stay for more than about a year as the first Constitutional Governor-General of India, and soon the question of a successor arose.

I was personally greatly in favour of Rajaji for he seemed to

me to have all the qualities that were needed and I found Panditji very much of the same mind. In fact it was Panditji who first made the suggestion to me that Rajaji should be my successor.

We had many talks about the turn-over and how he was going to carry on. I remember his making a particularly charming and graceful remark to me. "My friend," he said, "I shall endeavour to carry on in exactly the same way as you have."

The servants, who had been for years at what was then called Government House, were understandably rather apprehensive about the change of regime. I assured them that they need have no fears as I felt sure that they would be treated extremely well by Rajaji and his Indian staff. This indeed proved to be the case for I heard on all sides what a happy household he had.

I last saw Rajaji four years ago when he took his first long flight in an aircraft to London and then on to Washington (to urge Mr. Kennedy, the US President, on behalf of the Gandhi Peace Foundation mission, to abandon nuclear tests and also persuade the other nuclear Powers to do likewise—*Ed.*) During his brief stop in London he came to see my daughters and myself and we were able to engage in happy nostalgic reminiscences of our time together in India.

One of the most remarkable things about Rajaji was his eloquence and ability to make impromptu speeches at short

notice in the most beautiful English—far more efficiently, I may add, than any Englishman could normally hope to do.

Rajaji has brought to Indian public life at a turning point in her long history the highest qualities of character and judgment. Over the years he has proved himself to be, in the fullest sense of the term, a Statesman.

But it is to Rajaji himself that I want to pay a special tribute on his birthday for, as one who has been privileged to enjoy his

friendship, I know that his real greatness is in himself. He has achieved strength through humility and wisdom through faith, and as such he is a rare and refreshing spirit.

It is difficult to believe that he is soon going to be 88 years old as his mind is so very alert and his outlook so very cheerful and gay.

I am happy to add my greetings to the many he will receive on his birthday. May he have many more in the future.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 10, 1966)

HE HAS TRANSCENDED POLITICS

By THOMAS W. SIMONS

FOUR-SCORE and eight years ago, 1878, there was born in India one of its staunchest patriots, C. Rajagopalachari. His birth occurred in the period John Strachey called "The End of Empire". Young Rajagopalachari was nurtured in the goodwill period of Lord Ripon, and educated in the new nationalism arising from the vision of moderate leaders of the Indian National Congress. His patriotism from the beginning was part of his nature. When one of his English school masters encouraged him to go to England to study, he replied, "No, Sir, India is good enough for me". So it has always been for him.

Four-score and eight years later, 1966, we see how Mr. Rajagopalachari has led a life dedicated to the service of India. He early forsook the quiet routine of a successful legal career to follow Gandhiji along the dusty road of national politics. Twice he served in place of imprisoned Gandhiji; once as editor of *Young India* in the early 1920's and again in the Civil Disobedience Movement of the early 'thirties.

Twice he was chosen Chief Minister of Madras; once before Independence and once after. He served as a cabinet minister at the Centre after 1957, went on to become Governor of West Bengal, and became at once the first Indian and last Governor-General of India. Twice he broke with the Congress Party. The first time in 1942, when he advised the Party to accept the partition of British India, was merely a temporary lapse, as his later appointments

showed. The second break* occurred in February 1959, when he espoused the formation of an opposition party. This has proved to be lasting.

The various roles Mr. Rajagopalachari has filled have led people to assert that he is a man of inconsistency. How superficial! His many roles describe the differences in the times—periods—that have crowded his long life-span of four-score and eight years. As the times changed, he became part of the change. His consistency lies in his living with the times for India. He is as always a man of the times through which he lives. He is one of that select band of men who have dared to live their dreams rather than dream their lives.

I sometimes think that, in recognition of his consistent love for India, Indians now call him affectionately "Rajaji".

Rajaji has transcended politics while remaining an Indian patriot. His patriotism is founded upon Indian tradition and idealism. His many translations of Indian religious writings, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and his constant references to Dharma and Karma, all show the foundation of his being. Yet he is a modern Indian rather than an antiquarian.

He sees India as a modern country. He is a master in the use of English prose and poetry. He constantly searches for India's

* Rajaji allowed his membership of the Congress to lapse in 1956, even at the time of the Avadi Congress.—Ed.

place in the world of today. This search was manifest in 1962 when he journeyed westward to advance again India's ideal of creating a peaceful world. On this pilgrimage of peace he was able to join hands with the former President Kennedy and Pope John XXIII. Few Indians have written with such insight as Rajaji about India's place in the modern world.

Few Indians, indeed, have written so well or as much as Rajaji. The range of his subjects has been as wide as the volume of his writings. Still, it must be said that more people know about Rajaji than know him. Many people may meet Rajaji, few are bold enough to claim they *know* him. It is sad that of all Indian statesmen of the past four-score and eight years of India's history, he remains unique in so far as no study worthy of him has been written.

It is admitted that he has contributed to this lacuna in the annals of India's struggle for Independence. He is consistent in refusing to write an autobiography. He has been adamant in refusing to encourage a full portrait study of him. His attitude appeared when he once told me that he easily tired of thinking of past events in his life; he was concerned with present problems.

Thus we see only the small figure overshadowed by the towering mind. We hear the patient voice, the warm words of friendship and the crackling laughter.

And we see only the dark glasses at once covering the wrinkles at the corner of his eyes from whence may come the inner sparkle of full and good living. His dark glasses are a symbol of the still unknown Rajaji.

It is our inability to see him except through dark glasses that prevents us from seeing the fullness of his Indian patriotism. We may be misguided by our failure to see what he is up to. Yet he has no misgivings on this score. The central theme of his life is India. He may differ with colleagues and friends about what India is, where it is going and what it may become. Through the world's meandering in time and space, India remains his lodestar.

And when an Indian—perhaps a foreigner—comes to write of new profiles in Indian courage, it is most likely that Rajaji will have a prominent place in its pages. Today Rajaji appears as one of Gray's "many a flower born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air". Tomorrow it may be different. For now we see him as through dark glasses, then we shall see him face to face. And in the ultimate lexicon of Indian nationalism, he will be recorded as one who had the courage to be one of India's giant patriots.

Let us then today, hail Rajaji, as he moves undaunted toward the years four-score and ten.

—SWARAJYA (Dec. 10, 1966)

OUR BHEESHMAPITAMAHA

By K. M. MUNSHI

IN ALL MY experience I have come across few men so versatile as Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, our *Bheeshmapitamaha*, the grand old man of India, who completes this month eighty-nine years of variegated life filled with intense activity.

Rajaji is an aristocrat of the spirit as well as of the intellect. Astute and subtle, he is also wise, discerning and considerate. He conceals his deep spiritual fervour under a mask of mild cynicism.

Age has not blunted his razor-sharp intellect (*kusaagrabuddhi*), and he sees things clearly as few others do. His incisive logic and aphoristic language are irresistible. Rajen Babu once observed that Rajaji would convince you against your own will ! Gandhiji is reported to have warned one of his followers to beware of Rajaji lest he should "prove" that black is white !

This unique talent has made some people regard him as a Chanakya, clever and tricky. The truth of the matter is that intellectually he is head and shoulders above others. Many who come into contact with him, being dwarfed, are unable to accept or forgive him. Often enough he has paid the price for his clarity of vision; but he does not grumble.

It would be a great injustice to this savant to regard him as a mere dialectician, although his debating skill is of the highest order.

Rajaji is a seer and statesman by universal acclaim. Gandhiji once said that "Rajaji sees at least six months ahead of me." A distinguished Briton declared that

"Rajaji is a greater statesman than Gandhi, Nehru, Patel or Jinnah." John F. Kennedy described the impact of Rajaji on him as "one of the most civilizing influences since I became President."

Like many a great man, he has often had the distinction of being misunderstood. He has faced not only ridicule but also calumny, black flags and brickbats.

If I were asked to name one single trait of his that I admire most I would unhesitatingly mention: courage of conviction out of which stems his boldness to face unpopularity.

Being essentially a thinker, he has never played to the gallery. Nor is he hamstrung by the commonplace "virtue" of consistency. What is good for the people in a given set of circumstances is the only consideration that weighs with him. In the early 'twenties he was against Council Entry, but in the 'thirties he favoured acceptance of office by Congress. In the succeeding decade he fought a lone battle against the whole country including Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and Sardar.

One of the foremost leaders of the Congress and Gandhiji's "alter ego and conscience-keeper," he has held the highest political offices—except that of the Congress President which, though his due,—I know from my personal knowledge—he willingly gave up in response to a suggestion from Gandhiji.

Soon after laying down the high office of Governor-General, he laid aside considerations of "prestige" and responded to the call of his home State to become its Chief

Minister. At the time he wrote to me that "malignant stars have brought me back to politics." He effectively tackled the Communist incubus and worked a few miracles, including the decontrol of foodgrains—a bold decision indeed. He prayed for rain and the rains came!

For such a staunch Congressman to have turned against the organization whose policies he had helped to shape over four long decades required a stout heart. As far back as ten years ago he had the vision to realize the rake's progress and boldly came out against it. He saw clearly that all that he had lived for was being destroyed by the ominous trends in Congress policies and decided to arrest the process.

He began to worry—and so I did—about the reckless rise in bureaucratic control; over-ambitious planning; lavish waste of funds raised by deficit financing and foreign loans; the spread of corruption in official ranks and, above all, the collapse of moral and spiritual values brought about by men who talked only of "higher standards of (material) life."

Rajaji was the first in recent years to point out the dangers of Statism and of the monopolistic and monolithic one-party rule. He became convinced that the ruling party is corrupt, inefficient and nepotistic, breaking healthy political and administrative traditions, interfering with the life of the people and undermining democratic freedom. He saw clearly that in the name of "Welfare State" the fetters of incipient totalitarianism

are being fastened on the country. To him must go the credit of impressing upon the people the need for a healthy Opposition if democracy is to be saved in India. He is indeed the democratic conscience of the people of India.

An exemplar of plain living and high thinking, Rajaji has led a life of austerity, even of asceticism. His involvement in mundane affairs has not interfered with his search for truth and his efforts to preserve our religious and cultural heritage. So popular are his renderings of the *Gita*, the *Upanishads* and the epics that I am tempted to recall, by way of illustration, an incident when I was Governor of the U.P. The U.P. Public Service Commission asked a candidate: "Who is the author of the *Mahabharata*?" Pat came the reply, "C. Rajagopalachari"!

Faith in God is Rajaji's cardinal principle. He insisted on applying it to matters of State and public life. When I was Chancellor of the Agra University, Rajaji delivered a Convocation Address, the central theme of which was the great void created in the minds of the younger generation by denial of a religious background. We badly need such uplifting advice in the enveloping gloom that is fast closing in upon us.

On the occasion of his 90th birthday I invoke the Vedic blessing: *satamaanam bhavati sataayu: purusha:* and pray to God to grant him the full span of one hundred years, so that he may complete the task he undertook ten years ago—saving India from chaos and confusion.

—*Bhavan's Journal* (Dec. 3, 1967)

RAJAJI is a person of strong convictions and strong beliefs, who has adhered to them . . . He accepted basically Mahatmaji's approach to various problems. Nevertheless, at no time did he become a person who unthinkingly accepted anyone's dictum, even Mahatmaji's . . . All our minds did not function quite critically in the presence of Mahatmaji because of our faith in him. Rajaji's faith in Mahatmaji was tremendous; but he never allowed his mind to slip away. Whatever happened, he came to his own conclusion. But if he did give in to somebody, he did so consciously and deliberately, after arguing the matter. Therefore, Rajaji, whether he sometimes disagreed with us or very often agreed with us, brought an extraordinarily keen and analytical mind to bear on every question that came before us.

I must say here that very few persons there are in India with whom I should like to discuss any intricate problem or issue, more than with Rajaji. I do not know if, after a discussion with him, I would agree with him or not, but I am quite sure that a discussion with him would do me good and probably I would agree with him. That is the type of a keen mind, the mind of a person of the highest integrity and self-sacrifice. That, I say, is an invaluable asset to a nation.

India honours a certain spirit of service . . . So, we honour tremendously a man like Mahatma Gandhi for what I may call the opposite of possessions, titles, etc. Likewise, we honour Rajaji for his spirit of individuality, service and sacrifice. Rajaji represents fundamentally the highest type of the mind of India.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (July 24, 1948)

