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(VOLUME ONE)

Prof. N. G. RANGA

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PREFACE

I was encouraged to embrace public work and service of the People at large by Sri Jampani Anjaneyulu, an educated, patriotic, far-sighted and self-respecting peasant of very small means to emulate the noble examples of Swami Vivekananda, Ramatirtha; Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Veeresalingam. Fired by Anjaneyulu's talks about the self-sacrificing services of Sivaite and Vaishnavaite Bhaktas, I made my debut into public work in 1917; through our efforts to encourage rural parents to send their children to schools, to organise rural libraries and to collect funds for paying school-fees for rural students from poor families. I began tasting the heady and invigorating political work by demonstrating our protest against the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant by British Government for her demand for Home Rule for India and by collecting signatures of our peasants in support of Congress Manifesto to the then Secretary of State, Edwin Montague.

Ever since many an inspiring opportunity has come to be vouchsafed to me during these six decades of my public work in this Gandhian era to gain much moral strength from my contacts with the great and good sons and daughters of Mother India who have been struggling and suffering for the liberation of her peoples from social and political bondage.

I have been striving, even as I was imbibing their spirit of self-sacrificing public service, to appeal to ever widening circle of youths to emulate their examples of service - in the Buddha's and Gandhian manner-to suffering humanity. To write about their public careers and their inspiring efforts to uplift our masses has been one of my means to canvass the educated youths to embrace public work in a self-less and heroic manner.

The emergent youths and ebulliant students of the second half of this Century are witness to the rapid liberation of all countries from World incubus of imperialism and colonial exploitation. They have now to come to grips with the national

demons of suppression of their broad masses, that is the local reac ionar y elem:nts-social and economic,religious and political.

Gandhiji, the preceptor of public workers of my generation used to consider the services and public life of a village social worker to be as valuable as that of an eminent Parliamentarian or a powerful Cabinet minister. With the benefit of hindsight over our failures since independence we are better able to appreciate the foresight with which, he accorded so great a recognition to such social revolutionaries and constructive workers. So I am happy to pay my homage, through these volumes to many such unassuming social workers.

Many of my sketches of these great and good men were written in Telugu, my mother tongue. As and when Centenary or Shasti-Abdi-Purti Celebrations were being organised by patriotic circles, I began to write in English also about some of them. The Post-Independence trend towards slackening in the pressure and passion of our youths for self-sacrificing social services at village and district levels, especially in removing numerous debilitating age-old social indignities of the masses and the gradually eroding faith in Parliamentary institutions has induced me to write in English about so many of my Contemporary Public Workers who have contributed so much, through their sacrifices and strivings, towards the achievement of our national freedom and "Garibi Hatao" campigns and also to the development of our democratic institutions. If by reading these tributes of mine to their services and public careers, our youths and students come to be inspired in the same way as I had been by Anjaneyulu's narration of the exemplary services of national leaders, I will consider myself very fortunate.

A nation-wide debate raged among Progressive Patriots as to priorities for national services; that is, social justice, social equality and reconstruction versus political freedom and economic nationalism. Those who preferred the first set of priorities fought against untouchability, equality of rights for women and for people of all under privileged castes. Those who preferred

the second set of the priorities fought for achieving political liberation of India.

It was unfortunate that the rival protagonists of these highly desirable national objectives of equal urgency which should have been considered as complementary to accuse each other as counter revolutionaries. because of the competitive choices made by them Political exigencies perhaps made such a rivalry inescapable.

Mahatma Gandhi came to stand on the equi-distant, almost common ground between them. He felt that India's political subjection was so greatly due to her social reaction and economic degradation. But he realised that unless and until political freedom could be wrested from British imperialism, an avalanchic and effective social revolution could not be launched. He knew that genuine efforts should be made to place political revolution upon the rails of social reconstruction. Hence the great stress he laid on Constructive Programmes including campaigns for anti untouchability, khadi and village economic reconstruction, emancipation of women, peasants, labour and communal equality and harmony. So many like me who hailed from the under-privleged peasant and proletarian masses and who could better visualise the comprehensive need of India for all embracing or total revolution have ranged ourselves on the side of Gandhiji and continued to work wholeheartedly for both social revolution and political freedom. A few like me who were impatient against the economic oppressions perpetrated by feudalism and industrial exploitation tried to broaden our political revolution by developing kisan, mazdoor, kalakar struggles against their exploiters.

We know after nearly 30 years of political freedom that because of our failure to concentrate on social revolution and reconstruction so passionately desired by Gandhians, self-respectors, and Ambedkarites, Indian masses continue to be "garibi" almost in every sphere of life. Swaraj has come to mean so little to the Harijans, Depressed Classes the illiterates and also the ignorant and superstitious masses. The poverty,

of our broad masses and their age-long social degradation can be removed only by waging a relentless war for social and economic liberation. In meeting this awe-inspiring challenge of Post-Gandhian free India, ouryouthful revolutionaries will find much inspiration, aad helpful milestones in the heroic sacrifices and daring social experiments made by our myriad revolutionaries of the past half a Century. I hope to continue to pay tribute to many other Public Men of equally worthly and inspiring careers.

I hope and trust that the second volume of this book will contain much fewer misprints.

Sri Kavuri Subbarao of NIDUBROLU, Hon. Office-Secretary of Peasants Institute and Federation of Rural Peoples, who had been typist-assitant in the employ of Indian Council of Agricultural Research has typed every word of this book as well as the equally voluminous and valuable work "Agony and Soclace" (Published in 1975) with his sense of self-imposed loyalty to public work Austere in personal life, unpolitical in village life, he has been voluntarily devoting his time and energy to supplement our work in this manner for the propagation of the cause of democratic kisan mazdoor praja raj.

I am indebted to Sri P. Rajagopal Naidu, M. L. C. who hasvolunteered to render much editorial assistance. I am graefull to Sarvashree Ch. Amaraia M. A. (English) Uma Matheswara Rao. M Sc (Physics) Swarama Krishnaia M. A. (English) Principal G, Sreeman Narayna M. A. (Economics) Ch. Purnachandra Rao, M. A. V. K. Pushpa, M.A, G. N. Rao M.B A. (USA) of the local P. B. N. College and Peasant Institute who have read through many of these chapters and suggested how they could be so shaped as to serve adult education of our emergent citizen. Besides Amaraiah and Umamaheshwara Rao have prepared the Indices' and Errata. I thank the A. I. R, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Bhawan's Journal for their courtesy to to let me utilise the texts of a few of these chaptes. Special thanks are dueto Sri. B. Sivaji Rao of Desi Books of Vijayawada and Hyderabad for undertaking the onerous burden of publishing this first volume.

It is my privilege to dedicate this volume to G.L. Narayana my Colleague Freedom Fighter Kisan leader and exponent of the ideal of democratic kisan mazdoor praja raj

Indian Peasant Institute,
NIDUBROLU.

N. G. RANGA.

CONTENTS

1 Adult Education - Homage to Andhra Pioneers -1 Page
i) Laxman Rao, (ii) Harisarvottama Rao, (iii) Ramakoteswara Rao, iv) Cherukuvada Venkata Narasimham, (v) Sanivarapu Subbarao, v) M. Jagganna Sastri, (vii) Pandit Gorrepati.

2 Ambedkar B R. Dr. ... -9
3 Anev M S. Bapuji, Parliamentarian. ... 17
4 Annadurai ... 21
5 Aruna Asaf Ali, Freedom Fighter ... 32
6 Asaf Ali, Parliamentarian ... 35
7 Pa ineedu, Freedom Fighter ... 38
8 Bharati Devi Freedom Fighter ... 43
9 Bhargav Thakurdas, Parliamentarian ... 51
10 Chalapati Rao M. Editor ... 55
11 Chamanlal Dewan, Parliamentarian ... 60
12 Deo's of Orissa (Edl Notes) ... 63
13 Desai Bhulabhai, Parliamentarian ... 64
14 Desai Morarji ... 70
15 Durgabai Deshmukh, Freedom Fighter, ... 76
16 Dutt Eswar, Editor ... 81
17 Gandhiji Mahatma ... 85
18 Giri V.V. ... 99
19 Gopichand T. Writer ... 107
20 Gujarat Leaders

i) Dadubhai Amin (ii) Bhai Kaka - Vice Chancellor - 111

21 Hanumantaiah K. Chief Minister ... 120
22 Indira Gandhi ... 123
23 Jawaharlal Nehru ... 141
24 Jayaprakash Narayan ... 155
25 Joshi N.M. Labour Leader ... 164
26 Kabir Humayun Dr. Professor ... 170
27 Kamala Devi Socialist, Artist ... 174
28 Kamath H V. Parliamentarian ... 178
29 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
of Pakhtoonistan, Asscciate of Gandhiji ... 183

30	Khasa Subbarao Editor, Freedom Fighter.	...	187
31	Kripalani J.B. and Suchetaji, Freedom Fighters National Leaders	...	192
32	Krupanidhi G V. Editor	...	201
33	Dr. Kunzru H.N. Liberal Statesman	...	203
34	Latchanna G. Backward Classes Leader	...	207
35	Lakshminarayana G. Freedom Fighter, Kisan Leader and Venkatappaiah (brother)	...	213
36	Lohia R.M Socialist	...	220
37	Masani M R. Parliamentarian,	...	228
38	Mavlankar G.V Speaker	...	232
39	Mehta Ashok Socialist, Parliamentarian	...	239
40	Menon V.P of States Integration	...	242
41	Moulana Azad	...	249
42	Mudaliar Twins	...	253

i) Ramaswami (ii) Lakshmanaswami

43	Hiren Mukherji and his Parliamentary Communist Comrades	...	257

i) Dange S.A
ii) Sundaraiah P.
iii) Gopalan A.K.
iv) Bhupesh Gupta

44	Mukherjee, Shyama Prasad	...	263
45	Munshi K.M. Kulapati and Leelavati Munshi	...	268
46	Nadar Kamaraj, Congress Leader	...	276
47	Nagabhushanam P. Freedom Fighter	...	283
48	Nageswararao K Desoddaraka, Editor, Congress Leader	...	287
49	Nanda Gulzarilal	...	293
50	Narla V.R. and his friend S G. Acharya, Editors	...	297
51	Nathpai, Parliamentarian	...	302

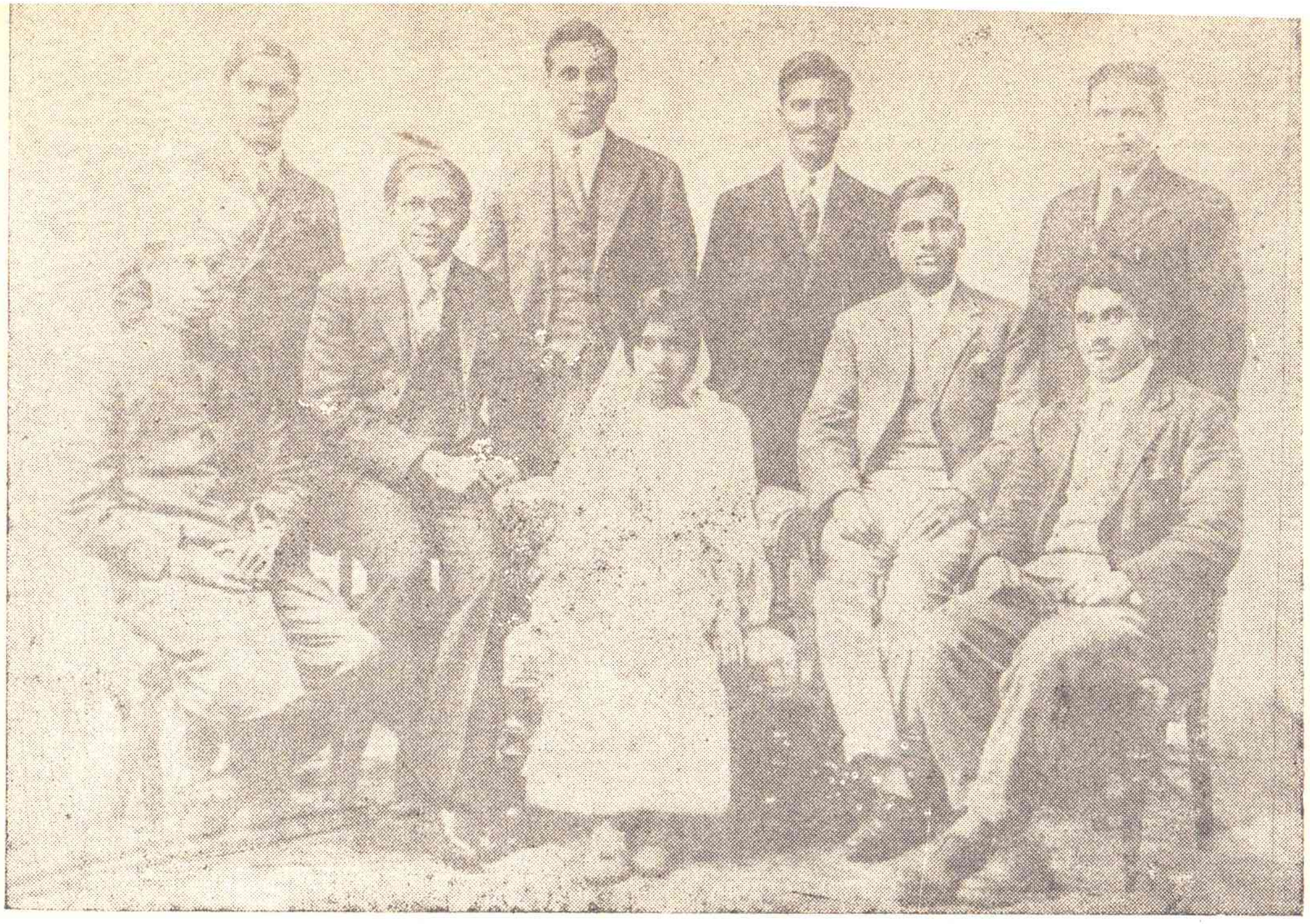
Herein are also included brief sketches of 16 more personages.

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Dedicated to

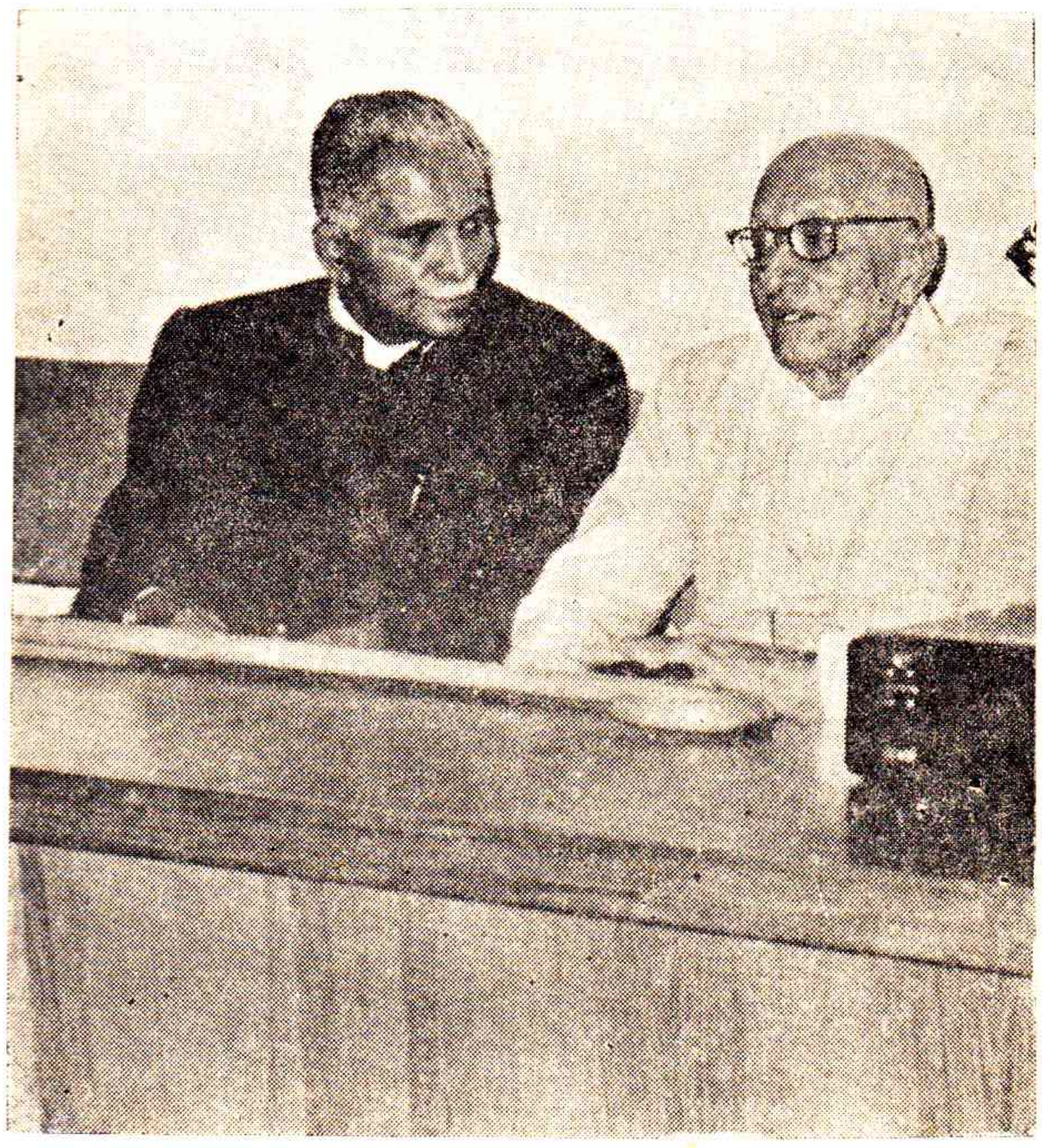


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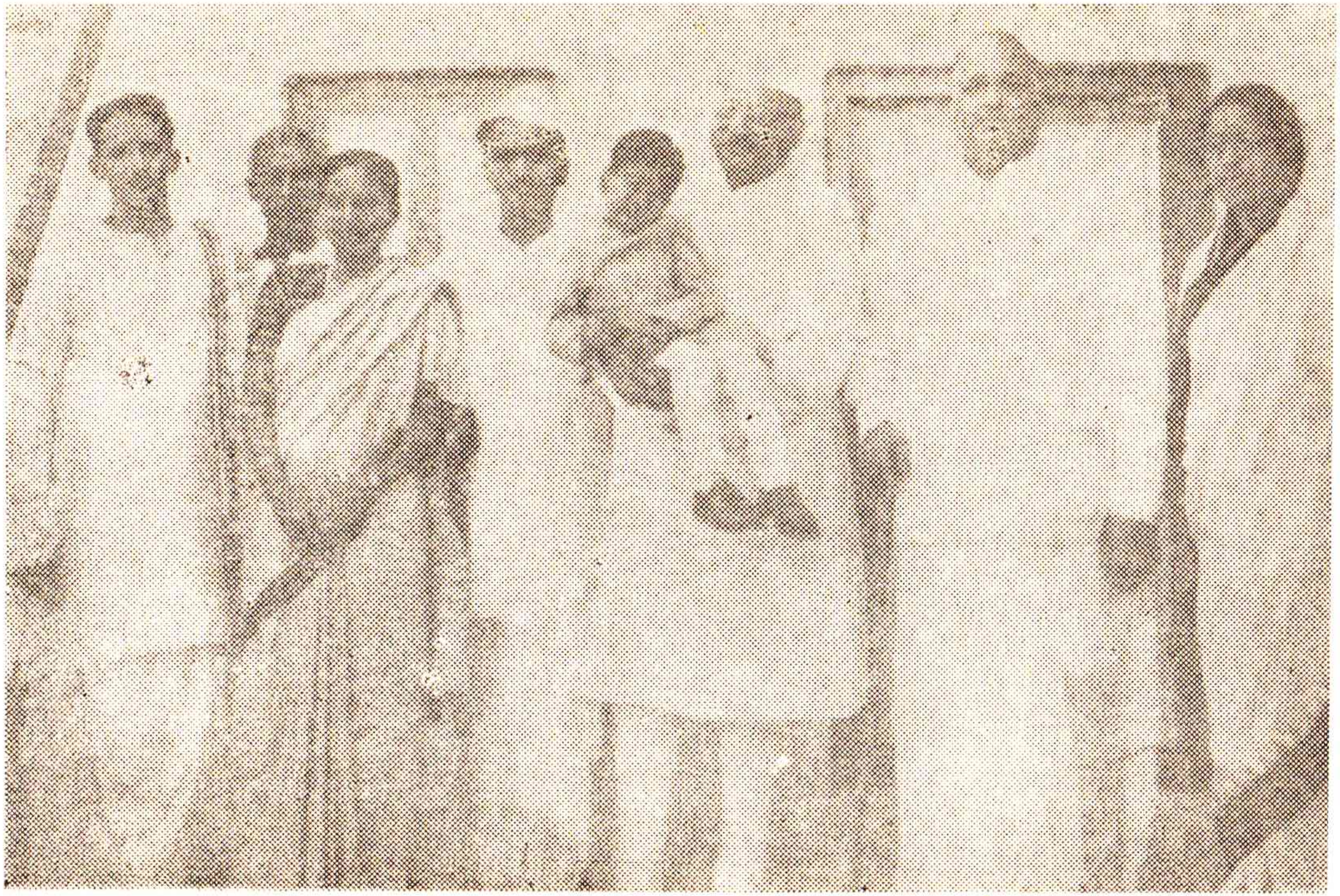


with Andhras in Oxford in 1926 Sitting: Sarvashri Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, K. Gopalaswamy (Ex-Registrar, Andhra University) Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga, L.V.B. Chowdary (Income Tax Ex-commissioner) Dr. Murahari (Ex-Animal Husbandry Director).

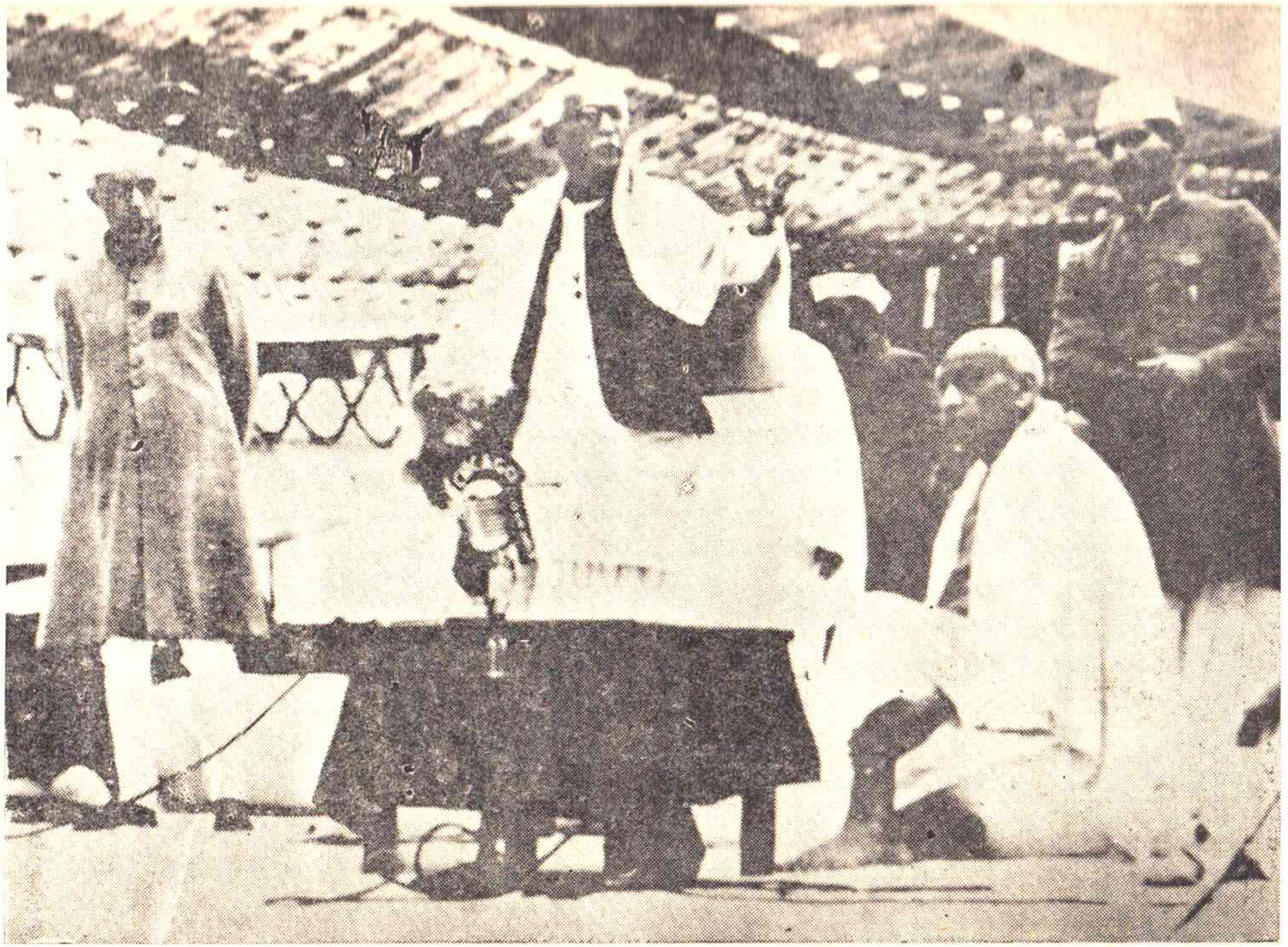
Standing: Sarvashri O.Pulla Reddy (Ex-Defence Secretary, and Vice-Chancellor, A.P. Agricultural University), Late V.S. Krishna (Andhra University Vice-Chancellor) Rangaji and V. V. Chowdary (Barrister)



Rangaji in conversation with Rajaji in 1967

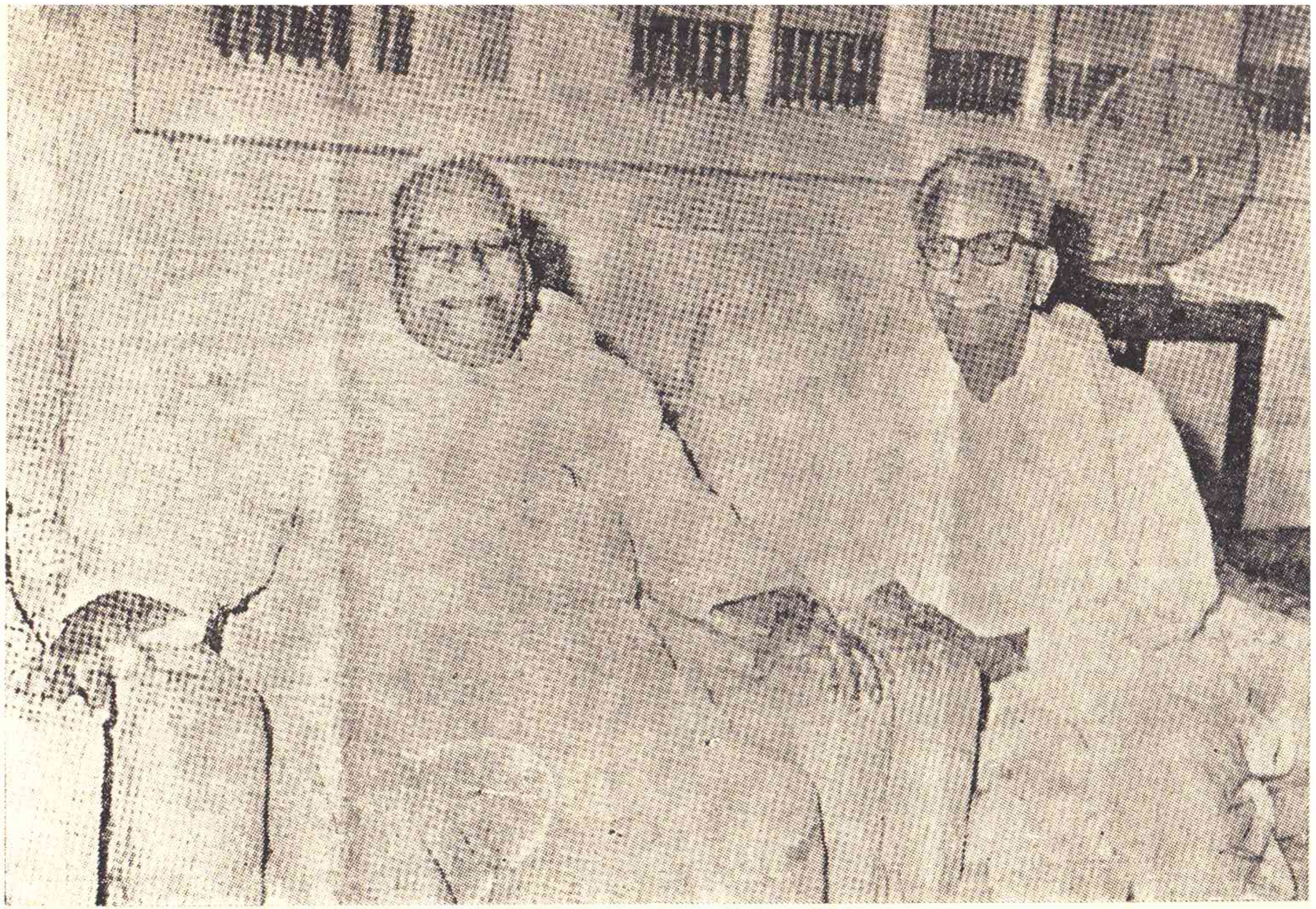


Rangaji with Sri Prakasa, V.S. Krishna, Barati Devi, G.L. Narayana, G.V. Rao and Susila Devi.

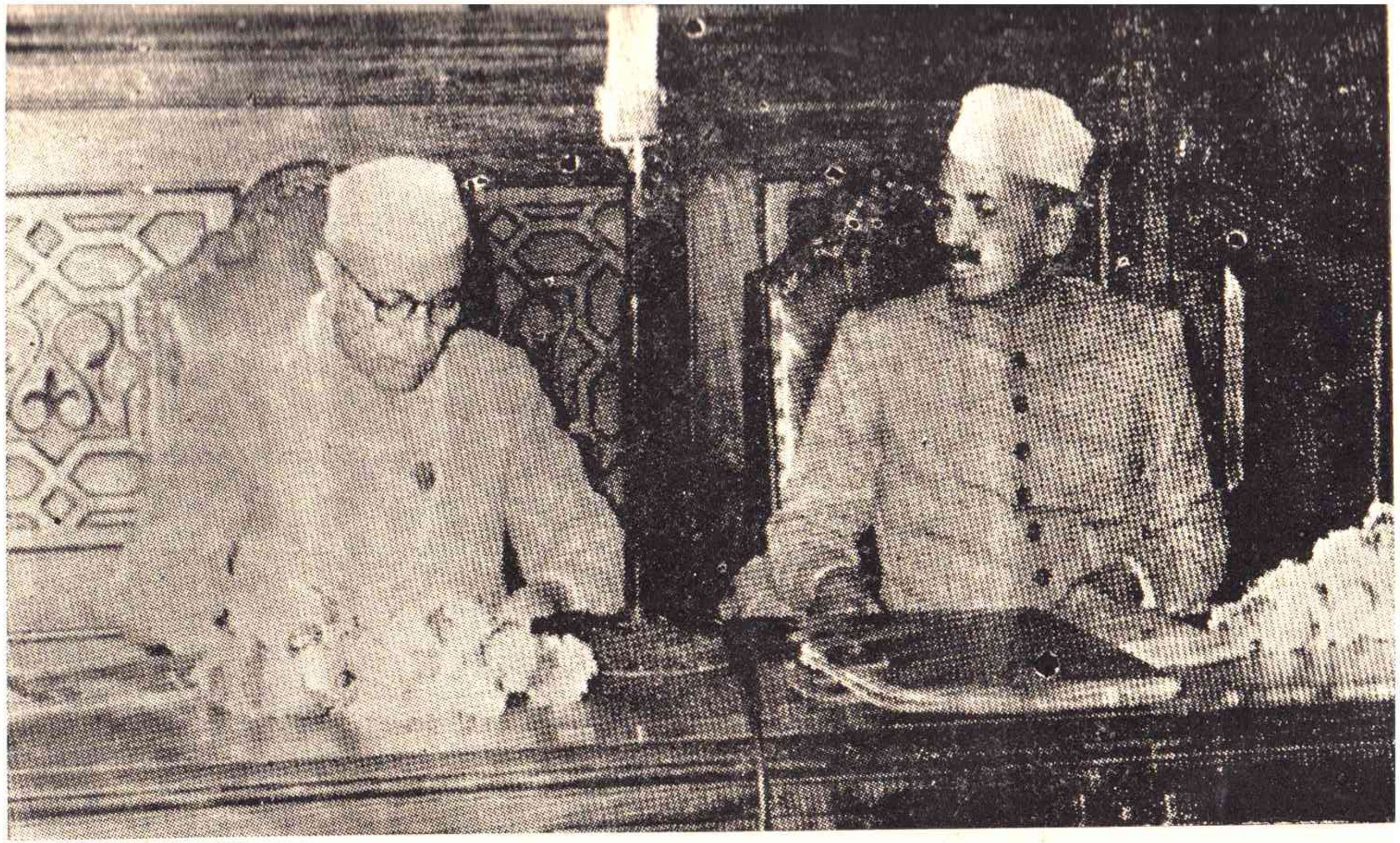


At the Jaipur Congress Session :

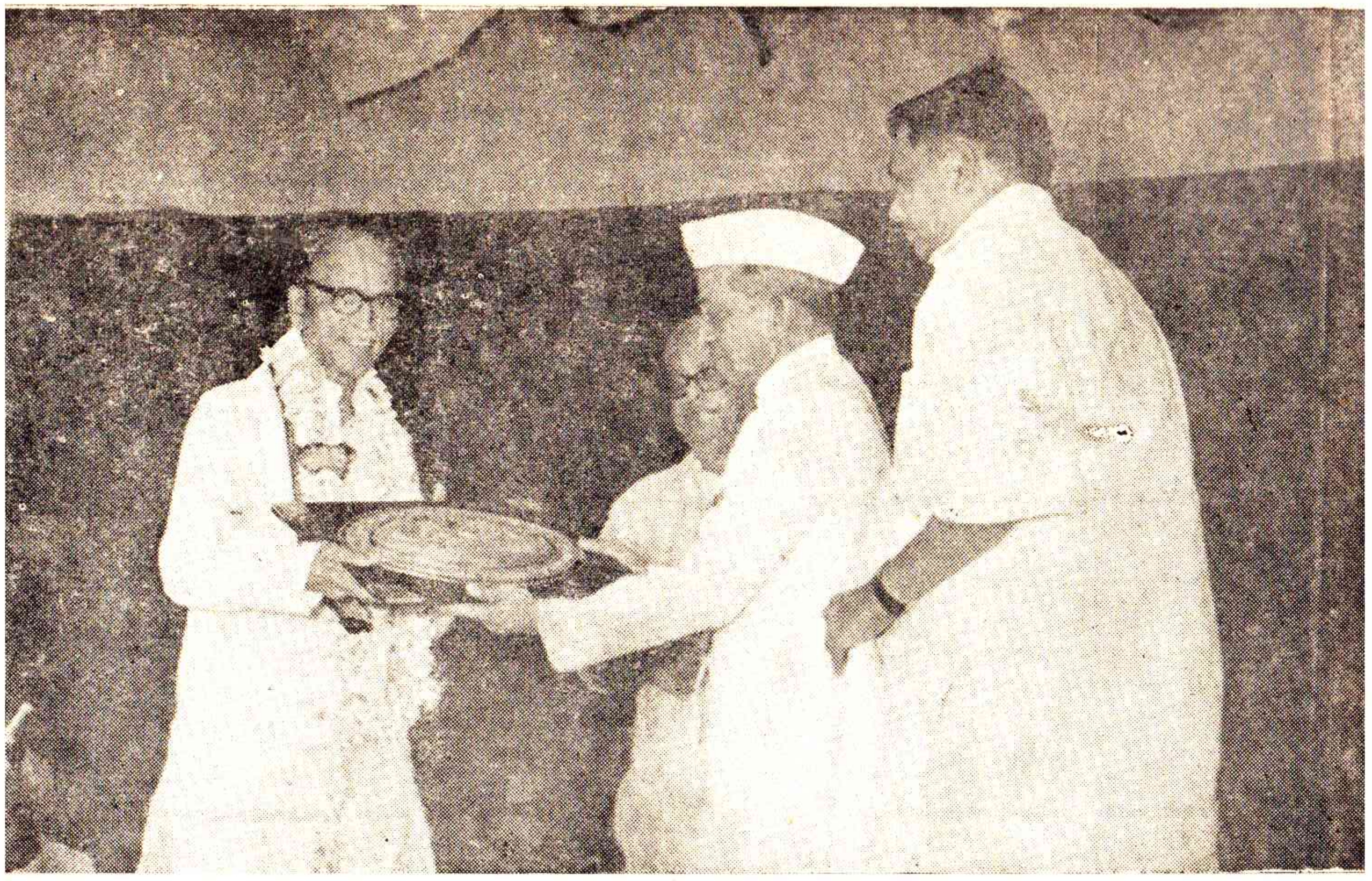
Pandit Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi and N.G. Ranga



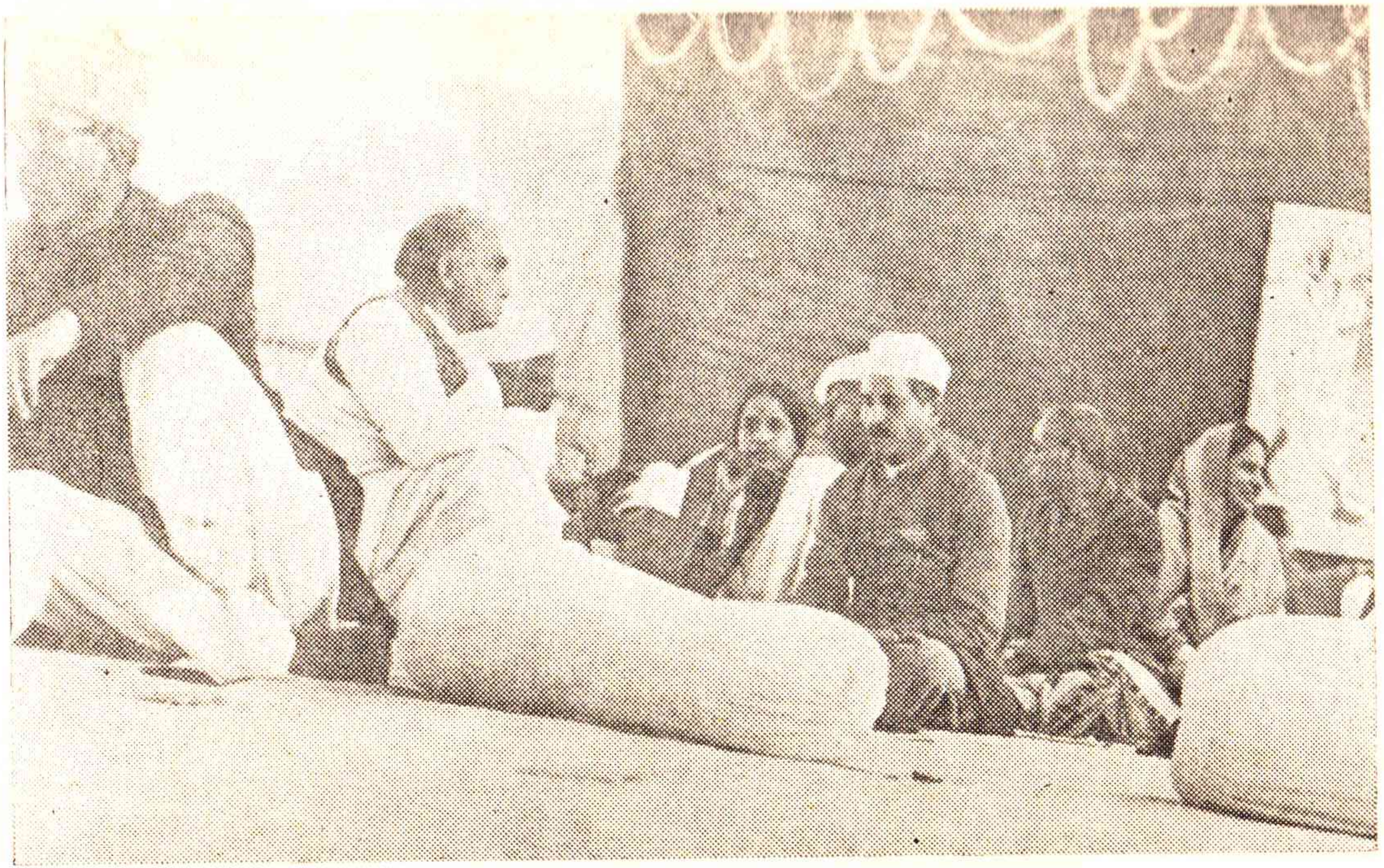
Rangaji with Rashtrapathi V. V. Giri in 1973.



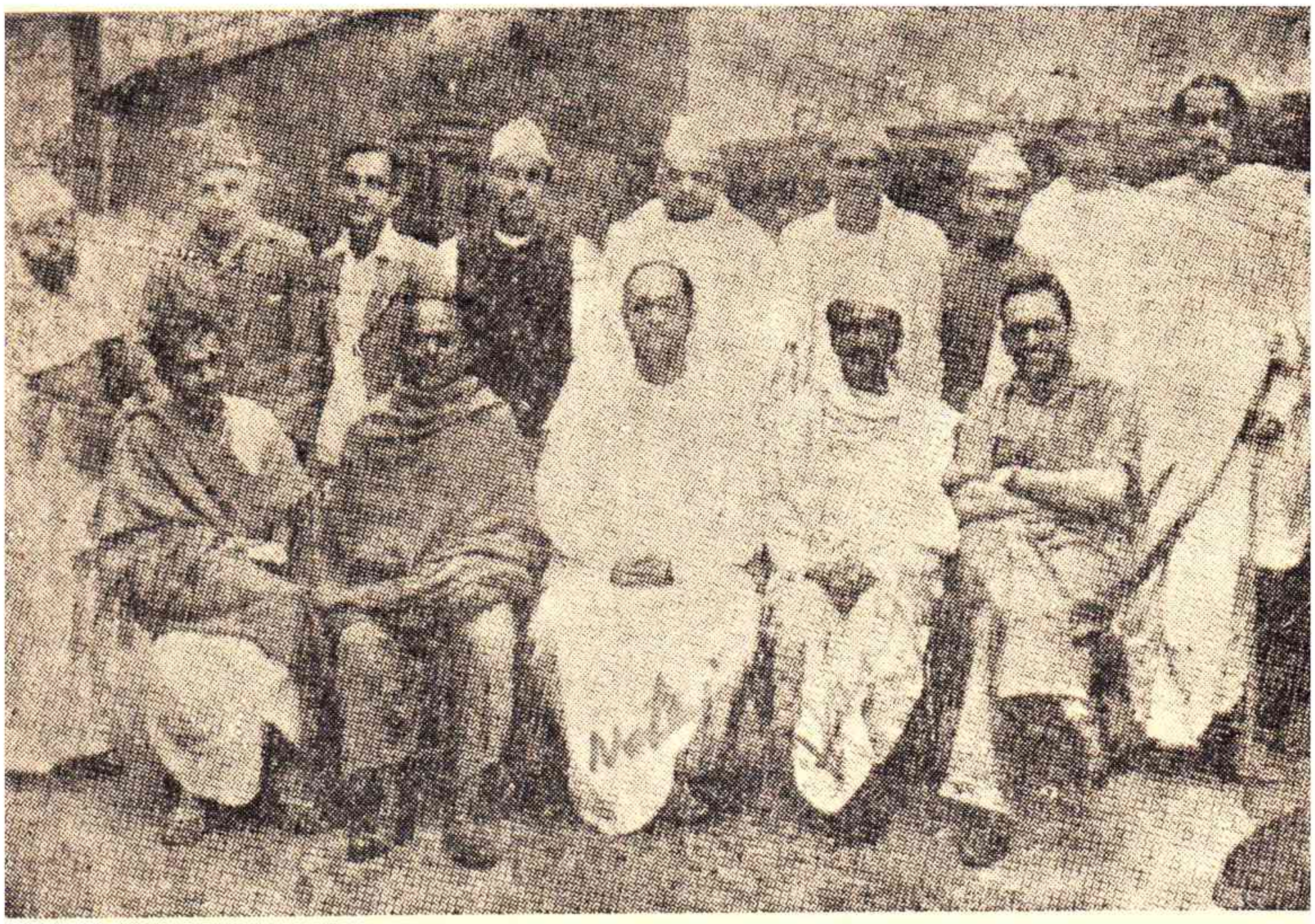
Rangaji with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the All India Kisan Convention in 1950.



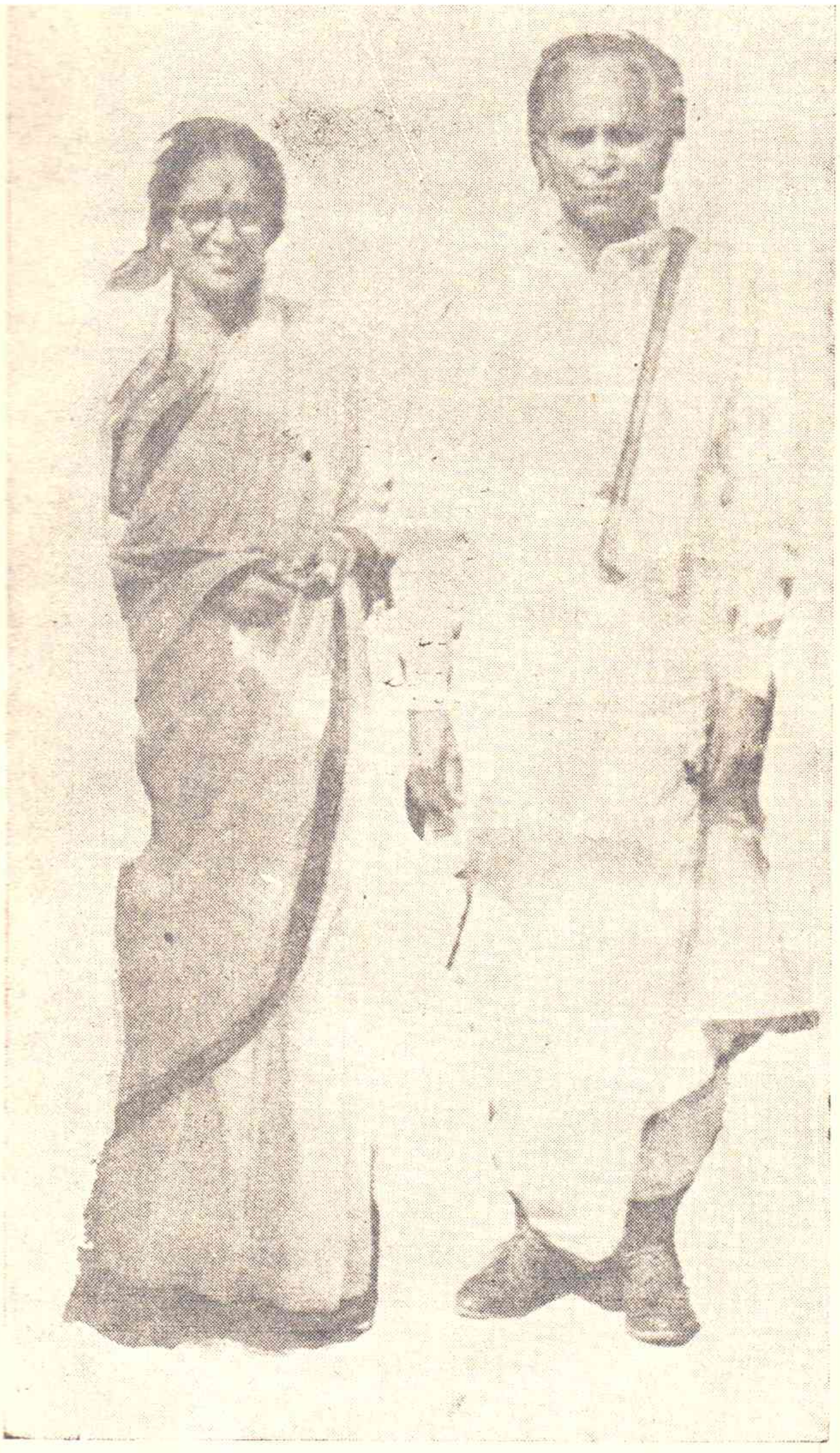
Rangaji being honoured at the World Telugu Conference in Hyderabad 12-4-1975
by Sri B.D. Jatti, Vice-President, while Chief Minister J.Vengal Rao and
Education Minister M.V.Krishna Rao look on



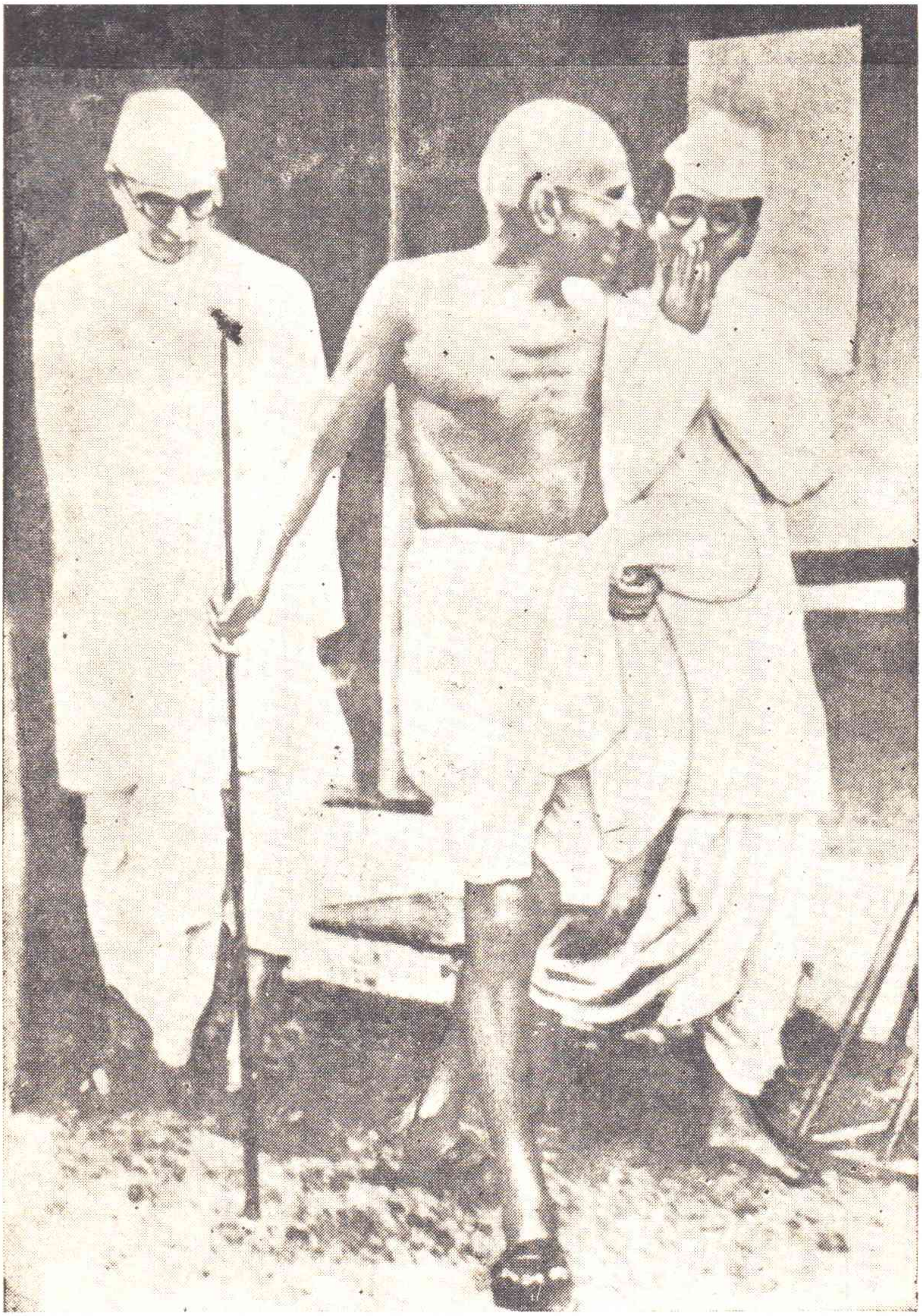
Prakasam, Deviji and Rangaji at Jaipur Congress



Subhash Bose, Swamy Sahajananda and N.G. Ranga.



Smt. Bharati Devi and Rangaji



Rangaji with Gandhiji and Mahadeva Desai at Sevagram

Adult Education
Homage to Andhra Pioneers

Indian nationalists began to dream of achieving democracy from the first decade of this Century. Though there were only Kings in the 650 and odd Indian States, enjoying some autonomy within the ambit of British Empire in India and though the Puranic tradition was lauding only Kingly rule, they did not wish for either monarchy or oligarchic rule for our masses and they wanted our masses to have votes in the democracy of their dreams. Gopal Krishna Gokhale pleaded for universal elementary education and actually introduced his bill in the then Imperial Legislative Council to establish compulsory elementary education; though it was not passed.

When the Montford Reforms Scheme proposed and the resulting new Constitution extended the franchise - Voting Rights – from the few rich londholders and urban-elite to the much larger middle classes, the progressives among the politically-minded young nationalists organised Publishing Houses, with donations from generous pat iots, to spread knowledge of modern sciences, history, economics, and politics among the rising youths. Bengal took the lead, thanks to the Curzon - induced Nationalist Revolt and Andhra, Maharashtra, Punjab followed by their publications in local languages. They all realised the urgent need for educating the literate adults and inculcating spirit of patriotism and spreading knowledge of revolts of subject peoples against imperialism.

Laxman Rao

Shri K. V. Laxman Rao, M.A., Dewan of the Small Zamindari of Munagala in Krishna District, of Maharashtraian ancestors and good student and researcher in history decided to devote his writings to Telugu. He was an ardent Patriot. He wanted to carrry on the tradition of Veeresalingam to awaken people

through his writtings to their patroiotic duties through the study of history and modern science. So he got together a number of scholars to co-operate with him in this adventure. He gained the comradeship of Shri. Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, M. A. of Kurnool (born in January 1883) and Doctor A. Laxmipathi (born in 1881), A. Kaleswara Rao (born in 1881) of Vijayawada and started in 1907-08 the Vignana Chandrika Mandali and published about 40 books on all modern subjects in popular, flowing Telugu prose, developed by the great social and literary revolutionary Veeresalingam. Their example was taken up by another set of nationalists of Machilipatnam headed by Principal Kopella Hanumantarao of National College and M. Krishnarao Editor of Krishna Patrika. It was their publications which inspired me and my uncle Ramaswami and my guide Shri J. Anjaiah of my village to join the stream of new knowledge and bask in the sunshine of non-puranic, non-traditionalist new conceptions of scientific, historical and socially radical life of the wider contemporary world. Fittingly Andhras are now celebrating the Centenary of that noble pioneer of adult education Shri Komarraju. Laxman Rao.

Harisarvottamarao

Harisarvottamarao was the first bold Andhra intellectual who was imprisoned for 3 years for his writings in Telugu Weekly "SWARAJYA" against British imperialism in 1908. Ever since he had been in the front rank of South Indian Patriots. He was the bold editor of the first Telugu Daily "Andhra Patrika". He was an eloquent orator in Telugu and English. He advocated the development of local languages and linguistic states. He believed in mass awakening and democracy. So he became the natural father of adult education movement in South Ihdia.

Harisarvottamarao wrote an inspiring book about Abraham Lincoln, because he loved his hero's conceptions of democracy and humanism and his fight for equality between the whites and the coloured peoples and against slavery. Indians were then fighting against their own slavery and also against the discriminations imposed by British imperialists against Indians based on

their color and subjection and Lincoln provided just the ideology of liberation, needed by such democratic dreamers as Harisarvottamarao and Laxmana Rao. I myself derived much inspiration by reading that book in Telugu while I was still undergoing high school studies.

Ramakoteswara Rao

When the 1920 Constitutlon was about to be inaugurated, Shri Rama Koteswararao, M A.B.L., of Narasaraopet, who later became Editor of the famous English monthly the "TRIVENI" and an M.L.A. wanted to prepare a few Andhra Youths for political service, in the same way as Punjab's great leader Lajapatrai was doing. So he too started, the first Political Training Class in Vijayawada in 1920 to enlighten the few scores of politically awakened youths about such constitutions and rights and opportunities of voti g and legislatures which were envisaged by the Mont-Ford Reforms. The few trainees he was able to attract were the bye-products of the rural libraries which were springing up from 1900 onwards in a few villages and towns, thanks to the inspiration provided by Veeresalingam and the dynamic leadership provided for that library movement by such young nationalists as Shri Ayyanki Venkata Ramanaiah of Vijayawada and its Ram Mohan Library. Ayyanki remaine l loyal to that crusade for adult education and held aloft for decades the torch of Rural Library Movement in South India. His mission is now being continued by Acharya Nagabhushanam.

By 1924 Cherukuvada Narasimham, D. Balaramakrishnaiah, P. Ramachari and also M. Bapineedu and myself who had returned from abroad after studying political conditions in Europe and the new trends of Humanism and national liberation movements being inspired by the hopes kindled by the War-aims and League of Nations, began to reinforce the efforts of Ayyanki and his colleagues through our propaganda among villages. Needu added tne magic lantern lucteres to our equipment.

Cherukuvada Venkata Narasimham

We were then struck with the lack of adequate literature

on various economic, political issues and so, many Gandhians like Dighavalli Shivarao, Mudiganti Jagganna Shastri, M. S. Sastri and even the busy Municipal Chairman A. Kaleswararao began to write a number of brochures, monographs and biographies in Telugu and helped Andhra adults who were then joining nationalist movement in large numbers.

Cherukuvada attracted massive middle class youths by his matchless eloquence into the widening sphere of new knowledge and intoxicating nationalism, in the wake of Gandhi's all-enveloping nationalism and socio-religious renaiscence. He was a freedom fighter. He was the arch-propagandist of Gandhism and Congress. His popular similies, happy idioms, rural mannerisms and puranic allusions all blended into his stentorian flow of Telugu of Veeresalingam, lifted up the people into a new world of imagination and hope. Lakhs of Andhras came to be transformed into Pariotic Andhras by his speeches during 1920-45. D. Balarama Krishnaiah, the next orator in his train sustained his magic of the spoken word and added the strength of the written word and its chiselled figures of speech.

Peasant Institutes

I started the Indian Peasant Institute, in NIDUBROLU, with the Rama-Needu Vidyalaya as the base in 1933 and it was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. This took such adult educational movement from the nationalist schools and colleges started by Gandhiji in Sabarmati, by Lala Lajapatrai in Lahore and K. Hanumantha Rao in Machilipatnam, into the midst of rural youths. Gadicherla, Needu, Cherukuvada came to co-operate with our Institute. It provided the teaching of the principles and practices of Nationalism, Socialism, Cult of the masses and democracy. G. Lakshmi Narayana served it as Resident Master. It trained public spirited youths and students hailing from all sections of Rural People in the methods of Public work. It inspired three generations of youths to work for social regeneration of the suppressed masses. Its graduates are to be found in the vanguard of every revolutionary progressive political and social movements of South Indian States. It has trained and inspired several thou-

sands of rural youths, both peasants and Harijans and Backward Classes and fitted them to play their roles in public life.

By 1937 those of us who were engaged in such educational efforts organised the All India Adult Education Association. That effort provided the dynamic momentum for the needed liason between the popular provincial ministries and the library movement and adult education centres and libraries, then springing up to develop the educational environment for the growing numbers of literate lakhs of lower middle classes. I was one of its Secretaries.

Sanivarapu Subbarao

It was at that stage that Shri Sanivarapu Subbarao of Kovvur came into touch with me through our work in the Peasant Institute and my writings on Western Adult Education. Subbarao studied up to B. A. He was an ardent Congressman and a Gandhian and wanted to help such middle-class youths like himself to gain knowledge and become learned patriots by self-effort. So he became a passionate advocate of adult education. He was inspired by the achievements of library movements of the West. He persuaded Taluk Boards to organise Summer Schools for teachers. He was able to see what such nationalistic and indoctrinated teachers could do to inspire students and youths. So he became a champion of adult education. He then conceived the idea of starting the Andhra Adult Education Association to persuade the local self-governing institutions such as Taluk Boards, Municipalities to organise adult education training classes for their teachers and other intellectually awakened young people. Dr. Pattabhi became its President, myself, Vice-President and himself its Secretary and we persuaded the Madras Government to recognise its responsibility for initiating, encouraging and financing such adult educational efforts. Subbarao and myself submitted our scheme for the purpose. My book in English "Indian Adult Education Movement" was published by Subbarao and it was circulated, together with our monograph on the practical scheme among the provincial Governments and their educa-

tional authorities, besides others. Thus he provided the missionary momentum to this badly needed movement.

After the advent of Swaraj, the State Ministries, manned by Congressmen who were seasoned patriots were persuaded to take up adult education as one of the most important means for strengthening our democracy based upon adult franchise provided by the Constitution and popular legislatures and local self-governing Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Gadicherla, offered his voluntary services to develop this new drive. Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar, the Education Minister who had also been a Freedom Fighter and who knew the need for adult education welcomed our schemes, and also the services of Gadicherla the doyen of patriotic fighters for Swaraj. Thus for the next fifteen years, this aging patriotic educationist and his colleagues Avyanki and Nagabhushanam, devoted all their energies to the development of adult education in Southern States. Anti-illiteracy and library extension and publication of low-priced books in local languages, nationalisation of text-book trade and radicalisation of the non-traditionalist contents of text-books have all come to be added to our earliar aspects of adult-education. Mysoreans have gone much further in all these directions, in their more methodical and steady manner. Andhras have now 4 Telugu dailies and scores of weeklies in Telugu, Kanarese even more and both Tamilians and Malayalees score over all others by their lakhs of readers and scores of Dailies.

Digavali Venkata Sivarao, A. Kaleswararao, both double graduates and D. Balaramakrishnayya, all of them freedom fighters of Vijayawada have also written and published a number of scholarly books on the Freedom struggles of Turkey, France, United States, China, Ireland etc. and also Buddhism and their new cultural challenges. They wrote biographies of national leaders, fighters for human rights and exemplary social servants.

Patriotic writers Jagganna Sastri. Pandit Gorrepati

Mudiganti Jagganna Sastri, an unassuming graduate – freedom fighter and Pandit Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah (born

on 1-7-1898) equally good ruralite and as sincere a Freedom Fighter have rendered great services to the adults of Andhra through their numerous writings in easy-flowing Telugu.

The service rendered by both Jagganna Sastri and Pandit Gorrepati to Andhra adults during the past 40 years is inestimable. They wrote dozens of useful, scholarly books on different freedom movements of many countries in Telugu. Sastri's books inspired many a youth to join Satyagraha Campaigns and embrace imprisonment. Pandit Gorrepati's biographies strengthened the will and patriotic emotions of Socialist-oriented Nationalists to became scholarly and better knowledgeable to be able to serve modern society. Both of them live in rural areas, Sastri in Tanuku, Gorrepati In Gnantasala and their Telugu Prose-style and their Satyagrahic fervour drew modern youths into the widening circle of enlightened public. They have written for democracy but not for a living. They are indeed the exemplary worshippers of Dame Saraswati and self-less missionaries of adult education.

The first generation of Gandhian national workers were helped by the writings of Shastri (1920–40) the second generation were served by the Pandit. The biographies of national and international leaders of humanity Emerson and Veer Savarkar, Mahatma Gandhi, Lok Manya Tilak, Rani Jhansi, Lala Lajpatrai, Desoddharaka Nageswararao, Sarojini Naidu, Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-Chancellor C. R. Reddi, Philosopher-Editors and writers Narla, Gopichand, Chalam, Sarat Chandra and Social Revolutionaries Ramaswamy and Veeresalingam were all placed before successive generations of youths by these patriotic writers and Freedom Fighters.

Pandit Gorrepati has by now come to be famous among Andhra men of letters as an expert biographer and his first study in biography-writing was devoted to the writing of my own biography in 1945–46, that is, before I came to be invested with Congress leadership as the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee in 1946 and as a member of the Congress Working Committee in 1947. So I am personally beholden to

this Pandit *cum Poet from among Andhra Kisans for spreading, through that book, our life-mission in the service of kisans and all other self employed masses on Gandhian Socialist lines.

All of them published these books at their own financial risks and sacrificed much of their time, energy and finances in their 40 years long devoted service to Dame Saraswati.

By now, to start libraries, te provide books for them and to manage them through trained librarians and to conduct anti-illiteracy campaigns have all become the established functions of Governments It is now the function of such voluntary organisation as the Andhra Library Association and such devoted, veteran adult educationists as Shri Paturi Nagabhushanam, Srinivasarao and Kodati Narayanarao of Telangana to mobilise public support and inspire young public workers to buttress and supplement the official efforts and widen the circles of enlightenment, along the well-trodden paths of service of Gadicherla, Sanivarapu Subbarao and other self-sacrificing patriotic educationists.

We need many more such writers and books to minister to growing needs of the new generation. It is not enough to have more libraries They must be supplied with ever more books. of the morally uplifting, politically enlightening and personally inspiring and informative type. Adult education needs good books and great librarians, all inspired by noble thoughts

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* His son-in-law Shri B. Sivaramakrishna, B. A., commenced his career as the Publisher of Desi Publications with that biography and they dedicated it to Smt. Bharati Devi hailing her as the Mother of Kisans. The Andhra Sahitya Academy hailed three of the biographies written by him as the best and accorded due honours to him. The Harijan Christian Poet Shri Joseph wrote in 1957 biographical poem based upon the Pandit's book and brought Rangaji's biograpry upto 1956. Shri Jasti Venkata Narasayya wrote a shorter one in Prose for Students in 1950, also based on the Pandit's account. (Ed.)

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar was born in 1889, educated in Baroda, U.K., U. S. A., obtained Ph. D. Barrister, Started Depressed Class Federation, delegate to Round Table Conferences 1930–33 Labour Member in Viceroy's Executive Council 1944–46 Cabinet Member 1947–51, also Member, Constituent Assembly, Principal draftsman and pilot of Constitution Bill, Stood for Lak Sabha as independent in 1951, but was defeated, elected to Rajya Sabha 1952, died in 1956. (Ed)

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was that combination of a scholar. revolutionary and statesman that we rarely come across in democratic societies His political career found its early triumph because he ranged himself against Mahatma Gandhi, the noblest national leader, also because of the historic necessity of India to adopt humane and progressive social standards to justify her claim for Swaraj. His fortuitous position of Law Minister and acknowledged scholarship in law and his championship for decades of the cause of the suppressed classes, were responsible for his choice as the chief architect and pilot of the Constitution Bill of Free India in the Constituent Assembly. Thus Ambedkar became the instrument of Indian History to set its seal upon Indian Constitution, as the new Manu as if in vengeance against the wrong charters of rights allowed to upper classes and inhuman denial of rights sanctified by the ancient Manu Smriti.

Ambedkar, like so many of us put his faith in adult franchise and inscribed it in the Constitution. Ironically he was defeated by the people who got their right to vote from that social charter of progress and equal political authority in the

very first election held under adult franchise. Twentyfive years after that gross misuse, the folks have been awakened to new political consciousness by the ennobling social lever of adult franchise and are hastening to raise statues and hold celebrations in his honour.

I came to appeciate the profound scholarship and originality of Ambedkar as an economist in 1928, when I read his book on the "Problem of the Rupee". Later, I admired his writings on the problems of 'federation' and 'states' rights'.

His speeches in the First Round Table Conference brought him prominently into the arena of all-India politics. We then realised how great a statesman he was. Unlike other leaders of the Harijans and non-Brahmins, he did not oppose the demand for national freedom lest it should perpetrate the centuries-long supremacy of richer classes and higher castes. He complained that the 1857 proclamation of Queen Victoria and the consequent British policy of non-interference in our social and religious matters were responsible for the continued suppression of all the lower castes and depression prevailing in their minds and status. So he boldly declared that the sooner national freedom came and the British left the better it would be for all the crores of the suppressed and backward masses of India.

The British Government chose him as a delegate to the Round Table Conference and failed to invite me to it because it assumed that he would oppose the national demand for Swaraj like other non-Brahmin leaders whereas it knew my pronounced pro-Congress views. Once he was in the Round Table Conference, he shocked the rulers by his independent approach and demand of immediate full freedom. I attacked the British in my Assembly speech, for going ahead with the Round Table Conference without the Congress while keeping Gandhiji in jail. Then I went to England to campaign for the Congress demands.

The historic speech of Ambedkar in R.T.C. brought us together. It was exactly for similar reasons that I had persuaded myself to

join the Congress struggle for freedom and had abstained from joining the non-Brahmin movements and platforms. Thereafter we met frequeutly in London and found how much we had in common regardig our thoughts, readings of history and political understanding.

We felt Socialist approach would be best for India, We wanted Fundamental Rights, equal social and political privileges for all the people and ban on forced labour and untouchability. He felt that Gandhi might stand between the under-privileged people and their all-round emancipation and social progress because he believed in Sanathan Dharma. I argued that irrespective of many of his sayings which merely echoed our traditional social beliefs. Gandhiji was essentially a social revolutionary and he would not hesitate to oppose many of the Puranic edicts and faiths, if he found them to be obstacles to the social liberation of the masses. Ambedkar would not agree with me Yet, we continued to meet and gained each others' confidence because we were kindred spirits.

Ambedkar's criticisms of Gandhiji's campaign against untouchability and Harijan uplift were hot-headed and uncharitable. His attack upon Gandhiji's insistence upon keeping Harijans (then known as Panchama or Adi-Dravida) within the fold of Hindus, i.e. within the joint electorates, was intemperate, unkind and unjust. His insistence upon his pound of flesh, during Gandhiji's Poona Fast against Ramsay Macdonald's award in favour of separate electorates for Scheduled Castes, hurt the feelings of all nationalists ; although it forced the orthodox leaders of Hindus to yield to his demands for protection of Scheduled Castes through reservation of seats within joint electorates. In the end, he won the generous approval of Gandhiji and political admiration of Rajaji, to whom he presented the pen with which he signed the famous Poona Paot. I had quite a painful time in defending his basic stand to my fellow politicals in Vellore jail ; In the end, Gandhiji's life was saved and joint electorates were accepted, all were pleased with that powerful champion of the Harijans.

Ambedkar forced the British Government, during the War, to invite him to join the Viceroy's Council by openly and boldly

demanding such recognition, not only on behalf of the Scheduled Castes but also by virtue of the political standing he had achieved. He distinguished himself as the Labour Minister.

When freedom came, I had the good fortune to plead successfully with our national leaders to invite Dr. Ambedkar to join the Cabinet. I lent my support also when later the decision was taken by the national leaders to invite him to take charge of our work in the Constituent Assembly. The great thing is that while Ambedkar shouted at the British for the recognition of his rights for a place in the Viceroy's council kept scrupulously silent during the post-freedom period, leaving the national leaders free to make up their mind about their Dharma. Thank God, Jawaharlal, Sardar Rajaji and Rajendra Prasad met the challenge in a noble manner, and invited Ambedkar to play his noble role in that historic period of Constitution-making.

He did much research in Indian mythology and epics like his fellow Barrister Ramaswamy of Andhra and came to similar conclusions. He was convinced that Brahmanical Hinduism was imposed upon Buddhist masses in the same way Aryans imposed themselves upon Dravidian masses i. e. through conquest, powerful ideological and religious propaganda. He was aghast at the way the self-respecting and brave Dravidians and more ancient tribal peoples were politically suppressed by the conquering Aryans and their allies and reduced to lower status and painful slavery. or full or semi chattelism. He was furious at the evil turn of history which made those defeated and suppressed masses accept their degraded social status, loss of political power and unprivileged economic and social existence as a part of their Karma, and as the God-ordained rule of their collective and individual existence.

He was hell-bent. as were Barrister Ramaswamy of Andara, E.V.R. and Anna of Tamilnadu, to do his best to arouse the masses against this terrible pall of history and make them rise in revolt against that social order. It was because of that volcanic impatience of theirs that these three great social revolutionaries felt so dissatisfied even with the constructive, albeit revolutionary.

work of Gandhiji and so many of us to make the so-called Sanatanists themselves to review their social faiths, and religious edicts and accept our political-cult of humanism, in which there could be no untouchability, no slavery, no karma-sanctioned beliefs in social, economic or political superior or inferior status or privileges for some and disabilities for others.

It stands to the eternal credit of Dr. Ambedkar that neither Viceroy's Executive Councillorship nor Cabinet ministership could induce him to abandon his studies and writings in the cause of social awakening, religious revolt and reconstruction of the mind of the masses of India, especially the Harijans and depressed classes. His masterly thesis on "Shudras" is a challenge to the traditional historians and Puranic Shastris and it was prepared and placed before the people when he was in the highest positions of Government.

He realised, like most of us, that the centuries-old sense of inferiority had dwarfed the mind and social status of depressed classes and could be hardly banished through mere cultural and intellectual enlightenment and counter-brain washing. So he concluded that both economic and political rights would have to be conferred upon them. Hence his enthusiatic support for the Congress proposals for fundamental rights and directive principles.

Ambedkar sincerely felt that it would be impossible for him and many like him to liberate the Indian masses from the all-pervading and ideologically over-whelming Puranic atmosphere of Hinduism as long as they were allowed to remain Hindus. So he decided to lead them out of the Hindu fold and help them to accept the Buddha and Buddhism as their best alternative religious and social approach. He himself became a Buddhist and persuaded a large number of Harijans, principally among Maharashtrians, to embrace Buddhism. He thus achieved spiritual liberation and socio-political satisfaction — so sincere he was in his beliefs and revolutionary urges.

Many of us agreed with most of the readings into history that Dr. Amedkar, Ramaswamy, E.V.R and Anna had made and the revolutionary forces that they released. We co-operated with

them, while working along Gandhian lines. But we could not give up either Hinduism, or our faith in God. We wished that the success of the social revolution that we were all hoping and working for, should not be jeoparpised or complicated by additional struggles against Hinduism as such or people's faith in God. Ambedkar felt otherwise Though in this revolutionary tactic, there was much common ground between him and Communists, he was totally opposed to their extra-territorial loyalties and their barrel-of-the gun approaches. So his labour unions refused to toe the line of the Communist-dominated All India Trade Union In this, we both agreed with each other and worked together on the labour and trade union fronts.

He hated the historical injunction of separate quarters for Harijans in our villages, which, in towns, had taken the shape of American ghettoes for Negroes. He protested against that social separation. When Gandhiji tried to overcome that social stigma by offering to reside in the Bhangi Colonies and persuading Gandhians to do the same, Ambedkar reacted unfavourably, as extremist and Black terrorist Negroes do in America, by warning Harijans against such reformist moves. Thanks to his outcry against that historical segregation, the Planning Commission is now trying to develop cosmopolitan housing colonies for the poor.

Dr. Ambedkar realised that for a very long time to come, most of the Harijans and depressed classes are bound to be wage-earners and in the lower-middle-classes. Their interests could be protected through measures which improved the general conditions of labouring classes. Hence his convinced and passionate championship of labour unions and legislations.

Ambedkar worked for years for labour welfare in Bombay city. He knew how I had been devoted to the cause of industrial and agricultural labour and how I had been pleading that the I. L. O. should work for the protection of agricultural labour and how I had worked more or less successfully for the abolition of forced labour and contract labour. When he was the Executive Councillor for labour, he invited my co-operation on the Tripartite Labour Conference. He encouraged our villager and my associate Harijan the late B. Manikya Rao, a technician who was trained in England.

Both he and I failed to get elected to the first Lok Sabha because we had rebelled against Jawaharlal and Congress monopoly of political power even long after Swaraj. We were dissatisfied with Jawahar's neglect of the claim of the masses for first priority to employment housing health, education, and lands. So we went into the Rajya Sabha on the strength of our non-Congress followers in our Assemblies. A number of independent M.Ps sought his advice as to which Parliamentary groups they should join. He told them he was unwell and could not undertake Party responsibilities in the Rajya Sabha. As he was not going to form a group, he advised them to join me, if I chose to form one since I was nearest to his ideals and politics. When I formed a Group on behalf of Krishikar Lok Party, he persuaded three of his followers, including an Ex-Minister, to join the K. L. P. He then told me how glad he was that we could develop an independent Parliamentary platform, inspite of all that Jawaharlal had done to defeat us. Though he continued to be an independent M P,, he offered his support through his speeches, whenever I needed it for the cause of peasants and workers and treated me as his comrade. To the last, he was very affectionate towards me.

He was growing weak in health even before he resigned from Congress and stood for election to the Lok Sabha as an Independent. He fell ill a few months after he came to the Rajya Sabha. He had to return in haste from the U. S, A. after receiving honorary LLD from his own Columbia University because of arthritis. Just a few days before he breathed his last, he exclaimed to me, as he was slowly going out of the House, "Ranga, I am a dying man. I am too ill". Such was the unique courage of that great scholarly, revolutionary statesman

Ambedkar was a unique phenomenon. He was truly a colossns, humane and progressive. He points the way for future India's sons and daughters.

It is true that the Constitution of India was the work of many wise democrats who genuinely wished for the rapid progress of masses of India. Its legal frame work and phraseology was the handiwork of many a distinguished jurist like Alladi, Munshi etc. Yet, the discerning social revolutionaries and political pro gres-

sives would be able to realise, if they study the many scholarly and feeling speeches he made in the constituent Assembly how erudite, independent and far-sighted his contributions were to the shaping of our Constitution He was a true democrat, and so he sponsored the clauses as framed by the majority of us in the Constituent Assembly but he was bold enough to express his own views, Whenever he disagreed with the proposed clauses or their phraseology. Truly was he hailed as the modern Manu, especially because, he, a scion of the defeated peoples who were banished from touch, sight, and even hearing of cultured people, as sanctioned by the injunctions of ancient Manu. came to be the official draftsman and spokesman for the constitution of free India, historically a reversal of India's inhuman social heritage. He lived thus as a humane pointer to the future social democracy of Swaraj India.

His life-size bronze statues are installed in Bombay and Hyedrabad.

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Bapuji M. S. Aney

Bapuji Aney was a senior M. L. A. when I entered the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935. He had been a colleague of Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, Prakasam, Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1923–30 Assembly. He always had the impediment of some guttural obstruction, worsend by his Maharashtrian habit of chewing betel and pan. Nevertheless, he succeded in becoming one of the effective vocal members, thanks to his clear thinking, clearer presentation of thoughts and debating skill.

We became personal friends when we met at the time of Calcutta's special session of the Congress in 1933 and again at the time of the leaders conference (the informal session of A I C.C.) in Poona in July 1933, when Gandhi's idea of individual satyagraha was discussed and I convened the first informal meeting of socialistic-minded Congressmen in Gokhale Hall.

Aney was a disciple of Tilak. Like Dr. Moonji, Paranjapai, Kelkar, Abhayankar, he thought that through mere non-violent means,we could not achieve success in our fight for Swaraj. Unlike others. he decided to work with Gandhiji after the non-Co-operation phase of the struggle was over. When Congressmen organised the Swarajya party and entered legislatures, he joined forces with them.

By 1935 he found it necessary to head the nationalist party, as distinct from the Congress, because he could not agree with what he thought were Gandhiji's concessions to Muslim communalism. So his Nationalist party fought with the Congress, defeated Congress candidates and captured a majority of seats. in Bengal. Laxmi Kantha Moitra was elected the Secretary of their Nationalist Party in Assembly, he being its leader.

When I was trying to find my footing in that Assembly, during the first Budget session, Aney was the first front bencher to complement me for my contributions to the debates. When Sir Frank Noyce suggested that my seat might be moved nearer the front bench, as I was evincing keen and intelligent interest in proceedings, Bapuji seconded him and thus I was given a seat on the second bench.

Throughout those five years (1935–1939), Aney and his Party used to function as an effective but independent ally of the Congress Party. Aney reposed much faith in Govind Vallabh Pant and me. Whenever Jinnah and his Independent party proved to the too un-co-operative and intransigent about national interests, I used to approach Bapuji for help and he invariably reinforced our Party's efforts in negotiating with other parties for maximising opposition ranks and only then, Jinnah could be persuaded to take a reasonable line.

After India's forced involvement in the World war and Congress decision to withdraw from the ministries as a protest, Aney again differed strongly from Congress politics. He felt that the Congress had again helped the Muslim League to capitalise upon Congress abandonment of power and creep into undue political dominance. So he preferred to work with the administration, even while protesting against British Government's opposition to our national demand for National Government, in order to minimise the League's control over Indian aspects of the Government. He accepted the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir H. P. Modi and N. R. Sircar followed his Example. But when he found that British Government was callous enough to let Gandhiji die rather than yield to national demand, he and his patriotic colleagues resigned in protest in 1943.

While he was in Government, he aided me a lot in my efforts to mobilise relief measures for the protection of Indian refugees from Burma. I also found shelter in his house for a few days, while I was engaged in underground work during that "Do or Die" Campaign.

When he was India's High Commissioner or Agent in Ceylon, he did much to look after the interests of Indian settlers.

After the advent of Swaraj, Aney served as Governor of Bihar. I visited him once during my Bihar tour and he saw to it that the interim protection needed by peasants while the Zamindari abolition Bill was on the anvil, was provided by the Congress Ministry.

I was surprised to find that even at the Governor's dining table, he used to practise the orthodox ceremony of making offering of rice to gods, so punctilious he was about religious observances. The other eminent leader at the national level, who also observed similar ceremonial offerings even at dining table, was venerable Govind Vallabh Pant.

After Governorship, he retired into private life. It was then that he suffered from prolonged upset in his vertebrae. The medical care that he needed cost him a lot and his family came almost to a financial breakdown. Somehow he survived that trouble.

He told me one day, as we were travelling together from Delhi to Bangalore, after becoming an M. P. from Nagpur, that he felt free from that pain during the one hour of prayer, when his mind was concentrated on God; such was his complete concentration in prayers and such was also the power of mind.

Bapuji Aney stood for the formation of Vidarbha as a separate State. He got the congress to recognise its right for separation by getting separate Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee, When Swaraj came and Andhras began to press their demand for a separate State, Bapuji also revived his twenty-year old demand for Vidarbha State and led evidence before States Reorganisation Commission. The S.R.C. favoured that demand. So Aney placed himself in the vanguard of the people's movement for separation of Vidarbha and came to be elected, when he was past 80 years of age and in an almost invalid condition, as the member of Parliament, after defeating, Congress candidate. During his last election campain for that demand, he invited me to address their Convention and I was glad to respond to his call and to render whatever aid I could. He was so generous, rich in years and experience as he was, in his thanks for what he was pleased toterm "the able championship" I proferred to his cause.

He had more in common with Madan Mohan Malaviya and Gandhiji than with Jawaharlal Nehru. During the Chinese aggression, he agreed entirely with us in our opposition and condemned the Government for its failures both before and during that national debacle. However he continued to love Jawaharlal, with all his failures and faults, as so many of us did, as our national leader.

He was short in physical stature but stout in heart, He had all the Maharashtrian tenacity and taciturnity. He was rich in wisdom and a great scholar in Sanskrit, though too much wedded to religiosity.

I said in Parliament during its obituary homage "he was as active as a young member in this House and even more dutiful towards his responsibilities than even young people".

Anna – The Great Social Revolutionary

Annaduarai was born in 1907 and died in February 1969. He studied Political Science in Pachaiyappas College. He joined Self-Respect Movement started by E. V. Ramaswami Naieker became his right-hand man for a decade, left his D. K. Party and started the D.M.K. in 1933 ; Organised many peoples Campaigns after Swaraj against Congress Governments programmes, notably the Hindi Prachar, pressed the need for Tamilnad's complete separation, then greater autonomy under union government, fought elections in 1967 in alliance with Swatantra and Communists, gained majority and formed D.M.K. Government in Madras : M. P. for a short period, great speaker in Tamil and English (Ed).

Anna was a student of B.A. Classes in the famous Pachaiyappa's College of Madras and I was then his Professor in History, Political Science and Economics. It proved to be a happy experience for both of us, He rose to be a great champion of the new Tamil language and a greater leader of the toiling masses and I was able to congratulate him in 1967 on his meritorious emergence as the accredited champion of the long-exploited lower social cadres of our society.

He used to be quiet, ever-smiling and earnest student. Whenever I had something to say as to how the Kisan and the artisan classes made constructive contributions to the social develop-

ment of our country, his eyes flashed and his face brightened so quickly and noticeably. I once narrated how the two noble Roman brothers, Gracchis, who rose to be tribunes on behalf of the plebians, were done to death by the plebian masses themselves, misled as they were by the tricky patricians, completely ignoring their great services to the toilers. Anna was among some of those students who came to say later on, when we met on the Triplicane sands, that many a Saivaite saint was also treated in that blind manner in Tamilnad.

I was then writing articles in the then English daily "Swarajya" opposing the efforts of some Justicites to organise a non-Brahmin Youth Organisation as opposed to the National Youth Corps. Anna and his friends asked me, Why ? I advised them that it would be best for non-Brahmin youths to compete and co-operate with all others on a National Youths platform and thus gain their place and prove their mettle, Anna was among the first batch to appreciate that self-confident approach.

He admired my critical study of our epics and asked me one evening at my Royapettah residence, what I thought of the Self-Respect Movement which was then winning its spurs in Tamilnad. I told him about the famous Andhra social revolutionary Ramaswami Chowdari ; how he reexamined the Hindu epics from the view point of Dravidian versus Aryan social and political rivalries and how so many of us in Andhra had been carrying on our sef-respect and rejuvenation programmes since 1917. He became very much interested in the study of that movement.

He came to me now and then, with a few of his student-friends and we continued our talks, on the Triplicane beach, generally on Sunday evenings, about how the so-called Sudras were either Buddhists or Jains and later Saivaites and how when they were obliged to get into the fold of Hinduism on the exhortations of the rulers and their pundits, they were accepted by Purohits only as the Fourth Caste in the Hindu social system. Young as he was, he exclaimed once in a highly emotional manner "Sir, we should flight against these wrongs. Is not the Self-Respect Movement the answer ?"

Another time, I told them how we in Andhra had been propagating the right of women and Sudras and even Panchamas (now called Harijans) to read and recite Vedas, Upanishads and how some of our leaders had already started Sanskrit schools to teach the non-Brahmin vouths to officiate as priests at marriage functions. Some students asked how we could convince our people that such a revolt would not be sinful. I replied we had Ramaswami Chowdari, a Barrister, and Saraswati Swami, a Rishi steeped in Vedic lore, to convince our people that our Sastras permitted such reforms.

One day he came, along with a few other students, and told me about the Self-Respect Conference, which was to be held in a few days in Kanchipuram and asked if I would also come. I wondered how I could take part in it, as I was a nationalist of the Congress brand, and the sponsors of that Conference were bitterly opposed to the Congress. Anna and his friends pleaded that it was not Justice Party's political platform and that it would not support the British regime. I think it was Anna who added, "Sir, Rajah of Pangal is now opposed to the British Governor". I told them I was opposed to the orthodox Brahmanical order of castism and its eighteen bans on social equality. Though the workers of Justice party wished to abolish those bans and other forms of social discrimination, and achieve social and economic equality, their leaders buttressed British Imperialism. I learnt from my European tours that to become politically independent is as importan as to gain freedom from religious slavery and to achieve social justice. I could appreciate the sincerity of Anna and his friends who came that day in the full hope of persuading me to go to Kanchipuram Conference. I felt that the Conference should fight for social justice as well as political freedom and its stress on social equality and against caste-gradations and scriptural discriminations was justified and progressive When my article on the need for "Adult Franchise" was published in the English monthly "Triveni" and my plea for special protection for depressed classes was published in daily "Swarajya", Anna was one of the students who rushed to me to express his happiness and said that "these are the progressive roads for our people to march on". He offered to work with me in conducting studies on such problems. So, I used to take him

with me during my visits to the slums in and around Madras. We enquired into the social and economic conditions, housing and other environments of those unfortunate denizens. He used to assist me in preparing notes and writing articles on those surveys and eventually I published those reports in the English daily 'Swarajya' and submitted them to the Y.M.I.A. study groups. It was thus, with the co-operation of Anna and such other social-minded revolutionary students, that there arose what came to be known as the "Pachaiyappa's School of social Studies".

When eventually Gandhiji gave the call for starting Salt Satyagraha, I began to ask all past and present students of the Pachaiyappa's who had been associated with me in those social studies and Self-Respect Movement and the Student Parliament of the Y.M.I.A. of the Gokhale Hall to go with me into that Nationalist Movement I was keen on having Anna also to be with me, as I was so fond of him and I knew how patriotic he was, But he wished to be excused, as he felt that social regeneration and uplift of the suppressed masses should be given greater priority. Hs thought that the Congress was too much under the control of upper classes and castes. By that time, Periyar's influence over him grew to be compelling and though he would not say so I felt that he was convinced of the primacy of the need to fight for social justice and religious freedom. He grew inconsolable when I decided to resign from the college and join Gandhiji and felt that Self-Respect Movement was losing a strong champion and great friend.

Barrister Ramaswami, Periyar E. R. Naiker and their dynamic disciple Annadurai worked through their self-respect movement sought to achieve their revolutionary objectives of freeing the masses of India from the thraldom of Puranic teachings and their visible priestly agencies. Ramaswami, through his incisive and fearless criticism of Puranic lore, demolished the fictional edifices of gods, goddesses and their unfortunate victims, the gullible and impetuous opponents.

Beetween 1917-30, there were many so-called Sudra-poets, social thinkers and political leaders in Andhra and Tamilnad who refused to accept what till then was accepted as the fateful taboos, imposed by custom and Puranic injunctions upon all those sections of Hindus who were known as Sudras and Harijans and Adivasis, – that is the Bahujana. They were headed by Swami Saraswati and Barrister Ramaswami. Raghavaiah Chowdari of Andhra and Swami Ramalinga of Tamilnad and also Dr. Ambedkar of Bombay. They drew inspiration from Buddha, Ramanuja Basaveswara, the founder of Veera Saivism and from poet philosopher Vemana. They rejected the classification of people into high and low castes. They turned against the caste system itself and owing to their aversion to the Varnashrama Dharma. they made their plea to Gandhiji to dissociate himself from such unnatural, out-moded and degrading ideas and practices.

They stood for the removal of their present – day social and political disabilities, felt by the masses to be natural because of the brain washing made by their faith in these Puranas. So they started the Self-Respect Movement. They have gone on awakening the masses, not so much by any new ideology of social thought, as was claimed by Marxists, as by re-interpreting our epic literature from the standpoint of Aryan versus Dravidian race and cultural rivalries.

Periyar branched off from Gandhiji's slowmoving revolutionary procession and placed himself in the vanguard of Self-Respect Movement. He worked through his peerless eloquence and indomitable and dynamic field-work to fire the masses of Tamilnad with the passion to liberate themselves from the clutches of their own psychological auto-suggestion of social inferiority and spiritual degradation.

Anna provided the organisational equipment, political stamina and mass-media for the propagation of their faith. He had thus transformed the ideological challenges of his seniors into a powerful and ever-growing political party.

The development of D. K. under the leadership of Periyar

and of D. M.K. under his own leadership is a unique achievement standing to the credit of Anna The four decades since 1930 have set an all-India seal on all political movements, thanks to the all-India-mindedness generated by Gandhiji's epochal political and social movements. To have been courageous and spiritually confident enough to think of Tamilnadu as their geographical unit, of Tamil as independent language and Tamils ancient literature as their ideological means and of Tamil masses as their political and social base, with no such patently inspiring political aims as the Congress or Communists have had, was indeed a landmark in the world of social reform. Anna gave an organisational shape to this Periyar's vision through his gigantic political effort. Most political revolutionaries would have quailed at the very thought of it.

Anna achieved strength for his followers and political power for his party. First Periyar, next Anna and then all their colleagues and followers had to start with the social ideology of re-interpreting the whole gamut of Hindu epic lore and mythology, and turn it upside down as Ramaswamy Chowdari had done in Andhra. They wanted the people to turn their backs on the Brahmin priesthood and their millennium-old ceremonies, pujas and faiths. even to the limit of devising their own modern vows; as Ramaswami had devised, and they succeeded in persuading thousands of families to live as per their new cult.

Within the short span of forty years, they gained ascendency over the mind of the majority of toiling masses of Tamilnad. How? Just as Rishi Valmiki and Vyas had created an intellectual and emotional matrix for all the Aryan oriented masses. these Tamil innovators created their social marix for the long-suffering Tamil masses. Does this mean that the Tamil masses who admired the creation of new ethereal world of Aryan versus Dravidian conflicts and co-existence, accepted these new weapons of fantasy and morality to the exclusion of the old? Not necessarily! just as our village arts co-exist alongside moon-rockets so also Tamil masses embraced the new rationalism of Anna and Periyar, over and above their earlier

robes of Brahmanism. Nevertheless, these new robes of Periyar and Anna have liberated them from their earlier depressing conceptions of Karma and degrading fears of sin, and released them from their age-long epic-irduced matrix. This is indeed a unique achievemnt, brought about without the Soviet-like bloody carousals or a China type cultural revolution crushing and mauling to death millions of innocent people. This rationalist social transformation is still in the process of fulfilment. Anna has propelled it with all his might.

He came twice to Tenali to pay homage to the memory of the late Ramaswami Chowdari, Barrister-Poet-Rationalist. He assured the disciples of Chowdari that the D.M.K. was trying to complete the mission of Chowdari. He tried thus to gain the moral support of the Andhra poets, writers and teachers of social revolution.

One cannot but admire the persistence and far-sightedness of these revolutionaries in carrying on their constructive work for achieving social revolution, without being unnerved by the then raging political revolution led by Gandhiji for Swaraj or by the electioneering triumphs achieved so repeatedly by Congress Party His movement gained the support of the landless and economically under-privileged sections among our socially depressed people, since more rich land-holders were being canvassed by the Congress, under the leadership of Kamaraj Nadar.

Although his influence gained momentum at a galloping speed, he must have suffered much anguish, whenever he found Periyar, his beloved earstwhile leader, offering his powerful support to Sri Kamaraj Nadar and his Congress. Yet he continued to love him and their re-union in 1967-68 was a sight for the gods.

When China invaded India, Anna Dorai displayed his statesmanship by giving up his demand for separate Tamilnadu, his opposition to Constitution and thus demonstrated the latent patriotism of the Tamil masses who wanted their social regeneration within the ambit of Indian nationhood. Anna, who had cried for seperation, persuaded his party to opt for an honourable

partnership for Tamilnad in Indian Republic and contribute to Indian's unity and integrity. This was indeed an act of statesmanship of the highest order.

My affection and admiration for Anna and his sincere, persistent and powerful championship of the cause of the socially and economically depressed masses of Tamilnadu helped me to avoid during my tours in Tamilnad coming into conflict over so many of his moves, with which I could not agree at the moment. He used to appreciate my self-imposed silence.

In the Chittor Parliamentary bye-election of 1972, I was pitted against all the serried ministerial forces of the Congress in the Southern States. When some of his followers in Chittoor approached him for his advice he sent his message from jail that I should be supported and asked the other leaders in Madras to campaign for me, as I was his professor.

Anna persuaded his colleagues to study the electoral dynamics and realise that if only Swatantra cadres had been invited to buttress the D. M. K. forces, there could have been a majority in 1962 for both of us as against the Congress. In the meanwhile, Rajaji displayed his statesmanship by unconditionally and generously campaigning for the D. M. K. candidates in the Madras City Corporation elections and thus helped the D.M.K. to retain its majority. This experience was utilised by Anna to persuade his colleagues to invite and welcome an electoral alliance with Rajaji and Swatantra Party. Thus Anna's catholicity and wise statesmanship made it possible for Rajaji to reinforce the D.M.K. in 1967.

Thus Shri Anna Dorai achieved what most of the wide-eyed Congressmen thought to be impossible under the circumstances that prevailed in 1966-67 : the Congress was defeated at the polls by an overwhelming majority. D M.K.'s success was comparable only to what the Congress had achieved in the General Elections of 1946 and 1971. At that time, the Congress was headed by no less a man than Shri Kamaraj Nadar the wizard of electioneering who gave up Chief-Ministership after several years of unquestioned leadership to concentrate on

public work without personal power. The Congress administration and its ministry were not being challenged by any charge-sheet of corrupt deeds, as had been the fate of Congress ministries of the Punjab, Rajasthan, Bihar, U.P., Kerala, Mysore and Madhya Pradesh. Yet it was defeated by Anna's D.M.K.

Anna lived only for a little over one year after assuming Chief Ministership. He helped his colleagues to understand the vagaries of administration and abstain from the temptations and cupidity of power. It was a national tragedy that he was struck down by cancer. He passed away all so soon but full of honours. He built his party so well and on such sure mass-wise foundations that, when the 1971 general elections came, Indiraji could not shake his followers from their power. D. M. K. was returned to power with a stronger base among the suffering humanity. Both the rival Congress Parties are reduced to be in weak and helpless opposition. But by 1972, the usual Indian malady of corruption and atomisation of social forces caused the break-up of the D M. K. into D. M. K. and Anna D. M. K. – rivalling with each other and seeking allies against each other from among other parties.

EXTRACTS FROM VALEDICTORY SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT

I said in the course of my Parliamentary tribute "Shri Annadurai, popularly known as "Anna" had risen to be one of our respected national leaders. He was a distinguished social worker. His services to Tamil literature are unique. He happened to be one of the distinguished students of mine in the famous Pachayappa College of Madras University which was started by one of the leaders of the depressed classes of South India. Shri Annadurai devoted the whole of his life, stormy as it turned out to be, for the liberation and uplift of the backward classes.

He has joined the galaxy of those great social reformers and revolutionaries of our country. As good fortune would have it, our country has been able to produce social reformers from the days of the Buddha right down to Mahatma Gandhi, Ram Mohan Roy, Ramaswamy, Ambedkar who have all tried to help us to get over the troubles of these Castes and the social depression and intellectual perversion that have come to be heaped upon large sections of our masses.

Annadurai's contribution to the world cause of humanism was indeed noteworthy. It is not easy to lift up the backward classes and the suppressed people. Mahatma Gandhi had led us all-quite a large number of us are here in this House-and millions of us all over India in the direction of humanism and helped us to get over as much of this untouchability as possible. But that work has yet to continue and it will continue for some time to come.

For ages, crores of our people have come to be twisted in their minds and have been made to believe in a peculiar conception of Karma by which they thought it was their right as well as their duty to look up to other people and to look down upon themselves.

Social revolution has indeed to liberate these people from this age-long brain-washing that they have suffered from. Annadurai had taken up that duty under the leadership of that grand old man, Periyar, and he worked so hard, so sucesfeully, though not entirely, as to convince the great majority of the masses in Tamilnadu that they should rise against this kird of brain-washing and take advantage of the adult suffrage that had been gifted to the masses of this country by Mahatma Gandhi, and assert their humanity. They achieved it in the last elections with such gusto and with such revolutionary fervour as we had displayed earlier against the British. They had Annadurai at their head in the vanguard of their social revolution.

I salute him as all genuine social revolutionaries ali over the world would be saluting such a great man, a good man and a noble man.

(Lok Sabha Debate (dated 17.2.1969)
Vol. XXIV, Columns 27 – 31)

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5. ARUNA ASAF ALI

Aruna Asaf Ali of Delhi was born in 1910, freedom fighter, worked in underground during Quit India movement, Joined Socialists and Communists, elected first Mayor of Delhi, Leader of All India Women's Association. National Federation of Indian Women, toured all over the World, honoured by U. S. S. R. through the Lenin Peace Prize. Founder of the Daily "Patriot."

Aruna Asaf Ali of Delhi, Mridula Sarabhai of Bombay, Anasuyabai of Nagpur, Sheelabhadra Yajee of Bihar, Bharati-devi of Andhra, Latchanna of Andhra-Orissa, Achyut Patwar-dhan of Maharashtra were some of my friends among the front-rank but youthful freedom fighters who played a meritorious role in the underground work of the Quit India movement. Aruna gained special fame because she remained in that highly risky ground for all that revolutionary period.

Anasuya Ben braved the terrors of the Defence of India Rules and war-time British determination to confiscate one's properties, orders to shoot to kill at sight or suspicion etc., and organised the defence of the Chanda District Prisoners who were condemmed to death. Bharati Devi organised similarly the defence of the Mandasa Kisans in Police Firing with the help of Shyam Babu, Latchanna. She gave shelter to several revolu-tionaries of Bengal and Bihar ; the most dreaded one among them being the famous Collaborator and contact-man of Netaji, namely Sheelabhaddra Yajee ; Her hoouse - our Gobhumi - was raided twice by huge posse of Reserve Police just to catch those patriots but she could remain unscathed. Achyut Patwardhan was said to have played havoc in Satara and other areas of Maharashtra and I met him only once in Bombay. Sucheta Kripalani worked in Bombay and Delhi and provided funds from some-where, possibly with Mridulas help.

Aruna was hailed by Jawaharlal, on his release from Jail

as the "Aruna" of our struggle and appealed to her to come into open.

Both Aruna and Bharatidevi used to be popular amorg the Congress M. L. As in Delhi and Simla, by their charming receptions. That such cultured ladies should have embraced rigours of underground work impressed the Viceroy's circles and made them wonder how they could control that revolution.

During and after that phase, Aruna came into touch with Socialists and Communists and so by 1946-47 her political alignments moved away from those of her great husband, Asaf Ali, who was a member of the Congress Working Committee and a valued colleague of Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad and came closer ot Communists.

We could see from her speeches at the Meerut Session Congress in 1946, that she was drifting towards Communists, who by that time became anathema to our militant nationalists because of their anti-Indian, Pro-Allies "Peoples War slog an" accepted to strengthen the beleagured Soviet Russia, their political motherland. On the other hand Bharati Devi remained loyal to the Congress conception of nationalism, continued to considere that world war as anti-India halocaust and resisted, so successfully all the pressures of her powerful Communist colleagues on the All India Kisan Sabha and refused to allow that mighty platform to be exploited for the "peoples war slogan Thus these two good friends, one from the North the other from the South moved in two opposite directions, the younger Bharati Devi towards Gandism, the elder Aruna towards Communists.

Aruna and Asaf Ali pursued two contrary political lines, she encouraging Communists, as they moved into 1947-49 violent revolutionary phase; he becoming India's Ambassador to U.S.A. and Governor of Orissa. Death of Asaf Ali cut the gordion knot and Aruna became completely free to join her new political associates. She joined the Communist-sponsored peace council and developed its branches, in co-operation with Mrs. Bri Lal Nehru. She pleaded that world peace could be promoted with USSR as the best sponscr, during all these years when Dulles

inspired Pacts on one side and Stalinised Iron Curtain on another side were tearing the world apart and Jawaharlalji was trying to win elbow room for the Non-Involved. It was for that Aruna was honoured by U. S. S.R. through the Peace Prize.

At that stage, Delhi's state government honoured Asaf Ali by erecting his bronze statue in the park, named after him, at the most dramatic junction between New Delhi and Old Delhi ; i.e. Deryaganj, Jawaharlal persuaded the Congress Party to ensure the election of Aruna as the first Mayor of the ancient City, fitting honours to these two heroes of our national struggle, independently of their political beliefs.

Aruna organised the English Daily "The Patriot" and Weekly the Link with the whole-hearted help of Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya and the gifted and inspired Socialist Editor Narayan end thus provided a powerful press for the Communists. She is now the aging mother of Communist party, providing respectable liason with the edrstwhile Communists within the Central Cabinet and Congress atmosphere of national service among the Communists in the open.

Aruna stood for the uplift of women and so joined other equally educated and socially awakened women like Kamala Devi, Leelavati, Bharati Devi in developing the women's movement. She worked for property rights for women, if not equal to those of men and for easier divorce laws and succeeded partially, with the encouragement from Jawaharlal and Dr. Ambedkar. She was one of the founders of the All India Women's Organisations. She helped Smt. Atchamamba and others to organise Grameena (Rural Women's Association).

She is a good colleague in any Committee or movement. Mr. and Mrs. Shiva Rao, Leelavati Munshi, Kamaladevi, Mridula and others worked together and pleaded with M. Ps on behalf of women. They co-operated with so many of us in developing adult education movement. She seconded the humanitarian work of Mridula, Sucheta, in protecting the refugees, abducted women and other orphans of partition disaster.

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6. ASAF ALI

Asaf Ali was ranking fourth among the 35 Congress M.L As of Central Legislative Assembly of 1935. He represented the capital city. He was the Chief Whip, though the party usually whipped itself, so great was the sense of discipline and our sense of urgency of our struggle. He looked every inch an effective rival, in his sartorial finesse, Delhi Badshah courtesies and consciousness of the importance of our nationalist mission, as contrasted with the imperialist pride and primness of the Viceroy's English Executive Councillors. When he rose to speak or put a question, he used to give a flip to his achkon's wings, adjust his spectacles and begin shaping his wordy arrows and fling them in finished accents of culture. It was a performance pleasant, piquant.

Those who knew Urdu also and used to follow his speeches on the A.I.C C. forum used to admire his accent, delivery and substance of his talks and they said his performance in Urdu was even more effective.

As a friend, he was very pleasant. As a leader, he was formal and distant. As a Congressman, he preferred to remain at the counseiling level, not being too keen on mixing with the crowd. As a patriot, he had been a consistent and convinced nationalist, condescending to think of himself as a Muslim Nationalist only when he had to contrast himself from the despised Leaguers and other avowed Communalists. He was too proud an Indian, too vain a citizen to allow others to categorise him as only a Muslim. So I have found it so easy to get into his confidence, to share thoughts and to work with him as the Secretary in charge of background studies needed by fellow members of the Party. He was a good host, his wife Aruna was a delightful hostess and both of them used to entertain our group in the charming traditions of Delhi.

He was our chief spokeman on the Railway Budget and hi performances were better appreciated than those drab and scho larly theses of Ziaudian Ahmed, the League authority on th Railways. Asaf Ali used to prepare the ground for my plea fo the provision of amenities for third class passengers, such a more seating space, electric fans, better lavatories and mor frequent cleaning of carriages, more third class carriages, bigge waiting rooms, drinking water and sanitation facilities, seaso tickets etc. He inveigned against separate communal supplies o drinking water, refreshments. He stressed the need for nationa lisation of Railways, coal-mines needed for railway consumption He strengthened the demands of labour, as voiced by Giri, mysel and Joshi Fittingly enough, he became the Railway Ministe in the first national Cabinet. In that new capacity, he laid th guidelines for manufacturing railway engines, wagons an carriages, etc. in our country to achieve self-reliance.

During the Quit India movemeet, he was detained, alon with other North Indian members of the working Committee i Ahmednagar camp. His wife, Aruna, chose to go undergroun and guide a section of the national struggle in North india. had the opportunity to work with her while I was in the environ of Delhi and came to know what risks she ran and how ably she managed the workers who gathered round her. For years she carried on that hide and seek game ; finding shelter often in th houses of servants-quarters of very senior Indian officers. Whe at last Jawaharlal was released and he was told about her explo its, he grew so emotional about her heroic role as to publicl hail her with his call "Where are you, Aruna. Here is our lov for you".

When the opportunity came for free India to send her Ambassador to America, Jawaharlal naturally chose Asaf Al for that key post. We were satisfied with his capacity to impress the proud and powerful Americans with his Badshah- mannerisms. While in Washington, he did not come to b pleased with the Amcricans and their grotesque power-minded

ess Both he and Jawaharlal, who too was as much put off by
e brusque or brash behaviour of State Department chiefs,
iled to achieve any rapport with the White House and State
epartment.

So Asaf Ali preferred to return to homeland. Then he was
ppointed as Governor of Orissa, I met him again in the
overnment House. Neither Ambassadorship nor Governor-
ip spoilt him; he was the same urbane, comradely and confid-
g friend that he had been as the Chief Whip of the Congress
arty. He was devoted to Mahatma Gandhi, who accepted in
od grace the confessions of his student fancies and commended
m to the nation as an excellent patriot. He admired Jawahar-
l but loved Bhulabhai. He was fascinated by Jawahar's
assion for serving the masses through socialist reorganisation
f our society but he preferred to await the advent of Swaraj
efore he could contemplate the splintering of Congress ranks
n such ideological bases. He had no objection to socialism
nd knew that his dear wife was not only a socialist but was
so fast moving towards Communism but felt that India must.
e needs regain some economic stability and make up for the lost
me and opportunities during the war, before socialist reorgani-
ation could be contemplated. In his last years and months, he
und that Aruna has chosen to join the Communists but he did
t choose to object to her free choice, so great was his love for
r and his respect for woman's rights for free, equal status.

He was a close associate of Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad.
e was very much opposed to the partition of the country and
hen Pakistan was created, he was most unhappy. He supported
nd's plea for accepting some kind of federal scheme, instead
yielding to Pakistan but when Jawaharlal and Patel, Rajen
bu and Rajaji opted for partition, neither he nor Azad could
bilise any revolt against them. When Delhi was overcome
the halocaust of communal violence and bloodbath he too
ame a helpless witness like other nationalist Muslim leaders
d could not help either Jawaharlal or Sardar in any effectiue
anner.

Delhi has remembered him, after that frenzy was over, by erecting a bronze statue, in his characteristic posture of a Mughal Counsellor, and constructing a fine boulevard, along the Ram Leela Grounds, and calling it Asaf Ali Road.

Asaf was our grand Congressman. He lives in our memory as Asaf, the freedom fighter.

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7. BAPI NEEDU

Bapineedu : A Dynamic Constructive Worker

The Andhra pavilion at the All-India Exhibition of Gandhi Darshan, Organized in New Delhi in 1966-70 by the Gandhi Centenary Committee, displayed prominently a photograph of the late M· Bapineedu (born on 14-8-1895 Ed). I was pleased with that well-deserved recognition shewn to Bapaneedu's close association with Bapu's constructive work for Harijans, women and cottage industries. I am glad to learn that Eluru town has recently (Jnly, 1971) named a suburban town after Needu.

I met Bapineedu for the first time in the Caithness Hostel of Madras: when I was trying to get admission into the Pachaiyappa's College and he was moving heaven and earth to get passport which used to be a heaveniy gift from British gods in those days. He had already completed his graduate studies in Calcutta University and absorbed the much valued Bengali atmosphere of national work of Congressism and social reform, espoused by the Brahmo Samajists. I admired that polished and worldly-wise elder and madc bold to nurse the ambition of going to Europe for my advanced studies. Bapineedu encouraged me in that thought and assured me that weak though I was in body, I could withstand the cold climate of England.

Bapineedu became an alumnus of two American Universities of Cornell and California. He returned to India in 1923 after three years of study in the United States to resume the public work that he had begun in 1917-18 in Calcutta University under the influence of Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj. Till the day of his demise in 1969, for full 50 years, he devoted most of his energies to public service. He was a freedom fighter of the front rank and served the national cause before and after the attainment of Swaraj.

Bapineedu married his niece, Annapurna, whose parents

were also devoted to public work. She proved to be an exemplary public worker beloved of Gandhiji because of her utter devotion to national service. She was the first among the women of India to offer her jewels, and burn her silk saris. in response to Gandhiji's call for khaddar, for the boycott of all foreign cloth and for observing austerity and making sacrifices. She died a few years after Needu's return to India, with the satisfaction that her husband had become a devoted national worker.

Needu played a prominent role in the Congress politics of West Godavari District and Andhra Pradesh, For long he was a follower of Mr. Prakasam in Andhra and in later years, he accepted the leadership of Rajaji in the old Madras State. His flair and love for constructive work came to the fore when he became a Parliamentary secretary in the first Congress Ministry headed by Rajaji. He organised a chain of Industrial Museums at all district headquarters through the co-operation of local industrialists and public men and without much dependence upon State finances. It was indeed a unique achievement.

Thakkar Bapa, the veteran social worker, to whom Mahatma Gandhi had entrusted the All-India Harijan Seva Work between 1933 - 48, found in Needu an experienced public leader, fully equipped with all the managerial capacities and with an urusual sense of discipline and devotion to the cause. Needu offered to develop the Andhra Harijan Sevak sangh, soon after his release from jail and only a few months after his re-marriage. I had the privilege of working with him at close quarters and I found in him a sympathetic colleague, He came into special prominence during Bapuji's tour of Andhra in 1933-34' being the sole authority to dispense such special favours as arranging Bapu's place of visits, stoppages of his motorcade, resting places, dining centres, special personal interviews, conferences etc.

All public workers in Andhra, whatever their position in the political sphere, sought his good offices to be associated with the programme of the Mahatma. Needu won the praise of Bapu's secretaries in fulfilling that onerous responsibility

but he incurred the displeasure of a large number of fellow workers. Eventually, he had to pay a heavy price for his lack of tact. When the time came for the distribution of favours after the advent of freedom. The political bosses made him suffer for whatever imaginary indifference they might have suffered at Bapineedu's hands during that tour.

After independence he parted company with Prakasam: but he expected to be taken into the succeeding Ministries. Changing political fortunes, however, denied him his legitimate due. So Rajaji and I advised him to develop one of the two National Extension areas, chosen for rural development by the Planning Commission and he laid the foundation of what later on took shape as the N.E.S. for rural development.

He was one of the few who realized the need for special books to serve the patriotic and social demands of children. He edited and published a number of books, specially suited to teenagers, and his book on the life of the Mahatma was well received.

We worked together on the adult education front. He used to visit at his own cost the sessions of the Peasant Institute every summer and lecture to our students with the aid of a magic lantern. He organized seminars for the Congress. He served the Andhra University from its initiation as a member of the Senate and the Syndicate for more than two decades He helped Eluru, his home town, to develop the C. R. Reddi College (first Grade) He joined me and Shri Moturi Satyanarayana in 1926 in spreading the Gandhian cult of "go back to Rural India."

We were both joint secretaries of the Andhra Kisan Sammelan, organized in 1928. He co operated with us in organizing the kisan movement against land revenue in 1931-32.

Needu brought good cheer to so many political prisoners, as Rajaji testifies, during the many periods of jail life we shared with him at Vellore, Trichinopoly, Amraoti and other places. Wherever we were jail mates, he made a pleasant company for me and encouraged me in my researches. He was the master of bit-bits, pleasant as well as biting.

Needu was a social reformer. He proved by his own exam-

ple that inter-caste marriages were conducive to cultural development and social harmony. His daughters too found their husbands outside the castes of their parents. He did much to promote the cause of women's political progress. He was an effective speaker in study circles. Even on public platforms, he was a good speaker in Telugu and English, excelling in persuasive eloquence. In the last two years of his life, he came to be associated with a number of social institutions in Madras and Hyderabad. Bapineedu lived and worked as a patriot, a public worker, an educationist and a champion of peasants and in his death, the whole of south India and many of us who worked with him for decades, lost a valuable colleague and an able counsellor.

8. BHARATI DEVI

Leader of Harijan, Kisan Weaver Women Movements

Rajaji said in his tribute to Smt. Bharati Devi "One of the most worthy of the Women of India passed away on September 27, 1972. I had always great affection for Shri Ranga. My affection for Bharati Devi, his wife, was even greater and inlaid with the deepest respect. Acharya Ranga claimed to be a peasant but the real peasant was Bharati Devi. She went to prison in the movement for freedom. She never claimed a price or a reward for it as so many do. Her death has plunged me in the deepest grief."

During Mahatma Gandhi's visit to NIDUEROLU in 1933-34, Bharati Devi's work and ideas pleased the Mahatma. He took special interest in her ideas regarding Rural Women's and her agricultural work. He noted how she was able to awaken women, among kisans of Venkatagiri Estate and persuade women in purdah to come out to serve the people. And so Bapu was impressed with her successful social revolutionary achievements and gave her his special blessings. Bapu declared "I have adopted Bharati Devi as my daughter". She was hailed as the leader of progressive Women's movement by Mrs. Cousins, one of the founders of Indian Women's Association.

Srimati Bharati Devi Ranga was born in Machavaram, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh in a middle class agricultural family in August 1908. we were married in 1924. She studied in the famous Sarada Niketan of Guntur and Vidyodaya of Madras. She stayed in Madras in the years 1926-30 when I was the Cheif Professor of Economics in Pachaivappa's College and learnt Tamil. I took her to England in 1925 for advanced studies and she studied art in the Ruskin School of Arts in Oxford, in 1925-26. On our return to India, she joined the freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and started participating In mass satyagraha from 1930 onwards.

In those days, untouchability of Harijans used to be very much prevalent in India and its rigours were more biting in rural areas. In order to put an end to that evil, she organised the opening of wells, inter-dining and collective Bhajans and conferences against untouchability in 1931 in Nellore, Krishna, Guntur and Godavari di tricts.

She joined the no-tax campaign in 1931 November-1932 February organised by the Kisan Congress and initiated by ourselves. She developed women's wings of the Kisan Satyagraha. In the national struggle of 1932 she worked with Basavaiah and Durgamba of Kavur Vinayashramam. She was sentenced to one year's imprisonment plus Rs.500/- penalty for organising Women Satyagrahis of Guntur, Krishna, Godavari on a large scale. She succeeded in inspiring hundreds of Ghosha (Purdah) women to come into the open, offer Satyagraha and thus intensified non-violent struggle for freedom. It was that dynamic move which liberated the rural women from their earlier shyness and submissive docility and encouraged them to take active part in the peasant marches to Collector's offices as a protest against land revenue settlement and enhancement proposals (1933-34). She was able to induce thousands of women to actively participate in those marches and thus intensify rural peoples faith in freedom and kisan movements. She managed successfully the Women's campaign against Drink in 1931. As a pait of her humanitarian campaigning she organised the Harijan Day Celebrations all over Andhra and persuaded women to shed their faith in untouchability as religious doctrine and faith. She also helped me in braving Caste-bans and curses from priests.

Bharati Devi and G L. Narayana, who studied economics in M. A. in Calcutta University became the first converts for the socio-economic thesis that I began to propagate as opposed to the capitalist market-oriented economics. They were convinced of the correctness of my thesis that peasants agricultural workers artisans have been denied a fair deal, even when compared to industrial workers and service personnel. They agreed with me in demanding parity between agriculture and other avocations especially industry, commerce and government services.

in evaluating the contributions made by them respectively to the national income and well-being. So they propagated, through the Peasant Institute and its associated Seminars, schools, citizenahip colleges etc the main demands of agrarian masses for floor prices and wages as well as remunera-tive and fair prices for agricultural produce: non-explitative charges to be demanded by the Key-Services such as Rail and Road services, credit supplies processing of agricuttural produce ard marketirg agencies and reasonably low prices for both producers goods-inputs such as manures, insecticides, cement,pump sets, diesel and other oils and also consumers goods of the utility type. She denanded protection for weavers.

Bharate Devi and Lakshmi Narayana and myself have been living in NIDUBROLU ever since we gave up residence in Cities i. e. 1930-34 (Madras, Guntur, Calcutta) and we have been engaged in and dependent upon agriculture as our sole source of maintenance and so we have experieneed and suffered from all the disabilities of agricultural life, such as vicissitudes of seasons, failure of or excessive rains, floods, crop pests and seasonal bad winds and also the rigours of compulsory levies or procurement of food grains at unremunerative and imposed prices. We were in intimate contact with similar experiences and sufferings of fellow peasants in their own immediate environment as well as the life and reactions of peasants of different parts of the country whom we were often meeting during our frequent tours in connection with kisan movement. So she became convinced of the correctness of my thesis on the necessity for replacing the unfair and pro-urban and anti-agricultural market economy and values by equal and just evaluation of respective services of agricultural and industrial, commerdial and abministrative services and thus. adopting *Parity Economy* between all sectors. We were glad that Gandhiji agreed with the lessons of our experiences. We felt fortified by the writings of Dr. J Kumarappa and the economic thesis behind their Village Movement and All India Village Industries Association. Bharati Devi was insistent that agr-icultual workers deserved even higher wages, peasants and artisans bigger emuneration for their services, since they are exposed to

inclimencies of weather, and the demoralising intermittent periods of under-employment. She felt that agricultural women workers whether they be self-employed or wege-earning are being exploited the most, with much fewer civic amenities or elementary social protection such as pre-natal maternity medical treatment. She used to feel so much hurt at the sight of old women, pregnant women and even adolescent women having to work without proper protection either against summer heat, winter's cold and rain's shivers. She used to compare their plight with comparatively better corditions of employment available for workers in industrial establishments and shops and offices in covered sheds etc. So she proved to be the most effective and passionate advocate of the need for parity economy and just evaluation of the services of the rural folk whether in the Peasant Institute and its annexes or in Legislature or on public platforms. Her extremely persuasive and pleasing elequence, especially in Telugu and her personal experiences as the exemplary self-employed peasant won many a friend and melted the hearts of many a legislator in favour of the peasants weavers and workers She was indeed the most convinced Ganchian Socialist and proved to be the best champion of rural folk used to feel grateful to her for propagating weavers handicrafts our theses in favour of a fair deal for agriculture based and for equality of treatment between agriculturists and all others. She stood for full – fledged social and economic democracy and against Communistic totalitarianism.

She co-operated with me and my brothers Venkatappaiah Lakshminarayana and nephew Butchi Naidu in establishing the Rama Needu Institute which later became the famous Indian Peasant Institute. The Indian Peasant Institute held summer session every year in NIDUBROLU and other places and gave training to rural youths in the ideology and methods of fighting for freedom. She inspired women Satyagrahis of Chebrolu to run special political school for Andhra women. She became

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*Please read also my books "Credo of World Peasants", Fight for Freedom and "Bapu Blesses."

an affectionate mo ther to all the students who were studying in the Institute from 1933 to 1970.

She was elected a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1935 She was elected unanimously as a member of the Ongole District Board in 1946. Having been a pillar of the Kisan movement, she was a member of the Executive Committee of Andhra Provincial Ryots Association since its inception in 1928 and peasants protection committee since 1931. She was elected a member of the Executive of the All India Kisan Congress in 1936-37. She toured extensively in U. P., Bihar, Andhra, Punjab, Gujarat in 1936 39. She took part in the Gaya, Palasa, Bihta All India Kisan Conventions.

She became Secretary of All India Kisan Congress in 1940, and President in 1941. In these capacities, she toured Andhra, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Tamilnadu and Mysore. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, the dynamic Bihar Kisan leader appreciated her leadership. Her role in the Palasa Convention of the All India Kisan Congress proved to be historic when the British Government indulged in repression against Palasa, Mandasa and Srikakulam Kisans. She collected funds for the defence of the Mandasa Kisan Sufferers in 1940 in the conspiracy case foisted on Kisans by Government. She hailed the kisan woman who was shot dead by the British as "Veer Gunnamma," raised a Memorial for her and exhorted Kisan women to emulate her noble example of sacrifice and thus helped kisan masses of Srikakulam to defy the regime of war-time police terror imposed upon the villages.

She organised flood relief for the agency and other areas in Godavari in 1940-41 and famine Relief in Rayalaseema in 1941-42 and 1952–53. She organised the distribution of foodgrains, clothes, cattle-feed, roofing materials through Ramakrishna Mission systematically and scrupulously and thus eliminated wastage, misuse of relief and then persuaded Madras Government to adopt that process in their later famine relief operations, thus freeing such operations from any whisper or suspicion of corruption or wastage. This initiative of hers was apprecia-

ted by Chief Minister Rajaji and ever since Government has been utilising the services of Rama Krishna Mission.

She started and managed the popular Telugu Weekly "VAHINI" which was banned by the British Government. Then she had to start "KRANTHI" and "GOBHUMI" weeklies successively to maintain the tempo of freedom struggle. She was able to utilise most of her agricultural income for the maintenance of that Weekly for more than a decade. She declined the offer of financial assistance from Mahatma Gandhi to run her house and maintained our work with whatever she could earn from our ever dwindling farm.

She became one of the most respected women leaders of South India and so, she was always in great demand for guiding the Rural Women's Organisation. She presided over the Andhra Provincial Women's Conference held in Ghantasala in 1953. She inaugurated Andhra Women's Political Conference in Kakinada. She encouraged women to organise Bhajan Groups, Study Circles, adult education centres. She was very much interested in night schools for Harijans and backward class women.

She believed that women enjoy a unique status and freedom in the households of self-employed peasantry and weavers. They are economically independent and socially self-reliant and play almost as important a role as their men-folk in having to display initiative, enterprise and economy She demonstrated through her own 30 years-long work on our farm how rural women can ably supplement their family earnings and gain self-reliance and economic freedom in their families, by developing subsidiary occupations and utilising their spare time in domestic arts and "home study circles" She wanted them to gain financial status also and pleaded for equitable share for daughters in their parents' property and also rights over husbands, earnings for the benefit of children and themselves. She co-operated with Durgabhai Deshmukh in organising the Women's Small Savings Campaign and developed State-wide organisation in Andhra. She concentrated on other aspects of women movement also such as Girls' Schools, Adult Education, Literacy campaign and "Weavers" and Kisan Women Sammelans.

She was content with her social and political work and positions of responsibility sought after her and she used to be very choosey in accepting them. For instance, when she was proposed for M.L.C. in 1957 she did not apply for it nor did she go to Hyderabad to canvass for it and ensure her success. When actually she was elected and invited to join the Cabinet, she managed to decline that offer. In the Legislative Council, she proved to be a very effective and eloquent speaker. She pleaded for remunerative prices for agricultural products and minimum wages for agricultural workers. She fought for special educational and hospital and maternity facilities and special sanitary arrangements for rural women. Her speeches against compulsory co-operativisation of land-holdings and Seventeenth Constitutional Amendment became popular throughout South India. Her speeches were universally appreciated as being highly parliamentary and persuasive.

Bharati Devi was simple in her habits and dress and though she had known the European social comforts, she would not indulge in the ostentatious ways of life. She was Gandhian in thought and deed

She developed her farm on modern lines and was one of the best agriculturists. She was awarded many prizes for her cattle, fruit etc in many Agricultural Exhibitions.

In spite of her reluctance, the Grand Alliance Parties chose her as their best candidate in 1971 to contest for Lok Sabha from Ongole. Although she lost the election because of "Indira wave", she polled more votes than any other Opposition candidate contesting from Andhra Pradesh. She had analysed the election results and appreciated the decision made by the masses in favour of priority for "Garibi Hatao."

She continued to answer her public responsibilities although her health was deteriorating right upto 27th September 1972 i.e. just before her Swargarohan.

"The Andhra Mahila" the famous Magazine published from Madras paid homage to half a dozen famous public leaders

among Married Couples in our National life, in its Special Annual Nnmber of 1957. Bharati Devi was among these well known couples along with Sucheta Kripalani, Ex-Chief Minister of U.P.

She worked on the same plane as Kamala Nehru, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Malati Nabakrishna, Durgabai of Freedom Movement. Indeed she used to be admired by Smt Sarojini Naidu as her noble Colleague and sister in the national movement. Such greatmen as Radhakrishna, Prakasam, C. R. Reddi Giri, Mrs. Cousins held her in high esteem, as a progressive woman leader. She proved to be able and wise colleague, counsellor and confident not only for myself but also to our comrades on the All India plane in kisan handoom mazdoor and national movements, during the four decades of her public work. I have fittingly dedicated to her my latest books "Bapu Blesses" (1970) containing the Memoirs of my talks with Mahatma Gandhi between 1926 and 1948 and "AGONY AND SOLACE" containing that part of my correspondence with national and international leaders between 1936-72 on 27th September 1974.

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9. THAKURDAS BHARGAV – PARLIAMENTARIAN

Thakurdas Bhargav was born in Rewari in Punjab on 15th November 1886. He was a well-known advocate. He was a Colleague of Motilal Nehru in Central Legislative Assembly in 1926-30. He co-operated with Harbilas Sharda on the Age of Consent Committee to raise the age of marriage of Hindu girls. He was in the Constuent Assembly and also in Parliament from 1947 upto his death. His brother Gokulchand Bhargav rose to be the first Chief Minister of Punjab after Swaraj. Thakurdas was an educationist and humanist and promoted the welfare and education of Harijans. He was a champion of Hindu joint Family. He was a fluent Speaker and effective Parliamentarian.

Thakrudas Bhargav was one of our great parliamentarians. He was a passionate champion of high standards in public life and paved the way for the later campaign by such parliamentarians as Harishchand Mathur, Kamath, P K. Deo, Dahyabhai Patel for incorruptible administration.

He was a tall, thin, Aryan-looking, moustached gentleman. He was so gentle and pleasant. Even when he was arguing passionately, he was urbane. He was a leading lawyer in the Punjab High Court and good debater in Parliament. And above all, he was a good friend.

Thakurdas was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly during the time of Motilal Nehru. He used to fight for the protection of our cattle wealth during that period. When later he came back to Parliament, he resumed his fight for that cause. He found sympathetic allies in the then Food and Agriculture Ministers, Rajendra Prasad, Jairan das Daulatram, and K M. Munshi. So he persuaded the Government to constitute committees for Gosamvardhan. I used to deem it a privilege to help them.

Dr. Ambedkar, in the course of his speeches in the Constituent Assembly and Parliament, had stressed that parliamentarians should be saved from being tempted into silence, or political submission through Government's offer of various kinds of offices of profit. Thakurdasji put life into these observations. I made common cause with him. He moved resolutions demanding legislative action against parliamentarians accepting any office of profit. What are such offices of profit? Who is to decide and when, what would constitute an office of profit?

We found that in the wake of Swaraj, Government came to find it necessary to undertake many public enterprises, and for their management appoint so many committees, managing boards, etc. So, it became necessary to enlist the co-operation of many public men, and all of them could not be found outside Parliament. Thakurdas complained that generally ministers found it more convenient to select M. Ps for such boards, not necessarily because they were the best or the most competent but often because, thereby, they could make sure of their co operation and personal support.

In fact, we found, especially after 1952 elections, that a good number of Congressmen who were defeated in general elections, were thus coming to be selected. True, they were no longer M. Ps. But could not such offers be made before elections as temptations? Would it be proper to let the Government use them as baits to M.Ps., so that they can be persuaded not to stand again and let others be selected?

I happened to be in Rajya Sabha, when Thakurdas persuaded the Government, through his persistent efforts, to introduce and pilot a Bill. We all joined its Joint Select Committee and I was able to see how ably and sincerely, he worked on that Committee. At long last, the Act was passed. A standing Parliamentary Committee came to be established – a monument to Thakurdasji's toil. I joined him this time from the House of people. It was a pleasure to work with him on that Committee over the years. He was so patient, so democratic and could press his point eloquently and with all the legal and scholastic

arguments that he was so adept in advancing, and if the majority went against him, he would, as cheerfully go on fighting for the next set of his points.

I know how the then Law Minister supported a plea for reconsideration of the decisions we had made on the initiative of Bhargavji. He was supported by three cabinent ministers who were close to Jawaharlalji. When the Lawminister pressed me as the Secretary of Congress party to place the reconsideration item on the agenda for the Congress party Executive I, refused. Then he persuaded the Prime Minister to get it on the agenda. When it did come before the Executive, I pleaded very strongly in favour of Bhargavji's stand-point. Thakurdasji's transparent honesty in so passionately pleading for placing certain positions beyond the group of parliamentarians embarrassed poor Jawaharlalji so much that in the end, his cabinet colleagues yielded to our pressure.

Thakurdas was eloquent in speech. His voice was an asset. But he used to speak with the same emphasis, lawyer-like, firing his machinegun shots of arguments on all subjects big or small, of national or local importance, with the result, the House did not find it possible to pay as much attention as he and his points deserved. But one and all respected him.

The ministers who had to pilot Bills were always afraid of him. They had to study their briefs carefully, especially when Bhargavji evinced interest in any bill because he was so hard-working in moving and strengthening amendments.

He never spoke merely to create an impression. He took his work in Parliament as seriously as he worked in the High Court. He was indeed a genuine Liberal, with great faith in reason and humanism.

During the last two years of his life he was keeping indifferent health He came to be past 70 years of age. Yet, he continued to work hard, speaking as persistently and persuasively as ever. The present-day lawyer-members of Parliament can learn much by perusing some of his speeches.

Though he was the brother of Gopichand Bhargav, the Chief Minister of Punjab, he never took advantage of that opportunity, so scrupulous he was.

He was one of the six doughty champions of the post-partition refugees including Achint Ram, Sucheta Kripalani and his heart used to bleed for them. To the last, he offered heartiest co-operation to me, although he and I would agree to disagree over prices for foodgrains; he pleading for urban consumer, myself trying to protect peasants and producers.

10. CHALAPATI RAO

Editor : National Herald

M. Chalapati Rao is well-known as the Editor of the National Herald founded by Jawaharlal Nehru. What is not equally known is that he is a profound thinker and good writer about the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

It is true that he is an admirer of Jawaharlal, the man and also the thinker. It is also equally true that he is the candid critic of his administrative failures.

Chalapati Rao is a sincere and scholarly Socialist. He is not pedantic. He wants socialistic approach to Indian problems and socialistic policies for Indian government. He studies every issue as a Socialist and suggests solutions from a Socialistic stand-point. He appreciates 20 points of post Emergency.

It appears from his cryptic observation "Ranga was my first Professor of Socialism" that he chose to be a Socialist as early as the thirties, and began his career as Journalist to further not only the cause of national independence, like most other journalists but also to propagate Socialism. This has distinguished him from most of the North Indian Editors of Dailies and so, his bold and consistent appraisal of the policies and programmes of the Congress ministries in U. P. and Delhi from his Socialist angle had contributed not a little to socialist orientation of Congressmen and to strengthening the followers of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom he had chosen as his political star in public life.

Chalapati Rao has held Khasa Subbarao as his exemplar in the exercise of free judgement in journalistic sphere and so just as Khasa used to criticise fearlessly the wrong policies and harmful activities of Prakasam and Rajaji, whom he held in great respect, so also, he used to offer courageously his criticisms

of the activities and programmes of Jawaharlal and his follwers in U.P. etc. and Indira Gandhi and Congress Chief Ministers.

He is a consistent rationalist and no respector of political idols or social traditionalists. He is a patriot but his patriotism is not intolerant of the local and sub nationalism of linguisties. He wants Kashmir to be in India but desires that its genuine leader, Shaik Abdullah should be helped to reconcile himself to India's integrity. He is keen on Nagaland. Mizoland and Meghalaya hailing Indian nationalism as their own but he wants Parliament to assuage and honour their sub-nationalism.

He believed in non-involvement of India as between the Super-Powers. He pleaded for under-standing with U,S.S R. since U S.A. was equating Pakistan with India and thus indirectly fomenting forces of conflict and disquiet in this sub-continent. Now that detente is growing on a world scale, and China, Russia, and U S.A. are trying to be friends, he hailed like myself the Indo-Russian friendship as the long-needed ballast for India, so cruelly buffetted by Anglo-Americans. Similarly he has endorsed the latest attempts of India and U.S A. to come closer and establish the Indo-U.S Commission for exploring and developing socio-economic co-operation. He does not hold with the baiters of Russia or the haters of U.S.A. and his touch-stone in judging their overtures, friendship and institutions is whether they would promote India's independence as well as development and promote the precious cause of World peace. I have come to hold the same views, though I felt in those days of Dulles vs. Krishna Menon duel and pacts and Counter-pacts, our Non Involvement or Non-Alignment might endanger our national independence. I am glad that this atmosphere of Detente has once again brought us closer in our approach to world politics.

"Chalapathi Rao has done much, in co-operation with K. Ramarao M. P. and others to help working journalists He presided over the all-India Convention of Working Journalists, which led to the foundation of the All India Federation of Working Journalists. He was its first president for five years and was associated with the appointment and work of the Press

Commission and with the passing of the Working Journalists' Act. (Mr Rama Rao extended his full support to Chalapathi Rao and was content to be one of the Vice-Presidents under Chalapathi Rao, though Chalapathi Rao wanted him to be President.

Chalapathi Rao went as a full representative to the U. N. General Assembly for one year and refused further nomination because he did not want to be away from journalism too long. He also represented India in UNESCO and other international conferences.

He is deadly opposed to the growth of monopolies in industries and certainly in newspaper world. Having tasted full freedom in this capacity as editor of one of the major English Dailies, thanks to Jawaharlal's conception of managemente duties towards editors, Chalapatirao used his powerful pen to win similar freedom for all editors and pressmen to castigate the shadow-editors and owner-editors for their autocratic interference with the editors, reporters and other members of the editorial staffs of our daily newspaper.

He is not dead set on nationalisation of industries at any cost. He is prepared to consider other systems of management as in Yugoslavia and England. He has pleaded eloquently for humane and progressive conditions of employment for all cadres of workers in our national industries. His sense of national responsibilities of all engaged in production is so exalted that he has not hesitated to plead with workers not to make too unreasonable demands and not to fight for such privileges as would insulate them from the rest of our social economy. At the same time he is opposed to the use of police power, legal bludgeon or heavy repressive powers of the State, either to opprematurely or in ill-temper or in the interests of employees whether they be private or public. He supported emergency regime of Indira as it is run consistently with Parliamentarianism. In this and similar ways he has been displaying a constructive socialist

attitude in his pervasive review of day to day events in this Swaraj Indian Polity.

He can be a stylist and scholastic, as is displayed in his thesis on "Gandhi and Nehru" but he prefers to write simplistic, and expostulatory prose to help even those who are self-educated in English to follow his writing, appreciate his reasoning and accept his approach to any problem. This is how he has influenced the intelligentsia of Gangetic plains during the past three decades.

It has been a pleasure for me to discuss with him various problems from time to time. Even when I was opposing vehemently Jawaharlal's acceptance of co operative farming, he was good enough to appreciate my approach and accept my bonafides. There must have been many moments when he could have wondered why and how I put up with some of the dogmatic postures of my colleages in Swatantra Party in their championship of freedom for entrepreneurs and managerial industrialism but he was magnanimous to assume that Ranga, his first professor of Socialism could not be in agreement with his colleagues and was tolerant of their views, in return for their support for his championship of his beloved peasantry.

Chalapati Rao is one of the very few who, while enjoying intimacy as well as confidence of Jawaharlal, have abstained scrupulously from exploiting their power either for personal or sectional benefit He is a price-less asset to the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi without any idea of drawing dividends from it. He watches the doings and failures of ministers from a distance, without any blinkers of either prejudices or affections, and never hesitates to administer helpful criticism or timely warning No minister, however high can take him for granted and no plan or project of the Planning Commission is sacrosanct for him. In short, Chalapati Rao is one of those few friends of the masses,

unfortunately too few for my taste – who keep their pens attuned to their hearts, and public pledges of the Cabinets and who offer their daily advices without any fear of hurting the pride or prejudice of the high and mighty.

"Of all his virtues, I pride his loyalty – loyalty to friends and loyalty to principles"

Iswar Dutt "My Portrait Gallery" 1957.

11. DIWAN CHAMANLAL —GIFTED PARLIAMENTARIAN

The country lost one of the ablest and most eloquent parliamentarians of forty years' standing with the death of our veteran patriot, Diwan Chamanlal. Parliamentarians and patriots are wont to remember his propnetic and bold chal'enge to the British in the Central Assembly of 1925 that Delhi which had proved to be the graveyard of a dozen foreign empires and their capitals would also be the graveyard of the mighty British Empire. He was a stormy petrel in the Central Legislative Assembly, and he was well known for his sense of humour and quick repartees.

Chamanlal was a non-communal nationalist, well versed in Persian, Urdu, English ard Sanskrit literature so He braved a painful electoral defeat by contesting against Lala Lajpatrai at the bidding of Swarajya Party and Motilal Nehru when that lion of Punjab chose to champion Hindu nationalism as against the Muslim League.

He lived in the style of Omar Khayyam, whose Rubaiyat he used to recite with such pleasure. His grandfather came from Afghan ancestry. His father, Harikishan Lal, was an industrialist and fourder of the Laxmi Insurance Company but also a brave nationalist and was detained for some time along with his leader Lajpatrai by British authorities. Nevertheless he believed that in socialism lay the answer to India's problems.

Jawaharlalji found great pleasure in his company. After Swaraj he was sent as India's Ambassador to Turkey. He attended many an international conference and gained much goodwill for India through his eloquence, passion for world

peace and extraordinary gifts of sociability and conviviality in post-war western social circles.

We both toured together in 1955 in Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia. Their cruel suppression of self-employment and freedom of the peasantry pained us. But we appreciated the rapid industrial development being achieved by Russia and wanted India to make similar progress through socialist approach. We also admired the successful efforts of Yugoslavia's Communist regime to preserve most of the self-employed, notably peasants, and to march rapidly towards industrialisation through the self-governing workshops of her proletariat along Guild-Socialism. He incorporated these and other thoughts we shared, in his picturesque travelogue on Soviet Russia.

He shared with us the platform of the Foreign Affairs Association of India. He pressed into service his great dialectical gifts as a barrister in defending Jomo Kenyatta, now the President of Kenyan Republic, when he was being tried on the false charges of complicity in Mau Mau campaign for Kenya's Uhuru or freedom. So he was specially invited to the inauguration of the Republic of Kenya.

In recent years he became a powerful advocate of world peace and worked for it at the United Nations and also through the Peace Council. Thus he paved the way in his own way for the present detente between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and also for the development of Indo-Soviet amity.

Chamanlal made good company in any national or international gathering. His felicitous recitation in his captivating voice of the best verses from Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, English and French made many a new friend for India and her men of letters and culture. He was as entertaining a conversationalist as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Though not a poet like Mrs. Naidu, his apt quotations from Shakespeare, Byron, Keats, Tennyson were

almost poetic. As he had been a contemporary of parliamentarians like Motilalji, Malaviyaji, Lala Lajapatrai, Jawaharlal, Shoukat Ali, Bhulabhai and Jinnah and their British rivals in legislative arena, it was delightful to hear him regale parliamentarians with many pleasant memoirs of the past during his reminiscent musings.

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12. DEOS OF ORISSA

R N. Singh Deo of Orissa was born on 31 3-1912. studied in Ajmer, first ruler to sign Merger of his State of Pattana into India, M P. 1952–57, M.L A. from 1957. Leader of Ganatantra, later of Swatantra Party in Orissa Assembly since 1962. Deputy Chief Minister in Congress-Ganatanta Coalition 1959–62. Chief Minister of Coalition 1967-70; Vice-President of All India Swatnatra Party; died in 1974.

P K Deo, M.P. of Orissa, born on 5–10- 1919, M.P. from 1957. first of Ganatantra, later of Swatantra Party. Leader of Bharatiya Lok Dal in Parliament in 1974 Leader of Indian delegation to Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Deputy Leader of Ganatantra in Orissa Assembly 1952–56. Leader of Swatantra Party in Lok Sabha in 1962. Toured all over the World, was called to the Patna Bar.

Pabitra Mohan Prachan of Orissa was born on 8–2-1910. B A., Teacher, became State Peoples' Leader, led Satyagraha in Talchar, Co- operated with Ranga in making a report to Gandhi-ji about repression of peoples' movement by Princes, follower of Subhash Bose, was imprisoned many times, escaped from Jail and worked underground, M.L.A. in 1950, Joined Ministry 1951-52, left Congress, along with Harekrishna Mehatab in 1967, formed Jan Congress, became Deputy Chief Minister 1967-70. (Ed)

13. BHULABHAI DESAI

Bhulabhai Desai was born in 1877, graduate by 1895, Advo - cate 1905 Bombay High Court, Joined Home Rule League 1918, was offered Governor's Executive Council Membership in 1922. Advocate-General, Bombay 1926 In 1928 Advocate of Bardoli Peasants over Tax Enquiry Commission. Arrested on 25-7-1932, released 6-7-1933. Leader of Congress Party of 52 M L As in Central Legislative Assembly 1935-45. Member of Congress Working Committee 1936 45, toured extensively in Europe and U S A. Chief Advocate for I.N A. Prisoners. (Ed)

I was elected to the Central Assembly, as a Congress M.L A , from Guntur-Nellore Districts of Andhra in 1934-35 after having overcome formidable opposition by the feudal lords, money-lenders, their Justice Party, the allies of the British administration. At Delhi from among the newly elected Congress M.L.As. I knew only Giri with his reputation as the leader of Railway labour. Satyamurti as the renowned parliamentarian and leader of the Congress Party in Madras Legislative Council, and Desoddharaka Nageswarao, founder and Editor of the only Telugu daily Andhra Patrika, from among the South Indians. Except Bhulabhai Desai, who met and talked to me when he came to Andhra to make preliminary enquiries on behalf of the Congress Parliamentary Board in order to choose Congress candidates, almost all the prominent Congress MLAs from the North were more or less strangers to me, though some of them might have seen me on the A.I.C.C. Platform.

Bhulabhai Desai was elected the leader, Govind Vallabh Pant the Deputy Leader, Satyamurthi the Secretary and Asaf Ali the Chief whip, of our Assembly Comgress party.

Bhulabhai had been Advocate-General of Bombay. He became famous as the champion of Bardoli peasants before the Broomfield's Commission. In his very first speech, made in

congratulating Sir Abdur Rahim on his election as the speaker after defeating our Congress candidate, and freedom fighter A. Sherwani, he indicated the high moral level from which Congress would proceed to fight the British rulers. Bhulabhai was never in a hurry to choose to speak But when he chose to speak he was the ablest exponent of the political stand of the Congress. He was eloquent and impressive. His eloquence was unrivalled. It seemed to raise the members to a breathless level of righteous challenge to the then rulers of India. His arguments were cogently framed; his criticisms were emotionally sharp, and his final perorations left the treasury benches helpless with the feeling of being perpetrators of obvious injustice.

He would speak for an hour, during the Budget session and hold the House's attention and gain its heart. Even when he spoke for only fifteen minutes on an adjournment motion, he used to thrill the house and raise the debate to a superlative level of excellence. Never did he need any elaborate notes, so prodgiious was his memory, and his chiselled arguments were neatly piled one over the other; and his thurst of emotional challenges used to make the Treasury Benches breathless. And what a voice he commanded soft, pleasing and magical! As he stood, with his slight hump, his face tilted to one side as from the burdens of convictions and emotions, in his flowing, loose robe and with that silvery but slight tuft of hair by the ears and that broad, receding Gujarati forehead, he made a fine picture of venerable patrician, discharging the duties of a fiery tribune as well as a wise counsellor, alternately threatening, challenging and again counoelling and warning. He became the master of the House, and the lion of the Congress, of whom the elephant-like treasury bench was mortally afraid.

By the time the first budget session was over, Bhulabhai was good enough to ask me to come back soon to take charge of the office of our party as its honorary Secretary, as he came to be impressed by then with my contribution to the debates, and my popularity with the members of the Party and growing contacts with kisan and mazdoor organisers and unions all over the country. At the next annual election of office bearers. I was elec-

ted, at his suggestion, as one of the secretaries. Thanks to his initiative and encouragement. I continued to be in that position right up to 1951, that is, through the periods of Sarat Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru, the successive leaders.

There were many occasions when Bhulabhai used to get upset by my passionate championship of the causes of peasants weavers and workers. He used to be angry and grow red in his face, yet he continued to bear with me and extend his good humoured cooperation on all other occasions, as if our earlier differences had never arisen. Such a happy leader he proved to me.

Those were the years when we had to go on pressing India's demand for developing the basic and tertiary industries and thus avoid or minimise our dependence upon imported machinery. So we pleaded for the establishment of locomotive and car factories, and oil-refineries; the authorities said these would not be ecnomical. We wanted nationalisation of railways but the British delayed it, We saw how the U. S. A. was going ahead with multi-purpose T. V. A. Public enterprise and Soviet Russia was achieving rapid development through planning We supported Visweswarayya's call for planned development of Indian industry but the Government disagreed with us. We deplored the exploitation by the British of our coal mines, tea and coffee plantations, and wanted them to be Indianised. In voicing all these demands, Bhulabhai strengthened us by his peerless advocacy. When it came to insurance industry and company management, the Government appeared to be more solicitous of public interests but the Congress party had to protect the interests not only of policy-holders and labour but also of Indian entrepreneurs. I used to plead for wokers interests but Bhulabhai had to protect the Indian capitalists as against the British capitalists. Somehow we used to succeed in protecting national interests. We had to look after the interests of Indians abroad and they were mostly settled in British colonies. Bhulabhai used to reinforce, what-

ever was being urged by me, Seth Govind Das, or Avinashilingam Chettiar, by his powerful tirades against the callousness of the British to the interests of Indians whom they had enticed away to their colonies to work for their development, mostly as indentured labour.

Many journalists complained that his English was not faultless and his sentences were not complete. Some pandits questioned the depth of his scholarship. But his English diction was all his own, suited to the expression of his dynamic thoughts and racing arguments. All used to agree that the overall effect of his speechs was overwhelming.

He rose rapidly in political prominence and gained the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel. So he became a member of the Congress Working Committee ard also of its Parliamentary Board ahd grew to be one of the most trusted advisers of Sardar Patel. This did not please many of his fellow-members of that Committee, who had to struggle hard, over years to reach that eminence.

His prominent position among Congress parliamentarians all over the Country was acknowledged by all and he was confidently expected to head the Congress Party as it would ride into a national government. But the Second World War, Congress struggles against the British Imperialist domination over India, Jinnah's separatist movement aided and abetted by the British-all conspired against Congress. It was at that crucial stage, that Bhulabhai dared to take reins into his hands. Congress gods must have felt "How dare he?" Bhulabhai's fans felt" why not?

Bhulabhai was a very rich man, when he chose to join Congress as a wholetime public worker, having been a more successful lawyer than Jinnah. In this, he was like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, and Srinivasa Ayyangar. All of them were the doyens of their respective Bars and they started their political career from the top rungs. Like them, Bhulabhai too entertained

a high sense of self-respect and was equally ambitious. No wonder he was keen on asserting himself in the councils of the high priests of Congress. In those times, one had to deal not only with super-scrupulous and considerate Gandhiji as the supreme leader, but also with Jawaharlal who was so prominent and powerful but not as charitable as Gandhiji.

He entered into talks with Liaquat Ali Khan to work out a compromise between Congress and Muslim League, so as to pave the way for the formation of a national government. That tempted the gods and enraged the Congress dons. Nehru, Sardar Patel and others in the Ahmednagar detention camp misunderstood his moves and Gandhiji who did not mind such efforts being made in the hope of breaking the prolonged political stalemate, became incapable of defending Bhulabhai. By an unhappy and unmerited conspiracy of events, Bhulabhai lost the confidence of Nehru and Sardar and so, he had to retire from leadership. That was indeed very tragic. Could it have been avoided, if it had not been feared that he might become the Prime Minister of a government, not fully free from British control? Or did he stand in the way of ambitions treasured by senior leaders? Bhaulabhai came to be called again for national service - for which he alone was so supremely trained – when the INA prisoners had to be defended in the famous trial held in the Red Fort. There, on that historic occasion, Bhulabhai rose to his highest stature by declaring in his ringing tones, that "to war against slavery and imperialism is no treason." Thus Bhulabhai lives in our national memories as one of India's noblest tribunes and ardent champions.

Bhulabhai's son, Dhiren, an equally cosmopolitan samaritan, came to serve India as our Ambassador to Switzerland. Jawaharlal was proud of his achievements, winning the confidence of the extremely conservative Swiss statesmen and even more choosy Swiss financiers. His wife, charming and cultured,

served him as well as Bhulabhai as their loyal comrade in public life. She has been busy ever since Dhiren's untimely death, raising a modern memorial-cum-museum on their grounds, facing the Sea in Bombay, in memory of Bhulabhai, and making it into a fine Centre of social work and fine arts.

14. MORARJI DESAI

Fair in visage Morarji is tall, clad in spotless white khadi and looks every inch a Warrior. He walks with a confident gait, carrying himself as if ready to meet any challenger. He is ever-smiling, without being too easy for anyone to approach him. He studies every issue with care and least possible predilections. But once he comes to a conclusion, he finds it difficult to resile from it, thus making himself strangely intractable in an ever fluid democratic challenging world.

He is a sworn vegetarian, and enjoys fruits with great relish. He is at his best, as a host, particularly in distributing fruits which he slices himseif. He is affectionate and confiding, once he is assured of one's goodness and good intentions. He can be very frank about his views on public issues and persons in public life but most scrupulously silent about his political opponents. He hates to hit anyone below the belt, as was so well demonstrated even when his colleague came under his power to wreak vengeance.

Merarji Desai achieved his reputation as the strong man among all the Congress Chief Ministers by the success he achieved in keeping together the Congress M.L As hailing from that multi-lingual State of Bombay and maintaining harmony between the three P.C.Cs and the ministry. He forced Prohibition down the throats of the powerful and notorious smuggler groups and Parsee-cum-financier groups of the usually unmanageable internationally oriented Bombay City. He was also responsible for blindly applying the same tenancy legislation for the land-lord minded Maharashtra and peasant-minded Gujarat, with the result the great-body of self-employed peasant proprietors of Gujarat were threatened with the loss of ownership of their lands even though they only leased them out for temporary periods.

When he was called upon by Nehru to assume Finance

Ministership at the Centre and he was forced to adopt measures to prevent gold smuggling, he adopted, just as blindly and pedantically, the same coercive means and methods to deal with the criminally minded smugglers of the great ports and cities as the self employed millions of gold and silver smiths all over India who were ministering to the self-decorative fancies of our great masses. His answers that when a revolution is engineered in the social habits of people, some people, like the goldsmiths are bound to suffer, along with the criminal smugglers was just as indiscriminate and Savanarolian as his reply to Gujarat and Maharashtra Peasants that when the absentee-landlords of Maharashtra had to be restrained in their rack-renting methods, some self employed peasants might come to suffer to some extent and in some way. He would not learn nor would he yield to change of circumstances nor would he pause and make allowances for different experiences or needs of varying sections of people. Even much less scrupulous but more practical minded T.T Krishnamachari, his successor as Finance Minister found it possible to relieve much of the distress caused to goldsmiths by his pedantic approach to revolutionary means.

When later he was willing to control the Banking operations, in the interests of national planning, he wanted to avoid the pit-falls instinct in nationalisation, as could be seen from the effects of nationalisation of Insurance and so adopted the more useful, if less drastic means of Social Control. When much opposition was conjured up by both the Bankers and their allies and the doctrinnaire Socialists, he would not yield to either and he achieved that revolutionary change.

But when the Prime Minister to whom he avowed his loyalty wanted to short circuit the experimental period and go ahead with the nationalisation of Banks, he was not wise enough to enthusiastically offer to sponsar that move which was after all one step farther from what he had already achieved.

When Rajaji was tired of his heartless perseverance with the steam-roller moves towards Gold Control, he demanded that "Merarji should go" but he did not go. But when he hesitated

to move towards the logically next relevant step in his much- professed social revolutionary drive, fates were ready to force him from out of his proud pedestal. Indira was the hand-maiden of those fates and he vainly demanded an apology from those very fates whom he tempted so unfeelingly when he jeopardised the seif-employment of lakhs of gold smiths and when he refused so cruelly to save them from his axe.

Morarji Desai could have been a Prime Minister of India if only he had been more elastic in his political poseurs and appeared less domineering in his personal relations with his compeers. He would have attained that supreme position, if Shri Kamaraj-Nadar the then King-maker by being the Congress President had not developed such a fear of his intractability and supercilious self-righteousness. He thought that Jawaharlal would have named him as his successor, if only he had lived longer, forgetting that such unattainable hopes were entertained by J.P his present-day ally, to mention only one of the would-have been hopefuls.

Morarji was rightly confident that he would have made an abler Prime Minister than his successful rivals, but would that success have made him a popular chief in view of his own in-built non-democratic reactions to the challenges of the times?

He certainly would have kept the Prime Ministership above any palpable or un-Gandhian corruption. No other power-holder had been as great a target of unfriendly and passionate critic as Morarji and none emerged as untarnished as he had done, despite cruellest critics and their character-assasination moves.

Twice he lost in the choice for Prime Ministership. Once after his defeat, he preferred to remain out of office for no better reason than that of precedence among the ministers. After the Second defeat, he became wiser and expected and accepted Deputy Prime Ministership to cover up his injured pride. But Indira Gandhi, his successful rival hastened to say that his new title meant no more than relative precedence among the ministers. He was democratic enough to avow his loyalty to her, though he was bold enough to say that he could have made an abler Prime Minister.

Power and precedence were as dear to him as honest administration and efficient servants. When he agreed to be the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission, he did his best to give shape to the demand for Ombudsman and the proposals for Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt emerged from that Commission. It was indeed a disappointment to him that despite the co-operation he welcomed from Socialist Leader H. V. Kamat and support from Parliament, these institutions have not yet come into existence.

Morarji is made of the heroic stuff. Like a hero, he welcomed the dismissal from British Collector's Cadre, when he embraced patriotic service through the Congress. He demonstrated his anguish at the failure of Ahmadabad masses to respect the lives of minorties even during the Gandhi Centenary Year by imposing upon himself the painful fast for an indefinite period. He achieved equal success by his second such fast, when he reinforced the demand of the Students cum Youths' Nav-Nirman Samiti for dissolution of Gujarat Assembly in 1974. He proved by undertaking his 1975 April Fast unto death against Government's Gujarat policy that the moral authority of such a determined, scrupulous former minister of Gandhian standards of integrity and public service could be more powerful than even the Prime Minister who could and did ease him out of the Central Cabinet by making the Government to agree to hold immediate elections, despite its earlier persis ence to extend President's Rule with all the support of Parliament. That an octagenarian former minister who is Gandhian besides could thus triumph over Prime Minister is a unique tribute to India's democracy and its atmosphere of Gandhian forbearance with opposition, even if it be spear-headed by only one worthy old son of Bharat Mata. Morarji thus stands out as the tallest champion of democratic opposition. It is indeed a typically Gandhian experience that India's Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister have successively scored against each other in their epic rivalry for precedence and Indian democracy has come to be thus strengthened by one remaining at the top of power and the other at the top of opposition in India's Parliament.

In my own dealings with Morarji during the past two decades of our comradeship in Parliament, I found him to be a similar strange mixture of extremely exacerbating obstruction to my pleas for mercy for gold smiths, relief from his taxation-proposalsupon agricultural products, kerosene etc. and scrupulously hearty comradeship towards me in international Conferences. Once I had to persist in demanding that he should either agree to rush to the rescue of the Cyclone-affected sufferers in Srikakulam in Andhra and Ganjam in Orissa or resume his seat and I was not content until he sat down helplessly. Yet, he hastened, soon after, to over-whelm those sufferers with all the relief they needed, such was his humanity The question of corruption was being discussed in the Commonwealth Conference held in Wellington, New Zealand. I found it necessary to say how Indian democracy too was obliged to come to grips with corruption, since many a minister was found indulging in it. Morarji, the honest minister did not raise any objection to my initiative ; that he could be very friendly and communicative, once he believed in his Company became evident to me, when we were seated side by side in Opposition front bench in Parliament. He used to discuss freely and confide most intimately. Altogether he is a good man but a harsh minister.

Morarji and my self got on very well as colleagues in the opposition in Parliament during the few months when he sat by my side on the opposition bench, after he parted company with the Cabinet. We were good friends during the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Newzealand. I found him as strangely tongue tied in opposition as he was circumlocutously eloquent during the decades on the Treasury Benches.

He has tried to be a Gandhian in private life and also in politics. He fasted successfully and achieved his immediate objectives, though they were not as exalted.

However, he bent the powers that be, by his latest fast and ended the Governor's Raj and brought his Gujarat back into democratic arena. Unfortunately he joined others in 1973 in initiating a Campaign of vendetta against his successful rival, Indiraji after the Allahabad High Court decided against her

election to Lok Sabha unmindful of the interim stay given to her and sustained by the Supreme Court. If he and his colleagues in the Janata Front had not rushed to give [their call to people on the 24th June 1975 to revolt against government, India need not have come to be plunged into the emergency. What a finale for the political career of such a good friend and Gandhian.

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15. DURGABAI-DYNAMIC WOMEN'S LEADER

Women were the best beneficiaries of the renaissance which came to us in the wake of Gandhian age. The Brahmo Samajists and Theosophists did much to give freedom to their women to take an equal part in social and religious activities but they could not persuade the great bulk of even the so-called educated sections of Hindus to follow suit. It was Gandhiji's clarion call to all women to join the national Satyagraha Campaign of 1930 which ripped open the Hindu orthodoxy and inspired even the old fashioned and tradition-oriented Hindu women and girls to come out of their purdah, and brave lathi-charges, arrests, imprisonment. M Annapurna (Mrs. Bapi Needu) was the first campaigner for bon fire of foreign cloth. Srimati Duvvuri Subbamma and Unnava Laxmibayamma were among the first batch of Andhra women to come out to join satyagraha in 1921-24. Srimati Bharati Devi (Mrs. Ranga) of Guntur and Ponaka Kanakamma of Nellore, Ramasiramma of Krishna, Chukkamma of West Godavari and Laxmibayyamma of Vizag came with their comrades n 1930 45.

Durgabayamma, Kameswari and Kamalamma of East Godavari, Annapurna of West Godavari, and Kanakamma of Nellore and their comrades and followers led the way for women of middle classes of both Brahmin and non Brahmin, urban and rural households. Their sacrifices, sufferings and privations make an inspiring saga and their contribution to our struggle for freedom was second to none. Durgabai at the governmental plane, Kameswari in the All India Women's Association, Bharati Devi on the Kisan Front, played all-India roles. They walked in the foot-steps of Sarojini Devi, Kasturba, Kamala Devi, Sucheta Kripalani, Vijayalaxmi, Leelavati Munshi, Kuttiammal, Mridula Sarabai and other national leaders. They and myriad of others among our mothers and sisters have made it possible for the emergence of Indira Gandhi as the Congress President and the Prime Minister, though the bulk

of our proletarian and kisan women have yet to free their minds and play their role as equal partners of men in nation building activities.

Durgabai achieved all - India fame as the first Chairman of the Social Welfare Board. She emerged as one of the dynamic women leaders of post - Swaraj India. She is constructive and imaginative. She has the drive of an aggressive military campaigner. For organisational flair, she is the bye-word. She built the Social Welfare Board, prepared plans for its all round expansion and made it one of the greatest catalytic agents for governmental work in the field of social welfare, a neglected field. She built up the Andhra Mahila Social Service Complex at Madras with the Paternal assistance of an equally dynamic patriot and Andhra Congress leader, the late B. Sambamurti, and another social service complex at Hyderabad and Andhra Educational Society and its high school and College at New Delhi with the co-operation of her great husband, C. D. Deshmukh. She prepared a far-seeing report for the development of educational facilities from schools and colleges to hostel facilities for women and persuaded the Planning Commission to accept it. Thanks to her efforts, women's education is receiving all-round encouragement from the Centre.

Durgabai hailed originally from East Godavari in Andhra from a traditional but educated middle class family. She joined the Hindi Prachar Movement of the South from her school days. She was one of the three women leaders of the women-volunteers of the Kakinada Congress session of 1923, the other two being Vedantam Kamala Devi of Kakinada and Kameswari of Rajahmundry. My neice, Anasuya, was one of her volunteers. She improved upon her public image by coming forward to translate Gandhiji's Hindi speeches in the Godavari and Krishna Districts. The Salt Satyagraha Campaign found her leading the Satyagrahis along the Madras Marina, in their valiant efforts to manufacture salt, defying the police threats of violence. By the time she was imprisoned, she had become famous all over the South as a Joan of Arc. Mrs. Ranga, during her imprisonment, found her as a restless and dynamic comrade. Both T. Prakasam and Sambamurti took her under

their protective wings and encouraged her in her studies. Soon she graduated and took her M. A. in First Class from Andhra University. She devoted her ebullient energy and constructive ability to develop schools, dispensaries, libraries, rehabilitation centres, etc., for Andhras in the city of Madras.

She was elected to the Constituent Assembly from Madras Assembly and distinguished herself as a self-reliant parliamentarian, while serving on the Panel of Chairmen of the provisional Parliament. She persuaded the Government to institute Scholarships' for the intelligent but needy students, irrespective of their castes or social origins.

She caught the eye of Vijayalaxmi Pandit, who had already achieved national fame during their tour of post-War Communist China. And so, Jawaharlal appointed her as the first woman Member of the Planning Commission. It was her fearless and enthusiastic work there which fascinated Shri C. D. Deshmukh, the ex-officio Member of the Commission and the gifted Finance Minister. Since both of them were free from previous marriage entanglements, they got married with the blessings of the veteran Andhra patriot and her benefactor Sambamurti.

Durgabai has no patience with redtape and she set at nought the Parkinson's Law. She moved like a whirlwind throughout India, reached almost every social institution that had been started during the Gandhian decades, gave their organisers every possible encouragement, reshaped the plans for their reform and development and offered them the maximum possible assistance. She used to meet the concerned State ministers to persuade them to sanction for development and offered matching grants from the Centre.

She knew about the sufferings and sacrifies of the organisations like Vinayashram of Kavur, Mahila Seva Sadan of Rajahmundry and Saradaniketan of Guntur, Sitanagaram Satyagraha Ashram and Kasturidevi School of Neilore. She realised how urgent was their need to meet at least their recurring deficits and over come the slow moving procedures and

how formalities have to be side-stepped to provide help in time. So she adopted unconventional methods, to offer succour to the genuine social workers who were hard pressed to continue work in their long established social centres, since the flow of public donations had begun to dry up after Swaraj.

Many a time she used to fight, as it were, with the Central ministers to get necessary funds sanctioned to all those social institutions which were doing genuine social work and needed financial assistance. She became a bugbear to many a Secretary, tide bound by the routine proceedures Repeatedly the Auditor - General found fault with her unconventional procedures and non-availability of timely reports of the work done with the money spent and it was my privilege as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee to come to her rescue.

In the end the Secretariat had its way and insisted upon the observance of its soul-killing and delaying proceedures, and Durgabai who had earlier won many a battle by offering to resign when thwarted by a minister, found herself at the losing end. Jawaharlalji who wanted to make peace with his Secretaries and Cabinet colleagues had accepted her resignation. If the social welfare aspect of our national planning is such an integrated, and growing part of our national development, it is because of the bold, far-sighted and humane perspective given by this dynamic first president.

Durgabai knows from her intimate contacts with the middle-class women how great is their need for thrift, how painful is their experience with moneylenders and how heart-rending it is for them to mortgage their precious jewels to raise small sums for marriages, festivals, etc. So she built up the National Council for Women's Small Savings in 1953-54. When she asked Shrimati Bharati Devi, her jail companion and great colleague in Social work to co-operate with her in this campaign she readily joined her and developed the Andhra Branch, Durgabai gained such support from many of patriotic friends and Gandhian colleagues and thus the Women's

Small Savings Campaign has grown to be an invaluable prop both to women and the Finance Ministry.

Durgabai and Deshmukh together conceived the plan for developing the India - International Centre as a national meeting place for visiting savants from other lands. They collected funds from various governmental and voluntary public institutions in India and abroad, and built up the big centre by the side of the Lodi gardens. They are busy developing another such centre in Hyderabad to serve South India. Dozens of distinguished professors, scholars and researchers in science and arts from abroad come in contact with their fellow scholars of India. Romantically and deservedly enough they were both honoured together by the President of India as "Padma Vibhushan".

16. ISWARDUTT

Iswar Dutt was by temperment and profession, a robust journalist. Even when I met him in 1926 as he was working as an Assistant to the Registrar of Andhra University when the late C R. Reddy was the first Vice-Chancellor, I was impressed with his journalistic flair for the exciting events, interesting anecdotes about the great national leaders, stimulating sallies of Parliamentarians and energising ideosynchrcsies of savants. His gifts of tape-recording memory and of admiring whatever would be special, gooa or bad in a public man, in any field of service was discovered by that powerful journalist turned statesman the late Chintamani and so, he was invited to join his Allahabad English Daily. 'The Leader' Soon he rose to be the editor of the powerful English Daily 'The Pioneer'.

While in Allahabad, he became an intimate of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of R.T.C fame and Sri C Y. Chintamani of the "Leader" and absorbed some of their brilliance in conversation and controversy and savoured the intellectual dialogues and social amenities of the famous gathering at Saprus Court and gained many intimate anecdotes about Nehrus, Katzus and Kunzrus, Tandons and other political stars.

During those two decades, the more senior editors, Kotamraju brothers, Punnniah, Ramarao were fighting for the Congress in their intrepid and exciting manner, against the British rulers, facing imprisonment, victimisation etc. Iswar Dutt continued to plead for Swaraj but in harmony with the political symphony of Liberals of Sapru Jayakar.

Iswar was so much impressed with the genuine patriotism of the Liberals and their exercise of practical power within the British sphere of Parliamentary progress towards declared destiny of representative governance for India that for more than a decade, he devoted his growing journalistic skills and intellectual powers for upholding their approach to Indian struggle for

Swaraj. His pen-pictures of the great among those patriotic Liberals are a testimony for his faith in their sincere efforts to serve Indian cause and also for his high standards of soulful characterisation of political leaders in chaste English.

After the advent of Swaraj, Indian politics demanded the skills and services of intellectual craftsmen among journalists to enlighten and entertain the electorate about the parliamentary politics and politicians. This arena was very much after the heart of both Iswar Dutt and K. Ramarao. So they drifted into the editorial sanctum of the powerful Hindustan Times of Delhi and made their mark as the leader-writers by continuing the tradition built up by Krupanidhi and Durga Das, as independent and friendly critics of the Congress Cabinet and leaders. Iswar Dutt was a master of epigrams, felicitous phrases and divinat-ions of emotions, thoughts or activities of publicmen. He was generous to fricnds without being blind to their failings, he was inspiring even to those whom he admired and his pen portraits were scintillating with inspiration and guidance for the youths.

Iswar Dutt retained till the very last days of his earthly existence his love of parliamentary debates and political stalw-arts wrestling with each other through their weapons of argum-ents and answers and searching for practical and timely solutions-progressive or otherwise, for the problems of the day. He was catholic in his contacts and used to entertain and encou-rage, with equal gusto and zest, both the leaders whose politics he disagreed with and those whose fights he admired. He was cosmopolitan in his social contacts as well as choice of political favourites. So he was able to express his admiration of Frank Anthony's parliamentary skills in defending English as National language and myself from the villages of peasants. He was a lover of the coiner of a happy phrase of a joke as well as he was fascinated by the author of a slogan or passionate pursuer of an ideal. He was ever ready to find a new favourite or to admire a new hero : such was his resilince. Many a time I used to find in his rooms, those ministers whose methods I did not like and he would skillfully jettison them while making himself available to me, without giving any offence to anyone.

He had always a soft corner for me and he tempted the gods within his favourite sphere of ministers by boldly expressing his admiration for my role in successive political debates in which I took part. He loved such struggles and he drew strength from such parliamentarian arenas, because he was a born journalist.

The following brief quotes from his book "My Portrait Gallery" of 1959 indicate not only his rare gift of saying so much "in a pharase and in a flash" (in his own words) but also to concentrate search light on the central prodlems, their inspiring his capacity significance and the message of his heroes for the moment:-

Here are a few flourishes of his love and light-filled pen, from his "Portrait Gallery."

1) About Khasa:- "Among the present day editors, in India, he has few equals and no superiors. To the scholar's equipment and the craftsmens excellence, he brings the thinker's original approach and the Crusader's zeal. There is in his writings that rarest of things–character. P. 154-5.

2) About Krupanidhi:- "His imperturbability is an asset His neatness of work, lucidity of exposition, elegance of manner and subtle sence of humour- his secret of expressing extreme views in moderate language-his main virtue is reliability, his supreme gift is for friendship" P. 154.

3) About C. R. Reddi – As a wielder of English language, as a wit and as a phrase–maker, he is matchless,"–He set intelligentsia thinking by his original thinking and inimitable expression." P. 145.

4) About Desoddharaka Nageshwara Rao– "An entirely self-made man whom prosperity never elated nor the demands on charity ever depressed, his name was a household word." P. 142.

5) About Veeresalingam– "A poor and lonely man with nothing to sustain him in all his struggles but his own inner voice and iron will, he swam against the sweeping currents of Time and yet changed their direction." P. 139

6) Of Radhakrishna – His astonishing capacity to reach the new situations with an old faith and to reconcile one point of time to another in the aeons, has carried him forward. Seldom are profundity of thought and depth of understanding so happily attuned to nobler themes and larger purposes" P. 101 – 102

7) Of Sarojini Naidu : "She was the very spirit of India incarnate." If, as a speaker she reached lyrical heights. as a conversationalist she stands alone.

"Under Gandhiji's spell, she picked up the Cross and flung the lyre " P. 135

8) Sardar Patel– "An indefinable sence of power in repose that was Sardar Patel in a phrase and in a flash.

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17. GANDHIJI

–BAPU AS I THINK OF HIM

Gandhiji, as he appeared to us at prayers, is our Bapu.

At other times he was so much like any other human being, excelling only in his wit and wisdom, love and laughter.

Once he sat down for prayers, he became a sadhaka, serene and sacred, withdrawn from us and in communion with his inner being.

Sometimes, I was privileged to walk behind him to the prayer meeting. At other times I found myself in the midst of the devout gathering. As he sat down, we resumed our places. The gong announced the commencement of the prayers.

A Celestial Being :

He used to keep time with our songs. He joined us in our silent prayers. He was the best 'Bhakta' among 'Bhaktas.'

Many a time I felt, as I looked at him in his 'Dhyanopasana,' that he was no longer the frail old man, hardly three feet high as he sat, but was transformed into a celestial being. To quote from my book 'Bapu Blesses' : "I felt that he was touching the very aura of the heaven and his shoulders were extending towards the poles and his bronze visage was as beautiful as the approaching evening twilight." "It was that Bapu who had aroused our masses, awakened their public spirit and entwined their minds with the national consciousness." So, I felt myself growing stronger and bolder.

I think of that Bapu every day as I offer my prayers. The chanting of those songs with their magic words resounds in my ears.

National Programme – Akashvani, November 30, 1969

Gandhiji toured repeatedly through almost every part of India during his numerous capaigns for Harijan uplift and temple entry, anti-untouchability, Khadi, prohibition, village industries non-co-operation and Swarajya. His pilgrimage, around the political and social nerve centres of our country, were unique and left the stamp of his teachings on this land of villages.

Three to four generations of our people had the honour of seeing him in our villages, and the present generation of our students are regaled by their parents with exciting stories of Bapu's visits to their areas and of his poignant sayings.

A Great Privilege

He had thus come to my own village Nidubrolu in 1929 and 1933. It was a great privilege. My wife, Bharati Devi, and I rushed from Madras to share with our villagers the honour of receiving him. My mother felt so proud of her sons and herself as Gandhiji came to our home, accepted our garlands and purse and blessed us; so was every family in every village that he touched.

Most of our people did not understand his Hindi; that did not bother them. It was enough that he was in their midst. They knew that his was the Mantra of Swaraj, mission of mercy for all the suffering ones and liberation for all the suppressed. He stood for work, shelter, food, clothing and enlightenment and freedom from all types of exploitation. He exhorted them, so repeatedly and with deep faith, to observe Dharma as exemplified by Shri Rama and the saints of all religions.

Thousands of people used to line the routes by which he marched on foot or drove by in a car.

Many of his observations are cherished even today. For instance, he asked the rich grandfather of an infant to teach how to give and not to hold on to, when he observed how the baby held fast to the gold coin dedicated to Gandhiji.

Once he asked me the Telugu word for money and when the train reached Vijayawada, he held out his hand and began to utter the word 'Dabbu' as if it was a Mantra and laughed

heartily as people rushed to pour out all they had in their pockets-and that amounted to thousands.

Like the Buddha

As I tour through our country, so many people relate similar experiences and mention proudly that he stopped or addressed people at such and such places and gave his ennobling messages of humanism through his soft voice, after the manner of Lord Buddha.

Gandhiji's Pada Yatras have planted once again the golden seeds of 'dharma' and love of 'dharma' and love of humanity in this sacred soil of Rama. His footprints beckon our masses towards the noble paths of Swatantra, Swarajya, mutual tolerance and love.

Gandhiji believed in Shastras and other scriptures of Hinduism. But he would not accept their supremacy over humanism. When the Pandits quoted Sastras in favour of untouchability, he defied them with vehemence. He declared that the religion they swear by was not-could not be-Hinduism. He believed in the soulful invocation "Lokaa-Samasta-Sukhino Bhavantu". He believed in religious tolerance. To protect the right of the Moslems to practise their religious rites, he risked his life many times through fasts. He knew that full employment, and that too through self employment, would ensure the self-reliance and self respect of our people. So he favoured cottage industries and handicrafts-Khadi, the prince among them Though he was a wholehogger for Khadi, he was prepared to take under his protective wings the handloom weavers who used mill yarn in order to insure them against unemployment.

Peasant: Apple of his eye

The peasant was the apple of his eye. He tested the wisdom of every political or social solution, brought to his notice on any occasion, by asking himself whether it would benefit the peasants or harm them.

He favoured co operation among peasants so long as it would promote their self-employment, self-reliance and self-respect.

He was opposed to every type of exploitation, caused by individuals or institutions. Hence his support to our demand for the abolition of the Zamindari system and forced labour.

He could not bear any unjust or undue burdens placed on the stooping shoulders of our poor peasants and workers. So he opposed land revenue and salt tax. He opposed food controls because they prevented the peasants from selling their produce in the free market and at remunerative prices. Controls meant coercion of peasants by officials, and increase in corruption and exploitation of poor consumers. By the same token, he wanted protection for peasants from the exploitation of merchants and money-lenders. So he hailed my demand for moratorium on agricultural debts and Congress Governmet's debt relief legislation.

Gandhiji desired that tenants should also be assured of tenure and economic rents as against the demands of absentee land-holders and rack-renting even after the abolition of the Zamindari system. He pleaded for protection and decent wages and humane conditions of employment for Khet Mazdoors. Hence his faith in Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj.

Over and above everything else, Gandhiji favoured peasant proprietorship and the self-employment that it ensured,

For Industrial Labour

He laboured hard to win for the industrial labour not only decent conditions of work and maximum protection from expioitation but also partnership in profits and management. He wanted wages etc. to be settled by mutual negotiation and arbitration. In short, he wanted industries to function and prosper without exploitation.

The whole world has acknowledged how wise and inspired a statesman Gandhiji proved to be in achieving India's freedom through peaceful means and that he and his Indian freedom fighters have led the way for the post-war independence of African and Asian peoples. That the Gandhian way continues to inspire ever new cadres of lovers of freedom and humanrights,

is exemplified by the soul-stirring march of the coloured people of the United States under the leadership of Martin Luther King and the self-immolation of many in Asia and Europe in their fight against, totalitarianism.

"Bleeding All Over"

So, he exclaimed, when I visited him a few days before the fateful January the thirtieth. I quote him from my book 'Bapu Blesses':

"I am no longer anxious to be in your midst- I cannot blink at these fires of people's sufferings. These killings and sabre-rattlings are wounding me. I am bleeding all over."

I assured him that all of us were suffering-going through inexpressible agony at the thought of his responsive misery. Bapu continued to say:

"Your feelings-our colleagues" responses-are like soft, soothing breezes, but my heart is on fire. Nothing seems to quench these fires. Every life lost, every anguished heart scared during these unkind days seems to be tearing at my heart-strings. I want to close my eyes. I cannot prevent my eyes from closing. Yet, they do not close, because some unseen shocks, unheard of beatings, seem to make my eye-lids so dry and heavy. I want to sleep. But I cannot sleep. I seem to be awake while asleep."

Ever Triumphant:

I am convinced that Bapu triumphs. When the princely states were integrated so peacefully with India by Sardar Patel, Bapu triumphed. When Kennedy and Khrushchev withdrew from the brink of an atomic war, he triumphed When Gandhi Peace Mission led by Rajaji persuaded Kennedy to initiate the Test-Ban Treaty, Bapu triumphed. When Martin Luther King marched along the Gandhian way, painting it with his sacred blood, he triumphed. In the same way as Buddha's 'Parinirvana" was celebrated after 2500 years, Bapu's message of mercy, freedom and humanism will also continue to inspire humanity as long as God displays his faith in man through "every new born babe" to quote Tagore.

II

* MAHATMA GANDHI

It was rightly said that Gandhi's conception of non-violence is not static but dynamic. Some wondered whether Gandhi was an individualist. He was, to my mind, both an individualist and a mass leader. He not only practised non-violence himself but he also trained a number of people to practise non-violence through Satyagraha, even without being completely non-violent in themselves.

Gandhi's non-co-operation was a dynamic conception. He wanted Indians to non-co-operate with the Legislative Assemblies and boycott the elections in 1920 But in 1924 he allowed the Congress organisation to go into the Councils and by 1946 the Congress had begun to assume power through the legislatures. Non-co-operation did not mean the same thing to Gandhi under all kinds of circumstances.

It has been asked, how much did Gandhi draw upon Buddhism? It is like asking, what is Hinduism to-day apart from Buddhism? So much of Hindu belief is based upon the precepts and practices not only of the Buddha but also of so many of his followers. Hinduism has absorbed Buddhism.

Was Gandhi rooted in Hinduism? Take for instance fasting. He says in his autobiography that he learnt it from his mother. But is fasting the special monopoly of Hindus? Do not Muslims and Christians fast? Fasting is a universal instrument which has been practised by people of all religions whenever they felt the need to purify themselves or to help their friends and relatives to purify and improve themselves.

Then there is the question of ahimsa What is it that distinguishes Gandhi's ideas from those of so many other great men like him? It was said that Gandhi's ideas were conditioned by the environment and circumstances in which they were developed.

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* *Authors Contribution at UNESCO Seminor on Gandhiji in Paris, October 14-17, 1969.*

To some extent this is true, but they have gone far beyond their moorings. Buddhists in Vietnam have committed self-immolation. A Christian young man, who later became a communist. committed self-immolation the other day in Czechoslovakia. Such things are happening all over the world. Therefore, ahimsa cannot be considered to be conditioned by Indian circumstances or rooted in India or confined to any one particular religion.

Gandhi has demonstrated through the various experiments and revolutionary movements he had led in India that ahimsa can be practised by individuals, groups, organisations and the people as a whole, provided that they are prepared to absorb the atmosphere of ahimsa. He made a distinction between those who accept ahimsa as a matter of principle and those who accept it as a matter of policy. He insisted that individual satyagrahis should accept it as a matter of principle, but when it came to great mass movements, he allowed people to practise it even as a matter of expediency. Therefore, Gandhi's ahimsa is both a dynamic conception and an instrument, a weapon which can be used by people at different stages of self-development and self-purification. From my experience as an organiser of mass and individual satyagrahas, both under Gandhi's leadership and afterwards, I can say how very effective non-violence can be ;

It it had not been for the British, who were so humanistic and Christian, would non-violence in India have yielded such phenomenal results? Had it not been for the Americans and their Christian spirit, would the Buddhist monks who immolated themselves in Vietnam have achieved what they did achieve, so quickly and to the same extent? These are questions which remain to be answered.

The world today is face to face with the conflict between authority and labour. Whether you see that authority in the shape of capitalist enterprise or state enterprise, otherwise known as State-Capitalist enterprise there is no denying the conflict between these two forces. How is it to be resolved? One way of resolving it is to be seen, for example, in Soviet Russia, and another way in England. In between, you have Yugoslavia, where they are trying to get over this conflict in their own semi-Communist, semi-humanist, manner.

In Gandhi's view, it is possible to resolve this conflict in two ways. One is the method of tripartite consultations, in which decisions taken are implemented by the concerned parties and, where they fail to do so, by the government. That is the line taken by the ILO.

As a trade unionist Gandhi organised labour in Ahmedabad, and when they decided to go on strike he supported them; when some of them tried to be black-legs, he protested by going on hunger strike Thus through his own suffering and the suffering of other workers, he made it possible, as well as necessary, for the capitalists to reach an agreement with labour. That is the line which the Indian National Trade Union Congress is following.

There is another aspect of the matter which ought to be highlighted. Is the whole world to go along this line of employers and employees? Should we not also find a place for people who are self-employed, who are their own masters and who work for their own benefit and for the benefit of society as a whole? There are self-employed people in the West also, but they have come to be displaced, to a very large extent by wage slavery, by employer-employee relations. It is not so in the East or in South America. Indeed, Yugoslavia, a Communist country, is trying to encourage the sector of self-employed people. It has a large number of artisans, who have come to be organized into co-operatives and are being helped in every way. But in England, self-employed people are being discouraged because the State wants to have more and more control over everybody, and self employed people are just the ones who achieve the maximum possible economic self-governance and autonomy.

We have in India crores of peasants who are self employed and each of whom has between two and five acres of land. Wherever you have a peasant economy there is self employment. This self-employment is free from the evils of wage slavery and employer-employee relations It is non-exploitative Self-employed peasants do not employ hired labour on a large scale-never more than five continuously throughout the year and occasionally between 20-50 people a day. You can certainly

find ways and means to prevent the exploitation of even that agricultural labour. Gandhi was in favour of preventing such exploitation by insisting upon minimum wages and humane conditions for them. Some of these peasants do also lease out their lands to tenants who are themselves agricultural workers. There also one can think of tenancy legislation. Gandhi was in favour of it.

This sector of self-employment is one which has to be developed as an alternative to the present wage and employer system. Would it be possible for the world to develop it? Indeed, it is developing. In spite of efforts in other directions, in many of the Communist countries today, the peasant economy is coming back slowly into its own; not fully, because the collectives and the co-operatives within a collective form are still there. In most of the Communist countries peasants are being allowed to own small parcels of land. Even where they do not own it, they can cultivate it on their own, by themselves, enjoying the fruits of their labour. In this way, self-employment is slowly coming back into existence in the Communist and Socialist countries.

I do not consider that self-employment should be confined to agriculture. It can be extended to industries also. John Strachey has shown that in England all the industries were not dominated by large-scale industries and quite a large number of them were finding outlets in self-employment.

What was the message of Marx? He gave a ray of hope to those people who lost their self employment and became wage slaves. He wanted to help them to gain power over the instruments of production, through politics and also through industrial reorganization. Why? Because they lost their self-employment. What Gandhi had tried to do and what so many of us who follow him are trying to do is to help the industrial and agricultural workers to become their own masters, so that this nexus of employment and exploitation can be eliminated. This is an aspect of Gandhi's teaching which has to be given sreious thought.

Thirdly, I would like to pose the question: Is Gandhi relevant to present-day politics? An impression has gone round that India has already bidden goodbye to Gandhi. But this is not so. Take the question of the Bomb. Everyone knows that India is capable of manufacturing atom bombs if she wishes to. She has the know-how, having achieved it more than fifteen years ago. Why then has India chosen not to undertake their manufactures for war purpopses? Many reasons have been given. But the fundamental reason is that India's heart is still devoted to Gandhi. Many of us no longer belong to the ruling party in India and yet we support the Government's stand that we will not manufacture the atom bomb. I would therefore say that Gandhi is not dead, he is not a man of the past, he is not being forgotten. Rather he is very much alive.

Lastly, is Gandhi relevant to the world as a whole or only to India? It is true, as Mr. Farhadi argued, that Gandhi was not necessarily the inspirer of the United Nations Chapter or the Phildalphia Charter of the ILO or the Human Rights Charter. Nevertheless, he is one of the great world forces which brought about the atmosphere in which the United Nations and the ILO were able to achieve what they have achieved.

Who else, I wonder, is a greater humanist than the one who tried to help, through his own suffering, the single largest group of human beings - the 60 million untouchables of India - to achieve equal citizenship rights with all other people.

III

SOME POINTS PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR DURING HIS WORLD TOUR DURING GANDHI CENTENARY YEAR, 1969.

Gandhiji believed passionately in peace everywhere and in every sphere of life. He was convinced that only through the maintenance of peace the progress of humanity more especially of the under-developed and suppressed peoples, could be achieved rapidly and at the lowest cost in money and human

endeavour. He knew that poor and under-developed colonial people need peace, and peace alone could enable them to go ahead.

So he advocated world peace and world governance based upon racial, social, national equality and non-exploitative social and economic institutions and human rights. He preached that the developed countries and peoples, higher classes and ruling sections had more duties to perform while the less privileged had more rights.

He was opposed to all kinds of exploitation and superior privileges. So he worked for equality of women with men, advancemet of all disabled people and classes. He deplored the superiority complex of the rulers, their officers and the so-called born-masters. It is due to his influence and preaching that Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India and Sucheta Kripalani, Nandini Satpathi the Chief Ministers of State Governments, Sarojini Naidu, Padmaja Naidu, Governors, Vijayalaxmi,, an ambassador and many women ministers in State cabinets in India.

Gandhi has demonstrated, through his experiments with Satyagraha on a nation-wide scale with millions of participants, how the soul and stamina of man – spiritually exalted man as such-is for more powerful than the might of empires, oppression of dictators and traditional privileges of priests, princes and power-mongers. The British empire, the biggest of the modern empires, surrendered ultimately in good grace.

He undertook fasts for prolonged periods of up to 21 days to persuade the Indian upper classes and Hindu priests to accord human rights to the millions of untouchables, equality to religious minorities and to abandon their faith in hereditary privileges of the few and disabilities of the many. Thanks to his work, today 60 millions of descendents of the earstwhile untouchables and thirty millions of tribal peoples are accorded equal citizenship rights, and their leaders find places in all the cabinets of the State and central Governments. Some have become Chief Ministers and Ambassadors. Indeed Dr. Ambedkar,

the Harijan leader, came to be the Central Law Minister and architect of of the Consitution of India. Owing to him and his disciples, forced labour, semi-slavery and untouchability have been outlawed.

The greatest contribution made by Gandhiji to the contemporary world of struggles between peoples and peoples, peoples and governments, and unprivileged and privileged sections is the evolution of the weapon of Satyagraha or the invincible soul-force.

Unlike the atom bomb, it is not at all distructive. It seeks to stir the soul and enliven the conscience and ennoble the heart of its so-called victim. At the same time, it purifies and exalts the person who uses it through self-suffering and self-sacrifice. While, for instance. the U S A. is ashamed of having used the atom bomb on the Japanese and the rest of the world has become embittered against them; the British, against whose government Gandhiji carried on national campaigns of Satyagraha so repeatedly and who as a consequence were obliged to concede independence to India and later to all their other colonial possessions, are today friends of India. So also the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch and others have become the friends of their erstwhile subject peoples, thanks to the world-wide infiuence of this weapon of Satyagraha.

Thus Gandhiji has proved to be a better, a more progressive inventor than the makers of atom bomb. Gandhiji's invention is not the monopoly of Indians, nor does it make Indians the only know-how experts, as is the case with atom bomb.

Gandhi is no longer the monopoly of India nor is Gandhian spirit rooted only in India. Gandhi is a world citizen. Gandhian way is the way of progressive humanity.

Though he was face to face with the ever growing dominance of industrialisation to the freedom and self-employment of millions of artisans in villages and small entrepreneurs in towns, he refused to accept the inevitability of universalisation of large-scale industrialisation. He knew that sooner or later such

industrialisation would lead to enslavement of the working masses, whether the managers are industrialists or bureaucrats under state enterprises So he preferred artisan and peasant economy strengthened by co-operatives. It would ensure decentralisation. It would avoid the evils of urban congestion and wage-slavery. It would promote self employment.

Gandhi was the foremost planner in this century. Long before Lenin and Stalin thought of planning on a nation-wide scale, he began preaching the need for all colonial people to re-plan their social economy so as to become independent of the imperialist economy which sought to convert their countries into back-yards to supply cheap raw material to their urban industries. Instead of advising the colonial peoples to sheepishly imitate the imperialists in their mad rush towards industrialisation, he exhorted them to develop their traditional arts and crafts and introduce new industries in their cottages through co-operatives and industrial self-management. He laid stress upon their peoples developing a taste and passion for achieving maximum self-reliance economic and social development, as much by their self-efforts as by governmental action.

Gandhi's answer to Soviet or Capitalist concentration of industries under state or capitalist management and the resultant downfall of workers as creative producers, is the regeneration of self-employment under co-operative auspices.

Gandhi wanted industries but not industrialisation. He desired greater production but not under capitalism or communism. He stood for people's prosperity but not at the cost of their happiness or freedom. He worked for enabling toilers to grow into self-reliant, self-employed and self-governing workers but opposed their degradation as wage-slaves and also their alienation from managerial responsibilities.

He passionately opposed partition of India. He knew the birth of Pakistan would not put an end to communal and religious differences and riots but would only engender a live volcano, spitting out more bitter and frightful inter-state schisms strengthened by the evil forces of rival governments. To prevent

that disaster, he humbled himself so often before Mr. Jinnah to dissuade him from his cruel resolve to partition India. But alas, he failed

What happened in the wake of Independence of India and Pakistan – a soul – killing blood bath, the like of which was not witnessed since the time of Timur, cut Gandhiji to the quick. His Mission of Mercy through Noakhali and Calcutta in Bengal and villages of Bihar and Delhi sowed the seeds of peace, communal forbearance and harmony. His warning that Pakistan was too artificial an entity was borne out by its break-up after 25 years into two countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

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* *Read also the author's book 'Bapu Blesses' which contains Memoirs of his talks with Gandhiji between 1925–48 (Ed.)*

18. V.V. GIRI

Shri V. V. Giri of Andhra was born on 10-8-1894 in Berhampur. He studied in Ireland and became Barrister, took part in the Irish Sin-Fein Movement, Joined Non-Co Operation Movement of Gandhiji 1921, was imprisoned, founder - President of Labour Union of B. N. R. Railwaymen and organised their strike in 1927, was elected to Central Assembly 1934, to Madras Assembly 1936, became Minister 1937-39 and again in 1946, detained during War 1941-45 along with Ranga in Amraoti Jail, elected M. P. 1952, 1957, Central Minister for Labour, High Commissioner for India in Ceylon, Governor of U. P. Kerala, Mysore 1957-67. Republic's Vice-President 1967-69. Elected Rashtrapati 1969-74 in a keenly contested election, Rajaji hailed Ranga and Giri as the twins of the masses, hailed as 'Bharat Ratna" (Ed)

Shri Giri, as President has lived up to his life-long reputation as the People's man.

Sri Giri has distinguished himself as our Rashtrapati by divining the strong need of our masses for employment and placing before the country his clarion call of "JOBS FOR THE MILLIONS" in tune with Indiraji's Campaign for Garibi Hatao.

Shri GIRI has been a life-long champion of indusrsial labour. He knows the need for and advantages of unified leadership for labour in its struggle for partnership in industrial management and prosperity. So he has again struck the right note by advising all labour unions to overcome their schisms and rivalries and achieve a united Union for each workshop and industry.

Shri Giri knows that the key to India's progress is production, more and more of it. That can be best achieved through industrial peace. Indiraji's fight against poverty can yield some early results only when the nation's productive capacity is improved so that there is more to distribute. Prices can be held down also only by such increased production.

Giri has always believed in the simultaneous development of industries - big, medium and small - and their employment potential and the improvement in efficiency and social welfare facilities for labour. When he was Minister in Madras in 1936-39, he chose both industry and labour for his charge and succeeded in encouraging industrial development and in protecting labour. In the same way, Giri, as President repeatedly exhorted industrialists to maximise the use of their resources in factories, machines and management.

He was also at pains to appeal to workers with the authority of his services for them, to make their best contribution to production by working deligently by abstaining from too frequent strikes.

So this champion of labour has called for a truce in industrial relations and peace in productive efforts. It is for the states men among workers' leaders and industrial management, whether of State plants or private plants, to get together, utilise the good offices of the Ministers for Labour and Industries at the Centre and in the States to achieve this much needed industrial peace and patriotic partnership in productive effort.

He believed in tri-partite settlement of labour problems and worked for the extension of the mechanism of Labour Tribunals to disentangle issues under dispute and give impartial, mutually just advice, even judgement. To emphasise the importance of that faith, he ventured once to resign from Nehru's Cabinet. I know how many well-wishers of his, within and without his family circle, were opposed to his move to resign from the Central Cabinets Labour Ministership as a protest against Government's failure to implement the Labour Tribunals Award. Yet, he quit that high post just as readily as a worker down

his tools at the call of his Trade Union. So he had the moral authority to plead for the acceptance of that system by all parties concerned and for truce between workers and employers and industrial peace for some years.

The country has come to wince under the evil effects of continued inflation. There seems to be no early possibility for relief from it because of the emergence of world-wide blizzard of inflation. The situation has grown calamitous because of the unexpected decision of oil-producing countries to double, even treble the prices of petrol etc. Giri hastened to advice, with his foresight, the organised labour to opt for industrial peace for atleast three years. He alone, with all his record of labour leadership, could make such a courageous exhortation out of his patriotic concern for India's economic well-being.

There has been a spiral of demands from every sector of services and labour for ever raising salaries, D/As and bonuses, in harmony with rising prices. Someone or the other has to ask them to think of the country and break this vicious circle. Giri, the Rashtrapathi came forward to advise them all to aid the nation by accepting the pegging of all such demands.

Giri did not have to offend any part of our Constitution to provide this timely and inspiring exhortation to our people and his own forty-year-long career among trade unionists has providen the necessary moral sanction.

Many wondered why unemployment has become a snowballing bye-product of planned economy. Rural under-employment has been an endemic economic malady. As one of the originals members of the National Planning Committee, Giri has been thinking of the ways and means of tackling these growing social evils. So as President, he published his book "Jobs for the Millions" and indicated many an unorthodox ways and means for organising small scale, medium scale industries and encouraging self-employed entrepreneurs among educated youths to create new sources of employment and absorb the unemployed or under-employed. In his introduction to my book "Modern Indian Peasant" of 1936, he appreciated my suggestion that the more than 1/4 of all the cultivable land,

which belonged to government should be distributed among the landless agricultural workers President Giri gave a phillip to the efforts of State Governments to distribute all those extensive culturable arable government lands among the Harijans and Backward Classes and other landless agriculturists.

We both have deplored the comparative negligence of agriculture and disproporticnate allotment of national funds for development of too heavy industries with too long gestation periods. So he put special emphasis, as President on the need for reorienting our planning and giving highest priority to agriculture and its allied industries

We formulated the charter of minimum demands of agricultural workers, through the South Indian Federation of Peasants and agricultural workers in 1946, He tried his best, as President, to persuade State Goverrments to implement the Minimum Wages Act, which was extended to agricultural workers also at the instance of Babu Jagjivan Ram. Unfortunately State Goverrments have so far failed to follow his advice, just because the Central Goverrment could not decide upon fixing a remunerative level of prices of agricultural produce.

Giri wanted our peasants to have a fair deal. But he could not arrest the world-wide drift in favour of cheap food prices for the more powerful and vociferous proletariat, industrialists and the other urban middle-classes. However he did all he could-indeed he set the pace to persuade the Prime Minister to give top priority not only to food production, procurement and levies but also to raise agricultural prices, though not in harmony with the general level of prices, at least in a sympathetic manner.

To reminesce about the beginnings of his ministerial career, Giri chosen Prakasam as leader in Andhra Politics. He remained loyal to him, even when the bait of Chief Ministership of the former Madras State was offered to him by no less a leader than Sardar Patel in preference to Prakasam when Gandhiji advised that Prakasam should not stand for Chief Ministership and Rajaji who had been the Chief once before was not again acceptable to the Party. Giri replied that it wasimpossible for

him to think of standing for Chief Ministership, in place of Prakasam, whom he looked upon as father. It was thus Prakasam came to be the only Andhra candidate and that ensured his election as the leader of the Madras Assembly Congress Party and as the Chief Minister. Such is Giri's exemplary sense of discipline and loyalty to the leader. But when he felt that as the most experienced Governor, and elected Vice-President and acting President he deserved to be chosen as the Rashtrapathi and his legitimate claims were unjustly ignored by Party, bosses, he did not hesitate to declare himself as the candidate for Presidentship and to risk the displeasure of the Congress leaders and face the rigours of the bitterest contest.

His appointment in 1937 as Madras Minister of both Labour and Industries was a challenge to him to make constructive efforts to develop industries, whil serving labour. Shri Giri gained rich experience in that role of how to promote industrial peace and growth by helping the rival partners to co-operate with each other while reconciling each others claims for their respective shares in management and earnings.

I had the privilege of being his jailmate in Vellore (Tamil Nadu) and Amraoti (Maharashtra) jails in 1941 and 1943. Rajaji and Prakasam were also there with their respective devotees. We two were marked as the Irdeperdent Twins, respecting both the seniors but holding ourselves apart in our cheerful co-operative independence of those noble constellations.

We used to take long walks in the evenings and review the significance of the daily news about the World war, the Bengal Famine and British anger against Indian nationalism. We used to plan for industrial development, rural reconstruction, peasant protection, broadening and strengrhening the bases for self-employment of our masses and raising employment potential in villages and towns. Two decades earlier, I had gained much by such talks with Shri Giri's boyhood comrade, the late Ramakrishna, who rose to be an eminent administrator and creative industrialist and often Shri Giri used to say that India needed such leaders of foresight and dynamic patriotism.

In 1934 we were both elected on the Congress ticket to the then General Assembly and together with the late Shri N. M. Joshi, we came to be known as the irresistible Labour Trio. Such intimate friends we were.

The Rashtrapati election, after Zakir Hussain's sudden death led all parties into a quandary. It is now public knowledge how the Congress party tripped over it and marched on to its debacle and final split. The opposition parties also had their troubles. Smt. Indira, the Prime Minister consulted the leaders of Opposition parties in Parliament as to who might command the maximum support. I asked her, when I was consulted, as to who were all the possible aspirants or candidates. She mentioned the names of Giri, Morarji, Chavan, Sardar Swaran Singh, Jagjivan Ram and lastly Sanjiva Reddy. As we discussed I said. there could be nothing against Giri and he was already the vice-President. She said that some peoplefelt that he was too old. I said that I had known him for over 40 years, he was very strong in mind and body and even jail life did not weaken him and so, his age could not at all be counted against him. In my report to Rajaji about that talk, I conveyed my impression that she would rather favour Giri.

When eventually the Congress Parliamentary Board chose by a majority of just one vote, Sanjiva Reddy and Giri hastened to announce his candidature as an Independent, the press people asked me at Hyderabad within hours after those announcements from Bangalore and Delhi. I, as his old friend spontaneously haild his independent candidature without bothering to think of my limitations as President of the Swatantra Party in Opposition, so closely has we been attuned to each other himself the champion of labour and myself the champion of peasants. Lo and behold that got me into trouble with the Swatantra Party. I was asked from Madras and Bombay by my party friends to treat my statement as my personal statement and let the patry discuss pros and cons of the matter before reaching a decision. On reaching Delhi, we had an informal meeting of some of the leaders of the opposition in Vithalbhai Patel's House. I pleaded for Giri, the B. K, D. leaders wanted a third candidate. P. S. P. Leaders and some of my colleagues objected to Giri

because communists plumped for him. I replied that I was also supporting him and in point of time, my response might even be earlier than theirs. I expressed my conviction that under no circumstances Giri would let India be weakened or betrayed, irrespective of whosoever would support him and that in fact I was certain that he would make as independent, patriotic and noble a President as Rajendra Prasad and Radhakrishna. But they were bent upon having a third candidate. So I had to agree to setting up of a third candidate and we chose Shri C. D. Deshmukh. But I insisted upon invoking the Twenty First principle of the Swatantra Party's charter, which permitted freedom of choice from Party's decisions. upon questions which were not covered by the other twenty agreed points or principles. So, the Party Executive and other leaders had to agree to my plea for giving freedom of voting regarding the second candidate, the first one being Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. The B. K. D. which insisted on the third candidate did not vote for him. Giri is supposed to have been elected by the strength of the "Conscience Vote" of Indiraji's Congresman. I had however the satisfaction that one of the stoutest champions of human rights and working masses came to be our Rashtrapati. His vigorous championship of national causes at the right movement and with his accustomed strength of conviction, his patriotic role in our nations travails both before and after Swaraj, have certainly earned him this distinction.

He proved to be the Rashtrapati for every one, and remained above all parties and partisan controvesersies. He maintained the great tradition, initiated by Rajendra Prasad of advising, warning and guiding the government as well as the leaders of political parties and he suceeded in becoming the friend and philosopher and guide for us all. The Prime Minister was ably aided and strengthened by him during the great Bangladesh crisis of 1971-72. He played a heroic role, as the symbol of national unity, honour and strength.

He used to send many, personal messages of encouragement and appreciation to public men, colleagues, friends and worthy citizen, whenever they needed a word of good cheer. I have

been the recipient of the following acclamation from him on 7th November 1974, "We led both labour and peasant movements in India respectively and to-day they have come to stay".

Shri Giri has been fortunate in his family too. His father, the late Shri Jogaiah, was also an eminent advocate, patriot and legislator. He breathed his last falling on Shri Giri's lap while attending a Bangalore function to felicitate Shri Giri.

Smt. Saraswati Bai, Shri Giri's wife has brought scholarship in Telugu, Kannada and Tamil and poetry and music into Shri Giri's life and ably looked after his growing family with patience and affection. while Shri Giri was busy with his public responsibilities.

19. GOPICHAND
A GREAT SON OF A GREAT FATHER

Andhra men of letters are fully conscious of the constructive contribution made during the Past two decades by the late Gopichand. His short stories strengthened the soul of modern Telugu writing by providing a stream of social purpose. His writings provoked thought and encouraged readers to enter into the ever-expanding world of thought. This was a rare achievement.

Gopichand rose from a rich literary soil, provided by his family. His father, Barrister T. Ramaswami, was a distinguished social revolutionary, an inspired poet, and a master of didactic prose-writing. His uncles and cousins were all poets and thinkers. Indeed this Tripuraneni family of literary prowess has fully lived up to the military glories of its ancestor, Tripura Naik of Kakatiyas of Warangal in the South Indian War of Independence against the Delhi Imperialist Sultans (1320-60) Ramaswami carried on a relentless war against religious orthodoxy, superstition - ridden Puranas, and the degrading aspects of some of our modes of worship. When Gopichand was first introduced to me in one of the student hostels of Guntur, I was struck with the great resemblance he bore to his father. His big head, the challenging looks and upright, broad forehead, topped by that unruly crop of hair bespoke of Ramaswami's lineage. But his bright smile, which was ready to blossom into a hearty laugh made him look more sociable than his military tempered father. I took an instantaneous liking for him.

But I could not gain him as one of my political friends, and for many years thereafter, we could not hit upon a common bond for co-operation and comradeship. Indeed this was so with so many of his contemporary Royists. Why? Because I

was too much attached to Gandhiji and his social philosophy. My whole – hearted identification with Gandhian cult of Trikarana Suddhi must have struck these iconoclasts as irrational. Did he and his fellow intellectuals of Tenali become Socialists, before they came under the influence of that Master of Rationalism, M.N. Roy? I do not know when Gopichand embraced Royism. Roy's approach to religion and science was nothing new to Gopichand, since his scholarly father Kaviraj Ramawami, father of Andhra Self-Respect Movement, had already prepared the ground for Rationalism through his contributions to Andhra thought and social reform movements. It was natural for him to take the lead in grafting Royism on to the older and acclimatised Self-Respect movement led by his father.

Gopichand is now acclaimed as one of the ablest and inspired leaders of modern Telugu prose. His novels and short stories are deservedly popular. for their social themes and his expressions are unique. He has indeed blazoned the path for most of the Telugu prose writers of this second half of the century.

The Telugu critic and biographer, Pandit Gorrepati, wrote an appreciation of Gopichand's contribution to modern Telugu short-story writing and Shri K. Gopalswami. M.A. (Oxon) also expressed much appreciation of his literary technique and social thought in his Radio Talks on "Telugu Literature".

Much later, I found him blazing a new path in the world of films.He did produce a beautiful picture called LAKSHMAMMA and the Krishna Patrika wrote lyrical reviews about its contribution to literature and silver-screen. Both Bharati Devi and myself saw and enjoyed it and felt happy that Ramaswami's son was a successful film director.

Somehow he failed to mint money in the Films. Like his father, he too had no gift for making a fortune.

I was surprised to learn from our mutual friend Shri Moturi Satyanarayana M.P that he was ready to join the All India Radio. All of us thought that the Radio's Telugu Section

would gain much by utilising him. Somehow, the new Andhra Ministry waylaid him and tried to use his talents for publicizing its activities. As I had feared that experiment failed to give satisfaction to him. So he eventually returned to the Radio.

I am grateful to the Telugu Radio because not only Gopichand, but also Jashua, Katuri, Pingali, Dikshitulu, and many other distinguished writers and poets have found in it, an effective means of self-expression, besides the much needed money for out-of- pocket expenses.

Gopichand began to evince interest in my public activities ever since I left the Congress and defied Nehru's leadership. He however thought, for a while, that Vinoba Bhave's movement had a real contribution to make to India's politics, as distinguished from the socialism of Nehru. So he advised me, through his message to the Vahini's Birthday Book, to hitch my political cart to the Vinoba's caravan. But when he found how and why I had initiated my campaign against Vinoba's Gram Dan movement and joined issue with Jawaharlalji over his political edition of Gram Dan, namely the Nagpur Campaign for Co-operative Farming, he agreed that my intuition saved me from the blunder of Bhaveism and led me to the right path of true freedom, latent in Peasantism. In fact almost all the Royists led by A.G.K. Murti, another good writer in Telugu began to see that my self-employment thesis and my approach to Peasantism were the soul of the post-War World-Wide movement of Humanism, a real alternative to the soulless Communist totalitarian proletarianism and nearest to Royist Humanism. So they have been generous and far-sighted enough to offer their comradeship to me and India's G O.M. Rajaji. In this way, I discovered powerful allies in this brilliant intellectual, Gopichand and his many Royist colleagues, all of whom are versatile literary figures in contemporary Andhra sahitya. His writings are specially popular with intellectuals. as they provoke thought. His latest book "The Letters which were not Posted" is admired for its original theme and candid thoughts about the supreme being.

It is indeed tragic that Gopichand should have been snatched away, in his prime of life, by unkind fate on 2-11-1962. It is possible that he came to believe in God. A disciple of his father has recently written a drama, depicting his father as coming down from heaven into this Congress regime of sin and soullessness. to condemn it. So I hope it is not irreverent to his memory, if I imagine the discussion that he would now be having with his good father over the failure of India's secularism and democracy and prolongedembrace with corruption and castism.

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20. GUJARAT LEADERS– DADUBHAI & BHAIKAKA

Gujarat and Bihar came to have a special fascination for me as long ago as 1917 when Mahatma Gandhi re-kindled the spirit of struggle and self-respect dormant in the kisans with his magic wand of satyagraha. The kisan in me made me admire those brave but long-suffering kisans who responded to the call of Satyagraha and came to worship Gandhi as their saviour, just as Lord Krishna was followed by Gopalas and Pandavas.

So I longed to go to Bihar and Gujarat to meet those kisans, to commune with them and win their comradeship for the ideal of kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj which was blessed by their beloved national leader and for the kisan and Khet Mazdoor Movement that we had started in the wake of their Champaran and Kaira struggles of the first two decades of this century, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati of Bihta, and Yadunandan Sharma of Niyamatpur Ashrams took me and Bharati Devi to Bihar and we toured in the villages many a time between 1937 and 1942 and spread our revolutionary message against zamindari and sahukari systems of exploitation ard in favour of kisan Mazdoor Raj. Shri Dadubhai Amin of Sabarkantha and Ahmedabad took me to the kisans (Kheduts) of Gujarat in 1951–59 to convey to the Patedars, Yadavas, Kshatriyas, Harijans and Adibasis, who constituted the kisans and Khet–Mazdoors, of Gujarat the message of kisan–mazdoor–kalakar--buddhijivi (praja) raj which was blessed by their own Gandhiji.

Dadubhai introduced me to the Gujarati masses as the kisan heir of Gandhiji" during my memorable fortnight–long tour of Gujarat in 1952. He complained that the then Congress leaders of Gujarat were ignoring the message of Gandhi for kisans, though they gained power by exploiting his name. He appealed to them to heed my advicc as thc true voice of Gandhi.

Dadubhai was not a very eloquent speaker, nor did he have the gift of felicitous expressions. He had a majestic voice, lion-likecourage and an unbounded faith in the ideal of K M P. Raj. As he held forth in those large rural gatherings, I was glad to see feelings rising high in those kisans, in response to his chalenging call for satyagraha-in true Gandhian tradition againlst the usurpers of power in political, economic and social spheres of their beloved Gujarat.

The press and many veteran kisan leaders, who had taken part in the Satyagraha campaigns of Gandhiji and Sardar Patel exclaimed that our tour was reminiscent of the tours of Gandhiji and Sardar Patel, such was the warmth of public reception, with the difference that while the earlier campaigns were mobilising the people against the British masters, our current tour was rousing rural Gujarat against Congress masters. It raised great hopes in the ranks of political workers who were becoming disillusioned with the Congress ministry headed then by the sanctimonious Morarji Desai, who quoted Gandhiji too often and had gained power under the aegis of Vallabhai Patel. Unfortunately, Dadubai was not able to wln the co-operation of fellow leaders or retain for long the enthusiastic following of fellow workers, nor was I able to raise finances, for the units of our Krishikar Lok Party and the Khedut Sangh of Dadubhai.

Dadubhai achieved his political reputation, even as a young khedut, by daring to oppose Vallabhai Patel's leadership in Ahmedabad municipality and defeating his candidates and denying him once the vaunted majority in the Municipal Corporation. Since then, whosoever was keen on gaining a prominent place in Ahmedabad municipal politics looked up to him as the stormy-petrel, whose support should be gained. He admired Vithalbhi Patel, the brother of Vallabhai, because they both accepted the approach of ahimsa to politicsonly as a weapon of convenience and not as a spiritual wand of tapas. So, he took the lead in installing a statue of Vithalbhai in Ahmedabad. He said that he had responded to my call for revolt against the Congress government in the same Vithalbhai spirit.

Pragjibhai and Kushalbhai Patel, who had worked with Vallabhai in 1928-29 Bardoli kisan satyagraha, and Bhailalbhai Patel, popularly known as Bhaikaka the Vice-Chancellor of Vallabha University, joined us in introducing the Krishikar Lok Party to Gujarat but soon after opted for the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party of Kripalani, because they could not reconcile themselves to Dadubhai's aggressive opposition, not only to Morarji Desai but also to the politics of Vallabhai Patel, whom Dadubhai held responsible for installing Morarji into such unbridled power. All my advice to Dadubhai to be less intolerant, less aggressive in condemning Congress leaders was in vain; so dynamic was his worship of Goddess Durga We had therefore to wait till 1959, that is, for eight long years, before I could succeed in persuading all these great sons of Khedut Gujarat to come together again, on the common platform of Swatantra this time under the combined, leadership of both Rajaji and myself. The Rajputs and Adibasis, who had been canvaseed by Dabubhai and who had however defeated Bhaikaka in Assembly elections, chose to join us, once Dadubhai and Bhaikaka were reconciled to each other. Bhaikaka's cosmopolitanism, Dadubhai's aggressive anti-Congressism and my kisanism won their hearts.

My Gujarat tour of 1952 paved the way for the emergence of a united, powerful rural front. It was that front which by Bhaikak utilised was to build up by 1961 a solid foundation for the Swatantra Party, which almost uprooted the Congress Ministry in 1967-69. Dadubhai offered his funds, energy and dynamic resources in leadership to raise that powerful political alternative to the Congress party in Gujarat.

Dadubhai and Bhailalbhai endeared themselves to Andhras by coming twice to Andhra and touring with me to our rural areas. Dadubhai attended the Krishikar Lok Party Convetion held in Tenali in 1953. Bhailalbhai presided over the Andhra Swatantra Convention held in Srikakulam in 1967. Both of them addressed the students of the Kissan School organised by Shri Nagineni in Medarametla in Prakasam District in the summer of 1959. They both joined the Conference, convened in Madras by the the agriculturists to protest against the then Congress campaing

to drive peasants into co-operative farming. They thus joined us in laying foundations for Kisans' Swatantra.

Dadubhai demanded the formation of Maha-Gujarat State. The first mammoth march for Maha-Gujarat commenced from his Bhavan in the Patel Society, and it eventually led to the formation of a separate Gujarat State. Dadubhai was an M.L.C. in the former Bombay Vidhan Sabha. He rose to be the Vice-President of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan and Rural Peoples Federation and also of the Swatantra Party. He was thus always in the vanguard of every movement concerned with the masses.

Dadubhaiji has been a member of the Ranga's Trust ever since its inception in 1956 and his appreciation of its services was a source of satisfaction to Srimati Bharati Devi and me.

Dadubhai was of medium height, robust build and a powerful voice. He built his fortune through business. But since his early thirties, he played a prominent role in the civic politics of Ahmedabad and worked also with Sardar Patel. He always worked for a prominent place for kisans and patedars in the politics of Gujarat.

Every time I toured in Gujarat during the past two decades, Dadubhai and his family members proved to be my most solicitous hosts and looked after me as their family head. His personal attendent Shri Pandu was also an admirer of kisan movement and served us so affectionately. His wife is an exemplary Hindu mother and helpmate. She was a perfect hostess and the two leaders of the International Peasants Union, Ferenc Nagy and George Dimitrov, and Rajaji and Kripania marvelled at her generosity, charm and courtesy.

It is the tragedy of Indian kisans that these two eminent and fearless Gujarat kisan leaders Dadubhaiji and Bhaikaka who were so closely related to each other should have passed away within a span of two years, just when kisan India have to reconcile themselves to and grow to be allies of the social revolution blooming in the wake of 1971-72 political leadership.

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BHAIKAKA

Bhailalbhai Patel, of Kaira district was one of the great Gujaratis of this century. He came into prominence in post-independent India as the founder and builder of the Vallabh Vidyanagar at Anand. In two decades, this great man built this famuos university with little State assistance but with a great deal of public support. As the first Vice-Chancellor of this University, he set a record for all Vice-Chancellors through his constructive achievements.

He made a name as the most energetic and honest engineer by his outstanding contribution to the construction of the Sukkur Barage in Sind and by developing its irrigation facilities at a break-neck speed. More far-sighted and systematic than our planning commission, Bhailalji planned, projected and completed the great and monumental structure of Vallabh Vidyanagar at record speed. What a splendid example for the planning commission to emulate!

Even while he was busy building this university, he was assiduosly collecting many rare pieces of sculpture for his collection. I was fascinated by the unique, life-sized statue of Goddess Saraswati and Brahma that he unearthed from a mound. He installed it at the foot of a beautiful mango tree, where he made his favourite open-air dais. I was surprised at his familiarity with the Brahmi script and the facility with which he could talk about the mysteries of inscriptions on the Mohenjodaro and later excavations. His deep interest in our ancient and mediaeval history was indeed astonishing. Hence the confirment of an honorary D Sc. on him; never was such an honour better deserved.

When I went to Vidyanagar in 1953, along with Dadubhai Amin, and requested him to come into public life and lead the kisans of Gujarat, he was loath to give up his favourite university. The cares and sufferings of the peasants haunted Bhaikaka

He was the first among our educationists and publicmen outside Parliament, to realise the anti-Kisan and pro-urban bias of the Planning Commission. He used to question me as to how I could reconcile myself to the First Five Year Plan with its proposals for raising the tax burdens on peasants, for diverting rural resources for the development of industries, and for finding jobs only for the urban middle classes etc. Ever since he carried on a relentless fight against the nonpeasant Five Year Plans. Both of us toured many States to mobilise public opinion against the anti-peasant aspects of the Plans. Whenever he spoke about these plans, Bhailal was filled with indignation.

After the University management had fallen into the power-pool of the Congress Government, we approached him once again to take up the political leadership of Gujarat kisans, but so many other interests, such as historical research, architecture, rural reconstruction, the industrial activities of the Trust that he had founded in order to build the University and Gujarat literature claimed his time and energy that it was hard to get his consent. Yet he shared our worry about Nehru's challenge to the very existence of independent peasants and their fundamental right for proprietorship of their holdings. He realised how his beloved Kheduts, Patedars, Yadavs and Harijans and Bhils of Gujarat were in danger of losing their age-long economic freedom and social identity. With his knowledge of history he could realise that once peasants come to lose their holdings and self employment, there could be no chance for India's masses to emulate the noble example of the brave Bhils and Rajputs who fought heroically to safeguard India's frontiers and cultural heritage in the past. Atlas the agreed to devoting a major portion of his time to public work and political activity to protect the interests of peasants.

It was in April and May of 1959 that we met again in Dadubhai's house and also at Anand. We sought his active comradeship in our campaign against Congress attempts to co-operative agriculture. He was aghast at their irresponsible and suicidal drive to destroy our independent peasantry who alone could have produced a Sardar Patel. We invited him to

come to Madras to attend the conference convened by Sardar Lal Singh on the inspiration of Pujya Rajaji. He readily agreed to strengthen our hands. At the Madras Conference Rajaji urged him to jump into politics to save his Kheduts. Thus he and Dadubhai also came to be the founding-fathers of the Swatantra Party, and its most outstanding leaders in Gujarat.

Bhailalji has a genius all his own to rise above castism, the malignancy of India's politics, and to bring together people of different castes of rural India to make a common endeavour for their mutual welfare. He has always loved the Rajput heroes and their allies, the Bhils. The stories of their exploits have filled and coloured his memories and he has found it natural to love and cherish the contemporary Rajputs and Bhils. Himself being the Bhaikaka of the Gujarati Patedars, he found it easy to weave from out of these great communities the wonderful Swatantra leadership of Gujarat. This is indeed a unique achievement-at once constructive and revolutionary. The result was the emergence of the Swatantra Party of Gujarat as the biggest democratic opposition party in Gujarat legislature. He became the most powerful leader of opposition in Gujarat Assembly.

What a pleasure it was to tour the country-side of Gujarat in the company of Bhaikaka ! He used to regale me with his marvellous narration of Rajastani tales of heroic deeds. His knowledge of the social history of the rulers was profound and his method of relating it to contemporary events is reminiscent of the inspired bards of our history. How alluring was his soft but firm voice ! How eloquently did his phrases flow from his rich vocabulary and his abundant knowledge of history. Gujarat and Rajasthan merge into one romantic field of forts and hills and pastures, of heroes and heroines, peopled so fully with poets and pioneers, self-sacrificing princes and princesses, lovers and their remontic exploits, proud peasants loyal and heroic Bhils and generous tradesmen ! Bhaikaka is a celestial bard at one moment, a conquering hero in another and a wise commentator in yet another moment. Bhailal used to enliven my long hours, and soothe my bodily aches during my prolonged

tours along the country lanes, and corrugated roads, thick jungles and dusty desert areas of Gujarat, with his inimitable narration of the romantic lives and loves of the Rajasthan and Pattan peoples. He was all admiration for Shri Munshi the great savant and statesman, for his great contribution to the appriciation of the history of Gujarat.

Bhailalbhai was also rich in his knowledge of Sanskrit and Bhatruhari's sayings and Jayadeva's song of the Geeta Govinda. I don's know if he is a musician, but his resonant rendering of so many Sanskrit poems used to make me feel that he could have become a musician if he had ever wanted to.

Judging from the way he usd to tour, indifferent to heat and cold, round the clock and managing to subsist on anything that was offered to him, one thought of him as only a youth in his forties, though he was seventy. His thin but pointed moustache, though grey, reminded one of an ancient warrior. His breath-taking, war-like rolling of fiery phrases hurled at the enemies of his favourite Kheduts, would make one think of Viswamitra, Certainly Bhaikaka was more like the heroes of the Mahabharata age than like the leaders of the post-independence India.

If he had only cared to make money, he would have become the biggest industrialist of Gujarat, so great were his abilities for industrial construction. He preferred to harness his outstanding industrial and managerial skills for constructing the university and for rural development schemes and enterprises. It has been my good fortune to gain this versatile engineer and statesman as my friend since 1953.

Bhaikaka was more happy when he attacked the powers that be. It was a sight for the gods to see him attacking any one who was found or feared to be guilty of corruption in public affairs.

Bhaikaka was the favourite colleague of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. He helped him to make a success of the Ahmedabad Municipal leadership and in buildlng up the sanitary equipment

of the city and advised the industrialists to contribute their funds to the university. The Sardar had great confidence in Bhailalbhai

It is a pleasure to see him enjoying his swinging in the hammock that he installed in the leafy bower created by him in front of his small cottage at Vallabh Vidyanagar. It was greater honour to enjoy his sweet-tempered hospitality. His affections were deep, his associations, cosmopolitan. He and Dadubhai were delightfully frightful in their rages. They were truly the Viswamitras of rural Gujarat, fighting for the freedom of our Kisans, Kalakars and poets and prophets. Bhaikaka found his haven in the teachings and thoughts of both Rajaji and Munshiji.

Alas ! he passed away suddenly in 1969 soon after a short illness, at the age of eighty.

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21. HANUMANTAIAH

Hanumanthaiah Kengal was Chief Minister of Mysore and Karnataka 1952-56. Later he became M P. and Deputy Leader of Parliamentary Congress Party, Railway Minister, 1971-72. graduated from Mysore University in 1940, called to the bar, Chairman of Administrative Reforms Commission. He played an active role in States Peoples struggle and was imprisoned 7 times. Toured all over the World. Took part in Congress since 1927. was interested in Harijan Seva, Hindi Prachar and Constitutional and administrative studies opposed co-operative farming. (Ed)

It is not everyday that a Chief Minister gets a chance to leave his imprint or mark on something of permanent value. It is not every Chief Minister who can seize an opportunity that offers itself and get done something of inestimable value for his State. Harekrishra Mehtab had it in Bhubaneshwar and that modern City is a credit to Orissa. Jawahar had it for Punjab and Chundigarh of Carboucher is a big challenge to lovers of art like picassos paintings, some loving it, many questioning its relevance to India-the grandest mother of all arts, and plans through the ages, starting from before pre-Egyptian, Middle Asian cultures. Mysore and Karnataka of Helebid, Melkot, Sravanbelagola has come to be adorned by Vidhana Soudha, built by the bold decision of Shri K. Hanumantahiah, the Chief Minister. Many political M.L.As wondered why so much was spent to build this yet another beauty in a land, so full of beauties among men, women and architectual achievements. Some even made it one of the sticks added to faggots which drove him out of Chief Ministership.

But it has come to be one of the grandest tourist attractions in that Bangalore City of beautiful gardens and parks, flowery avenues and sweet lights. What is its artistic excellence or sculptural motif but only a conglomeratlon of many incongrous features of the ages, said some specialists. But the millions of

Indians, a cross section of all areas have been admiring it over all these years for something or the other which excels the beauty or message of the best that they have seen in their own areas. It is indeed a thing - an ensamble of Indian beauty in timber, masonary work and Gopurams. It is the gift made to Bangalore - one of the really beautiful Indian Cities.

As Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission, with H.V. Kamath, the brilliant Socialistic administrator to aid him, Hanumanthaiah put the finishing touches to the proposals outlined by Morarji Desai his Senior in its Chairmanship and Chief Minister-ship to the progressive proposals of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt, designed after the institution of Ombudsman of Sweden, Britain, New Zealand, Australia, intended to decide in an impartial, non-political mannner, upon the complaints arising out of the activities of ministers, including their Chiefs and top-most officers in the Secretariats.

Having had a taste of the creative use of Chief Minister's power in Mysore, he was tired of being in opposition even within the ruling party and wanted to be In power in Delhi also. So he became the Minister for Railways. He certainly succeeded in a short while to put the fear of God into the heart of the higher echelons in and around the Railway Board and General Managers andhandle again their long-neglected tools of efficiency, work-audit, punctuality, and passenger amenities. When however he came into head-on collision with the Chairman of the Board, he found his State-level methods of commanding implicit obedience would not do service and the Press and Parliament would not stomach so much of direct dictation. So he had to leave Delhi's Cabinet in the same abrupt way as he had earlier vacated Chief Ministership, demonstrating the advisability of respecting democratic limitations upon the "will" of ministers and administrative weaknesses inherent in demorctatic control of willful Civil Service Chiefs. He could have achieved preater wonders durir g Emergency.

Hanumantaiah gave another practical demonstration of how MPs of even the Ruling Party could admonish, advise and

control in a noticeable manner, the ministers and also influence the policies of the Cabinet, through their parliamentary speeches, made obviously in answer to the strong criticism and chastisements proferred by the Opposition M.Ps and in support of the Cabinet and individual ministers.

Hanumantaiah is not an eloquent speaker but he is a brilliant debater. He cannot sway the House but he can stimulate its thoughts. He cannot be taken for granted either by his party or by the opposition parties. We have been friends ever since he came to Parliament in 1948. When he was Mysore's Congress Chief Minister, he made bold to advise Jawaharlal to take me and Acharya Kripalani into close consulations, though we were then vehement critics of his failures in administration and in the Congress Party. He kept himself in touch with Rajaji and agreed with our demand for United Front of all Democrats, under the leadership of the Congress.

Being a sincere Socialist, with pragmatic approach towards management of State enterprises, he used to say that if Swatantra Party opts fully for my conception of Gandhian Socialism Congress and Swatantra of Rajaji and Ranga can work together for the welfare of the masses. History however has gone past such social harmonies.

He stood for Kisans. He was one of the two Cheif Ministers who strongly opposed compulsive cooperitivasation of landholdings, which would deprive peasants of their self-employment. Thus he did not mind incurring the displeasure of Jawaharlalji. He was certainly in favour of dynamic devolopment of Service Cooperatives to ensure economies of scale in mechanisation, marketing, processing etc. of agricultural inputs and accessories.

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22. INDIRA GANDHI

Smt. Indira Gandhi - born on 19-11-1917 in Allahabad educated in Viswa Bharati of Santiniketan and Oxford, formally joined Congress in 1938, jailed in 1942, toured all over the World, both independently and in the Company of Jawaharlalji, Member Congress Working Committee in 1955, President in 1959, instrumental in getting out Communist ministry of Kerala in 1959, Central Minister [1964–66, became leader of Congress Parliamentary Party 1966, 67, 71, toured many countries in support of Bangla Desh Freedom Struggle and achieved success for India overcoming Pakistan's aggression against India and genocide over Bangla Desh, began implementing 20 points Programme for "Garibi Hatao."

Bharati Devi and I obtained Gandhiji's blessings in Madras, at the time of the Congress Session in December, 1927. He put in a word for me with Jawaharlal when we met him and Kamala, Jawaharlal's wife, at the inauguration of the Khadi Exhibition. It was then Kamaladevi Chattopadyaya introduced Bharati Devi to Kamala, as a fellow artist and praised her. Kamala observed "you both have so much in common. I can only appreciate your achievements". Thus we became attached to that great family among our freedom fighters.

Again in 1938, I took my niece, Suseela Devi to Anand Bhawan, to meet Jawaharlal and attend a private meeting of his confidants on his return from European tour and especially after visiting Republican Spain, which was then struggling for its very existence against the Fascist revolt of Franco, abetted by Mussolini and Hitler. When I introduced Suseela to his family Jawahar blessed her by placing his hand on her shoulders and remarked, "So you too have a daughter ! Does she like her studies? Yes, she has Bharati to look after her". what pathos that remark revealed. Kamala having died by then.

As recently as November 1972, I again visited Anand Bhawan, along with Vijayalaxmi, Bharati Devi's granddaughter and my nephew, Nageswara Rao, when we took Bharati Devi's sacred ashes for immersing in Triveni of Prayag. So many poignant memories of our family's association with the Nehru's family during the past 45 years flooded my mind and made her ashes a more precious offering to Prayaga's triple streams from Himalayas.

In 1948 there was some reception in the garden of the Prime Minister's place; the afternoon sun was quite pleasant: Bharati Devi and myself were quietly moving towards a table; we found friends at tables all around agitatedly getting up. We turned round! what did we find! Jawahar himself hurrying, making a fee-line as it were towards Bharati Devi with a beaming face. He exclaimed "I am so glad you have come. I am so sorry I was not there to receive you." She answered 'what need is there! This is our house. Please look after formal guests." He said. "You do not know how dear you are to our family. Gandhiji used to dote on you."

In 1955 I went to Jawaharlalji along with other members of the Delegation of Indian Parliamentarians to the U.S. S. R. and Yugsolavia, on the eve of our departure. Indira received us. She took special care of me, took me round the big rectangular hall and helped me to appreciate the paintings of Jawahar and Sarojini and Gandhiji and told me affectionately how the great atomic scientist Dr. Babha painted one of them. (He was also a lover of music and could play on Veena). I knew that she was taking keen interest In political disccussions when she said she was happy I was also going to Soviet Land, I guessed that she had known about the political debate that had raged before Radhakrishna and Jawahar svccceded in overcoming Soviet hesitation over my inclusion in delegation.

When at long last Jawaharlal allowed Indira's name to be proposed for the Congress working Committee, I made it a point to attend the meeting of the All India Congress Committee and vote for her It was such a personal pleasure to learn that she

was elected heading the list of successful candidates with the support of almost all.

When she became the President of the Congress, we were overjoyed. Bharathi Devi did not appreciate the silly back-biting gossip indulged in by a number of newly powerful Congress bosses over her election. "Is not her political education in the company of Nehru and other national leaders, and her world tours along with Jawaharlal and her knowledge of and contacts with Working Committee members better preparation than chief ministership of a tiny State in state-studded Saurashtra"! she observed.

I had also been associated along with Indira with the Socialist Forum, started by Shri Mishra, now a leader of the Congress (O) who was then Deputy Minister for Planning She was quite sincere in her faith in socialism and was keen on her father doing his best to guide the Congress Party and government along the Socialist pattern and path. I told the Forum members that I was a Gandhian socialist, believing in the future of a self-employed economy as an integral progressive wing of Socialist society. They did not then display any particular allergy to my approach. Only iater came Naegpur challenge to peasantry.

Feroz Gandhi became my personal friend, through our common friend Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. He used to admire my spirit of independence. Whenever Jawahar and myself used to debate rather passionately over some isssue or the other, he used to evince some quizzical interest. Once I asked him to make peace between us over the Hindu Law Amendment Bill. He observed "Rangaji, you should ask Mrs. Ranga to speak to Indira". I taunted "Surely you can talk to Indira". He countered "Your wife could persuade both of them better; after all, it is the question of Women's property". It was Feroz who persuaded the Chief Whip to ensure my unanimous election as General Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party in 1958.

Then came the most painful 1959 which witnessed the breach in our political partnership as a result of the Nagpur resolution against peasant self-employment and proprietorship of holdings.

I had to send in my resignation to Indira as she was then the Congress President. From then onwards right up to 1972, I was ranged in opposition to the Congress and we could meet each other only as leaders of political parties opposed to each other. On many occasions, as when U P , Bihar and West Bengal were under President's Rule, and also during the Presidential campaign, I found myself not too much opposed to her but we remained loyal to the respective roles of our parties. All the time there was a stand of mutual affection and respect.

Jawaharlal tried his best to keep me in the Congress, despite our differences over peasants question. So he pressed Bharati Devi to join the Andhra Cabinet. When even Pantji failed to persuade her to agree, he said to her one day, "Bharati, you must lead Ranga at least this time. See how Indira is following her own line as Congress President" Bharati Devi replied, "But both of us are peasants and we go together, Panditji."

When Indira became the Prime Minister for the first time, I felt that it was as natural a choice as that of Lal Bahadur Shastri, both of them being political heirs to Jawaharlal having enjoyed his confidence to the maximum possible extent. When so many complained that she was too young and inexperienced, Bharati Devi vigorously remarked, "Kennedy was not more experienced or older, yet America elected him the President." When someone observed, "She would not have been the Prime Minister, if she had not been Jawaharlal's daughter" she replied "What is wrong with it ? She is in our family of political sufferers. You would not raise this objection, if she had not been a woman. Did she not acquit herself wonderfully by getting the communist ministry dismissed and installing in power a democratic coalition in Kerala ? Could her father have done it with such determination ?"

Bharati Devi used to feel so unhappy over the campaign against Indira, just because she was a woman. She repeatedly remarked that Rudrama Devi of Kakatiyas of 13th century was also an elderly, lone woman and she ruled so well for over thirty years over whole of South India from Godavari. She said, "I am glad your book on Kakatiya Nayaks is publishedj ust now ! It

shows how well Rudramma ruled, how Marco Polo praised her regime. If only, we could have a national government with Indira at its head !"

While functioning as Prime Minister under sufferance, Indira gained much valuable experience about how to face, negotiate and adjust with various elements in the Parliament, how to deal with groups within the Congress Party and how to understand and gauge the strengths and weaknesses of various political and economic forces, in their alignments and rivalries. She was able to freshen up her impressions of and contacts with the leaders in and outside governments of almost all countries which she had gained over seventeen years of her father's regime. Most of the world's statesmen, in and out of power, were no strangers to her and she had many opportunties to size them up and make friends with them on the plane of world issues and currents of comparative power and policies. She was more confident of herself among them than the Congress bosses. She must have become aware of the significance of growing rivalry between Mao's China and Soviet Russia and their relations with their rival the U,S.A. She had the opportunity to think afresh about India's role in international affairs, in the light of fast-developing strength of Communist nations and the receding soloist hegemony of the U.S.A. and Afro Asian free nations.

Indira, the second time Prime Minister, must have felt most chagrined over the dreadful defeats sustained by the Congress during 1967 general elections and the imposition upon her, as the Deputy Prime Minister, of her formidable rival, Morarji Desai. The sudden emergence of so many S V.D ministries and the general feeling of defeatism that enveloped Congressmen could not have failed to stir her political soul to its depths. Her exasperated declaration that "the prestige of Prime Ministership should be established" revealed the strength of her sense of mortification over her helplessness even as Prime Minister. So she must have decided, either all on her own or with the support of some wizards of deep political insight, first to fight the forces ranged against her within the Party and then to risk everything at the polls by accepting the repeated challenges of opposition, armed with a policy and programme for the masses.

She became Prime Minister twice but with no freedom to pursue a definite policy or programme leading towards a socialistic pattern of society. Repeatedly she had to eat the humble pie during the discussions in the Cabinet, and the Congress Working Committee. She must have felt helpless and wondered how she could be an effective Prime Minister. The results of 1967 general elections proved beyond all doubt that with the then leadership of the Working Committee and bossing of the elders, there could be no chance of Congress regaining majority in majority of States, much less in Parliament. She almost admitted as much when I talked to her about it I have had the feeling that Indira reached out towards this slogan of "Garibi Hatao" as much through her experience of swallowing too many "bitters" while she had been nominal Prime Minister, as due to her long-felt passion to serve the poor people, for whom she must have conceived her grand passion, thanks to her reading her father's "Letters to the Daughter" and "Glimpses of World History" and absorbing the soul-stirring Gandhian Passion for the service of Daridra Narayan.

We in the opposition made bold to demand the formation of a National Government and she was unable to give any reasonable response or even oppose it confidently. Many a time the opposition taunted her to be an effective leader of government and also of Parliament and she could only smile patiently- Bharati Devi used to observe, "Whom did she have to consult with or to console her." No father, no husband, no brother, not even a grandma or grandfather, She must have felt terribly lonely and lost and experienced all the misery of a Cyndrella even while being seated in the gaddi of Prime Ministership". If the slogan of "Garibi Hatao" had taken its vital and virulent shape from out of those sharp pains and feelings, one need not be surprised. She was certainly a "Garibi, when she was defeated in the small Parliamentary Board just by one vote over the choice of the Presidential candidate, or when she was pressurised by force of circumstances to sign the nomination paper of the candidate who was imposed on her by a dreadful one-vote majority of the bosses; and when she was almost reduced to tears, while relating to the A.I.C.C. how she was

mortified by the bosses. So she must have felt one with all the garibs of our country and the cry "garibi hatao" must have come from the innermost core of her suffering but proud heart. It certainly proved to be a "Brahmastra" against all of us of the opposition.

Bharati Devi was most reluctant to stand for Parliament against the Congress and insisted that no personal remark should be made by her campaigners against Indira as such. When the election rusults demonstrated the overwhelming support of the masses for Indira and made her the national leader of our democracy, she felt extremely happy, forget the pain of our personel defeats and began to press me to strengthen her efforts to serve our masses by joining the campaign of "Garibi Hatao." Then I discussed this vital matter with Rajaji. I told him about Bharati Devi's feelings for Indira ; that we ought to give up our opposition and offer our support to her in her efforts to fulfil her promises to the people, since the masses have given her more than two-thirds majority and thus made her the national leader by democratic vote. He mused, "when Bharati Devi also feels like that, we ought to give the matter serious consideration, since she is not likely to favour Indira merely because she is also a woman. She is never a defeatist.'. Some time later, he wrote his special article under the caption "LET RELIGION BE OUR POLITICS" for the present, thereby hinting that party politics had reached a blind alley or a dead end. Bharati Devi and I concluded that it would be best for all self-employed masses to join forces with Indira and strengthen her efforts to achieve socialist pattern of society within the limits of our democracy.

II

"GARIBI HATAO"
EMERGENCE OF A NEW IMAGE

'GARIBI HATAO' is even more urgent and essential in the realm of mind, spirit, and self-respect. For tens of centuries, from Buddha to Gandhi, reformers and revolutionaries like Ramanuja, Basava, Nanak have been trying with the aid of inspired poets and Bhaktas like Kabir, Chaitanpya, Tukaram,

Potana, Vemana to liberate our masses from their moral and mental poverty. Besides, Islam and Christianity have done much to extricate tens of millions of our suppressed masses from their bondage to a cruel and inverted Karma theory and made them taste something of self-respect. It is largely true to say that Post-Asokan India condemned her masses for millenia to the loss of just that self-respect and social equality, which ought to be the birth-right and hall-mark of free and progressive humanity.

The tribal people alone refused to bend to this historical fate and withdrew to the crevices of hills and valleys and to inhospitable forests. They preferred to be physically dwarfed and deformed by their forest life and through absence of proper nourishment and shelter rather than submit to the ever-advancing octopus of so-called civilisation of the Puranic priests and usurous sahukars. To this day, the Marias of Orissa, and Savaras of Andhra would deign to talk to the plain's people only if they are addressed as "Dora" or Lord and would refuse to take notice of their presence, if they are approached as commonalty.

Unfortunately such has not been the history of the bulk of our depressed masses, because they decided, unlike the Adivasis, to make peace with their highly skilled, advanced and ever-progressive neighbours. Also because their ancestors put their faith in successive generations of sincere Bhaktas and Bhagwan swaroops who had persuaded them to join all others in common bhajans and festivals in invoking the blessings of God. Alas, God had forsaken them, and history set its cruel pall of degradation on successive generations.

Through Gandhiji, Indian history began to make amends for its past cruelty. He made bold to reinforce the Vedantins fury unleashed by Vivekananda at the fate of the suppressed masses of India. He did more than any other social revolutionary in India's long history to liberate women from their economic, social and religious disabilities and to free untouchables from the shackles of untouchability. He persuaded the whole of society to learn to treat these liberated masses as the

sons of God, that is, Harijans. These are the most vital beginings of our modern social revolution.

Some of us, including Thakkar Bapa, V. Raghavaiah, P. Kodandaramaiah, have carried that beacon light into the social dens of tribal peoples and succeeded, with the blessings of Nehruism, in getting the Criminal Tribes Act abolished and helping those twenty millions to arise as "VIMUKTA JATIS."

The Harijans, Vimukta Jatis, Harijan Christians, other Backward Classes, the tribal peoples and the proletariat of all religions of India have yet to liberate themselves from the poisonous social atmosphere of social lethargy, and mental depression caused by millenium - long faith in the inverted aspects of Karma.

As long ago as 1925, I thought that if only adult franchise could come to be achieved after Swaraj, we might be able to deal a death blow to this depressing heritage of Indian history. Mahatma Gandhi also felt that way and so blessed my campaign for adult franchise. When Swaraj came, adult franchise was accepted by the Constitution. (See also my book "Bapu Blesses" 1970).

The makers of our Constitution realised that it alone could achieve much and so charged the inheritors of our Swaraj by article 46 to give the highest priority to anti illiteracy campaign and universal elementary education within ten years. Like our ancestors, our democracy too belied this hope held out by our Constitution.

Those of us who believed in achieving Swaraj first, even while helping the masses to gain self-respect, joined the national movement for Swaraj, and also worked on the social front in Gandhiji's constructive programmes, including campaigns for anti-untouchability, adult franchise and self-employment. Gandhiji and his followers like us tried our best to salvage the masses from their inferiority complex. We succeeded in helping them to overcome their fears of the rulers and their inferiority as Indians, vis-a-vis the imperial British.

Side by side with our struggle for Swaraj, the Self-respect

movement began to take shape in the wake of earlier social reform movements, and non-Brahmins, who had been denied equal rights by the priests in regard to the study of the Vedas and other Sanskrit scriptures, took up cudgels against most of the insulting features of priestly Sanatanism. Barrister Ramaswami of Andhra, E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and Anna Dorai of Tamilnad and Ambedkar of Maharashtra, Arya Samaj of the North aroused the masses to rebel against all religious and social taboos coming in the way of gaining social equality with others.

A number of us who had been associated with the Self-Respect movements in and outside Congress to develop the backward class movement, succeeded in persuading the Constituent Assembly to incorporate Article 46 for the "Promotion of educational, economic interests of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections," and also article 16 (4) which provides for reservation of posts for backward classes.

In Tamilnad, the self-respect movement met with better success because its leaders preferred to mainly concentrate upon arousing people's passion for self-respect. So they succeeded, to a very large extent, in mobilising the masses and ultimately captured power in that state in 1967, thanks to the political genius of Anna. Ever since, they have been forging ahead, raising the masses of Tamilnad from out of historical atmosphere of depression and rousing them with an aggressive sense of self-respect and self-confidence.

But what about the rest of the country where more than half of our population groan under social depression and oppression? Surely there is all the need for a much more speedy movement for self-respect and social emancipation, to make up for lost time.

The post-Swaraj electioneering upto 1969 brought into political arena, not these backward classes or Harijans but the people of the top castes among non-Brahmins and the higher echelons of their leadership. The top-caste non-Brahmin politicians, guided and aided by priestly cadres of all religions who

are more experienced in statecraft, have succeeded in preventing the under-privileged masses from gaining either moral sustenance or material strength through the exercise of adult franchise.

I felt very keenly that valuable time and historic opportunity were being lost by Jawahar and his partners by their failure to utilise the power of the State to free the masses from the coils of superstition and social and religious oppression. Keen as I was to make my own contribution from the political sphere to the self-respect movement, I organised separate wings in the Andhra Congress (1946-51) for the people of almost every craft', such as handloom weavers, potters, shepherds, basket weavers, tanners, besides kisans, khet mazdoors, and tenants, and gave them representation in the political units of the Congress. It proved to be an uphill task and brought me much political trouble. Then I chose Sardar Latchanna, gifted son of a tapper and a dynamic leader of working classes, as the Legislative Leader of the Andhra Krishikar Lok Party in Madras Assembly in preference to better educated top-caste legislator who was his senior in other respects too. I did that with the express object of helping the backward and under-privileged masses to gain confidence in the assumption and assertion of their right for prominent political leadership. Unfortunately later events have shown that I did that too prematurely and it only weakened my hold among the higher castes.

Much later, Jawaharlalji pitchforked a Harijan leader Sanjeevaiah into Congress Presidentship but that dynamic move also failed to rouse the backward masses out of their deep depression. Why ? Because he did not hold power and Jawaharlal who wielded immense power did not use his initiative as an avowedly revolutionary weapon, with the needed fan-fare about its purpose and its targets.

Ram Manohar Lohia too comprehended the true revolutionary significance and necessity for self-respect movement as the most potent weapon for raising the masses So when he got the chance, he chose a Backward Class Lok Sabha member, Ram Sevak Yadav though he was a junior as a parliamentarian and

not too highly educated, as the floor leader of Socialist Party and thus dared all other parties to do the same. That gesture also did not stir the masses.

History gave a golden opportunity to Indira to seize the reins of the much needed and long-awaited self-respect movement on all-Ind a scale, when she broke away from the trammels of Congress bosses and chose to strike boldy for independent leadership on the Congress and Goverrment. Being a child of revolution she instinctively realised what had helped the D.M.K. to gain an overwhelming majority and capture Madras Government defeating the powerful Congress and its great chief Kamaraj Nadar. She must have also realised intuitively how Lohia's Party was able to mobilise large sections of backward classes of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh by pursuing unorthodox socio-political approaches. So Indira sounded her clarion call, stirring the masses to their depths, and sturg them into action by appealing to the masses as much from this social revolutionary angle of Garibi Hatao as from the economic objectives of that inspiring slogan.

She was trusted by the masses, as she was boldly battling against the vested interests within her own party, and as she had already demonstrated how well she would wield power in breaking up their citadels. So, the under-privileged masses saw, at long last, their chance to march in the company of power and the P.M. and moved in with an elemental force and voted her into overwhelming majority. They have thus placed in power as it were their aspirations and hopes for social and religious redemption and general emancipation from the accumulated debris of Indian socialkarma. She has accepted this responsibility with all sincerity and has been devotedly trying to engineer and guide the social revolution with purposeful political steps.

The word has gone round all the lobbies of Panchayat Raj institutions, Assemblies and Parliament as well as other such democratic institutions that priority has to be given to these long-neglected and under-privileged people and their representatives It is also generally understood that the hitherto uppish "haves" or privileged upper classes must be prepared to take

their place. only behind them in the queue. This politically and socially oriented trend has come to be accepted as the inevitable, inescapable and spontaneous result of the 1971 and 1973 elections

What is even more significant and heartening is that the backward and under-privileged masses have now begun to feel confident of shaking off their shackles and achieving what is there due. What are those shackles? Mainly their inhibitions and fears. Just as Chinese masses have abandoned their cruel fancy for their women's limping and cramping feet, so also our backward classes are rushing with the speed and fury of Gangetic floods to banish the age-old sense of inferiority and fears of upper caste retaliations, with the confidence that Indira and the Parliament are behind them. Sure as anything Indira has been raising her voice, using the support of Parliament, and pressing governmental powers into the service of these people, whenever and wherever any of the Harijans or Girijans or other backward classes come to be harassed, beaten or killed.

The students of these castes enjoy to-day a new sense of confidence, denied to their earlier generations. They know they would not only find jobs on a priority basis but also get quicker promotions – thanks to the initiatives of Jagjivan Ram and Sanjeevaiah. They are assured of equal status - social and political – with all others in government employment The radio which had once turned a Nelson's eye to their sufferings now functions as a catalytic force to awaken them to the dawn of new era of emancipation.

To-day the Harijans etc. know that the Central and State Governments are behind them. If any officer is still as indifferent or contemptuous towards them as in the past, they can raise a halloballo with the confidence that the new legislators voice their grievances. In this and in many other ways, more than two hundred millions of our masses are bestirring themselves to shake off the mental vestiges of slavery.

By many more such symbolic moves of revolutionary momentum, Indira has lifted the Self-Respect moverent from its local

moorings to the dimensions of a country-wide social revolution.

Once thus roused, we can be confident that these masses would not slip back into their earlier state of mental and social polio, Just as the converts to Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism had shed at least inpart the inferiority complex of their forefathers, so also these masses of this Post-1971 era would refuse to be driven back into the pigeon holes of social depression and inferiority complex. Whatever the past Muslim and Christian rulers had done to uphold the converts in their new status, is being improved upon in this new era by the new social revolutionaries, armed as they are with State Power and inspired as they are with Gandhian and Nehru's humanism.

If only Indira and this generation of social ard political workers and administrators would succeed in banishing illiteracy and ensuring universalisation of free and compulsory elementary education I am confident that the backward masses would shed their backwardness, begin to march not only hand in hand with all others but also in the vanguard of India's efforts at social revolution In this way, Post 1971 India has inaugurated a veritable non-violent cultural revolution through democratic means.

While economic progress would take much time, social liberation and uplift can be achieved just as soon through state activities and energetic political re-organisation if only the top leadership begins to lay down new guidelines and provide a ladder for political and social advancement to the semi-dumb, but toilhardened masses. This would certalnly please the spirit of Gandhiji.

When I told Indira how the D M K has instilled a new sense of self-confidence in hitherto down and out masses, her face brightened, her eyes glittered and she exclaimed that she had already begun to move in that direction, and would like to do more and was bent upon achieving this revolution in the Gandhian manner.

Let us also remember that this social revolution will spontaneously lead to economic revolution, and will find much

easier acceptance by vested interests, than if it had come by itself. Once the upper castes learn to treat their hitherto "forgotten people" as their social compeers, they would find it necessary to offer them better terms of employment.

True, nether Indira nor any other revolutionary can be certaim that this revolutionary wave would be more lasting or more successful in liberating this vast humanity of more than 200 millions than the efforts made by Ashoka the Great, if it were not for the favourable world-wide atmosphere of social revolution and social justice that is permeating this post-war World. With the rise of the Soviet and Mao's eras Ike's "Little Man" and Kennedy and Johnson's "Common Man" challenges to "Affluent Societies" to share their personal and national fortunes and social status with the have-nots, Who can tesist this oceanic pressure of world's revolutionary wave? It guarantees the continuance and fruition of this revolution.

Indira has made the most important contribution to our history by giving priority to the Chapter on Directive Principles over fundamental rights of property above the Ceilings and otherwise, placing the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles on the same plane. She gained the right to do so by the verdict of the general elections of 1971 and 1972 and she proceeded to give constitutional authority for this vital change through Constitutional amendments 24 and 25. This is indeed making of history.

By this, she has inaugurated epochal change in our social economy. She has served Constitutionally authorised Notice to all holders of property above the Ceilings, wielders of Power emanating from such properties, their possession, use, leases and transfers etc. that they could hereafter enjoy their privileges only subject to supervening claims of the have-nots and under-privileged for social justice and so, for minimum humane standards of food, clothing. shelter, health and hygene, education and employment. That is, properties above ceilings must specially subserve social purposes and ends.

This Constitutional service of Notice brings about a significant qualitative change in the power and use of property. Property can no longer be only at the service of its nominal owners, society Ciaims to condition or regulate its ownership, superior c'aims with its individual owners, but not arbitrarily or purposelessly but in the interests of Garib Lok for stated purposes through due processes of Law. This "Notice" warns property owners to get used to these changed terms of their rights and give them time to adjust themselves to the new social environment. This non-violent revolution as indicated by the emergent economic programme of 1973 is her contribution to our history.

Since assuming the national leadership, vouch safed to her by the masses by giving the two thirds majority in Lok Sabha, Indira Gandhi has had the maximum authoirty and best opportunity to move in a determined and purposeful manner towards the peoples objective of Garib Hatao. The very declaration of the Emergency in 1975, that is, after more than four years of that historic peoples mandate and the purposive adoption in its wake of the New Economic Deal is the undenial confession of her inability to gain just that much of needed cooperation from all sections of people and all parties in Parliament to lead the country towards the fulfilment of 1971 national objective.

There were some definite achievements like the revolutionary reduction or slashing down the Land Ceilings from fixing them on the basis of every member in a peasants' family to that of whole family, thus reducing the ceiling limit by more than 50 to 75%, pushing forward with Green Revolution and achieving self sufficieney in production of long staple cotton, thus saving Rs 100 crores per annum in foreign exchange, developing banking in rural areas.

The hurdles which stood in the way of imposing urban ceilings and taking over industries and other vested interests for public purposes were removed by passing the constitution Amendments 25 and 26. There were not however enough to create the revolutionary impact expected by the people.

Even inter-state disputes over border areas, river waters, especially of Narmada, Godavari were not settled.

True, there were many and almost commensurate externating happenings for that failure, for instance, the impact of Bangla Desh revolution, oil price hikes, intensification of unabated rise of prices by the international phenomenon of inflation, continual occurrence of strikes and lock-outs from the uncooperative industries and their partners, both workers and employers and failures in planning for continuous growth and supply of power-hydel and thermal, fertilizers and pesticides and growing mischief of black-money, corruption and amoral attitudes of ever swelling administration for higher salaries, allowances, etc. have all contributed to this failure.

The unwilingness of most of the Congress legislators and ministers to toe the line with Indira's revolutionary move and the obstruction caused by large sections of middle-classes and industrial labour and management weakened the revolution's momentum. The determined efforts made by the opposition parties, aided latterly by Jaiprakash Narain to provide political justification for every type of obstruction and indeed, to offer direct opposition to the very existence of the chosen political leadership of the masses have queered the pitch both to democracy and revolution.

Despite all these and such other extenuating circumstances, so much more could have been done, if only the Ruling party had been properly geared for its great mission and if the opposition parties had dicided to play fair with the masses, once their electoral decision was made in favour of Indira Gandhi's mission and if Indira Gandhi herself had sufficiently broadened her contacts and approaches to the leaders and workers, irrespective of their pre-1971 political and social attitudes towards her politics and political activities of her party and sought to gain maximum cooperation and guidance from all quarters. Unfortunately she could not persuade her party men to achieve the fullest party cooperation of atleast all groups and social elements within their own legislative parties and organisational units.

She deserves credit for having turned her failures between 1971-1975 which led to the declaration of Emergency into yet another opportunity for the social revolutionary objectives of 1971 to gain once again the needed momentum towards "Garibi Hatao"

Just as she moved in 1970 out of the net of party squabbles and dared to lead masses towards revolutionary objectives, so also now she has taken advantage of the obstructive challenges posed by the J.P cum Morarji led opposition and un Cooperative and corrupt administration and political tradesmen to go ahead, boldly and speedily with the implementation of the "New Economic Deal."

This N.E.D and its politico economic trend are well-calculated for the resumption of Garibi Hatao" revolutionary tempo. Indiras success or failure would be determined by her determination to mobilise all possible national resources from the administration to Congress party to give an irretraceableand irrepressible momentum to the socio economic revolution that the masses voted for in 1971.

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23. JAWAHARLAL-DEMOCRATIC THINKER-AT 60

Jawahrlal was born on 14·11·1889 in Allahabad, educated in Harrow and Cambridge, called to the Bar in 1912 was interested in Home Rule Movement, Joined Non-Co-operation in 1921, Joined Gandhiji in 1919-20, Jailed first in 1921 and several times thereafter in all the Congress Satyagraha struggles; Indian delegate to Congress of Oppressed Peoples at Brusseis in 1927 and wrote about his impressions of Russia, President of All India Trade Union Congress 1928, Congress President first time in 1929 December, popularised Independence pledge in January 1930, Joined Salt Satyagraha, participated in discussions during Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Toured in Europe in 1935-36, Congress President in Lucknow and Faizpur 1936, met Cabinet Missions 1942-1946, Prime Minister 1946 65,agreed to partition of the Country1946-47, integration of Kashmir with India 1947 toured in China, allowed Tibet to be taken over by China despitc warnings from Patel protests from Ranga, organised National Resistance against China's aggression in 1962, laid foundations for planned economy; Chairman of Planning Committee of 1938, Planning Commission 1949 etc. Addressed U N. Assembly, participated in Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conferences, toured allover world as Prime Minister; World renowned author, of Glimpses of World History,(Ed).

Pandit Nehru is becoming more and more a teacher,not so much for the masses, as he used to be until 1945-46, as for the leaders of the country, the members of the Constituent Assembly and the organisers and thinkers of the Congress Party. On too many points of national importance he seens to be at variance with his Party. He battles with it on the plane of thought. He matches

its passions by his own passionate espousal of the other view; he cools down when it is infuriated, he bows humbly, yet sweetly when the torrrents of its passionate thoughts overwhelm him, and he comes back heroically to the attack when the Party is in a calmer mood to listen to reason. He coaxes the Party, as he would woo the beloved, he reasons with it with all his extraordinary capacity for dialecties, aided, as he is, by the flash of his eye, and his transparent struggle between his imperious nature and his wise almost habitual, anxiety to see the other point of view and to meet it more than half way.

The Party too is slowly being fashioned after him. It loves him and exults in his moods. It does get angry with him, and sometimes its fury frightens and silences him too. Yet it delights as much in yielding to him as to defeat him. It takes care not to hurt him deeply. Many a time, the party simply reversed its own earlier, well-considered, decision reached after much heated discussion, when it come to know that Panditji became most unhappy by its wilfulness. Both the Pandit and the Party are constantly battling with each other, without either trying to force the issue upon some of the most important national questions. For instance, the Constituent Assembly Congress Party has not been able to decide over two minorities.

Panditji is essentially a democrat. Left to himself he would like to do things speedily and splendidly, all to the order and according to plan. He has no personal or class interests, and is basically a progressive and a revolutionary. He is impatient with the slow, elephantine movements and serpentine curves of democratic methods of making and executing decision.

So, he often becomes impatient and intolerant of criticism, obstruction and indecision, so characteristic of democratic assemblies. But he is at great pains to appreciate criticism. He is so introspective as to go out of the way to see the other man's point of view, although at the moment he may become guilty of insufferable intolerance of the other Man's speech, movements or even exclamations. He tries his best to pick out points from the criticism of the opponents of his stand, and is patient enough to try to rebuild and reshape his own plans and ideas. One can

see him, as in a mirror, working his way through the battle-ground of cross currents of thought and trying sincerely to find a solution for the time being and according to the state of fermentation of his own mind and emotions. It is indeed a pleasure to see him and to work and share with him in the task of reaching such conlusions, because it is an exciting and inspiring experience in S ocratic and Gandhian processes of weighing, selecting and welding many intellectual reactions to a problem into a definite line of decision. Thus, Jawaharlal is to-day taking infinite pains to train his followers of the highest rank into true democrats, progressive thcught-builders and democratic statesmen.

There are times when Jawaharlal the revolutionary is in conflict with Jawaharlal the Statesman. It is true he has had no need to build up either a perronal, factions or deological parts. He has intersted a mammoth, but surprisingly powerful and effective party. It is so much devoted to him and the Sardar and the latter's affections and hopes of the future India are so mnch centered in him, and the people all over the country dote on him so much, that he is in no need to canvass support for his personal leadership, or to create a nucleus of personal supporters. Therefore, all the struggles that he has to wage are confined to realm of the thoughts, cultural backgrounds and conflicting class interests of his followers and his Party. Therefore, he is all the time battling with the nationalist, communal, caste and class matrix of their social environments. He sometimes wins surprising victories as in the case of India's entry into the Commonwelth, the justiciable fundamenal rights, the spirit of toleration towards minorities and their cultural and social aspiration. But he has to swallow many a defeat with good grace and in good honour. For instance, he fought hard against the Second Chambers inedxesting them with undue power. He simply left the Party unobservedly, as he could not stand the tortuous defeat. So, he put in a strong plea in favour of lowering the age of senators from 35 to 30, in the hope that large number of young men coming to the Second Chamber might possibly dilute and diminish its conservatism. Similarly he lost in his struggle for English and had to bow to the decision in favour of Hindi as official language Eventually parliament and country accepted his 3 language formula.

The relations between Pandit Nehru and the Constituent Assembly vary according to the angles form which they look at any problem at a given moment. Generally, the party and Assembly are too much concerned with their conception of local or immediate problem as they would look like if viewed through a microscope. As more and more thinkers and as more and more members go on disputing with each other over the one or the other possible way of solving the difficulty, Jawaharlal quietely withdraws into himself, becomes completely indifferent with people sitting around him, and sits, with his expressive lips talking to each other in a speechless fashion, with his eye half closed, with his hand caressing his bald head. Then, as he reached certain definite conclusion with the help of the noisy exchange of thoughts all around him, he suddenly opens his eyes and looks at all around him in an unseeing fashion, and seems to jump to the conclusions that he should fling his thoughts upon the Assembly or the Party. It is at such a moment that he is extremely dangerous to be dealt with by his friends or debators, because he is like a lion venturing forth for its prey. It is well worth watching him at such moments. He takes a few moments to gain momentum in his speech; when he braces himself up to his argument, he seems to be a valiant opponent, his first reactions are to dismiss the other's view by a quick succession of blows of argument. If he finds that the protagonists of the opposite view is no mean opponent, he draws upon more and more formidable weapons of argument, he reasons with him and emits fire through his eyes and then either succeeds in coming to a brilliant finale of triumph, or a confusing maze of contradictory but well-balanced arguments with a pathetic wave of hands, leaving the decision to the Party or the Assembly.

I have not seen another such first-rate and delightful dilectician, so completely ignorant of the need to please or defeat anyone so extremely anxious to communicate to his followers his own passions for the good of the people and the country, in any other country at any time during the last twenty-five years of my public life. He is a unique phenomenon of the modern democratic world. He is the nearest approach to the

conception of a philosopher king of this democratic age, whom Mahatma Gandhi has fashioned and left for us. Indeed, he is the hope of Gandhian democracy and the harbinger of world peace and goodwill.

Ever since Gandhiji's death Jawaharlal has been growing more and more Gandhian He is now more positive and constructive after the heart of Mahatma Gandhi, whereas he used to be a bundle of doubts when Bapu was alive. He is to-day preaching and practising so fervently Gandhiji's conceptions that if you take care of the means the ends will also look after themselves, and the goodwill and trust can only beget goodwill and trust and nothing else, and that if you can win more by leaving a sense of hurt in the other party than what you can by making the other party also happy, better care for the smaller advantage and cherish others' happiness.

Like so many of us, he must be feeling very poignantly Bapuji's absence from our midst because, as he put it the other day with so much pain at heart, we are all men too small to grapple with the complex problems of the contemporary world, and even more difficult and formidable passions and prejudices and the conservation of mind and hardness of heart of myriad millions of people in this and other countries. He would wish for the presence of Mahatma Gandhi to inspire his schemes that he would like to sponsoer Possibly it is because of this pain at heart that he is repeatedly talking of only the next ten years as being a long enough period for any statesman to plan and work for. This is so un-Gandhian, becaure Bapu was never tired of yearning to live for another twenty-five years to serve and salvage this world, so great was his robust faith in democracy.

Such is Jawaharlal the democratic leader, the teacher of hundreds of millions of our masses, and the architect of their Gandhian *Swaraj*. No wonder Indians of this generation are taking pride in hailing him as their leader and comrade.

June 3, 1949 Nehru Birthday Book (Sixtieth Year, November 14, 1949).

BETWEEN 60 AND 75

Betwen 60 and 75 years of his, Jawaharlal continued to lead our country as the Prime Minister. It cannot however be said that his prestige as national leader continued to be as high as at 60. As in the case of every such top personality in any Continent, there were many ups and downs, not in regard to his place as Prime Minister which was never contested by anyone within the Congress Party-but in regard to the degree of affection and adoration, confidence and satisfaction, displayed towards him by the vast masses of India.

I was his colleague and Parliamentary Party's General Secretary, obliged to be in close consultation with him till 1951 and later in 1957-59, I was one of the Parliamentary Opposition Leaders, ranged against him in Parliament between 1951-53, between 1959-65. We had our occasions of disagreement even when we were in the same Congress and Co-operative relations when ranged in Parliamentary Opposition. All the time, there was deep mutual affection and respect, as openly avowed in Parliament, even during the worst period of Indo-China War, when I had to deplore his inept national leadership and he had to bear the brunt of national humiliation being inflicted by Communist China as well as bear with patiently our Parliamentary onslaughts for his failure to save India from that humiliation.

During the same fifteen years, Jawaharlal succeeded in laying solid foundations for the industrialisation of India; believing firmly, as he did, that without more or less self-reliant economic structure India's swaraj would not be safe and Indian masses could not be sure of economic progress. The third and fourth Pakistani aggressions on us-have domonstrated how far-sighted his stress on giving priority for building up of basic industrial structure had been. The Heavy Machine Building industries in different spheres have helped our ordinance factories to grow in their vriety and capacity to arm our defence forces and fill our arsenals.

I co-operated with him in laying the foundations for the Planning Commission and also in developing the various volun-

tary national organisation like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Small Savings Campaign and Panchayati Raj structure and national campaign for developing multl-pronged structure for Co-operative movement.

He became however powerless to prevent corruption, wastage of public funds and political persecution from creeping into the working of all such semi-governmental institutions and the misuse of opportunities for Powers, Privileges and favours arising from out of the working of Co-operative and Panchayati movements, for Partisan and personal ends by the myriad power-mongering public workers. As he was growing older, he became weary of ever rising new responsibilities, in the sphere of controlling or fighting this evil of political misuse of power and resulting corruption.

In one direction, he was largely at fault; that is in his temperamental hesitation to deal harshly and firmly with fellow public workers, who are found to have incurred public censure by their misuse of power. As long ago as 1948 when Prakasam and myself raised our charges against some Madras Ministers, he would not agree to order an independent and impartial or Judicial enquiry, for fear that it would weaken the public faith in ministries and their ministers. So he went on insisting for years upon such enquiries being made by the Chief Ministers into allegations against their ministers and finally by the Prime Minister and by himself when Central Ministers came to be involved. Then he failed to implement either the spirit of his own proposal or the recommendations with similar import, by Santanam's Committee against Corruption and Kripalani's committee on Railway corruption. Finally he had to be goaded into appointing the Das Commission to enquire into charges against the dynamic but power-intoxicated Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon and that too, after offering an unseemly praise of his patriotic drive and dynamic leadership. He made it a herculean task for M.Ps to expose several Cabinet ministers and even his Personal Assistant over prolonged, painful parliamentary protests and only then, he found it possible to rid himself or several of those unworthy colleagues. All this

has weakened the morale of our rapidly growing administration at the Centre and in the States. The less scrupulous Chief Ministers and less public spirited ministers and Congress Workers engaged in various ramifications of their contacts with the public have gone on bringing public life into contempt. This was as great a failure as our defeats suffered at the hands of China.

Prakasam and myself in the beginning and Munshi and Rajaji and myself later were pressing him to devise some effective non party and quasi-judicial machinery like the Swedish "Ombudsman" to grapple with this evil. Even the Santanam's Commission's recommendations could not persuade him to do anything more than the appointment of ineffective vigilance Commissions.

It was left for the Administrative Reforms Commission to recommend the establishment of the twin institutions of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt, after the Swedish precedent of Ombudsman. Indiraji, the Prime Minister is yet to get necessary legislation passed to provide the minimum protection needed against corruption. There is this consolation that what the father failed to do, his daughter has come to provide.

Jawaharlal is the father of the World's phase of Non-Alignment in the two decades-long struggle between USA and her partners on one side and Soviet Russia and her friends on the other. When I was chosen as the spokesman of Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Conference held in Ottawa in 1952, even as I was the leader of the Krishikar Lok Party in Opposition, I outlined our national policy in foreign affairs as Non-Involvement. By 1955 Jawaharlal got the Bandung Conference to endorse the Plank of Panch Sheela which had already been incorporated in the Indo-Chinese Treaty over Tibet. Thus, there was agreement between all parties on the democratic side over Nehru's policy in international affairs.

When China suddenly attacked India in full force and inflicted national humiliation upon India, so many of us in the Opposition began to feel how our non-alignment policy had

weakened us. Whereas Pakistan gained so much through her adroit foreign attachments. Jawaharlal did not swerve from his path of Panch Sheel or Non-Alignment, though he was willing to seek military aid from U.S A. and U K. and if need be. to have some understanding of nutual friendship with them, as revealved by Galbraith's "Ambassadors Diary". We can now realise how he was on the whole patrioticaily wise in not agreeing to any formal understanding and attachment with USA because of the latter's unholy insistence upon pitch-forking Pakistan's claims over Kashmir for parity in the sub-continent's defence responsibilities and capability It was that intuitional allergy felt by Jawaharlal against alignments with friends with ulterior objectives which kept us free to reach Friendship Treaty with Russia in 1961 to protecst us from Pakistan and her allies and anti-Indian Powers.

That Tito and Indira have found it wise even in 1974 to reiterate their faith in Non-Alignment and to reinforce its international Secretariat, even within the new world of Detente between the three great Atomic Powers and India's friendship Treaty with Russia and rapprochment with USA is part vindication of the general approach made by Jawaharlal, of equidistant friendship with all and insistence upon Detente as well as general adherence to world need and demand for peace. Hiren Mukherji, the Communist leader rightly hailed Nehru as the colossus of this generation; especially in his passionate struggle for world peace.

I had to deplore his presence as Prime Minister even after he let India be aggressed upon, defeated and humiliated by Communist China, whom he so passionately and blindly wooed. It is however true to say that he has endowed the world's cause for peace and the principles of Panch Shila with an emotional and poetic dignity and political status rearly as powerful and appealing as whatever had been contributed by the United Nations and such lovers of World's humanity as Gandhl, Bertrand Russel, Rajaji and all the Noble Laureates, headed by Einstein, who pleaded for the "Un-Involved" but innocent, helpless humanity with its inviolable right to live in Peace.

I have differed violently from Jawaharlal over the fate of self-employed masses of India and parted political company with him. His party questioned my right to speak and fight for the self employed peasants in Parliament and defeated me twice (1962–67). I strove as vehementlv against him and his successors and returned to Parliament and succeeded in preventing so-called co-operative farming sounding the death-knell of self-employment and self-employed peasant proprietors right to their holdings. I had also the satisfaction that Parliament so amended his draft bill as to ensure that peasants' holdings below ceilings are exempted from the mischief of that amendment. Rajaji, the elder-statsman differed from him over his drift towards totalitarian Soviet-type Planning. Jawaharlalji did not accept our plea to provide equally powerful and pervasive safeguards such as the establishment of non-partisan, independent and quasi-judicial supervision and administration of Licences, Permits, Quotas, the bye-produets of planned economy.

Yet that he was a true democrat and liberal can be seen from the democratic peaceful and entirely honourable manner in which India's Parliament has been able to choose his sueces-sors. even after his 17 years of Prime Ministership, which was not equalled by the experience of democratic Europe or U S.A. He might have been pleased by the emergence of Indira as Prime Minister. But he left complete freedom to his Party and Indian Parliament to reach her in their own time and by their own choice and convenience. This is also a unique Gandhian achievement.

My heart was filled with anger and anguish on that fellnorming over the dreadful purpose of passing of Seventeenth to Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution for which the special session of Parliament was convened on that morning, because, Parliament had failed to pass it during the previous session–so greatly agitated were its members over that unholy challenge to the sacred freedom, embodied in self-employment of peasants and also artisans. Yet when I reached the House and Gulzarilal Nanda announced the grave but unexpected news that Jawah-arlal, our Prime Minister was ill, doctors thought it serious and

he was being given best treatment and attention, I was shocked and overcome like all other members with sorrow. I felt a constriction at heart and could not continue to sit in my seat like many other members and so I rushed out of the House, gathered whoever were equally keen to join me and raced by car to his house at the Teen Murti and offered my personal prayers for his recovery. So overwhelming and deep was my personal attachment to Jawaharlal since long, my admiration for the noble services rendered by him to humanity and Indians in this sub-continent were so great.

I penned the first section of this Chapter, when he completed his 60 years and I acciaimed him then as the "Democratic Thinker" and teacher of our Parliament and people. Let me now conclude it through the homage I have paid on 29 5-1964 in Parliament, when it assembled 2 days after his Swargarohan that he lived and as a true democrat and helped our Parliament to sustain Indian demooracy.

In the light of what has happened during this decade after his Swargarohan, we are able to see that the opposition parties never overstepped The "order order" dicispline of the presiding officers during his life-time nor was there even the possibility for the emergence of the zero-hour Parliamentary lack of self control. Even during those extremely exasperating occasions when government persisted in its efforts to pass preventive detention Bills or the hateful anti-peasant Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution or the utterly unacceptable special procedure pursued to pressurise Parliament to pass that anti-peasant Bill in its new name as the Nineteenth Amendment, setting aside the special procedure provided for their introdution of a bill after it had been once negatived by Parliament. the opposition never attempted to pursue such atter by unparliamentary methods and wholly undemocratic means as has happened in May 1975 when the MISA Amendment Bill was prevented from being introduced - so that was the moral influence of Jawaharlalji over the whole of parliament thanks to his own devotion and ostentatious observanee of Parliamentary decencies. Under all normal circumstances,

his leadership of Parliament appeared to be so exalted and, He respected opposition so much that opposition leaders felt it a privilege to maintain the dignity of Parliament in their turn, at equally high level, despite the latter day exhibition of Lohiaism. There were nationally serious occasions like the failure of Third Five Year Plan, rapid rise of prices leading to inflation unabated growth of corruption and his persistent refusal to grapple with it, when the opposition wished to create ration - wide agitations. But neither Jawaharlalji nor the opposition were inclined to bait each other so much as to threaten to create an emergency or to espy such an emergency as to invoke the Constitutional presidential authority to declare an emergency as have been witnessed by 1975. Thus this decade of 1965 to 1975 demonstrates, by contrast, how much more morally exalting and democratically uplifting was the noble leadership that India enjoys from Jawaharlaljee, the Prime Minister.

This is an occasion when we can only remember all that was good in our beloved friend, all that is great, that has come from him. Some of us have had the privilege of working with him for the past forty years, if not more.

On behaif of Rajaji, his senior most colleague and comrade, the Swatantra Party and myself, I wish to place on record not only appreciation of the great leader but also our sense of loss on this occasion to our country and to the world.

Jawaharlal had come into a great heritage left to him by Mahatma Gandhi. He proved to be an able and sincere follower and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, worked with him and led us all in our struggle against world imperialism and helped to make India's struggle for freedom a spearhead of the world struggle for freedom all over. To him was given the opportunity to see, help, assist, guide and ultimately achieve, in co-operation with all other national leaders, the end of one phase of imperialism and the advent of freedom of all peoples all over the world. In that success India gloried, and India felt grateful to this great man who used all his influence and power as the Prime Minister of India in achieving that happy consummation.

On the world front, he worked for peace according to his lights, and for a long time, most of us agreed with him and helped him too, and he achieved great results. The United Nations would bear testimony to the contribution that he has made in that direction.

When it came to our own country, it was his task to decide whether he should try to mould our people and their lives and help them in their march towards happiness and prosperity through democracy or dictatorship. He chose the democratic means, and he remained consistently loyal to democratic processes, but he continued during all this long period of 17 years of his Prime Ministership and one year more of power, to remain a democrat to help us develop democratic processes in this country, and it is certainly a privilege for many of my friends on that side to have been his colleagues on the Treasury Benches. He has made it an equally great privilege if I may say so, for us who are of the opposition to remain in the Opposition Benches and play our role, criticising, appreciating, condemning, applauding various things that he and his Government made themselves responsible for during all these years.

For quite a long time it would be difficult for us to reconcile ourselves to the fact that he would not be there. For more than 17 years, whenever we thought of Parliament, we thought of him being seated there. Even during these tortuous weeks of his illness, when it was not possible for him to come to the seat there, we thought we had him there, we could have him, whenever he felt like it, certainly he would come back to us. Now, that hope is gone, and our presence here almost becomes a burden, a painful experience. Indeed, I had begun to feel like that even while he was there, trying his best, in his own characteristically heroic manner, to rise with all the strength that he could command and give us the answers that we could ask for. I will not say we were always charitabe to him, sufficiently, adequately; yet, we used to admire that man rising in that place, with all that weakness pulling him down, he had the strength, greatness of spirit keeping him up there. It

is indeed a great privilege and experience for us to have heard him for nearly one hour during the last marathon speech that he had made in this House.

Therefore, many things we have to say, we had to say in criticism of his policies; they are there on record. He had many things to say about us and to us also, they are also on record. These records could not have been there and such records would not be there in a large part of the world where there is no democracy; they could not have been there if it had not been for his loyalty to the cause of democracy. That stands to his eternal credit.

(L.S. Deb. (29.5.64) Vol. XXXII,
Columns 143–145, 148–150, 172–176)

24. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan has been one of our international figures for more than two decades Vinobha's disciples must have felt immensely gratified by the propaganda he did for Sarvodaya and their activities. The service he rendered to Bangladesh, when it was undergoing its birth-pangs was inestimable and his world tour prepared the ground for the world tours of Indira Gandhi and other ministers of the Central government in favour of Bangladesh freedom fighters. But his on-the-spot favourable impressions of the semi-dictatorial regime of De Gaulle and of the guided democracy of Ayub Khan did not add to his reputation as a full-fledged democrat. His proposal to give the quietus to India's claims for Aksai Chin and thus ensure Chinese accommodation over Ladakh and NEFA (Arunachal); his advice to let Kashmir be treated as an international responsibility of both India and Pakistan : and his oft-repeated support for Shaik Abdullah's earliar claims for autonomy for Kashmir evoked more resentment than enthusiasm among wide sections of Indian people.

I met him first in Patna in 1934 at the Conference of Congress Socialists, where he began his political activities at the national level. The late G. Harisarvottamarao and I were surprised at the pose of ready-made leadership presented by the young intellectuals from. Bombay and Banaras as if their Marxist-Fabian Socialism was the only solution to 'India's problems I had to fight pertinaciously but with little success to persuade Jayaprakash and his friends Masani, Asoka Mehta, Achyut Patwardhan, Mehralley from B mbay and Acharya Narendra Deva, Sampurnanand, from Banaras – to give priority to agricultural problems and realise the principal revolutionary role that peasants have to play and would be able to play. JP could not appreciate my approach because he was then too much of a marxist believing in the principal role, if not the dominant role, that proletariat would and could play in our socio-political revolution. None of those North Indian Socia-

lists had any deep contact with and understanding of the peasants and their problem nor did they play any role in the Peasant Organisation.

But by the time JP came to tour in Andhra in 1934 he was able to have balanced view of my approach because, as he said to me in Vijayawada, Dr. Kumarappa, for whom he then had much respect, assured him about the genuinely revolutionary role I was playing in South India in rousing the peasants on a mass scale against the feudal forces. He visited our Gobhumi as my guest. But the South Indian rains and the muddy black-cotton soil and the primitive rural sanitation provented him from staying in our rural home for more than a day because till then he had not been used to the utter lack of modern conveniences in our totally rural envirommment.

J.P. was the general secretary of the All India Congress Socialist Party for years. But he was too much under the influance of Marxist ideology and wrote his book "Why Socialism" with an entirely anti-Gandhiam accent, questioning the rationale of Gandhiji's constructive programme. That widened the gulf between our respective political and economic approaches. When I was organising the All India Kisan platform, he offered his co operation reluctantly and was disappointed when I was elected as President of All India Kisan Congress (AIKC) at Faizpur, instead of himself. We were however able to co-operate with each other at the Comilla session of AIKC and successfully frustrated the moves of the Communists to dominate it.

Jawaharlal Nehru took the Congress Socialists under his protective wings and from the manner in which he appeared to be toeing their line on issues like "Council Entry" and "Acceptance of Ministry", many thought that the Congress Socialists were his political frontage, if not his group within the Congress. When he handpicked and pitch-forked JP, Achyut Patwardhan and Acharya Narendra Deva, as members of the Congress Working Committee after the Lucknow Congress in 1936 without any of them claiming any noteworthy tenure as leader of the organisation in their respective states, it became clear that Jawaharlal was trying to raise a new cadre of leadership that

was dearer and closer to him in the same way as Gandhiji did between 1917-23. JP, who is one of the nephews of Rajendra Prasad, was thus enabled to be on the national platform, as a ready-made leader as long ago as in 1934-36. He was also then spared from the hardship of having to go through the kind of prolonged apprenticeship as most of his seniors on the kisan, rural, Gandhian platforms of service had to undergo. That was as great a lift as was givin by Gandhiji to Jawaharlal and by C R.Das to Subhash Bose. Unlike them who got that great good furture for themselves, JP got it not only for his group of Socialists all because of their fascination for Jawaharlal and non-attachment to Gandhiji. But JP's failure to gain the needed minimum support among Bihar P.C.C. members to get himself elected to the AICC, which was essential for his remaining in the Congress Working Committee-the highest political power-concentration that was then available for a congressman, forced him to resign from it. And who can say what psychological effect it must have had on his subsequent withdrawal from the general secretaryship of the Congress Socialist Party, from legislative politics, and finally from party politics? That must also have been responsible for his later inability to support Subhash Bose at Tripura Congress Session when he was fighting with his back to the wall against Sardar Vallabhai's phalanxes and for his unwillingness to strengthen the efforts of the Left Consolidation Committee to mobilise forces for starting national struggle against the war-time exploitation of India by the British imperialists for, after all, JP could not break away from Jawaharlal's political non-interest in Subhash Babu's anti-Establishment politics. Yet JP did not like to be a mere "ditto" man of Jawaharlal and hence his confusing trends in his 1939-42 political activities.

JP's contribution at once dare-devilry and patriotic-during the Quit India period, by escaping from jail, keeping in touch with cadres of workers and later patiently bearing the third-degree treatment from the British agents, endeared him to the rank and file of congressmen and all other patriots and erased all unhappy memories of 1936-42 period.

But JP was never able to give any independent guidance,

either by himself on in collaboration with his nearest colleagues in any national crisis. When communists were trying to infiltrate and capture the CSP he was content to let it be subverted, despite vigorous protests from Ashoka Mehta and Masani. When Nehru persisted in his unfortnnate call to resist the Federal Scheme even when that was so obviously strengthening Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, JP not only harped on the Bombay socialist song but also continued to advice the CSP to boycott the Constituent Assembly whereas Jawaharlal, who had by then become Prime Minister, was happy to go into it and dominate it. Later, when Bombay socialists insisted on opposing S. K. Patil and Sardar Patel in corporation politics, JP could not resist them and thus precipitated the breakway of CSP from the Congress. When Jawaharlal wanted to him to join his Cabinet, he heeded the wrong advice of his Bombay socialists and that led to his eventual retirement from power politics.

There was a time when Jawaharlal wanted him to be with him in the Cabinet to play the same important role which Krishna Menon came to assume much later. So many thought that possibly Jawaharlal might want him to be his successor. But subsequent events had proved that he was not the man to retire from prime ministership, nor was he so powerful as to nominate his successor, as Gandhiji was able to do.

JP, who had learnt his bitter lessons of power politics from his defeat to sustain his membership of the Working Committee, to keep peace among his socialist colleagues on the CSP must have realised how it might not be possible for him to retain prime ministership even if it was conferred on him by Jawabarlal, in the face of possible opposition from the Party's group of expert politicians, to whom power is more important than ideals or programmes. So he decided not to join the Cabinet. That must have led him to turn his back on party politics.

JP began to veer round to Gandhian approach to political and social problem after the death of Gandhiji. His assumption of Gandhian role grew more and more, while Jawaharlal's departure from it became more and more glaring. This brought

him nearer to Vinoba Bhave, who was experimenting with such moves as Bhudan, Gramdan, Sampattidan with the veneer of Gandhism. By rapid strides, JP became classed as second only to Vinoba Bhave as Sarvodaya leader. Side by side, he evolved his own independent quasi-political line of leadership, towards panchayati Raj on one side and non party demceracy on the other. Congress governments at the Centre and in the States were glad to offer all facilities, funds, propaganda and ministerial patronage to this Sarvodaya movement, as it was found to be providing them with the much-needed moral support for their growing amoral activities. JP was glad to endorse the Gramdan move of Vinoba as it was evolved at the Yelwal meeting in which Socialists, Comunmists and Congressmenhatched their open conspiracy against self-employment and landholdings of Peasants, When I opposed Co-operative farming and later Gramdan, JP had not a word to say in favour of peasants because he was committed to both Vinoba and Jawaharlal in regard to those anti-peasant moves. Those Gandhian workers who were mesmarised, as it were by Vinoba's Gandhian religiosity and JP's political atmosphere of non-attachment to legislatures and cabinets and their power nexus came to be however reconciled to the liberal financial and power-soiled patronage of governments in their political faith in Bhudan and Gramdan and the associated Sarvodaya social programmes. Thus a considerable number of clusters of social workers of Gandhian vintage have gathered round JP throughout India. They have rendered much social work. They distinguished themselves by their relief work during natural calamities.

With all this aura of service and sacrifice, and with the active comradeship of disciplined Sarvodaya workers, JP has now chosen to pit himself against Indira Gandhi, the chosen leader of the masses who registered their approval of her slogan of "Garibi Hatao" in 1971-72 and 1974 elections for Central and State legislatures.

There is nothing wrong if he wishes to organise parliamentary opposition to her political hegemony and thus make our democracy more verile, flexible and self correcting. It is not necessary that he should organise a party in the usual manner

to do this. It is also not undemocratic to develop protest marches, public debates or seminars and even campaigns of resistance against certain policies or programmes. I have organised many such. But if he invites, welcomes and utilises the spasmodic co-operation of all types of political and social elements and parties in order to openly subvert the properly elected legislatures and seeks to break up cabinets then, we have to conclude that he has given up his non-party role and entered the mundane sphere of controversial policies and politics.

Jaiprakash Narayan has once again resumed political activity, after a lapse of two decades of non-party Sarvodaya public life. He wants to provide all-embracing elexir to tone up our amoral public life through what he calls, but so far not defined, total revolution. In this travail, he has found it necessary and advisable to invoke the co-operation of the various parties in the opposition including the Communist Marxists at one extreme and Jan Sangh at the other. His present target is the Congress Party, saddled as it is with the heavy responsibility of winning elections at great cost to its reputation and its finances. He wants to fight its leader Indira Gandhi immersed, as she is said to be, in amoral party leadership.

What are the heart-searching provocations for JP to have extended his umbrella of political campaigning to all such heterogenous political forces? Growing atmosphere of amoral politics; Corrupt political rivalries and electioneering: unscrupulous exploitation of the principle and method of ruling by simple majority, obtained by unholy forces of money, administrative collusion, castism and political power from Delhi Secretariat to Panchayat Raj power-concentrations.

Though so many of us have been fighting against these and such other political misuses and horrible activities of the powers-that-be during the past twenty five years, JP did not find it unbearable enough to come to our aid and reinforce our efforts to provide an alternative political leadership.

All those opposition forces which have welcomed his desperate moves have so far failed to achieve good enough

national frontage and following or to combine into a sing'e entity and political personality. We, who tried to develop viable alternative parliamentary opposition since 1959 with Rajaji (who was certainly much more experienced) behind us had also fallen to persuade them to merge into an identifiable political force with a progressive programme.

In their desperation and out of their bitter disappointments over their failure to severally grow into or collectively to fuse into one united political force with a common outlook and programme, they offered to work under JP's leadership. He was wise enough to refuse to fall into that bigger political abyss.

It is anyone's guess whether JP would be able to succeed where Rajaji failed and when and how he would be able to free himself from the taints and leopord-spots that his hastily assembled cocktails of following have accumulated through their inescapable associations and dependence upon many vested interests with questionable alliances with the ruling party and exploitative social elements. This and much else is in the womb of future.

JP must be wondering, if he is still open to second thoughts, how his Bihar-oriented call for Total Revolution has made Communists to pose and play the role of active and enthusiastic champions of elected legislatures and parliamentary democracy and how his own chelas and allies are put to the plight of having to explain how they too are genuine democrats and not enemies of elected legislatures or Fascists or Reactionaries. JP who started his political career as a Marxist-Socialist and who was at pains half-way in his politics to square dictatorship of the proletariat with neartrue-democracy appears to be using the political tools opposed to democracy and is being accused by Communists as the Fascist.

One fears whether JP's non-party democratic moves may be more destructive than constructive. His demand for electoral reforms finds an echo in the hearts of many a congressman. But by making it a part of his "Total Revolution" he may drive them into unhappy opposition.

Many Congressmen are as keen about the introduction of the principle of 'proportional representation' as JP in elections to Assemblies and Parliaments. They are also ready to join hands with him in pressing for necessary Constitutional Amendments to ensure the acceptance of the principle of "Recall" to be utilised, according to some satisfactory proceedure- that is, if and after a stated minimum proportion of voters demard it. Some of us have gone further and suggested the formation of all inclusive, non-party Committee type Cabinets,, taking policy decision on the basis of consensus and providing representation to all big enough parties more or less in proportion to their respective strengths among legislators We are also pressing for financing maximum possible items of electioneering to be carried on by all recognised parties and in addition, providing funds for all recognised parties in proportion to the electroral support, vouchsafed to them, by the voters. In these and such other democratic means, Congress and other parties can try to reform the electoral laws, machinery and thus equalise more or less, the basic facilities and opportunities necessary and needed by all recognised parties. Ways and means can be found to provide for candidatures partly by party-lists and partly by giving opportunities for individual candidates to seek election from voters, whether they stand as party candidates or as individuals,

These and other reforms needed for making the election-process and cabinet-formation and functioning more democratic, progressive and better suited to Indian social conditions can be thought of and discussed and a national consus arrived at, through discussions in a formal or informal constituent consenvention, of all parties.

JP's movement would be serving a constructive democratic purpose, if it is directed towards such a consummation. Would he however be willing and able to move in such a nationally progressive direetion? If he does not, he will be only worsening the confusion about his motives. If he allows himself to be exploited by vested interests and social reactionaries and Communists and continues his all-embracing total political opposi-

tion, party-wise or other-wise, then he would be attempting something which is so clearly opposed to what all he stood for.

Let us be quite clear in our minds that JP is not a fascist or a totalitarian of any brand, though such anti-democratic elements may try to exploit his name and moves. Let JP and his Gandhian followers also be equally clear in their minds that merely because the broad masses of backward classes, Harijans, tribal peoples, Kisans and Khet Mazdoors are not a vocal, politically as assertive as most of their supporters, Indira and her supporters do not speak for majority of our voters

It is a wondered how JP became so desperate as to encourage members of the Defence Forces and Police to choose what orders of government to obey, and what not to heed and respect. He began to demand the elected Assembly to be dissolved, Assembly members to resign and dictate that particular Chief Ministers should resign ; and threaten total opposition by invoking mass revolts ; forgetting all such demands and poseurs were totally undemocratic By these and many such other moves over about eighteen months, he engendered the disruptive atmosphere of instability and insecurity and goaded the opposition parties into totally unbearable anti parliamentary and undemocratic challenge to government and thus paved the way for the inivetable declaration of national emergency.

25. JOSHI-TRADE UNION LEADER

N. M Joshi of Servants of India Society was born in 1879 : Labour leader, founder of All India Trade Union Congress (AITU). Together with Ranga, Giri, he formed the Triumvirate for Labour in Central Legislative Assembly, was nominated for Labour in Central Assembly between 1921-46, first Indian delegate to International Labour Conference in 1919 and continued to be on the Governing Body of I. L. O. till 1946. He died in 1955. Visited Europe, America, South America was on Select Committees of Assembly on all Labour Bills. (Ed)

N M. Joshi, the veteran member of the Servants of India Society, grew to be the Bhishma of Indian industrial labour movement. By the time I went to Central Legislative Assembly in 1935, he was already a national labour leader senior to my colleague V. V. Giri, who himself had by then earned an enviable reputation as railway labour leader and a powerful trade-unionist in All India Trade Union Congress.

Joshi was well known in the International Labour Conference and I L. O. He was representing Indian Labour in the tripartite Indian delegation to the I. L. O He was good friend of Dr. P. Pillai, who was stationed in Delhi by I. L. O. as its representative for South East Asia. Pillai was my good friend in England ; I was studying labour problem, while he was in London and Geneva. Giri, Pillai, Joshi and myself became good friends and shared common interest in our studies and espousal of labour causes from 1935 to 1940.

I met Joshi for the first time in London in 1930, where he was at the Round Table Conference. Srinivasa Sastri, Vize and Joshi used to be together and I enjoyed many a talk with them. He was all for our demand for swaraj but he would not support Gandhian campaigns of satyagraha. He co-operated with

Sapru and Jayakar in their efforts to bring the princes and the Muslims to demand full Commonwealth status for India. When Srinivasa Sastri declared that without Gandhiji's endorsement of any RTC plan, no peace could be achieved in India, Joshi agreed with him.

I knew that he had been a member of the Labour Commission, of which Wheatley was Chairman. He told me that he liked my written evidence submitted to it, particularly my emphasis on need to protect agricultural labour.

From then onwards right up to the convening of the Constituent Assembly, Joshi used to be in the centre of all conferences or consultations held by British Government from the R.T.C. to Cabinet Missions. Everywhere and every time Joshi took the consistent stand that Indian labour favoured freedom from imperialism and Swaraj for India. He demanded that the British ought to instal a national government.

But he would never join us in our direct action. I used to ask him why did he fight shy of satyagraha, when he was ever ready to lead labour strikes against employers and upheld workers' right to go on strike. He would only answer "No, Ranga ; it is different on the national plane. Gandhi's satyagraha could never be, has never been so non-violent as he so blissfully declares." I would answer that after all, every prolonged direct action, even on labour front, has led to some violence. Surely you have not refused to support such strikes on that score." He had no satisfactory reply to that. I felt that his liberal upbringing and Gokhale's training in the Society alienated him emotionally from Gandhi's methods of political struggle.

Yet he used to admire Giri and me for our participation in satyagraha and our jail-going. He was happy when Giri was asked to be the labour Minister by Rajaji in Madras Ministry. He was hopeful that I would also become a minister at the Centre, once Congress formed ministry.

One day he brought the Tribune of Lahore and the Hindustan Times and showed what Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Chief

Minister of Punjab, had said in his reply to an adjournment motion against his ban on my entry into Punjab, "when Prof, Ranga becomes Labour Minister in Delhi, his entry would be welcome", and added "as an old friend of labour and yourself as my companion in championing labour, I would be very pleased'. Such was his affection for me. For full five years, we worked together in close harmony in the service of labour.

The annual report of Indian delegation to the I.L O Conference, used to be discussed once a year in that Assembly. I raised the question of agricultural labour, on the very first occasion and pleaded for special consideration to be given by the ILO to the conditions of employment and wages of agricultural labour.

Second time I stressed that it was the duty of ILO to think of the unorganised labour, get needed conventions passed to persuade member governments to help what had been unorganisable sections of labour to be brought into some tenable organisational basis, through some such tripartite institutions as the British Trade Boards. Both Giri and Joshi supported me. Third time I complained that Governments were not taking any initative to draw the attention of ILO to the pitiable conditions of unorganised agricultural labour and Joshi suggested, with his experience of ILO's working, that the Government should propose that a debate on agricultural labour should be placed on the ILO. Conference agenda. Accordingly, Indian government raised this question at one of the meetings of the Executive and the ILO. Appointed a Special working Group and a Standing Committe to study and make proposals for the improvement of agricultural labour. Joshi congratulated me on that happy turn.

Joshi was one of the founders of the All India Trade Union Congress. Jawaharlal Nehru, Chaman Lal, Subash Babu, Giri, Dange and Joshi himself were Presidents of that body. Joshi was keen on keeping it free from party politics. He could not succeed in that. Communists realised that without Joshi, Giri and Shiva Rao, they could not make the trade union front a viable force. So they agreed to the compromise formula suggested by Giri and thus the National Labour Federation

came to be merged in the A.I.T.U.C But once again a split became inevitable in 1945-46, owing to the Communist exploitation of labour front in favour of their "PEOPLES WAR" Campaign during 1942-44. On that occasion, Joshi was on the side of Communists and the A.I.T.U.C. which was dominated by them, whereas Giri found it possible to join the Indian National Trade Union Congress, which Gulzarilal Nanda and I helped to found. Communists contested the claim of the INTUC to be represented on the Indian delegation to ILO but, when the vote was taken among trade unionists, INTUC came on top. So when they questioned the credentials of the INTUC at the San Francisco ILO Conference in 1948 I championed the INTUC's claim and challenged them to Prove that their A.I.T.U.C. had not lost in the election. While those fights were going on, Joshi was bed-ridden in Bombay and found himself unequal to face this new organisational challenge and quietly withdrew from the arena of this new struggle.

Joshi who started his career as Indian Liberal, who blossomed as one of the great labour leaders with a world-wide reputation, who fought on legislative front and international platforms for India's freedom, retired into the bosom of the Communist-dominated Trade Union Congress. That was indeed a glorious half a century long saga of continuous service for Indian industrial labour.

Almost every piece of labour legislation which was passed between 1921 and 1945 by Central Assembly bore the stamp of Joshi. Successive Labour Members of Viceroy's Executive Council used to consult him in advance before formulating a Bill and utilised his suggestions made in Select Committees and House debates and saw to it that the final Act gained Joshi's approval. It was because of that dominant voice gained by him in the councils of Government, that I was able to get many a suggestion of mine accepted by Government by gaining initially his approval and support.

Joshi grew to be one of the most respected and influential leaders of the ILO. His contribution to the emergence of Indian labour as a vital force in Indian social matrix is very great. It was my good fortune to have been his colleague and

to have shared his confidence and won his co-operation, though our political platforms were different. He was also happy that I used to defend him, whenever some intemperate Congress MLA dared to attack him and question his right to speak for labour as their avowed champion.

Joshi co-operated with me wholeheartedly in my fight against forced labour. He used his influence with the Labour Member Sir Franc Noyce and his powerful secretary, Andrew Clow, to have my suggestion accepted and order a probe into where and in what manner forced labour was prevailing in the country. That enquiry resulted in a voluminous report confirming wide-spread prevalence of forced labour, and sub-human levels of payment in kind or cash. Then we both succeeded in persuading the Central Government to give directions to provincial governments to put a general ban on forced labour and to ensure humane treatment in terms of wages, allowances, rations, timings, whenever such forced labour had to be utilised in any emergencies. Alas, that evil persisted to weaken our labour till 1975 so much so the New Economic Deal of Indira Gandhi had to seek to root it out.

Joshi was essentially a middle-of-the road labour statesman. He would go on arguing more and more wearing out the resistance of either the employers or government spokesman or both; then he would seize upon some opening they would seem to be favouring, clinching the issue at more than half the way of his demand. Is it a special characteristic of a Maharashtrian? But Giri also possessed this enviable quality and capacity! Joshi and Giri could be said to be the Indian champions of the process of tripartite collaboration for settling labour disputes and for improving their conditions. For long, the Communists were opposed to this essentially Gandhian approach, as they did not like class collaboration. Joshi and Giri pursued this approach and they achieved great success for Indian labour. They helped labour in textiles, railways, mines etc. to secure continuous improvement not only in wages but also in other conditions of work by obliging employers to fall in line with the decisions of ILO and tripartite Indian Labour Conferences. They also succeeded in getting the principle of labour tribunals accepted by Govern-

ment. By 1974 Communists have come to accept tripartite approach as inevitable, and Yugoslav Communists' achievement of Labour Self-Employment with State Participation is further acknowledgement of Joshi's foresight.

Joshi was one of the ablest debators in Central Assembly. With his typical Maharashtrian turban with its flash of Jari and his black or grey coat and with those noticeable pan touched lips, as he rose from his seat, he would cross his chest with his upper cloth, as if he was ready for the fight. He started his speech on a low key, slowly built up his case, marshalling his arguments dexterously and developed his theme with the force of a sledge-hammer and went on hammering with a final gusto. It was typical Maharashtrian eloquence, withwhich I had become familiarised by Bapuji Aney, and N.V. Gadgil. He did not look like a fiery, eloquent speaker as one would expect a champion of labour to look,. For all appearances, he was like a school master. By his gait he seemed to be an old Pandit. He used to grow on one's consciousness by the thick piling up of arguments and scholarship, dipped in emotion. Thus he became a formidable force in Parliamentary life through his transparent sincerety and his constant espousal of the pressing needs of suffering humanity.

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26. Dr. HUMAYUN KABIR

Humayun Kabir died a martyr to the cause of democracy. But what type of democracy? He answered in his contribution to a UNESCO volume on democracy that it must be parliamentary democracy, which is instinct with freedom for dissent. What type of parliamentary democracy? Now-a-days, it is found to be consistent also with one-party parliamentarianism, but Kabir was in favour of Anglo-American pattern of multi-party system of parliamentarianism. Either type can be democratic, only if there is scope for dissent and freedom of speech. Marxist Communists, to whose violence he fell a victim, do not believe in that type of dissent. So he protested against their Zhulum invited their violence against his own person We were aghast at the sight he presented, with his injured body in bandages, as he walked into the Lok Sabha, after he had recovered partially from the injuries caused by Marxist-Communists of West Bengal.

Humayun and I came together in comradely co-operation in our efforts to strengthen the kisan-based Krishak Praja Party of United Bengal. Later we worked together on the platform of Progressive Writers Conference, held at Haripur and Tripuri. It was a happy synchronisation between the cause of peasants, who are the best custodians of freedom, and progressive writers, whose main-spring of inspiration is also freedom and both of

us, the scions of rural India, became thus comrades-in-arms.

Kabir was fortunate to attach himself to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as his personal secretary before Swaraj and as his ministerial colleague after Swaraj as Deputy Minister and Minister of State for Education. He was able to make significant contributions, first as the interpretor of Azad, whose forte lay in Urdu only, and then as the propounder of the scheme of University Grants Commission. Later he must have helped Azad by providing the English version of his autobiography. Jawaharlal was also fond of Humayun and so, raised him to the Cabinet status.

As the Minister in charge of petroleum products, he negotiated with Iran for an inter-governmental treaty for the exploitation of Persian Crude Oil. That deal may help us in the growing crisis over oil. Kabir, as a scholar, attained great distinction by his writings on phases of Indian history in which Muslims made cosmopolitan contribution to Indian culture. In fact he stood for a synthesis of cultural approaches as between Hindu and Muslim moves and trends.

I worked with him in his valiant and successful efforts to preserve the valuable Salarjung Museum at Hyderabad with its unique collections, especially the Central Asian cultural finds. He mobilised necessary funds from the State and Central governments. He fought against the Mysore Government's short sighted efforts to break up that Museum in the same way as the Nizam's State was divided. He made this Museum a National Institution and it is thus a monument to both Salarjuag and Humayun Kabir.

Kabir was a genuine nationalist. He believed in Hindu-Muslim unity and strengthened Maulana Azad's hands in his

unequal fight against Jinnah and Muslim League. He persisted in his courageous fight against the spirit of intolerance of both Muslims and Hindus. It was unfortunate that he was obliged to reply to charges of divided loyalties just because his brother held important positions in Pakistan heirarchy. But it was forgotten that he had marrieda Hindu and his daughter married an Indian Christian. I have always enjoyed as fraternal a comradship with him as with the best Hindu or Christian. He used to congratulate me and south Indian Hindus for preventing the repetition of north Indian horror of communal violence in 1947.

He was short in physical stature but tall in intellectual powess He was frank and honest. He was eloquent and explanatory in a professorial manner. Dark in hue, unimpressive in physique he used to and impressed the Parliament with his sincere and painstaking expositions. He did not become a Communist, like his contemporary comrades like Sajjad Zaheer, Z A. Ahmed, Ashraf but preferred to serve the cause of peasants and people of all religions, and India's culture in the Socialist manner of Jawaharlal and Azad. We found so much in common between ourselves on that plane.

Gurudev Tagore's Centenary Celebrations gave him his best opportunity to make his lasting and constructive contribution. He devoted all his time and learning to that work. His love of Bengali literature in the setting of Indian and world cultures found concrete expression in the construction of Rabindra Bhawans in every capital city and the literary and cultural activities provided in all these Bhavans. It was just that love of Gurudev's lyrical love, dance modes and musical metres which captured the hearts of East Bengali masses and intelligentsia and their meteoric leader, Mujibur Rahman. Perhaps the influence

of that world-wide celebration of Tagore Centenary, organised so devotedly and efficiently by Humayun Kabir, helped in the later emergence of Bangladesh on the muslcal wings and revolutionary panorama of "Sonar Bangla" of Tagore's dreams.

27. KAMALA DEVI

Kamaladevi Chattopadyaya of Mangalore, was born in 1903, Educated in London, Freedom Fighter and was imprisoned several times, Member, Congress Working Committee 1946, General Secretary, A.I.C.C , One of the Founders of A.I.Women's Association, also of A.I. Co-operative Union, New Delhi, Leader of World Arts Council, Founded Cottage Industries Emporiums, travelled all over the World, Member of constituent Assembly, Leader of Congress Socialist Party, also of All India Kisan Congress, Co-operated with Ranga on Kisan Front, great friend of Nehru and other leaders of Congress, delegate to U.N. Commissions, recipient of Magsaysay Award for community work, delegate to International Women's Conference, great fighter for Human Rights. (Ed.)

Kamaladevi is one of our famous freedom fighters. She came into special prominence during the 1930 Satyagraha struggle by the prolonged and brave resistance she was able to offer in Bombay to the British repression. She achieved national reputation and stature, over-night as it were by the triumphs won by her band of women volunteers in that Bombay struggle, when Lord Irwin, the viceroy had to exclaim his helplessness in the face of that avalanchic women's response to the national call.

Kamaladevi hails from Mangalore in Karnataka from a highly cultured family of intellectuals. She graduated from Madras University in the early decades of this Century along with Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan, Mrs. Krupanidhi when women were rare among graduate students. She took great interest in fine arts, achieved distinction on the stage, on public plaform and among the cultural circles of the South.

Bharati Devi Ranga met her in Ooty in 1927, saw her acting on the stage and appreciated her interest in poetry, paintirg and acting. I came into intimate touch with her durirg the A.I C C. Session at Bombay 1931 ard found her supporting many of my amendments in favcur of peasants ard against feudalism to the Karachi Fundamental Rights Charter moved by Jawaharlal Nehiu on be half of the Working Committee. I also found it possible to support some of her amendments in favour of women's demands. Both of us were keen on extending the scope of that chaiter in order to protect Zamindari Ryots from the Zhulum and rapacity of Talukdars, Zamindars and other landlords, from the tyranny of Indian States and from the exploitation of millowners. The Communists ard their sympathisers who were watching cur work from the sides invited us both as the Chief Guests and felicitated us for what they termed as cur socialistic work on the A.I.C.C. platform. Thus we came to realise the oneness of our social and radical approach to the problems of our masses. So when I convened the informal meeting of the radical-minded congressmen in the Gokhale Hall of Poona at the time of the unofficial A.I.C.C. called to meet Gandhiji who was convalescing after release from jail. it was natural for me to seek her assistance in formulating the draft for a Socialist Forum within the Congress.

Later we both joired the Congress Socialist Conference convened at Patna in 1934 by Jayaprakash Narain and they utilised her draft also in preparing the Constitution of the Congress Socialist Party. She remained in the C S P. for more than a decade, i.e. right up to its merger in the P.S.P. In fact she was one of those sincere Socialists who suffered political losses in Swaraj India because of her loyalty, to her friends within that party; she abstained from seeking election to Central Legislative Assembly and she resigned from Constituent Assembly, after having been elected from Madras and thus lost the opportunity of being invited Into Central Cabinet by Jawaharlal Nehru, who was keen on her co-operation, all because of C.S P. decisions, which came to be reversed in the light of later events and experiences of those C.S.P. leaders toured on her invitation in

South Canara in 1936 just as I had toured in Malabar in 1934 on similar invitation from Shri Shankaran Nambudripad in order to arouse kisans and organise them. While she remained loyal to the democratic side of the kisan movement. Nambudripad chose to lead kisans into the fold of Communists. Nevertheless three of us have remained loyal to kisans, according to our differing lights.

She has always been loyal to her Colleagues in every sphere of public work. So she co-operated with us in the Madras session of all-India Conference of Workers (1936) engaged in kisan organisations. It was inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad, and addressed by Sarojini Devi and Kamaladevi. On her advice, I contacted the North Indian Kisan Workers of the Congress Socialist Party, including Jayaprakash Narain, Mohanlal Gautam, Dr. Lohia and convened another session of All India Kisan Workers in Meerut 1935 She presided over that session and persuaded the Socialists to join forces with me in convening the All India Kisan Congress in Lucknow, 1936: and it was in that Lucknow session the full-fledged A I. Kisan Congress was inaugerated, with myself, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, Jayaprakash Narain and Mohanlal Gautam as Secretaries Thus Kamaladevi rendered invaluable services in furthering the initiation and development of the first all India platform for the kisans of India

She realised the need for strong women's movement and joined hands with Sarojini Devi, the great Congress Leader, Mrs. Cousins Mrs Ramarao and others in giving shape to the All India Women's Association. When she and Sarojini Devi found that it was not broad and brave-enough platform for awakening the masses of our women and inspiring them to work in politics and fighting imperialism under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, they founded the Nationalist platform for political women and Smt. Bharati Devi, Durgabai, and other Gandhian Satyagrahis joined the new organisation They then organised provincial women's political conferences and thus galvanised large sectors of our women and mobilised the women satyagrahis, who emerged as an elemental weapon of

the Freedom struggle in response to Gandhiji's call. This was indeed a heroic and constructive role played by her and our Congress women satyagrahis.

Kamaladevi aided the efforts of Smt. Leelavati Munshi, the Gujerati poetess, Mrs. Ramarao and others of the A I. Women's association to achieve property rights for women and to amend the Hindu code and its property law.

She remained loyal to her early love of fine arts, artisans and so, she welcomed Nehru Government's invitation to develop, Cottage Industries and their manufactures.

She gave shape to Handicrafts Exhibitions and Emporiums and helped to multiply many-fold the products of handicrafts. If to-day our middle class homes are displaying the artistic achievements of our handicraftsmen, so much of foreign exchange is earned by the export of so many of our artistic products and if lakhs of our handicraftsmen are once again leading an honoured and fairly prosperous lives, much of the credit should go to the half-a-century-long love and constructive genius that Kamaladevi has preferred to our arts, crafts and also to her capacity to win the co-operation of thousands of genuine devotees of Indian arts and crafts all over the country.

She achieved political distinction as the first woman General Secretary of A.I C C. at all-India level, which was second only to that of Sarojini Devi, who became President. Later, Mridula Sarabhai and Sucheta Kripalani, Maragatham Chandrasekhar became general secretaries and Indira Gandhi, the President of the National Congress. Thus she has also led the way for Indian Women in opening the highest portals of political leadership for our women.

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28. H V. KAMATH

H. V. Kamath was my colleauge in the Constituent Assembly and Parliament for about twenty years. We used to sit at our dining tables, just adjacent to each other in the Western Court for three years. It was a pleasant sight to find him seated with his legs stretched wide apart, with many bottles of pickles and warm breakfast being placed before him. It was even more exhilarating an experience in the evenings, as he brought his guests, Indian, European, men and women and feted and entertained them in his characteristic conviviality.

He knew many languages of India, all of south India, and was a scholar in English, French and also Sanskrit and Latin. He used to hail me every time as "RANGA GARU" and every other friend in the same hearty manner in terms of his linguistic and religious formalism. He turned every such 'meet' at his table into a conversazione and would himself be so loud and all-enveloping in talk that those of us who are seated at the tables near by would be automatically drawn into the discussion of contemporary public issues. He would take more than an hour over his dinner and eat gustily and selectively, make his guests also join in the pleasure of dining; all this so much like European conviviality of western thinkers and politicals, so unlike the snacks-minded Indian diners. Western Court dining hall became a Parisian Club and almost a Pen-Corner, while Kamath was sitting in state at his rich dining table.

The sartorial style of Kamath was as famous, among parliamentarians, as the garments of the few Swamis and the starched khadi whites of Congress members were listless. His knee-level long, flowing shirts, his loose trousers, his tall, long caps of varying colours, all swinging with his jaunty steps used to lend a glamour - all their own - to the Parliamentary lobbies

At question hour, he was often a terror to the treasury benches, with his tricky puns on the local accents and careless expressions of many an incompetent or half - literate minister. It was he who showed the way for stretching the interval between the question hour and the beginning of the business for the day through his attempts to gain elucidations or extracting apologies for many failures of ministers to report or explain about something or the other, conjured up by his rich imagination. These efforts of his were a bugbear to the Speaker also. It was by stretching Kamath's moves further the Lohia group, followed by the Communist groups, created the terrible weapon of the Zero Hour of Parliament.

It was my privilege to go to his aid, whenever it appeared he needed it in his duels with ministers. There were also occasions when I would try to soften his blows but never did he resent my interventions. When a member asked him why he was so deferential towords my criticisms, he replied that 'Ranga' is very dear to him from the days of Subhash Babu.

Kamath had an eagle's eye and a Pundit's voracious habit of reading to enable him to ferret out the failures of Government, mentioned by various committees, particularly those on Assurances, Subordinate Legislation, Public Accounts, Public Estimates, Privileges. We both used to be good at taking the ministers concerned to task for their failures to keep faith with those Parliamentary Committees but he always scored over me. Later Madhu Limaye excelled us all in this sphere,

Kamath was the first, followed much later by Limaye, to trip ministers over the inconsistencies that crept into their statements at different times over public issues and force them to apologise to the House. If Kripalani was a terror to ministers because of his cynical and biting sarcasm, Kamath used to be a greater terror due to his vigilence and merciless comments and exposures. He would do all that probing and piercing exposures, cushioned by his liquid laughter. Just as often he would spar with the Speaker and succeed in his endeavours to go beyond the limits set by "Order, Order" minded Chair.

Both Kamath and Lohia were allergic to Nehru family and they seemed to take special pains to expose every imagined dip they took in national pool of favours. Vijayalaxmi was a special target when an Ambassador. Krishna Menon, who was another favourite of Nehru, invited Kamath's ire. Some how I did not fancy this side of Kamath or Lohia. But they did not react badly to my criticism of their pastime.

To Jawaharlal, Kamath was an exasperating bete noire. His fearless demands for strict adherence to Parliament's rules used to be carefully watched and even anticipated by Jawaharlal. Even then, Nehru used to emerge many a time from their dual as a poor second, It was a sight for gods to watch them locked in sensitive duals.

Kamath's speech-making was not an even flow of eloquence, as that of Bhulabhai or Satyamurthi. He would go on struggling like Kurz ue for proper phrases and so, share with the house, his efforts to try once, twice half or full phrases before he would decide upon the full and final phrases to express his rapidly flowing thoughts. One could get even tired of his loud experiment-oriented speakirg, at the first or sccond hearing. But once one becomes aware of his personality, scholarship and parliamentary manrerism and skills, one realises how great a speaker, skilled a debater and patriotic a tribune he is. By the time a session is over, one would come under the spell of this tall, cheerful, and loud parliamentarian with his high sense of public duty and rich culture.

Kamath and myself came together at the Anticompromise Conference of Tripuri and Anti-Imperialist Conference of Nagpur in 1939 both presided over by Subash Chandra Bose. He was invited to the All India Congress Committee, soon after his resignation from Indian Civil Service by both Jawaharlal and Subash Bose but he came to be specially attached to Subash. We were happy with each other in Parliament and on public platform right from those distant days when we used to work with Subash Bose, in the Left-consolidation Committee: Kamath was. in addition, a leading member of the Forward

Block also. He is a Bose-type socialist, where as I am a Gandhian socialist ard both of us were Netaji-oriented nationalists, himself more like the Bengali revolutionaries who loved Subash. I preferred to practise Congress non-violence.

Kamath comes of a gifted family of intellectuals of south Canara. One of his brothers is an eminent I C S. administrator. There are many Kamaths distinguishing themselves in every field of Swaraj administration. But he alone had the courage to throw away membership of the much-priz d Civil Service, like Subash Babu, and embraced the regours of unpaid public work, jail-life and defeats in parliamentary elections. He is highly cosmopolitan and hateful of privileges accruing by caste, class, or cash. There are so few such scholarly, skilled and scrupulous parliamentarians and I am proud of my friendship with him. He is indeed a rare good man.

Kamath is a good pen-man. His essay on Jawaharlal, published in "Bhavan" journal is a master-piece of scholarship and style. His interview with Rajaji bespeaks of his skill as journalist and political thinker.

Though an established parliamentary leader of the front rank, the leadership of the Praja Socialist Party in Parliament eluded him for a long time because he is too much of a scholarly individualist. Often he has some new turn or twist to give to any programme or policy and so, he is a more truly "Forward Man" than most socialists of the former Forward Bloc. Kamath is not attached to any organisation of the masses, though he works for the welfare of the masses as a Praja socialist.

Kamath has made much constructive contribution to our parliamentary life through his consistent oppositionist role. Like myself he had to fight so hard every time to get into Parliament. He took all those struggles in his stride in a cheerful way.

He got his golden chance, when he was a leader in Opposition, to join the Administrative Reforms Commission, presided over by the equally punctilicus parliamentarians, Mcarjee

Desai and Hanumanthaiya both experienced as Chief Ministers. From all reports, Kamath's contribution to the reports and recommendations of that high-power Commission was outstanding. The Commission's proposals for the establishment of the high-powered institutions of Lok Pal and Lok-Ayukt owe very much to his constructive work. Kamath never allowed his loss of seat in Parliament to depress him, or affect his work on that Commission and he toiled hard and with full confidence in himself and his mission to help the Commission.

Kamath's contribution to the debates of the Constituent Assembly would be found highly interesting by the students of Constitutional history. He toiled hard but in vain to extend the fundamental rights and directive principles and weaken the the provisoes, which limited their operations. He wanted the Swiss devices of initiative, referendum and recall to be introduced. Prakasam and myself supported him but the Anglo American schooling of our Constitutional pundits prevented their adoption. Even the devices of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt intended to bring to book corrupt a dministrators and ministers recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission which are fashioned after the institution of Ombudsman of Sweden, New Zealand, Australia, and England have yet to be adopted by Parliament.

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29. KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

Abdul Ghaffar Khan rendered us a great service in touring throughout our country for two months in 1970, reminding the people of Gandhiji's message of humanism. His presence in our midst helped us to feel once again, even more forcibly, the sense of unity and comradeship between the communities.

He was invited to return to Frontier Province, otherwise known as Pakhtoonistan by both the State Government, headed by his son, who was one of the top opposition leaders in Pakistan and Mr. Bhutto, the Prime Minister but was soonafter imprisoned by Pakistani Government. Thus he has been striving for decades for the achievement of swaraj for Pakhtoonistan (Ed).

As he was going through the country, the Gandhian atmosphere roused our people and made them think of Gandhiji and his teachings in a more homely manner. It is true that during this very period Indian political atmosphere came to be surcharged with the poisonous and degrading controversies between the two rival sections of Congressmen, arising not so much out of idealogical differences, as out of their lust for power and privileges. In contrast with that, Badshah Khan's talks and contacts helped our people to feel the Gandhian presence and atmosphere and thus assured us of the ultimate success of Dharma. More than what he said, his very presence inspired us.

What a glorious saga of sacrifice, suffering and sincere prayers had his life been; he is a political saint. His, indeed, is the continuation of Gandhiji's presence among us, in India and abroad.

It has been my privilege to have known him for the past forty years. His brother, Dr. Khan Saheb, was my colleague and personal friend in the Central Assembly of 1935-36. Khan Saheb was the first president of the peasant group of M.L.As.,

which we founded among members of Central Assembly. Ghaffar Khan's son Abdul Ghani was fellow-delegate to the first Conference of World Food and Agricultural Oraganisation held in Copenhagan in 1947.

Badshah Khan used to s't on the piazza of one of the cottages in Sevagram and watch so many of us going to and from Bapu's cottage. He used to smile at us, accept our greetings with all his quiet dignity, and return his courtesies in praverful-manner. I used to feel that he had much to say but he was content to say so little and live religiously in the Gandhian way. We used to be struck with his tall stature, white beard and bright visage. As he walked with us to join Bapu in the prayers, I for one felt that a saint was with us to strengthen our communion with God.

I saw him for the first time in the Karachi Congress. It was difficult for us to believe that he and his brave tall soldiers and servants of God Khudai Khudmatgars could have freed themselves from the traditional Pathan's faith and practice of the sword. Unlike other Gandhians, Badshah Khan has succeeded not anly by himself, but also through his disciples in practising non-violence under most difficult conditions over the last four decades, and has thus gained a niche in our hearts as the sincere votary of Satyagraha.

His brother and son used to tell us about the luscious fruit they raised in their gardens in the laps of the deep valleys of the gaunt hills at the feet of Hindu Kush and Himalayan ranges of the then North West Frontier, now known as Pukhtoonistan. I used to long to go to those areas. I could do that only in 1957, When I went as one of the delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. I had then the opportunity to see the Samadhi built in the centre of the main street of Peshawar for the brave Pathans who faced the British bullets in the 1920-21 Swaraj struggle. It was in the tradition of those noble martyrs that the Pathan followers of Badshah Kaan banded themselves into the Khudai Kudmatgars, the servants of God, consecreated to non-violence and patrictic social service

Through that fateful Khyber Pass had come successive hordes of invaders into our country, from the ancient days of Aryans down to the recent times of Nadir Shah, killing multitudes, desecrating temples and perpetrating horrors But these Gandhian Pathans have made us think kindly even of those blood-thirsty ancestors through their unique devotion to nonviolent service. When I saw those bare, bright and rocky mountains and the winding awesome hills, as we sped on our tour to and fro the Khyber Pass going up to the borders of Afghanistan, I marvelled at the transformation wrought about by Ghaffar Khan in the bigon-like ferocity of Pathans whose nature and upbringing generally vie with the rugged contours of the melancholy passes.

India honours the example of Hanuman and worships him as the best disciple of Shri Rama. Badshah Khan has exemplified in his life that puranic Hanuman. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi asked him to accept his interpretation of the possible effects of the Ghaffar Khan's speech in Bombay State that it was capable of inciting ordinary people to violent reactions. Badshah Khan agreed to do so though, when making the speech, he never intended to create such an impression and welcomed the sentence of 2 years in jail. The British Government was unchivalrous enough to make Badshah Khan suffer for his honest Gandhian admission. Gandhiji's repeated efforts to obtain his release proved futile. Such was his faith in Gandhiji and his indifference to the consequences.

I am very happy that the people of every part of India vied with each other in inviting, welcoming and honouring him. The Gandhi Hill Committee of Vijayawada also made it possible for thousands of people in Andhra to have his Darshan. Bharati Deviji and I also joined the thousands in festival season provided by Badshah Khan's memorable tour through this great country in the Gandhi Centenary Year.

I was fortunate to have been one of the members of the Badshah Khan Reception Committee and to have joined him during the prayers offered at the Rajghat on the 30th January, 1970, the day of Bapu's Swargarohan. I also attended

the Peace Conference, convened by him at the famous Harijan Colony on the Ist January, and spoke at the public send-off fuaction attended by more than 10,000 people in Delhi on the 4th January. I was able to express what had been in the hearts of crores of our people, during those memorable months of his tour all over India: that ' by looking at him, our masses, who have been pining for Bapu felt very happy and received his message, as if it came from Bapu himself".

He reminded us of Bapu's teaching that we should do good and be good. He wanted us to shun luxuries, welcome austerity and produce all the best we could and thus enrich society. He exhorted us to choose good people as our leaders and honour honest workers and representatives. He warned us that if we continued in our present state of bad politics, Gandhiji would not lose but India would lose her reputation irretrievably. He appealed to us, in his simple, sweet yet strong manner, to follow Gandhiji in loving our fellow men, in working for communal harmony and in serving common humanity. More than any thing else, Badshah Khan's presence brought once again in our midst the aroma and atmosphere of Gandhi, the Bapu of this Age.

In conclusion, let me quote the following from my speech in Parliament (on 25-2-1970) on the President's Address:

".....all over India, wherever he had gone, as if Mahatma Gandhi himself was coming, lakhs and lakhs of people...I can bear witness to that fact so far as AndhraPradesh is concerned———rushed to have his Darshan and in spite of the cold shouldering that the Reception Committee had got from some State Governments and the Central Government, the ordinary people, poor people, poured at his feet more than Rs. 30 lakhs of hard-earned money as their homage, to this grand old sage of the Gandhian Age. That is the most evenful achievement of last year.....".

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30. KHASA SUBBA RAO

Khasa has ennobled the profession of Indian Journalism through his loyalty to high ideals and Independent devotion to his editorial duties for over four decades (1922-60).

As a literary artist, he ranks with the greatest writers in the world of journalism in England, U.S.A. and India. As a publicist. wedded to such noble principles as integrity and public welfare, he was second to none. He admired Massingham and achieved greater heights. H.N. Brailsford and Brockway who achieved world-wide fame hailed him as a writer of great eminence and high principle.

Khasa believed sincerely in democrary. He wanted India to achieve social progress. He was keen on India making rapid strides in economic deveiopment. He was passionate about the levelling up of the down-trodden masses. He was impatient with selfish, short-sighted and communal-minded politicians. He hated corruption and authoritasianism. His two-volume "SIDELIGHTS" AND" MEN IN LIME LIGHT" give us indelible pen pictures of most of our patriots. He incluoed his pen portraits of myself also in both these books.

Born in a traditionally intellectual family, he readily understood the place, rolls, needs and legitimate ambitions and natural ideals of the intellectuals in modern society.

His sympatheis were broad-based, and attuned to the sensibilities of all classes of people. He was essentially a humanist; believed in human rights and so, hated any infringement of civil liberties. His highly tempermental feeling used to be outraged by any threat or an encroachment, however disguised or cushioned, upon peoples freedoms.

He was so much devoted to his noble mother, a humble, enlightened sparsely-built and hard-working lady. She used

to serve us with a devoted sense of hospitality. She learnt to treat all guests of all castes as "*Atithi Devo Bhavan*". She was a woman of few words and many deeds of service. We all loved her devotedly.

LOYALTY:

Subbarao could recognise only one leader at a time in his political affections. Very early in his public career he decided to follow Sri Prakasam and throughout those 25 years, he allowed none—not even Mahatma Gardhi-to encroach upon the glamorous aura around Prakasam. He must have realised how vulnerable was Prakasam's "recklessness".

For decades he disputed Rajaji's claim for the first place in South India's political arena, just because he would not yield supremacy to anyone over Prakasam. Still he could shed a prejudice in favour of enlightenment and so he later come to win Rajaji's confidence and affection. Such was his intellectual resilience and emotional youthfulness. It was because of that unique aroma of ever-green *Sampangi* blosscm, that he becme the most devoted admirer of Rajaji. When he found that I began to defy Jawaharlalji's attack on Peasant economy, he hastened to my rescue. When Rajaji raised his one man's banner of revolt against Jawaharlalji's drift towards Sovietism, Khasa marshalled all his imcomparable intellectual and spiritual power to uphold Rajaji's leadership. He and Rajaji had together chiselled the moral and political aspects of Swatantra Movement from out of the preachings of Gandhiji. Rajaji was far from the portals of power by the time he chose him as the first of the Sages of our country.

Ramnath Goenka and Sadasivam ofKalki, the wizards amorg Press-lords of post-war India, were fascinated by Subba Rao and offered all the best they could.

Khasa had the genius to garner the feelings and experiences of different groups or sections of people. on any occasion, in relation to any public happening or activity, from his psychic contacts with the public workers actively engaged in those movements. To gain that sense of participation and commun-

ion so many first-rate American Journalists and columnists are to-day risking their lives and spending long periods on war fronts or storm centres. Khasa was yogic in his intellectual awareness and could divine what the victims of any social wrong must be feeling and suffering. With that uncanny gift, he used to make a three-dimensioned examination of every social problem that he had to deal with. That used to enable him to help many a movement. His advic,econstructive criticism, brightened as it was by his disinterested perception of the essential, used to help so many of us, who were in the thick of social struggles and public activity during those four decades.

I for one received enthusiastic support from him and his colleague Sri G. V. Krupanidhi, an equally eminent edltor, during 1931-40 in my campaign against the Zamindari system. There were occasions when the donations, expected to come from some of the Zamindars for the financially hard-pressed Daily Swarajya came ro be stopped, because Khasa and Krupanidhi continued to publish my reports about the sufferings of Peasants and misdeeds of Officers of those particular Zamindars. But for their enthusiasiastic surport given in such a daring manner, I could not have weakened the foundations of the Permanent Settlement offered by Lord Cornwallis for Zamindari system. When eventually both Prakasam, the Revenue Minister and Rajaji, the Chief Minister pleaded with the British for the abolition of permanent settlement-which was then as sacrosanct as the later Fundamental Right; Khasa congratulated me for my work, without a thought for his own, great contribution. I expressed my thanks to him and Swarajya. He observed "Ranga, You should not forget your beloved Venkatagiri peasants" and your latest champion. K. Santhanam; so generous he was. They competed with me and worked as my devoted GANDVA in the 'No-Tax Campaign' that we were developing against the land Revenue Enhancement in Godavari, Krishna and Guntur Districts in 1930-34.

POWERFUL PEN

Khasa was the first among Indian journalists to realise the revolutionary significance of Peasant Movement and therefore,

gave me his whole-hearted support. Famines used to overtak Rayalaseema and Vizag and Srikakulam districts once in thre or four years as they do even now and Khasa's powerful pe used to paint in burning colours peoples' sufferings and eloqu ntly plead for timely relief. I had only to send from the wa fronts of famine, my hastily penned reports and Khasa wa there to make them his own. and roll out his unerring fusillad against the British Government.

Once I went to him with anguished heart and complained why he failed to give adequate publicity to the woeful tales refugees from Japanese-occupied Burma in that dreadful 1942 WhenIwas describing to him how thousands of survivar of tha deadlytrek of refugees overthe malarial forests and ravines acro the Upper Burma and Nagaland were pouring into our village with their diseases and desolation, I could see how all that sen oft heir suffering was turning his face so red.

His subsequent editorial and powerful turn given to th reports of the interviews given by those refugees persuaded th Government and Shri M.S. Aney to offer some effective reli and rehabilitation to those sufferers. I felt the absence of suc inspired editors when the lakhs of Indian evacuees from Burm in 1960-66 came to be denied any relief.

A writer has to run the risk of being unafair at some ti to someone or the other during the fiery exchanges of sallies i any struggle. Khasa too had his share of 'hurts' caused to s many us, in public life, whose lot it is to be exposed on a fronts to the momentary reactions of the journalists of the day.

DEDICATION

We loved his capacity to throw himself heart and soul in a campaign that promised to enlarge the area of freedom of eve individual in it, as opposed to the claims of leaders of society Government. The Post Nehru cabinets Wourld have had a ha time to justify their dependance uponM.I.S.Aand the ordinan of theregime of Emergency for External and Internal Security.

He was devoted to the Andhra Movement like so many

us. He worked for the achievement of the Andhra State with his characteristic passion. Like so many of us, he lived to see how that linguistic passion has misled the masses into nationally disintegrating and divisive passions.

Our faith in Gandhism and the supremacy of the spirit of man over and above Imperialism and the Might of Power, has come to be exemplified by Satyagrahi Subbarao through his inspired exposure of his body to the bitter pains and excruciating pangs, reminiscent of Indian Yogis and early Christian martyrs. I saw Khasa's body, so disfigured by those black-serpent-like scars caused by the whip-lashes of the European Sargent inflicted on him in the China-Bazar of Madras in 1931.

While he was laid up with a stroke, the 80-year old Rajaji sought him out, offered the solace of his friendship and helped him in editing his beloved weekiy the *Swarajya*. Both of them then grew to be the most beloved colleagues in opposing Nehruism. They welcomed the business-minded idealist Sadasivam into their comradeship and thus succeeded in raising the *SWARAJYA* as the formidable champion of the Swatantra movement.

Only a few weeks before his Swargarohan, Subbarao told me that he did not like to live long as he was no longer able to work for public causes. He observed "I do not wish to merely prolong my existence, without any purpose". Such was his conception of fruitful existence. The Swarajya, the pet-child of Khasa is, continuing to make its valuable contribution to the Constructive debate over democratic ideals and standards-a fitting tribute to Khasa. Rajaji made it the most powerful political weekly, by his famous weekly Column "Dear Reader".

Subbarao worked as Editor of the Madras daily, Swarajya, Free Press Journal of Bombay, Indian Finance of Calcutta and the Indian Express of Madras.

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31. KRIPALANI

Acharya Kripalani was born in Sind in 1888. He married Sucheta. She was born in Ambala in June 1908. Both of them have been on the national plane of leadership and service since 1940 While Kripalani rose to be President of Congress in 1946, after having been its General Secretary since 1934 Sucheta became Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh in 1962 67, The Acharya joined Mahatmaji's Ashram in 1922, after having been Professor in Banaras Hindu University. He co-operated with Gandhiji during the Champaran Kisan struggle of 1917. He is a seasoned Freedom Fighter. They founded the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party in 1950 He has written many standard books on "Gandhi and Gandhian philosophy. He has travelled all over the world. Similarly Sucheta was associated with Gandhiji for decades. She marched along with him through the hate fi ed and blood-stained rural areas of Naokhali in the wake of Communal blood-letting and killings. Both of them are respected as freedom fighters and leaders of democratic opposition. Sucheta joined the Cong (O). Kripalani remains without party affiliation Sucheta died of heart failure in 1974. He supported Janata Front against Government in 1975.

(Ed)

Acharya J B. Kripalani is the oldest surviving Gandhian in the national political arena. He is one of our rationalist Gandhians, and a Socialist of the Gandhian vintage. He believes and observes Gandhian austerity in public as well as private life, while paying due homage to beauty and appreciation of fine arts. He is a great schoalr, fond of reading and writing, besides being a fine conversationalist and a great wit, just the personality beloved of poets. He is feared very much

by his political opponents for his merciless and matchless sarcasm and biting witticism.

Kripalani has been a prominent leader on our national scene for more than four decades. It was in the first decades of this century that he threw away his well-paid and honoured professorship in Government College of Muzaffarpur, as a protest against Government's objection to his offer of hospitality and co-operation to Gandhiji during his Champaran Campaign.

He became the Principal of the Vidyapith (1922-27) started by Gandhiji at Sabarmati and thus trained several batches of national workers who rushed there to obtain their advanced education in public work as conceived by Gandhiji and his colleagues. He was asked to join the highest Congress councils. After a few years of that training in Gandhian politics of that Triple Boycott-cum-Non-Co-operation, the Congress leaders developed so much confidence in his capacity to be impartial and objective in dealing with Congress organisational problems that he was asked to be one of the General Secretaries of the Congress. In that highly strategic position, Kripalani served Congressmen for twelve years with great distinction.

During that long period, he had rare opportunities to watch the top most leaders of the Gandhian era – Madan Mohan Malavia, Motilal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajaji, Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad, Lajpat Rai, C.R. Das, Prakasam - knowing and being patient with the foibles of the great, sharpening his wit against many of their inconsistencies.

He worked with rising group of socialists, like Jayaprakash Narain, Ram Monohar Lohia, Zaheer brothers, Ashraf, Achyut Patwardhan, Narendra Deva, Ashok Mehta, who were then the special favourites and proteges of Jawaharlalji. He found that most of them would like to have all the best here and now, what all they hoped to achieve for anyone in a Socialist society of their dreams. Kripalani, on the contrary, felt convinced that Gandhian austerity, approximating to much of the actual conditions of our masses, would be a true practice of socialism.

So, he turned out a series of articles, full of wit and scholarly and Socratic in analysis, exposing in a gentle manner, the fallacies in the Nehru - cum - Jayaprakash brand of socialism ; I remember how annoyed and intellectually non-plussed most of those top socialists used to be at Kripalani's incisive criticism.

Kripalani joined the senior leaders, who formed the majority in the Congress Working Committee, in sending the letter of protest, to the then Congress President, Jawaharlalji, (later published in Jawaharlal's book "BUNCHOF LETTERS" against his compaign giving respectability to the non-violent socialist approach. For full ten years, he was the bete-noire to the new brand of socialists who gathered round Jawaharlal, Subhash Bose, and Azad, who occupied the Congress Gaddi,

When at long last, Gandhiji decided to give a chance, once again, to a Gandhian socialist, Kripalani became the obvious choice for Congress Presidentship in 1946. Kripalani seized that excellent opportunity to expound from Meerut platform of the Congress Session, his conception of Gandhian socialism. He was good enough to declare that Congress stands for democratic kisan, mazdoor, (Buddhijivi, Kalakar) Praja Raj, as conceived by Gandhiji and as phrased by Ranga, that would lead us to the most socialistic and progressive democracy. It further infuriated the orthodox socialists. It put the Communist slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat outside of the pale of Congress ideology and political approach. It certainly was not much to the taste of either Jawaharlal, or Sardar Patel, because the Acharya seemed to be providing a clear ideological scales to all progressive democrats with which they could judge the correctness or suitability or otherwise of the activities and policies of the Government which they then began to lead. I, for one, felt that his Meerut Declaration was the highest ideological water-mark for our Gandhian political ideologists. It was during his tenure as Congress President that I was invited to take part in the discussions of the Working Committee and thus gain inside knowledge of the working of that Committee, which was then the highest national policy making body.

Soon after that session, Kripalani came into conflict with Prime Minister Nehru and Deputy Prime Minister Patel over the role of Congress President and Working Committee vis-a-vis the P.M. and the Cabinet; he insisting upon his right to be informed and consulted by them before decisions were made on vital matters of State policy; they argueing for freedom from such organisational control. I joined Profulla Ghosh in supporting Kripalani's stand. To save the situation, we suggested a compromise formula. But that did not satisfy Kripalani, while others were irked by it, though they were willing to give it a trial. In the end, Gandhiji advised the Working Committee to respect Kripalani's insistence upon his resignation, Thus, the principle of Congress president's control over Congress Government's policies was abandoned, though reluctantly, with the acquiescence of Gandhiji, in the face of the combined power of Nehru and Patel, Just about the same time, Prof. Harold Laski, Chairman of the British Labour Party, was also similarly obliged to yield to Attlee, the Leader of the Labour Party in Parliament, the primacy in Labour policies.

That combine of power did not hold together for very long. Sardar realised by 1948-49 how Jawaharlal was tending to cold shoulder even him after the Congress President had been put out of bounds for ultimate power and decisions. He thought of preventing Prime Minister from assuming complete supremacy by getting his own nominee elected as Congress President. So he later supported Tandonji's candidature as against that of Kripalani. During the tenures of Presidents Rajendra Prasad and Pattabhi Congress had become much weaker vis-a-vis the Prime Minister and as irony of history would have it, Kripalani, who had been let down by Sardar Patel in 1946-47, swerved towards Jawaharlal and opposed Sardar's moves. So, he chose to stand again for Presidentship. He must have felt that he could play a progressive role, this time in alliance with the Prime Minister Nehru, especially on such issues as rehabilitation of refugees from Pakistan, Kashmir and Pakistan etc. But Sardar proved to be more powerful inside the Congress and so Tandonji was elected. But Patel was powerless, even with the support of Congress President, to

stem the tide of growing primacy of the Cabinet over the Presidentship of the Congress, which was set in motion by both himself and Jawaharlal in 1946-47. In the process, these two old friends. Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani, weakened each other and broke up their two-decade long partnership and the Prime Minister triumphed over them. Tandonji was obliged to resign in more distressing circumstances than what prevailed when Kripalani resigned; such was the vital and irresistible dynamics of power, against which two such veteran Gandhian socialists proved to be as helpless as redoubtable Party Chairman Harold Laski came to be as against Prime Minister Attlee.

For many years, after he left the Congress in 1951, Kripalani headed successively the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (K.M.P.), a name fashioned on my suggestion after the K M.P. Raj ideal, and Praja Socialist Party and tried in vain to help the Socialists to march on the Gandian lines and organise themselves in a way better than Congressmen. He freed himself from those entanglements af er realising how in post-Independence politics, Gandhian standards of public service and political comradeship have lost their hold. When Rajaji and I invited him to join the leadership of the Swatantra Party, he politely declined to undertake any more party responsibilities after his earlier bitter experences. He would not join the non-party political platforms of Jayaprakash Narain, because he could not see how in Indian democracy party-less poltics could either make any headway or gain the confidence of the masses and play any effective role in legislatures vis-a-vis the organised parties in and outside power.

Kripalani is ore of our very active public men, an ever vigilant sentinel of peoples' rights and freedom, whether they be in India or abroad. It was Kripalani who made bold to castigate Nehru's neglect of Tibet's rights for autonomy as the rape of Tibet perpetrated by India, unmindful of the compulsions of geo-politics and 1912 Simla agreement between China, Tibet and India. When Dalai Lama had to flee to India from Chinese Communist aggression bothKripalani and Sucheta joined us in pressing Jawaharlal to offer not only asylum but

also political support to the Tibetan cause. When Hungary was aggressed upon by Kruschev's Soviet armies he took Jawaharlal to task for not being as alacritio in condemning it as he was in castigating Franco-British aggression against Egypt When Czechoslovakia's Communists had struck for democratic freedom within the ambit of communism and Soviet armies marched against them, Kripalani joined us all in protesting against that outrage and both Sucheta and he marched by our side in protest.

During 1962-67, he was as tireless as those of us who are much younger in Parliament and Rajaji outside in warning Congress that democratic decencies were being ignored by Congress at its peril. He was at pains to exhort as their elder friend to set their house in order before it was too late. When electoral failure overtook Congress in 1967 and Central Congress Cabinet resorted to many unseemly and amoral means, (as President's Rules and arbitrary suspension of Assemblies, dismissal of Opposition S V.D. ministries and encouraging dishonest or weak-minded M L. As. to defect from their respective parties by offering alluring political baits) Kripalani protested repeatedly against this misuse of the Constitutional powers and poured forth his anguished feelings in his declamations in Parliament. Like most of us, he too became blind for a time to the pitfalls facing the S V.D. ministries in his over-anxiety to find an effective alternative to the Congress. He was honest enough to realise with regret that there came to be so little difference between the Congress and S.V.D. ministries, since political corruption had come to be the common coin to all cabinets, whether of the Congress or of the S.V.D. He was unhappy over the unseemly and unprincipled permutations and combinations by which S.V D. ministries were being conjured up. He used to grumble about the impossibility of supporting them as against Central interference and Congress manipulations with Aya Rams and Gaya Rams, since these unprincipled defections were the special bye-products of the S.V.Ds. Whenever I sat by his side on the front benches of the Opposition I was the recipient of his tireless stream of comments on the appearance, movements, and reactions of the Prime Minister and his

proteges on the Treasury Benches, in response to whatever we in the Opposstion were trying to say and do. I found him such a thought - provcking companion. He married Sucheta rather late in life, when he had reached a national status and when she was a Professor in Hindu University of Banaras. My. neice, Suseela Devi, who was then a student introduced me to her for the first time at Banaras Women's College. She was then a buxom Young woman with the glow of being engaged to renowned Acharya.

Though he resigned from Congress presidentship, he raised no objection to her acceptance of the membership of Congress Working Committee. Even when he was unwilling to rejoin the Congress after both of them parted Company with Official Socialists, he was content to let her choose to rejoin the Congress, rise to be a General Secretary and later, assume Chief-Ministership of the most populous State of Uttar Pradesh with its Assembly of over 500 M L As. He found it also possible to offer in a good humcured manner from time to time, advice both to her and to members of the A I C.C., and Congress M.L As. of U P. and Congress M Ps. of Parliament. He was ready to crack jokes at the seeming anamoly of playing simultaneously the roles of an independent and relentless critic of the ruling Party and also an adviser to Congress men in power and to those out of favour with the ministry of the day. Never was there any complaint from any power-wielder or power-monger that he misused his position as the much respected earstwhile Congress President or the husband of Suchetaji who had to take many vital decisions over the activities of political friends and colleagues. Kripalani is the outstanding example of a senior leader who has succeeded to remain free from mundane temptations and vicious exercises of power No wonder, many a senior minister in Central Cabinets used to shudder whenever he found Kripalani turning his search-light in the direction of any of his activities. His sarcasm is atop when he assails tenaciously any wrong doings of any ministry, Weeps at the failure of Congress ministers to behave in a Gandhian way. He mercilessly exposes the hypocritical poseurs of many a proud but un-congresswise minister and deplores the failure of the

majority in Parliament to hold their ministers under control. Though an independent M.P. and with few to follow him in Parliament, Kripalani's influence over the Government used to be pervasive, persuasive and powerful. I always used to get valuable support from him and when I was leader of the Opposition, I found an invaluable ally in him.

It augers well for future of our democracy that Sucheta ji was good enough to observe in her letter to me that she would certainly wish success to Indira's efforts to salvage our masses from their biting poverty and sufferings, if only Congress would and could sincerily strive for it. She was just then emerging from a severe heart attack and Kripalani was looking after her so lovingly and deligently; Thus their hearts, pulsating as one, responded to the genuine call of the times and of our masses in wishing fulfilment for Indira's promises to the nation:

Even in this latest political crisis of our democracy, our paths were not too for apart from each other.

Both Kripalani and Suchetra have had a noble record of constructive work over several decades. He aided Gandhiji during the Bihar earth Quake relief work and worked with Sardar Patel during Gujarat floods He devoted Khadi production programe of Gandhiji throngh the famous Gandhi Khadi Ashram of Meerut and helped to provide self employment for tens of thousands of otherwise under employed and unemployed women, besides the employment created for hundreds of organisers and providers of accessories. He co-operated with Aryanayakam and Zakir Hussain in the development of Naya Talimi or Wardha Educational Scheme His book "The Latest Fad" provided it with an eloquent and effective ideological justification.

Sucheta, Mridula Sarabhai, Dr. Susila Nair set as good an example for our women as Florence Nightingale had done, by their courageous and painstaking humanitarian work among the lakhs of refugees from west and East Pakistan who flocked to relief camps in Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Delhi and U. P. in the west and in west Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the East. Sucheta and Suseela braved all the risks to brutal treatment to which

Hindu women had been subjected by the local muslim majority and remained in Naokhali, even after Gandhiji left for Bihar and Delhi. So many of us who were then serving the national cause in the Constituent Assembly were lost in admiration for their bravery and love of service to the refugees. Sucheta set another enample by keeping her ministry free from all political scandals and providing spring cleaning for the U. P. Political corridors, which had been fouled by previous ministries. It is our national misfortune that so many ministers and ministries have not been emulating her example. How can we complain if, therefore, both Kripalani and Sucheta seem to be so much embitterred against Indiraji's failure to establish the institutions of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt as recomended by the Administrative Reforms Commission and to deal with ministers and legislators against whom responsible people level charges of improper and partial use of power and indulgence in corruption and unfair nepotism, without claiming the right to decide whether there is any prima-facie case for investigation.

Kripalani is as good a man of letters as he is a powerful Parlimentary speaker. His writings as well as his speeches are full of scintillating wit and his sarcasm is so biting and thought provoking He is content to expound the constructive teachings and activities of Gandhi. His writings about Gandhian teachings and ways are authoritative, lit with his own rich personal experiences. He is not a blind student or follower of Gandhi and so, whatever he wrote about Gandhianism is worth much for scholars and historians. His books, 1) "The Gandhian way" 2) The Latest Fad, Basic Education, 3) the Non-Violent Revolution, and 4) Mahatma Gandhi (being his Centenery offering) are among the most authoritative expositions of the significance of Gandhi.

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33. G. V KRUPANIDHI

We have lost one of our patriots and a leading intellectual and journalist In the death of G.V. Krupanidhi.

He left remunerative posts in 1920 to join the group of intellectuals. including the late Panikkar, Khasa, ard Iswara Dutt, to run the English daily SWARAJYA of Madras under the dynamic leadership of the late Prakasam. They had to subsist on nominal salaries, run the gauntlet of the ever-vigilant British Government's censorship and maintain that financially rickety daily, despite the ever-recurring demands for security from the Government.

Krupanidhi's loyal wife Smt. Suseela, M.A B Ed, used to supply his meals in a tiffin-carrier and so many of us, including Khasa Subba Rao, shared those far-from sumptous but delectable Madrasi dishes at lunch-time: Krupanidhi and Khasa remained loyal to that nationalist organ till 1934, that is until Prakasam's financial resources went dry.

Then followed Krupanidhi's 15 years association with the HINDUSTAN TIMES, the premier English daily of Delhi. It took just one session of the then Central Legislative Assembly for the Viceroy's Executive Councillors to feel the weight of the incisive and relentless criticisms emanating from his powerful pen. So many of us, in the Congress and the nationalist opposition parties, found a kind and helpful comrade in Krupanidhi who soon rose to be one of the leaders of the Fourth Estate.

Pothen Joseph's scintillating thrusts "over a cup of tea", Shankar's biting cartoons and Krupanidhi's statesmanlike suggestions were the daily inspirations for us in what then appeared to be our hopeless and slow march to Swaraj through legislatures.

Krupanidhi rose to be the editor by the time HINDUSTAN

TIMES grew to be one of the most powerful dailies and Swaraj dawned on India and his editorials helped our ministers by their constructive criticism and gentle advice.

He left Delhi full of honours and chose Bangalore for its salubrious climate, both physical and political. He built up its daily DECCAN HERALD into one of the major English dailies of the country. Thus Krupanidhi devoted nearly half a century to the service of the country through journalism

His gifted wife, Smt. Susheela, was a co-student of Kamaladevi and worked as lecturer and principal and kept a generous table in their patriots' den in the Narendra place in Delhi and played host to so many of us, the patriotic jail-birds and so many more impecunious intellectuals. Many of their guests, friends and proteges became ministers at the Centre and in the States but the Krupanidhi's never tried to ask for any favours either for their families or for friends. Both of them were teetotallers, and kept themselves aloof from Delhi's gay centres. They continued to be the never-failing props to many of us who preferred to remain outside the centres of power.

Krupanidhi has indeed contributed much to Indian journalism and helped it to grow into a constructive *fourth pillar* of our democracy.

34 DR. KUNZRU – AN OUTSTANDING LIBERAL

Dr. H.N. Kunzru is one of the most respected, experienced parliamentarians among our democratic elder statesmen. He had his training under Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Srinivasa Sastri and contributed a good deal to the debates in the earlier States' Council, the Constituent Assembly and later in the Rajya Sabha. His skill as a speaker lay not so much in oratory as in his display of scholarship, the marshalling of the relevant facts and quiet but persistent stress on the essential principles on which any policy was to be based. He respected the other man's views. He never hesitated to offer praise where he felt it was deserved, nor did he pause to hurl his criticism at any quarter if it was warranted. He combined the scholarship of a professor, the skill of a debator and the wisdom of a statesman.

The English members of the then Viceroy's Executive Council were very much impressed with Dr Kunzru's arguments and were visibly influenced by the sheer weight of his criticisms based on logic and scholarship and convictions. His contributions to our debates in the Constituent Assembly and in the informal discussions that preceded the official debates in the Assembly were also noted for his courage. Dr. Kunzru learnt from Gokhale and such British parliamentarians as Asquith to specialise in a few subjects of public importance and achieve the maximum possible expertise in them. He made a special study of defence and of the conditions of Indians in Commonwealth and other countries. He served on a number of committees on Defence.

Early in his twenties, he joined the Servants of India Society of Gokhale. He had the good fortune to work with Gokhale the founder of the society and Srinivasa Sastry, the incomparable Commonwealth Orator, with N M. Joshi, the father of Indian labour movement and A.V. Thakkar, the champion of

Hill Tribes, all members of the society. During the past half a century of his public life, Dr. Kunzru has scrupulously and courageously espoused the causes of the people and high moral standards in public life on which Gokhale had laid great stress. Gokhale had insisted that "public life must be spiritualised, love of the country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. With a fervent patriotism the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of the country" Dr. Kunzru has lived up to these ideals. It was my privilege to have worked with Dr. Kunzru, Mr. Joshi and Thakkar Bapa.

In foreign affairs, Dr. Kunzru wanted India to pursue a pragmatic line and not to assume too exalted a posture. He did not appreciate Nehru's postures at the United Nations as they often led us to unnecessarily sanctimonious judgements against the activities and attitudes of the Western Powers.

Dr. Kunzru co-operated with the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. B. Shiva Rao and others in founding the Indian Council of World Affairs in 1944. The Council provided a Powerful and True national platform, in contrast to the Empire Parliamentary Associations, for the study of international affairs. After Sapru's dimise, Kunzru has been its President. He succeeded in organising, under its auspices, the Institute of International Affairs and an excellent library on World Affairs. He also demonstrated his loyalty to his leader and colleague in liberal politics by building the famous Sapru House.

Dr. Kunzru made an excellent chairman. I had experience of him as Chairman, during the Indo American conference held two decades back. He helped the delegates from both the countries, representing different interests and institutions to carry on their discussions purposefully and in an atmosphere of understanding. Similarly, he proved to be the most democratic and considerate president of the Indian Council of World Affairs on whose executive I had served for a number of years and also of the Railway Accidents Committee and guided the members to reach unanimity on most occasions.

The British Government in India sent feelers if he would care to join the Viceroy's Executive Council and he was Patriotic enough to decline those offers because he felt that under the trying conditions of Indian politics, when the Congress was fighting for the highest stakes, his assumption of office would weaken the nationalist cause. After independence, Dr. Kunzru has been pleading for freedom for the services from political interference and from uninformed criticism and partisan and ministerial favouritism. Similarly, he has always stood for honest, efficient and public-spirited administration.

Dr. Kunzru did not join the Congress even after the achievement of Swaraj. He is one of those great Liberals who made their solid but quiet contribution to the development and constructive use of the parliamentary institutions in India. He did his best to persuade the British Government to concede more powers to our legislatures and ministers and increase the quantum of indianisation of our services.

Dr. Kunzru's heart is so soft and so large that it would always bring him into the midst of suffering people. Whether it be famine or flood relief, Dr. Kunzru was among the first cadres of public workers who used to collect money and materials and offer succour to the suffering. It was an inspiring experience for me to find him in the midst of the famine-stricken peasants of Bellary district in Karnataka in 1946, working with his characteristic thoroughness. He rendered signal service during Bengal Famine of 1943.

Dr. Kunzru was no less dynamic than any Congress worker but preferred to work in the seemingly more quiet and disciplined manner of the British Quakers. So he welcomed the offer made by the earstwhile Theosophists to take up the leadership of the Bharat Scout. It was Annie Besant who popularised the Scout Movement in India and Dr. Kunzru turned it into a catalytic agent to canalise the ebulliant, creative faculties of our students into constructive activity and fill them with creative urge, so that their life and thoughts would continue to be spiritualised in their life and career. The ACC, the NCC, etc., have all been introduced now into the sphere of youth training, but

t hey have only supplemented and streamlined the good work Dr. Kunzru has done for decades.

India is fortunate in having in the midst of its elders such statesmen as Dr. Kunzru. It was an ennobling experience for me to sit recently along with him in the National Committee to prevent defections. He pleaded for freedom for the elected members to change their parties, but only for high purposes and noble principles. Dr. Kunzru followed in the footprints of Gokhale and he has laboured hard and sincerely over many decades to help our suffering people during many crises.

He co ntinues to be president of Indian Council of World Affairs.

35. LATCHANNA
BACKWARD CLASSES LEADER

I have been feeling ever since 1930 that if the masses of our country are to rise and enjoy their legitimate human rights and contribute their best talents and energies to the progressive rise of our national income and wealth, we must help the backward classes, the sub-normal and vulnerable stratas of our humanity, to discover, develop and recognise their own leaders, born and brought up in tune with their social atmosphere. Hence the penning of my novel "THE HARIJAN LEADER" when I was in jail in 1931-32. When I found, as a result of the people's behaviour during the first general elections in 1952, how the upper caste people were just not ready to utilise their political power for really progressive purposes, I was convinced of the urgency for projecting the leadership of the backward classes into our political arena. So, I chose, from amongst the 17 of my dynamic and devoted colleagues who had been working with me for the past thirty years, Shri. G. Latchanna, as the Leader of the Andhra Krishikar Lok Party in the then Madras State Assembly and advised others who hailed from the so-called upper castes to stand by him and thus win the goodwill of the masses. I knew the risks involved in such a venture but I felt that it was the most urgent and essential step I could take to help the emergence of truely democratic leadership in our nascent democracy.

As sure as anything, the other claimant, who hailed from a higher caste, though from a poor family with only a small-holding, resented my choice and worked up a revolt of upper caste M.L.As. and their friends. I chose not to relent. Subsequent rise in the political consciouness of the backward masses

of Andhra has more than justified my decision. Latchanna has brought strength, moral stature and powerful political strength to the under-privileged peoples of Andhra and at the same time demonstrated how a leader hailing from the under-privileged can also champion the legitimate needs of all other classes and appreciate the human rights of the so-called privileged secrions.

Having been born in a traditionally toddy-tapper's family of Baruva in Srikakulam District, Latchanna was able to comprehend the human pathos involved in the relentless drive of Gandhian reformers towards prohibitiсn, unmindful of the fate of the lakhs of toddy-tappers who were consigned to unemployment, for no fault of their own. So he mustered courage to raise a revolt against the Congress Governments' practice of prohibition, even when Rajaji was the Chief Minister of Madras. He organised the State-wide individual satyagraha against that cruel aspect of prohibition. We gained recruits and support from the youths of all classes. In the end, we succeeded in extracting valuable concessions and amendments of the prohibition administration so as to enable a large section of toddy-tappers to carry on their hereditary profession of self-employment.

Latchanna has been one of my colleagues in public life; more especially in the Kisan Movement during the past 35 years, second only to the late G. V. Subbaiah popularly known as Kisan G.V.S. In the British days, we fought against the Zamindari system. Vizag and Srikakulam districts were so much under the control and social influence of Zamindars. So our campaign against that system won for us their relentless hatred and powerful political opposition.

No sooner had we won on the Zamindari front, than we were confronted by the demands of the Congress ministries for ever rising enhancements of Lard Tax. By 1962, the Andhra Land Revenue demand came to be raised by 150 to 300%. We have thus discovered, to our chagrin, that what had been condemned as Zamindari exploitaticn has come to fade into insignificance when compared to these new demands. So Latcha-

nna offered to organise people's protest against this new exploitation. He organised Peasant Protection Marches, which culminated in the gigantic Hyderabad March led by Kisan G.V.S, Bharati Devi and himself. Then arose the Satyagraha Campaign and 750 Satyagrahis went to jail. He reinforced these moves by leading the kisans' fight through the courts by challeging the legality of the Land Revenue Enhancement legislation Thanks to the timely and able assistance of famous jurist P A. Chowdary and comradeship of more than six thousand brave kisans, we were able to defeat the Government both in the High Court and the Supreme Court. Thus Latchanna was able to serve our kisans in a unique manner and prove that in a democratic state, our masses have to fight such unjust and arbitrary acts of governments backed by their legislative majorities. We aiso demonstrated that the acts of Swaraj Governments could be contested and also defeated, not only by Satyagraha but also by invoking the supremacy of the Constitution over the vagaries of legislatures.

We have been continually opposed, not only by Zamindars but also by their allies, the new vested-interests created by the regime of licenses and permits. either directly as in the 1967 elections or indirectly through their agents and money-power during all these general elections.

Simultaneously, Latchanna has been striving with the aid of V.V. Ramana, M P. Pragada Kotaiah under my guidance, to firmly secure the rights of the backward classes as envisaged by the Constitution, against the wayward and political prejudices of the educated and job-minded upper castes.

The people of Srikakulam district whose tribal areas became the scene of Naxalite activities have been poor for centuries and during the past fifty years, they fanned out into Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar in search of employment. Being very poor but venturesome, being landless but industrious, the lower middle class peasantry and agricultural workers of Vizag and Srikakulam Districts joined all such national projects as the Vizag Ship-building, Harbour, Caltex Refinery Works, Iron mills at Jamshedpur, Rourkela, Bhilai, Hirakud Dam Works, Kharagpur, Vizag Railway Workshops. It was these workers who

invited Shri V.V Giri in the twenties to lead them, thus serving as the nursery for making Trade Union careers. It was because of their appreciation of Latchanna's services, that he was elected to the combined Madras Assembly in 1948 from the Circar's Labour Constituency. When we organised the I.N.T.U.C. he came to play an important role in it. by being the President of the Andhra State Unit and Vice-President of the I.N T.U.C.

Srikakulam and Vizag in Andhra. Koraput, Ganzam in Orissa are predominantly tribal In their social economy and population. So many of our social workers have had to evince keen interest in the welfare of the long neglected, poor but proud tribal People. We had to depend upon M. Krishnamurti and B, Apparao M L A since 1933 for protecting these noble votaries of freedom from all types of exploitation from plains-people and the British authorities, under the auspices of the Tribal peoples' Association organised by me and the late Kodandaramaiah. Our noble band of workers have braved all the risks of malaria and other diseases, bad food, lack of shelter and communications in their efforts to organise the Adibasis, to fight back their exploitation by the rapacious money-lenders and merchants and Muthadars who are monopolists, and forced the Government to accept in principle, our demand for the abolition of the Muthadari system. But till today, this system is still weakening the Adibasis. When the chance came for him as a Minister to choose a Department in 1955 and 1953-56 it is significant that on both the occasions he chose the Tribal, Harijan and Social Welfare Ministry, being true to his "first-loves" in public life. It was due to his dynamic work that the Tribal Peoples Finance Corporation came to be established, with its first set of godowns, intended to liberate the tribal people from the monopolist exploitation of merchants, for the marketing of their forest produce. Despite Naxalite disturbances in these areas, this group of workers are championing the constructive workers and saving them from the evil attentions of both Naxalite Communists and police. Bonded labour is atlast cut-lawed.

Harijan welfare and uplift have been dearest to us ever since 1920. Latchanna is heir to the progressive moves made

by Baruva's Harijan Seva Sangh. In one of my tours, I met him in 1933 and saw him at work with his team of young people of Sompeta' Barua Harijan campaigns. It stands to his credit. ,hat one of the Harijan boys of Baruva was at first placed in an elementary school, brought into a High School, then helped into a College of Arts and Law and was finally launched into the Andhra Assembly. He is now a judge of the High Court and his brother an .M. L. A. Latchanna also organised a Labour Housing Colony, when he was the Presldent of Baruva Panchayat and I performed its inaugurati on One of our regrets is that even today our Plans have not relieved the poor people, especially Harijans, Girijans weavers, and fishermen, from the curse of fires. Every summer at least one out of every twenty of our rural hamlets is consumed by fire. One can save them from this calamity by helping them to put up sheds with tiled roofs. It is true that medical, hospital and allied facilities have grown many-fold during these 40 years but the poorer sections of our people are as helpless as even in getting their due share of these far from adequate facilities. Even today one of the most important elementary services that our constructive workers are obliged to render, is to help the ailing among our poor people to get themselves examined and admitted into hospitals, to be provided with a bed and good enough medicines and to be treated in a humane manner by the medcal staff. The coastal districts have the highest incidence of leprosy. Our workers led by Raghava Das Ex. M L.C. are busy helping them also; by their advice and compassion and by leading them to the Dutch Mission and to Government Centres.

Even in these days of plan-induced plathora of jobs, there is so much of heart-rending elbowing-out of poor applicants for jobs. It is much more so at the lowest levels of casual labour on the Railways and projects and for Class Four and lower jobs. Few constructive workers and fewer political workers care to tarry in their mad rush towards jobs in order to assist the shy, suffering thousands of our poor folk to find a footing even at the lowest rungs of low-paid jobs. Many a time I am wonder-struck

with the patience and fortitude displayed by Latchanna and his co-workers to help these helpless people.

Latchanna is one of the graduate of the peasant Institute, NIDUBROLU in 1935 and 1936. He organised its summer Sessions, in his turn in khahapur in 1938. He has become a firm belberi in Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj ideal. He spent many years in jails and underground work in Swaraj struggle. He rose to be a Secretary of Andhra Congress and Working President of All India Backward classes Federation. His wife Smt. Yasoda Devi went to jail in defence of Tappers Satyagraha (Ed.)

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36. G. LAKSHMI NARAYANA.

Lakshmi Narayana has devoted twenty years of active work for the Congress and Kisan and Khet Mazdoor Movements, under my guidance. He spent all his agricultural income and a part of the Patrimony in this national and social service.

He played such an important revolutionary role in Calcutta's Student movement during 1928-33 that he was chosen as the General Secretary of the Bengal Students' Congress. When I was kept as a detenue for about a month in Howrah and Dum Dum jails, he used to supply various papers and other things needed by me and other detenues, partly with the permission of Jail authorities, His rooms were searched several times and he was kept for months under police surveillance. He proved to be a brave, energetic and capable revolutionary among Students. He took first class in M.A. (Econ. Hons.) obtained B.L. degre and was called to the Bar. Some of our family wanted him to practise in the Courts. But he knew how I needed sincere, highly educated and competent colleagues in my efforts to develop kisan movement, and I was not getting any effective or enthusiastic co-operation from Congressmen and most Congress leaders were looking askance at my anti-Zamindari and anti-Sahukari Campaigns and my efforts to make kisan organisation so self-reliant as not to wilt under their fits and frowns. Till then I had been getting on only with the support of my schoolmate Shri Achanta Nagaiah of Appikatla, my brother G.V. Appaiah and N.V. Subbaiah of NIDUBROLU and Bharati Devi, and K. Madhusudhanarao of Vijayawada and N.V. Rama Naidu of Nellore. They were also convinced of our kisan mission that I was outlining and developing through my work in villages and among rural folk.

Venkata Appaiah was good at mobilising agricultural workers; N V. Subbaiah was a dynamic propagandist, with his inspiring music and youthful and infectious faith in my work. G.V.

Subbaiah and Nagaiah reinforced them with their loyalty and growing contacts among our peasants. Madhusudanarao was able to spread our movement in Krishna District with wide social contacts and, the reputation of his family which contributed four freedom fighters Poet, journalist N. V. Rama Naidu organised Zamindari Ryots. But we needed very badly some well-trained intellectuals At that stage my brother Lakshmi Narayana set up practice in Law Courts and was making good progress. I persuaded him to throw in his lot with our kisan and khet mazdoor movements. Our mother who had already become inured to Governmental repression against us and Jail experiences of both myself and my wife Bharati Devi our neices and nephews bravely agreed to let him also to join us in our self-sacrificing crusade to serve our rural folk. She knew how Lakshminarayana had once before abstained from joining Government service in 1930, when selection as Deputy Collector by direct recruitment was proferred a few months before I decided to make common cause with the Satyagraha movement of 1930-31. So the whole family approved of my request and my brother's willingness to become the first full-fledged recruit from amongst intellectuals to the Rural Peoples Movement.

To join forces with me and become a whole-time worker in the kisan movement meant not only to place all his personal services freely but also to finance all his activities and contribute financial support to the maximum degree in order to finance the public activities of others, without such independent means of living. Such service did not then enjoy spontaneous approval of the other Congressmen who were devoted only to the orthodox programmes of the Congress. So there was not available to us, the usual kudos associated with the discipleship of Gandhi. Therefore the decision made by Lakshminarayana and our family to join the service of kisans had special value, and I felt specially grateful to him.

Lakshmi Narayana was my first student of Economics, as it were, when he engaged himself voluntarily in collecting information from peasants and workers of the upland villages around Guntur during my survey in 1925-26 of their economic condi-

tions. He read my theses published in the Telugu Daily Andhra Patrika, in favour of Labour Exchanges and Decasualisation and unemployment insurance for rural labour and adult franchise, as a powerful weapon against untouchability and subhuman social and economic conditions of agricultural workers. He was inspired by the aims and objects of the Peasants Associations and Agricultural Labour Unions which I was organising between 1923-1927. While studying in Calcutta University, he came in touch with Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee and studied his book "Foundations of Indian Economics". He learnt from him how many Indian economists were in agreement with my theses on "Economics of Khaddar" and need for development and modernisation of "Agricultural Industries" published in the then sole and influential vehicle of Indian economic thought, called "Indian Ecoromic Journal". So he felt fortified in his faith in my economic approaches to Indian agricultural economics. Our cousin-brother, the late G.V. Subbaiah of Appikatla who was studying economics for B.A. in Madras, and who was one of the Economic Investigators under the Economic Erquiry Committee, of which I was the Secretary in 1928-29 and Lakshmi Narayana who was also studying economics were able to see from the results of that enquiry how even the deltaic peasants who were assured of regular supplies of water under Krishna Delta were often unable to make both ends meet, because of their too small holdings, too high costs of credit, manures, implements and land revenue demands. They studied about the vagaries of the local markets, profits made by merchants and the high margins between the actual prices and the too high profits being absorbed by rice-mill owners, merchants or both of them together and felt that the results of their surveys only explained and confirmed in a scientific manner the experiences of agricultural families of our own villages, including our own. It was because of this background of absorbing studies and surveys under my guidance that Lakshmi Narayana and G.V. Subbaiah developed the Co-operative Marketing Federation, Co-operative Rice Milling and Co-operative Sales Societies And therefore, Agricultural economist that he had become by 1933, Lakshmi Narayana became con-vinced of the correctness of our thesis how the capitalist system and

its market economy have degraded and despoiled peasant masses landed and landless. So there was the greater so more urgent need of peasants for the support of all Patriots than even of industrial proletariat, for gaining protection from exploitation by all non-agriculturists and their just share in national wealth and social recognition. Lakshmi Narayana became an enthusiastic collaborator and convinced missionary for the cause that we began to propogate for reorganising social economy on juster and better balanced collective or classwise evaluation of services of all classes and along Gandhian Satyagrahic struggles and socio-economic standards of parity between all classes.

We were opposed to the Zamindari system because it weakened the self-employment status of peasants both by denying them permanency of tenure over their lands, and by exorbitant land revenue burdens. We were also opposed to the Soviet systems of Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz because they denied the right of peasants to proprietorship of their holdings and claimed complete control over almost all their farm produce at arbitrary and low prices fixed by Government only in the interests of urban consumers, proletariat and professionals of the Soviet State. We accepted Gandhiji as our national leader and we were happy to find that the kernel of his teachings and writings about our rural people and their first claims for social justice squared with the results of our studies and surveys and our own experiences in rural life. This is how Lakshmi Narayana, Subbaiah, BharatiDevi became my first set of convinced disciples.

We decided to expound and propagate this social approach, which was blessed, in its general outline, by Gandhiji, through the Peasant Institute and our Telugu Weekly "The Vahini" for which Bharati Devi provided the initial funds. Thus, the three of us began to give shape to the challenge of World Peasantry to the unjust economic approaches of both capitalist market economy and Communist scissors of anti-peasantism.

Lakshmi Narayana came to be reinforced by Shri Achanta Nagaiah and A. Seshaiah of Appikatla, Venkatappaiah and N.V. Subbaiah, P.B. Naidu who were all under-graduates and

who matured for political work, under Gandhian influences and the 1921-23 soul-stirring no-Tax and Non-Cooperation Campaigns under Gandhiji's steward-hip He enjoyed the active comradeship of Achanta Seshaiah and G V Subbaiah for more than 15 years who also spent all their incomes in their common and concerted services for the peasants and workers' movement.

He proved to be a competent organiser and able leader of the peasants. He campaigned successfully for proprietory rights for all Inamdari peasants together with Zamindari peasants. He developed separate organisations for the kisans producing paddy (Rice), Tobacco and oilseeds. During the war, he bravely defied the terrors of D.I. Rules and opposed controls and gladly accepted jail-life when he was prosecuted for organising peasants' revolt against compulsory procurement of foodgrains under D.I.R. Indeed he was the first kisan satyagrahi during the war.

He was brought up in the nationalist and patriotic endeavour that pervaded our family atmosphere ever since I joined the Congress ranks in 1923. He too became a devotee of Gandhiji and hailed him as our foremost national leader. But because of his intimate relations with Bengali students in Calcutta, he was more in agreement with the aggressive political approaches of Subhash Chandra Bose and so, did not take kindly to the ambivalent attitudes of Jawaharlal Nehru in the controversies that raged between the Congress Establishment and its rebels. He agreed with the Kisan and Mazdoor turn that I was giving to Indian nationalism and the organisational initiatives I was developing, by way of organising separate functional and class unions for students, youths, workers, kisans, khet mazdoors, tribal people and artisans. He became one of the most ardent believers and exponents of the philosophy of full-fledged democracy of peasants, workers, artisans, intellectuals that is, Kisan Mazdoor (Kalakar and Buddhijeevi) Praja Raj; as opposed to the Marxist faith in Proletarian Dictatorship. He felt happy when Gandhiji blessed our K M P. Raj ideal in 1944.

He was good enough to be the editor of many of my

writings, notably 'Kisan speaks', 'Kisan Movement', 'Kisan Hand Book' and 'Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj' (Syllabus). He co-operated with us all of the Kri hikar Lok persuasion in fighting untouchability, illiteracy, religious orthodoxy and other social ills. He became a sincere supporter of cottage industries and other sources of self-employment.

Both Lakshmi Narayana and N.V Subbaiah were good singers of the revolutionary songs of Settipalli and Venkatappaiah added the orchestral co-operation ard thus this trio developed the missionary Bhajan atmosphere for our schools and marches for over two decades.

He was a Gandhian and honest Colleague with a high sence of integrity during the five years of my Presidentship of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Never did he ask for any special favours either for himself or for any member of our families, nor did he allow any of our comrades to indulge in financial weakness Infact, in my over-anxiety to set an example of fighting nepotism, I abstained from sending him as a delegate to any of the International Peasants or Food Conferences in Paris and Washington when I was asked to make the choice. He willingly seconded my decision to send much less qualified and competent junior partners, So high was his conception of loyalty and grattitude towards other intellectuals who have been good enough to join us in our Kisan movement.

He made effective contribution to the deliberations of the First International Rice Commission for the F. A O. held in Rangoon. As chairman of the Irrigation Board of the Krishna Delta, he improved the system of distribution of water and the timely repairs of irrigation channels. He seconded my work in the kisan schools (1933-51) as the Resident Master. He served as President of Andhra Kisan Congress for 3 years.

Lakshminarayana and Venkatappaiah, Seshaiah and Nagaiah led our Kisan Marches. They were prominent especially in the 1,000 mile-long March to Madras. They developed three feeder Marches from different parts of Guntur District and thus galvanised the peasant masses. Seshaiah and Lakshmi

Narayana used to rush to every centre, when attacked by the enemies of peasants and sustained the morale of villagers against bandit-based anti-social forces.

He edited for some years, our kisans' Telugu weekly "VAHINI" and shared the losses equally with Bharati Devi during the war years.

He joined hands with our brother G. Venkatappaiah and our families in founding the Rama Needu Vidyalaya with its buildings and sites worth a fortune and making it the terrafirma for the peasant institute.

He co-operated with us all in allowing the Rama Needu Vidyalaya to be utilised by the P.B.N. College during its initial years of 1951-54 and helped our family to give the whole of our library to that college.

He was elected as one of the Secretaries of the All India Kisan Congress (Sabha) both before and after Smt Bharati Devi became its President ; They led that organisation so well when so many of us were in jail that Communists failed to exploit it for their non-patriotic and anti Congress slogan of "Peoples' War". He was courageous enough to defy Communists and the A.I.K.C. after it became their hand-maiden by 1942 and organised the separate kisans' patriotic platform, the Kisan Sammelan.

He stood by me loyally when I organised the Krishikar Lok Party and tried to develop independent political platform for kisans, khet mazdoors and all other self-employed masses. But when he was defeated, alongwith so many of us, he became so much disgusted and disappointed by the villifying campaign carried on against him by some of our kisanites on the instigation of ministerial congressmen that he decided to withdraw from active political life. So 1952-53 proved to be the bitterest year for me and Bharati Devi, because Lakshmi Narayana our first and most intimate intellectual colleague chose to retire from active politics. For full twenty years he stood by our side and devoted all his services and financial resources in

the causes of the kisans and khet Mazdoors. He abstained from claiming the 5 acres of wet land that was offered to every such political sufferer because he accepted our stand that all such government lands should be specially granted only to landless agricultural workers. Even though monetary pensions are now being granted to all such Freedom Fighters, he declined to claim it although almost all Ex-Ministers and much richer Freedom Fighters have received it, even while they really are not in need of it.

As if that was not enough service to us personally, he remained loyal to us during the following two decades, even though Congressmen in power tried their best, on many an occasion to offer big baits of power and places of honour, if only he would oppose me, whenever I was ranged against their Party. Just as he had declined the proferred direct recruitment to provincial services in 1930, so he repeatedly refused to join our opponents even when ministerialpositionswere being placed within his reach. Thus Lakshmi Narayana has remained loyal and devoted to the cause of the self-employed people and especially the Rural folk. He has continued to offer advice and timely lead to peasants whenever any anti-peasant move is made by Government. I feel grateful to him.

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36. LOHIA

Rammanohar Lohia was one of the most eminent storm-petrels in the post-Swaraj India, ranking next only to E.V.R. Naicker, the much older, more reckless social revolutionary. He believed in continuing the tradition of Gandhi-Nehru era of ceaseless agitations, struggles, leading to defiance of authority and courting of imprisonment and in that way, awakening, energising, educating and canvassing local pockets of party-oriented public. While many others continued that tradition, Lohia provided an ideological justification, that in under-developed countries with nascent democracies, such ceaseless struggles are absolutely essential to engender effective opposition, to make up for the inevitable weak parliamentary opposition.

Lohia argued, like the Clyde-side Socialists, such as Maxton of the British Independent Labour Party, that Parliamentary democracy and its weak Socialist Opposition elements could not yield any noticeable results unless it is energised by local struggles on the labour, peasant and municipal fronts. He was convinced that so long as Socialists abided by the gentlemen's respect for the rules of conduct and standards of parliamentary decorum, Socialist minorities in Legislatures could not secure satisfactory dividends for the toiling masses nor could they make telling dents into bourgeois citadel of privileges and powers. So he advocated the pursuit of disruptive and unconventional methods and tactics in breaching the respectability of parliamentarian attitudes towards the Cabinet and the Chair–not unlike the Sinn Fien and Maxton tactics which shocked parliamentarians but made Parliament so much like a public platform for voicing people's feelings and sufferings.

When at long last he found his way into Lok Sabha in 1963, he reinforced the hard-headed onslaughts that his followers had been making during the previous two years in both Houses of Parliament against Parliamentary standards of decorum. He

helped the Zero hour, that is, the interval after the question hour was over and the agenda of the day was taken up, to become a regular bug-bear to the Speaker in Lok Sabha, the Chairman in Rajya Sabha and an interregnum of confusion and disorder for members It was marked with eruption of emotional reactions to the latest developments, on any aspect of national life reported in the morning press, or the radio or through letters or wires to M.Ps., which would take any minister by storm and catapult any party in Parliament. Ever since Houses of Parliament have become the forums which cannot be bridled by established statutory orders, Speaker's rulings or conventions. In a way, a private member in opposition has come to have greater opportunity to assert himself on behalf of people and parties as such have grown less effective to make Cabinets behave responsibly and be responsive to reasonable needs and urges of people on specific issues. Lohia has made Parliament a more frightful weapon which the government dare not take for granted, merely by virtue of its majority.

Lohia became a socialist, while he was studying in Germany, just as so many of his later socialist colleagues, like Asok Mehta Masani, Zaheer brothers, and Z A Ahmed, had become. Whereas some had drifted into the Communist Party, some into the Congress in post-Indepedence era, he continued to be a hard boiled socialist. Like Maxton, he refused to be satisfied with the mother party - the Labour Party in the case of Maxton and the Congress Party for himself.

Lohia made a special effort, like me, E. V. R Anna, Barrister Ramaswami, and Ambedkar, to understand the Indian social matrix, with its basic elements of castes, social heirarchies built around and in - between castes, tribes and their religious tendons. So he came to more or less the same conclusions as the other social revolutionaries. That is, he realised that until and unless the backward classes and castes are liberated from their faith in anti-egalitarien, and down-grading obverse side of karma, there could be no firm rooting for democracy. He also realised that the so-called Sudras and untochables, who formed the overwhelming majority of our rural folk and the

working masses of cities, who are largely unpolitical and unawakened by the congress, or other parties. So he advised socialist-minded public workers to concentrate on the laboricus preparatory work of bringing about political awakening among them. It was because of such correct readings of our special needs that he appreciated my work among peasants and Harijans, and agreed to co-operate with me in developing the kisan movement.

I met Lohia in his room in Calcutta in 1935-36 wherefrom he was editing their C S P,s English weekly and sought his co-operation. We both met the late Fazlul Huq, the leader of the Krishak Praja Party of Bengal, who had just then triumphed over the Muslim League in the elections and we all agreed to work together in developing an all-India platform for kisans and strive unitedly for the abolition of permanent settlement which fastened the coils of the Zamindari system on the poor economy of peasants. Though in later decades, our political parties branched off in different directions, Lohia continued to evince much interest in my kisan work. Because of his socio-economic approach to the place and role of kisan masses in Indian polity, he was able to hail my book "Credo of World Peasants", and its starting point that Peasants are the worst exploited among world's masses, proletariat coming next in sufferings - unlike Marxist thesis. He appreciated our thesis against co-operative farms and Gramdan, as presented in our publications, notably, "peasant and co-operative farming".

He was temperamentally so aggressive, and impetcus, and ideologically so intolerant of urban, and upper caste approaches towards socialism that he became an inveterate sectarian and continued to swing himself and his followers from one extreme to another, from one left wing to another from the C.S.P. era right up to the Sanyukta Socialist Party, rubbing too harshly against too many of his comrades who could not agree with him, nor caring for the motives which made them differ from him. In spite of all those painful gyrations, he remained scrupulously loyal to his convictions. that in Indian politics, the suppressed castes, depressed classes, socially under-privile-

ged sections, especially those among the puranic fold of Hindus should be upgraded and lifted up in Marxian manner. Thus he helped the Yadavas, Kurmis of Bihar and U.P., the Yadavas, Gujjhars, Ahirs of Haryana and Jats, Gujjhars, Ahirs and Bhils of Rajasthan, besides all the Harijans to gain an independent political footing both through his Socialist Party and also other political platforms.

It was in pursuance of this conviction he pitchforked M.L As belonging to backward classes into leadership of his Assembly Parties in Bihar and U.P. and also in Lok Sabha. Those dynamic moves of Lohia proved more productive in Gangetic areas than mine in Andhra and forced the Congress in Bihar also to throw open the portals of its leadership in Assembly and organisation to the leaders of backward classes within its own ranks. Indiraji has been trying ever since her triumph in 1971 to catapult these long-neglected classes and castes into effective leadership even at State levels, thanks to the explosive catalytic initiatives of Lohia. Lohia was fortunate in gathering around him some of the most revolutionary youthful politicals of Nehru era. They have carved out important roles on the labour and legislative fronts and pushed the suppressed classes into the front rank of our parliamentary phalanxes.

Madhu Limaye, the intellectual, and Raj Narain, the irrepressible combatant, George Fernandez, the Trade-Unionist cum Parliamentarian, Peter Alverez, the railwaymen's champion, are some of the first rate agitators, organisers, jail-gate-crashers, and character-denigraders who drew inspiration from Lohia and provided dynamism to his confusingly complicated planks of public platform. They believe, like him in keeping themselves before the public and forcing the press to keep open their columns by being ever on the watch for public complaints to be highlighted and made to look bigger by their own sufferings. Has not the cumulative influence of their un-parliamentary activities reconcited congress to need for Emergency.

One of those agitations which proved to be the biggest vote-catching campaigns was Lohia's demand for immediate recognition of Hindi as national language and banning of the use of English in Parliament and public platforms. He mobilised

thousands of youths and students in northern India in support of it. His enthusiasts disturbed public meetings and speeches of even such venerable statesmen as Rajaji, by their clamorous insistence upon their speaking either in Hindi or in their mother tongue and not in English. They blackened all directions on sign-boards written in English at railway stations, the Post and Telegraph offices etc But they were flabbergasted when it brought them face to face with the counter agitation from non-Hindi peoples of southern States, Bengal, Orissa etc.

Even the Jan Sangh and its closest friends, the R S S. whose long standing agitational weapon had been the espousal of Hindi as the national language could not cope with the vehemence of Lohia's Hindi cohorts and were eventually obliged to modify their attitude, in the face of non-Hindi peoples anti-Hindi counter-agitation that was triggered so powerfully and passionately by Anna Dorai's D M K Even Tandonji felt unhappy over the growing unpopularity of Hindi, thanks to the Lohia touch.

The Congress debacle and its loss of majorities during the 1967 general elections in a majority of States, seemed to justify Lohia's thesis that any kind of political alignment of parties to make a legislative majority and provide an alternative government would be better, more patriotic than allowing Congress to creep again into government by conjuring up Congress-based coalition. To put life into his political caption, "Samyukta Vidhayak Dhal", popularly known as 'S. V D ", Lohia proceeded to drive, in a breathless hurry all and sundry among the newly elected anti-Congress legislators into the non-Congress coalitions. That move helped to form S V. D. ministries in Bihar, U P., Punjab, Haryana, M P. and a few of the smaller States and threatened to break open Congress ranks in several States. That avalanchic dethronement of the unpopular Congress carried the stamps of his dynamic hatred of Congress and provided justification for large scale defections from the Congress. The Aya-Ram defectors were embraced, for a brief period by the public and press just as the defectors from the pro-British parties were hailed when they joined the Congress ranks.

But very soon, those artificially conjured up coalitions began to suffer from "Gaya Rams" activities and broke up on the rocks of ideological, party and (or) personal differences and incompatibilities, within an year or two. The S V.D. lost their majorities the Bhartiya Kranti Dal Chief Ministers lost their gaddis and soon afterwards, people came to realise that the S.V.D' Ministries were poorer in political stamina, moral standards and administrative achievements. So, in sheer exasperation and disillusionment, people voted the Congress back into power in the mid-term elections and raised Indiraji into national leadership by unparalleed 2/3 majority.

Lohia's contribution to the history of Indian democracy lay in helping students of Indian democracy and politicians to realise how the western democratic practice of party-in-power and party in opposition is just not the best suited to India and there is need for electing members of Parliament through proportional representation, to reach all party national ministry working on the basis of consensus. He weakened parliament as such.

The pity is that both he and his able colleagues had got so used to levelling their criticisms and charges, organising their circles among peasants, workers and professionals, mainly in an election - oriented manner, that they have failed to realise when and how they could manage to co-operate, if not to coalesce, with the Congress. They broke up the earlier socialist fronts in every field. They would rather co-operate with any party, however much it might be opposed to its vaunted cult or aspect of socialism in order to weaken and disrupt the Congress. His followers continue to pursue the same arid policy of anti-Congressism even after the voters gave more than two-thirds of India's M.Ps. to support Indira's leadership and accepted the new Congress policies and programmes. So, Lohiaism is likely to pursue the same role as river Saraswati has played, in leavening up the waters of Ganga and Jamuna.

In conclusion, I quote the following from what I said in Parliament on 13-11-1967 as my tribute to him :-

Dr. Lohia was one of our national leaders. He took part

in many popular movements that raged in our country during the last three decades. It was my privilege to have enjoyed his comradeship in the kisan movement when I was tryir g to build up the units in West Bengal. Though he hailed from Rajasthan, and was working in U P, he had so much influnce in West Bengal also even as early as 1935. And then in Goa, in Nepal, in NEFA and in so many other areas, he placed himself unhesitatingly in the vanguard, faced grave risks and advanced the cause of the people in their fight for freedom.

Like so many of us, he also had the privilege of working under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. His sense of discipline was so great that when and Mahatma did not agree with his proposition in regard to South Africa which was accepted by the I.A C C. and the Mahatma Gardhi wanted the A.I C C. to resile from its position, like a loyal soldier he accepted Mahatma's suggestion, and allowed A.I.C C. to rescind his own resolution. This, I am mentioning, because he has always been known as a rebel among rebels and yet he had also that strain of discipline within himself. In this House, as well as in the country as a whole, he played a notable part and he always had the genius to give a turn which has not been taken by the others and to make the issue look very different when he began to handle it. That is how as soon as he came into this House he drew the attention of the country to the existence of starvation as he conceived it and made this House as well as the State Legislatures understand what is meant by starvation in a different manner, with very good results, so far as the upgrading of famine relief works is concerned in recent famines in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa.

Dr. Lohia passed away much too soon The Prime Minister said on our behalf, what was very much in our mind. that the House cannot be the same after his death.

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37. MASANI M.R.

M.R. Masani of Bombay was born on 20-11-1905, Barrister, M.P. 1949-52, 63-70, Deputy Leader of Swatantra Party in Lok Sabha 1960-70, President of Swatantra Party69-70: Opposed merger of S P. into B.L. Dal 1974. Chairman of U.N. Commission on Discrimination Against Minorities, delegate to Common wealth Parliamentary Conferences, Chairman, Public Accounts Committee 1967-68, Ambasador to Brazil 1941-49. One of the founders and General Secretary of Congress Socialist Party, popular author, especially of "Our India', Communist Party of India, Socialism Reconsidered, and appraisal of Jaiprakash 1975. (Ed)

Masani is one of the best parliamentary speakers. The mike in Lok Sabha suits him best. He speaks easily, clearly racily and effectively. He sets himself the time for the speech and leaves one or two minutes more for answering quickly any questions or interruptions that any reckless or foolish or bold member may wishper or shout. As he moves from one point to another, he pauses, though he does not appear to be doing so and looks at his notes, as by habit and builds up his case. Before any opponent musters his reaction into an expression, Masani is in his seat again and the House is left under the magic of his voice and thrilling over the fusillade of his arguments and under the impact of his seemingly delectable performance. Most of us used to pity the Member who had to follow him in answer to the Speakers's call, because the House needed full quarter of an hour to recover from Masani's effect.

Somehow the House never allowed itself to be persuaded by him. There seemed to be an impression so unfair to Masani, so unhelpful to itself-that Masani is magician to be gaurded against the same magical effect that is aroused by Atal Behari Vajpai's eloquence and Parliamentary performance. Rightly or Wrongly the great majority of M.Ps-those of Congress, Socialisst,

Communists, even B K D. etc.-have felt that he would be painting a word picture, presenting an array of arguments and making a powerful appeal only for the benefit of vested interests and hind-looking social forces. So the majority of members in the House were inclined to resist him, even when his plea was entirely non-partisan and wholly beneficial to the Country. Rajaji used to admire his method of presenting his thoughts, arranged and worded so scientifically, as it were and the genuine faith that he infuses into his approach and peroration. But it did not pass muster with the House and so often I did not have the heart to protest my disagreements with him.

Masani did not bother to play the full role of a devoted parliamentarian, joining the fray at question-time, mixing his voice in the orchestral disharmony of zero time, getting breathless by participation in Calling-attention or two-hour discussions or wrestling with the Treasury Benches and Chair over points of Order or getting bruised in the duels during adjournment privelegemotions He used to leave all those dramatic, arduous and breath-taking sparring, in which myself H.V. Kamath, NathPai, Madhu Limaye, S.M Benerjee Hiren Mukherjee gladly participate. If he had developed a taste for it and allowed himself to be gladly over-whelmed by the dust, din, and golden emotions and silvery laughter of those who gained a point and also those who gladly conceded their defeat, he might have gained just the confidence and hearty good-will of individual members and that would have strengthened his approach to the heart of the House and helped the House also not to be so unreasonably closed to his appeal.

Masani made a good friend and colleague to me during our 12 years of collaboration in Swatantra Party in Parliament. Many a member of our party did not enjoy the same degree of his co-operation, nor did he evoke the same type of confidence. I often wondered why? Too often I had to pamend his points to our Group, at his spoken or unspoken wish to get the proposition an easy and favourable response. Frequently I resited his approach. He could never make the members feel quite at home with him. Was it because, he gave them the impression that he was too intolerant of their thoughts or reactions or too frightfully

ready to misunderstand their approaches. Anyhow, though he was admired, he did not succeed in winning the affection and willing confidence of the majority within our growing - though small-parlimantary group Just as it was with the House, so it was with the Group-we would admire him but he would not give us the feeling of losing himself among us.

There were so many sittings of our Group meetings, in which he would grow impatient with my efforts to persuade such members as had upset him by the line proposed to be taken by them in any discussion in the House or the policy approved or opposed by them during a debate to agree to let me smooth over the affair by reaching a Consensus. He would like to quote some resolution passed by the Executive or General Council of the Party or some previous decision taken by the Group and thus discipline the members who were inclined to strain at the leash. He would be growing impatient with me also because I would not wait until he read the concerned papers fully or I could not let him emphasize the relevance of those earliar precedents or cautions. But his sense of discipline was so strong, his confidence in my ability to reach an amicable solution so great that he used to sheath his weapons and be content to let me gain the consensus or keep the question at a loose-end to be smoothed over in another sitting. He has wholesome respect for democratic authority and would expect others also to display the same disciplined respect for it. Many used to wonder how such a person like me who used to be so impatient with the tantrums of Jawaharlalji could manage with Masani who is worse than Jawahar, especially in regard to inconsistent or intemperate or insincere displays of attitudes towards public issues. I used to tell them that Masani's instinctive loyalty to his democratic leader is my ally in my dealings with him. His love and admiration of Jayaprakash alone have stood the test of four decades of their political life.

Once he became the President of the Party, as a whole, his irrepressible love of exercising his powers and his inability to await the development of consensus came to the fore. No wonder, he

became too ready to call for explanations from such a powerful leader of so many M.Ps and M L As from Guzarat as the late C C Desai, (Retired I C.S, Secretary of Parliamentary S P group) with disastrous consequences. So long as he believed in the bona-fides of his Colleagues he was prepared to be patient with them and their idiosyncrasies. But the pity is that he is capable of becoming suspicious of their motives much too easily, by and reading too much into their half-expressed thoughts. Too often too many friends are too-much dumb founded in the face of his brilliance and unconscious impatience.

Coming to the extraordinary and what many felt to be, impossible but decade long alliance between us. all I can say is that Masani's respect for Rajaji, whose confidence I enjoyed and his sense of disciplined loyalty to his President of the Party and Leader of his group must have been mostly responsible for his patient, prolonged and good humoured work at my elbow despite our irrconcilable, and different approaches on many issues, especially about free market economy, monopolies, and unrestrained accretion of personal, profesional and corporate wealth. We were in complete agreement over the need for offering responsible and responsive parliamentary opposition. So we deplored the Lohia type of irrepressibly irresponsible parliamentary obstruction. He was agreeable to in Swedish-type of parliamentary social democracy but his heart pulsated with the social approach of Liberal International, while I have always stood for Gandhian socialism and self-employed socio-economic order.

38. SPEAKER MAVLANKAR AN APPRECIATION

Speaker Mavlankar of Ahmedabad was born in 1888. Was Speaker of Bombay Assembly, Central Assembly 1946-47, Interim Parliament and Lok Sabha 1952-57. President of Harijan Sevak Sangh, Mayor of Ahmedabad Municipality, Advocate at Ahmedabad, Close associate of Sardar Patel, Leader of Indian delegation to Ottawa Session of Commonwealth Conference, of which Ranga was also a delegate. (Ed)

Speaker G.V. Mavlankar is acknowledged to be the Father of the Lok Sabha and the best Speaker we have had, whether in the States or at the Centre. He was the personification of quiet dignity, coming into any circle with all smiles and innate self-confidence. He looked the part in every moment of his benign visage.

It is interesting to recall how he came to be chosen as the Speaker of the then Central Assembly. The British Government knew how strong, yet upright, a Speaker he was in the Bombay Assembly but they did not want the Congress to win in that key election; especialiy soon after the epochal 1942 Quit India Movement. They also knew their advantages in the Central Assembly with Jinnah's League thirsting for the blood of the Congress, and they had their nominated members also. So, they backed Jinnah's candidate. But Sardar Patel did not like to give up the fight. He came to Delhi to use his good offices and wanted us to risk the chance. Sarat Bose was our Leader. We escaped defeat by the skin of our teeth. We owed our success to the support given by the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagaram and to the brave neutrality of Himmat Singji of Navanagar. From the moment he became the Speaker, Shri Mavlankar, who wasnot till then known to be such an eloquent orator,proved to be the most successful Speaker and even when he had to give a ruling against the British Government, he did it so grace-

fully and cushioned it by such choice expressions of decorum and precedent that it went well with the vanquished.

Shri Mavlankar took his Speakership of the Provisional Parliament entirely as a Parliamentary mission and was bent upon building healthy conventions to strengthen the private Members' rights, control and chasten all too easy proneness of the government to assume too much power, and also helping the Ministry to state their case freely, fully and effectively. He was bent upon making the Parliament an efficient and effective critic of the Government, a custodian of public interests and a powerful and dharmic wielder of parliamentary authority over ministers and the ministries.

He knew the weaknesses of the twentieth century British House of Commons and wanted to help our Parliament to avoid those weaknesses. It was a heroic fight for him, but he loved it - to chasten members on one side and control the Ministry on the other It was because of this influence that he succeeded in establishing the powerful Estimates Committee with its non-official chairman and the convention has thus grown of having non-official chairmen for most of the Joint Select Committees. Shri Mavlankar realised how in a Parliament with a very weak opposition, the well-known parliamentary weapons of vote of no-confidence and adjournment motions could not be so freely or usefully utilised So, he adapted to our conditions the French device of "Interpellations" and the British device of "Asking for Papers", and thus calling half an hour special discussion on any important question.

He used to tell us quite often how essential it is in the national democratic interests, for Parliament to learn to place any minister, however great he may be, in his place, properly chastened, and made fully conscious of his subordination to Parliament. He was so discreet and decent that he never gave any indication of a private smile of satisfaction when he scored a triumph over any intransigent minister. For, he knew the triumph was that of the Parliament. After he became the

speaker of Lok Sabha, I could hear about his great and numerous triumphs only from other members and through the press as I was in the Rajyasabha between 1952-56. I was, however, privileged to have many talks with him, while we were together on the Indian Parliamentary Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at Ottawa in 1952. He used to say that Parliament should become a business-like and disciplined institution; that members should learn to study more assiduously and aid, guide and control ministers and look upon that Parliamentary work as one of the most essential national responsibilities.

On seeing how the Parliamentary Chambers of every state in the U.S.A. and Canada were decorated with pictures, paintings, and frescoes of glorious events in their respective history, Speaker Mavlankar wanted our Parliament too to be similarly decorated. And he did quite a lot in this direction on his return. He found many conveniences and facilities provided to members of Parliament in the U.S.A. and Canada, such as adequate salaries, daily allowances, office-rooms, stationery, free Ry. passage and secretarial assistance and even pensions Shri Mavlankar was keen to provide similar facilities to our M. Ps too, consistent of course with our comparatively poorer conditions. It might be of interest to know that he was never happy over the high British-scale of salary allowed to our Speaker and considered the salaries of the Secretariat bosses all too high. He deprecated the manner in which the riches of our industrial and commercial magnates were being squandered. He very much wanted M. Ps to study public problems diligently and use all the privileges and powers bestowed on them quite scrupulously in order to promote public interests and to strengthen the masses in their attempt to gain the ear of the administration. For this purpose he desired that M.L.As who were the best public servants, should be given maximum facilities to discharge their duties.

Shri Mavlankar's affection for members of Parliament was proverbial. He had a soft corner in his heart for them. When I detail of get elected to the first Lok Sabha, I prom-

sent in my resignation from the membership of Provisional Parliament, even though I could continue as a member until the new Lok Sabha assembled. Many members who had similarly lost in the election continued to attend the Provisional Parliament. Shri Mavlankar wrote an affectionate letter to me in which he deprecated my unnecessay resignation and asssured me of the Parliament's regard for my presence and services. And to show his affection and sense of recognition of my parliamentary services, he chose me for the parliamentary delegation in 1952 although I was then in the Opposition and in the Rajya Sabha. What is more, he further asked me to lead India's delegation on the most important discussions at Ottawa on "Foreign Affairs". This showed the catholicity of his conception of patriotism and its votaries, whether they belonged to the party in power or the opposition. I felt certainly very grateful to him, because such display of Gandhian affection has not yet become a general feature of our public life. We realised later that his choice had proved to be very wise, for when the head of the Australian delegation accused India as having been indifferent to opposition parties like several other democratic countries. I was able to spring a surprise on him by saying that our very presence in the Indian delegation countered his accusation. When later I sponsored India's case for non-involvement' in international policies, coming as it did from a leader of the Indian Parliamentary Opposition, it carried great weight with the conference.

It is not generally known what a great impression he used to create in international conferences. A piquant situation arose at the Ottawa Conference, when the representatives of Pakistan raised, contrary to all rules of decency and decorum the Kashmir and the Punjab Water disputes, while we were discussing the South Africa's Malan Regime. Shri Mavlankar rose to intervene in that debate and raised the level of outlook of the conference so high and dealt with Pakistan's and Commonwealth's responsibilities so magnanimously that the whole conference regretted Pakistan's uncalled for intervention. My interpretation of India's foreign policy as one of "non-involvement" as between the two great rival blocs came in for repeated

and unfriendly comments from different delegations, but Mavlankar stood by me like a rock and his determined but smiling support made others realise the seriousness of India's decision.

Mavlankar's public activities were not confined to Parliament alone. He set an example to ordinary M.Ps., too by his scrupulous devotion to extra-parliamentary duties. His contribution to the Kasturba Fund and Gandhi National Memorial Fund is unique, in that he displayed truly Gandhian attention to democratic decisions, scrupulous use of every rupee to the best purpose and the choice of the most acceptable public workers as their agents. He died of a heart-attack during his tour of the Andhra, undertaken in connection with collection of these funds. It may be of considerable interest to note that while Parliament chose him as the Speaker, Bapu chose him for the Kasturba Fund and Sardar Patel chose him for the Gandhi Fund, for he was such a trusted colleague of both Bapu and Sardar. As evidence of his happy relations with the late Prime Minister Nehru, Panditji's eloquent obituary tribute is on the records of Lok Sabha.

Both Bharati Devi and myself had great affection for Mrs. Mavlankar and admired her devotion to him and their family in the true Hindu dharmic manner. She used to help him every day to take the Insulin injection and thus ensure his protection from diabetes. Rajaji and myself were glad to go in 1959 to the Laski Institute of politics established in Ahmedabad by his gifted son and paid our tribute to Mavlankar. I am happy that this Junior Mavlankar has been able to get elected to the Lok Sabha as an Independent and is proving quite effective.

Is there a futnre for Mavlankar's Tradition?

The present-day Lok Sabha is very much different from that of Mavlankar. He would be shocked by what happens during the new innovation of "zero hour" which owes its birth to "Lohia Effect" on Parliamentary procedure, its admission by Sardar Hukam Singh, and its growth during Speaker Reddy's tenure. Mavlankar had no need to suspend the sittings of Lok Sabha even for an hour but Speaker Reddy

made it almost a practice to let the proceedings go into "coma" by simply saying, "All this will not be recorded" whenever excited or insistent M.Ps. refused to heed his bell to stop speaking. There was never a "No Confidence Motion" during his tenure, whereas it has come to be an annual feature if not a more familiar one - since 1964. Public issues falling within the purview of State list of responsibilites were not allowed to be raised in his Lok Sabha, Panchayati Raj problems, social welfare happenings and indeed, every State problem have been brought into relevant discussion in today's Parliament. Even the fact of the Legislative Assembly being in session is not considered a bar for state's problems being raised in Lok Sabha. In those days either the Speaker was speaking or an M.P. was speaking but now-a-days, both are found, not too often, to be speaking simultaneously. Reddy's frequent warning, "I am on my feet" became a parliamentary device to make many an M.P. to sit down, and permit, as it were, the Speaker himself to have his say. One wonders how Mavlankar would be able to guide the present Lok Sabha to discharge its onerous democratic functions more effectively or more decorously. But this Parliament has no longer either Jawaharlal or the strong and staid, sagacious opposition leaders with their vigorous phalanxes, and it has emerged from the fires, fights and frustrations of that dreadful era of 1966-67. Speaker Dhillon's predicaments in the face of voceferous explosions have become too frequent. Privilege motions against ministers and M.Ps. have become the order of the day.

That age of Parliaments with their two or more parties, one party or group of parties, making a majority and forming the Cabinet, the other one or group of parties in opposition, ever on the alert to come into majority and then capturing power-which has been the predominant feature of Anglo-American democratic parliaments - is no longer holding the place of honour. The Soviet type of one - party democratic parliaments are finding favour in most African and Asian and Pacific countries, not to speak of the Latin American Republics. In these one - party parliaments, Mavlankar's baton would not find favour. Speaker Dhillon, who has savoured the humours of

Zero Hours, character - baiting debates, co'd shouldering of Parliamentary assurances, jumping the queue of interventions and Orders of the Day, has done his best to render honours to the Mavlankar's spirit of parliamentarianism.

Even with all his soothsayings, he had to opt for sanctuary in the Central Cabinet thereby creating a questionable precedent. Could the super-eloquent Speaker Anantasayanam have helped parliament to bye-pass the terror of Gujerat cum. Bihar type of challange to legislatures sponsered by Jayaparakashji or Lohia Effect of 1974-75 ?

There is talk of overhauling of Constitution. Even then there must be Speaker. Whether Parliamentary or Presidential legislature is adopted, assuming that Cummunist or African Single-Party democracy is avoided. Shorter Parliamentary Sessions at more frequent intervals, aided by more powerful and deliberative committees with some mandatory powers may come to be favoured. Other' wise Indianised American Congresional system my be adopted. Even then the guidance and baton and 'Order, Order' whisper of the Speaker will be necessary to enable peacaful deliberations and decisions to be achieved democratically. Certainly Standing Orders and Rules of procedure indicated by Mavlankar would have to be radically amended in the light of the aweful experiences of our parliamentarians of 1972-75. Every thing depends upon the degree of self discipline, Parliamentary sense of responsibility and free and fearless debate that our Legislators are able to display to ensure our parliamentary progress.

39. ASHOK MEHTA

Ashok Mehta was born on 24-10-1911. Studied Economics in Bombay. He was sentenced to 2½ years also in detention. He and Minoo Masani, Jayaprakash Narain and Ranga founded the Congress Socialist Party in Patna in 1934 with Jayaprakash as General Secretary. Later he became its General Secretary until it merged into S S.P As its President he joined the Asian Socialist Conference and Congress of Socialist International, Founded Hind Mazdoor Sabha in 1949. Prepared a Foodplan as Chairman of Food Grain Irquiry Committee 1955. President of National Council of Applied Economic Research, Member National Defence Council, Central Citizens Council,

Member of Lok Sabha, Delegate to United Nations Assembly; Deputy Chairman of National Planning Commission, Minister for Planning, toured all over the World, resigned from Central Cabinet in 1968 because of differences over Soviet aggression upon Czechoslovakia. He is the president of Congress (Organisation in) oppostion to ruling congress.

Author of many books on Asian and Indian Socialism, (Ed).

History and Politics achieve their purposes through strange bed-fellows, S.K. Patil and Ashoka Mehta fought with each other for decades both when they were in the Congress of old and in rival parties, the Congress and Congress Socialist Party. S.P joined from one side and from another end, the Jan Sangh and S.S,P. who were poles apart almost on every issue joined together and Madhu Limaye and Ashok Mehta who could not keep company as Socialists also combined to make the so-called National Joint Front against Indira's Congress in 1971 elections. Later Ashoka Mehta has become the President of Cong. (O) to which belongs S.K. Patil, the hard-boiled advccate of Mixed Economy with its Gandhian accent.

I came into contact with Ashok at the Patna Conference of Congress Socialists. I learnt that he, Masani, Achyut Patwardhan etc. decided to organise Socialists within the Congress. Jayaprakash Narayan, who was known to be a relative of Rajendra Prasad and a favourite of Jawaharlal joined hands with them. Quietly Ashok came to the fore within the C. S. P. through his scholarship, hard work in organisation in Bombay State and his facile, racy writing. But somehow Lohia and himself failed to hit it together, while he and Masani, both from Bombay, were able to work together

After Masani resigned as General Secretary, Ashok assumed that responsibility for the C S P. It was because of the precipitate decision made by the Bombay unit of the C. S. P. that Congress and C.S.P. parted ways and Socialists led by Jayaprakash Narayan and Ashok left the Congress in 1948 For two decades thereafter Ashok remained outside Congress and guided first the Socialist Party and later the P.S P, which emerged from its merger with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party of Kripalani. Gradually he began to feel that since Congress opted for Socialist Pattern of Society in the Avadi Congress of 1955 he could advance Socialist cause more by joining the Congress but he had to wait till 1966 before he could gain sufficient support from Colleagues to make the final decision to part ways with others who would prefer to continue to be orthodox Socialists, rather than merge their identity with Congress.

It was during that crucial decade of debate whether or not to join Congress that he was asking me whether it would be worthwhile for kisan champions like me to leave the Congress on account of our differences over co operative farming, controls and compulsory procurement of foodgrains. It was then I had to remind him how I myself and my colleagues of the Krishikar Lok persuasion who made the biggest sacrifices for the sake of democracy in Madras in 1952 and in Andhra in 1955 helped Congress to recapture the Cabinet power, after it had lost majority support in Assemblies whereas was the Socialists did not raise their little finger to support it, nor did they make any sacrifice. Yet the Congress was seeking to impose Co-operative

farming, one-sided ceilings upon peasants and keeping out Krishikar M. L. As from its ministries. It was also during that decade that Congress invited Ashok to Chair the Food Grains Enquiry Committee and welcomed his recommendations to control not only food trade but also peasants Ashok was then helped by Congress to get elected to Parliament from Bihar.

Eventually he became the Vice-Chairman of the National Planning Commission and Cabinet Minister for Planning. I could not welcome these developments as I feared that he would fasten greater controls upon peasants and weaken their self-employment economy.

In international affairs, Ashok remained loyal to the world cause of democracy and human rights. He resisted the Communist onslaught on parliamentary democracy and attacked the Soviet system of labour camps He was scrupulously opposed to U S. adventures in Indo China. He resigned from the Cabinet as a protest against failure of Government to protest against U. S. S R's intervention in Czechoslovakia, when the Czechoslavakian Communists wanted to welcome democratic liberties.

As a Parliamentarian, he is more like Masani, his long-time friend than like Kamath or Lohia, the other eminent Socialists, in that he would not join In he more mundane but more comradely Parliamentary activities. He would intervere a little at question time but ponderously. He and Masani would rather keep company with their thoughts than with their Colleagues; he being more bookish between them. Masani is a more finished writer, Ashok being more prolific. Both are brilliant as Parliamentary speakers, though Masani's delivery is more attractive. Ashok is as consistent and passionate a Socialist as Masani is a convinced and sincere spokesman for free market economy. Both of them lacked the dynamism and devil-may-care tempo of Lohia.

The there pronged offensives of these three strong willed non-Gandhian freedom fighters and their parties Congress, Swatantra, S.S P. are now going into the incongrous coalition with B L D. Jan Sangh, possibly a section of Communists under Jaya Prakashji umberella to fight Indira's Congress.

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40. V. P. MENON

V. P. Menon rose to be the Secretary of the Ministry of States in the Government of India from a mere Assistant at the bottom rung of officialdom, an extraordinary achievement for any Indian in the British rigime of the twentieth century. What he achieved, in the course of the last six years of his service was entirely unique, in its historical significance and diplomatic excellance.

He started his career during the British empire's heyday. He proved to be one of the few administrative architects in shaping the final farewell durbar of British Indian empire. He was the son of a humble Kerala peasant and he successfully negotiated the abdication of more than five hundred and fifty princes who had dominated over peasants and proletariat for centuries. He used to advise the British demi-gods in Delhi and Simla for more than a decade while they were hatching their constitutional proposals and formulai calculated to prolong the agony of India, in her painful efforts to become free. Eventually he had the good fortune to draft formula at the bidding of their last Viceroy, which speededthe advent of national freedom He served the States Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhai Patel as Secretary of the States Ministry, and helped in liquidating the Maharajapratha or the system of Indian States. Such was the romance of the public career of this great administrator of modern India. He was a rising star when I first went to Simla in 1930 to plead against the convening of the first Round Table Conference, without ensuring the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. He was in retirement in Bangalore, when I was searching for allies in developing my struggle against Nehru's threat to dispossess peasantr from their small land holdings by imposing ceilings on peasants alone, while refusing to impose them on non-agricultural properties and incomes and by driving them into cooperative farms through the threatened compulsive

campaign. He used to admire my fight against the British in 1930 and he decided to reinforce my defensive struggle against the great Nehru in 1959. That the British Labour Cabinet had no clear idea or plan as to how the Governance of Indian sub-continent would come to shape itself, once national independence, actually came to be granted became clear when the political Department under viceroy, which used to control the polity of Indian States persuaded it to declare that the Paramountcy which was being imposed ard exercised over the princes and their states would cease after the withdrawal of British power from India. The British officials who monopolised the personnel and control of that vital political Department and who were most unwilling to let India slip out of the British domination were determined to put up their last ditch resistance against the advent of Swaraj over atleast the Irdian States. So they did their worst, as was explained so graphically by Leonard Mosley, Menon and others. to work up resistance of Princes to the efforts of the leaders of National Congress to integrate their States into Indian Polity.

The prospects of the partition seemed to give some chance for the Princes to assert themselves and regain what had been lost to the British. But they were reminded too painfully by the States peoples Conference and impetuous Jawaharlal that it might be too dangerous for them to ignore the rapid and rising demands of their peoples for democratic power. The British die-hards who controlled the political Department of the Viceroy persuaded the British labour Government to give up paramounty over the States in the same way as British power was being withdrawn from rhe rest of India, without helping Premier Attlee and Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State to devise any pro-Indian scheme for relating them to the Swaraj regimes. It became the special function of Jawaharlalji, Sardar Patel and Lord Mountbatten to find a peaceful political solution Left to themselves, Indian National leaders would have simply incited the States peoples to rise against their princes and to demand self governance. But that would have resulted in a prolonged struggle in all the States, with varying tempos of sacrifies and sufferings, affecting more than one fifth of Indian people. In

the light of the horrible communal halocaust which ultimately over-took Indian sub continent in the wake of the partition one's mind quails at the thought of the dire consequences to Indian masses and to the tenuous national independence of both the rival dominions, if wide-spread unrest and struggle for freedom of the States peoples also had been allowed to ferment and intensify the calamitous forces of disorders. V. P. Menon persuaded Lord Mountbatten to demonstrate his gratitude to Sardar for having agreed to the proposal for partition, as it were, by using his great personal, and princely influences over Indian Princes in favour of Indian unity, as against the machination of British dii-hards in the political Department led by Sir Conrad Cornfield. Lord Mountbatten used all the prestige of the British Viceroyalty and the romantie halo associated with the last Viceroy, who was the Cousin of his Majesty to dazzle the princes and negotiate with their pride. Menon weakened the resistance of princes to integration by picturing before them, what might be the dire fate awaiting them, once the leaders of the neighbouring and dominant government of India encouraged their people to rise in revolt against not only their governments but also against their traditional rights, privileges and family security. He reminded them about the threat of Sardar's Phalanxes, which had broken the back of British imperialism to make princes listen to history's call. He reffered as occasion demanded to one, two or some of the following hisotorical facts; that Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel had been leading the peoples movements in the various states of Souraitra since 1920, especially Gandhiji's great struggie in Rajkot. That Jawaharlalji gave shape and significance to the States peoples' Conference and encouraged the States peoples to rouse themselves into revolutionary action, under the inspiring call of Gandhiji during the 1936-39, when the peoples of the then British India were enjoying self-governance at provincial level. He used to draw their special attention to the mini-violent revolution in several Orissa States like Rangpur, where the British Residents had to seek the support of army of the Government of India and the tiny States' forces were found to be hopelessly inadequate and ineffective. That

even such peace-loving and intimate associates of Gandhiji as Jamnalal Bajaj and Thakkar Bapa led the Satyagraha campaigns in Sikar of Jaipur, roused even the traditionally loyal Bhills and other tribal peoples and forced the proud Maharajahs of Rajput States to invoke the aid of Government of India. That so many of us of the Kisan movement were busy organising forest and no-tax campaigns in Orissa states, Rajputana, Punjab States. That Congress workers were co-operating with Communists in Travancore State in fighting against the regime of Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. It was only because of restraints placed by Gandhiji, such powerful leaders as Swami Ramananda Tirtha, Hiralal Sastry abstained from shaking the foundations of Nizam and Rajasthan princes. And that young leaders like K C. Reddi, Hanumanthaiah, Dasappa were spear heading Mysore movement, one of whose extensions led to the terrible Viduraswatham crisis. That the Punjab states were obliged to quake under the threat of Sikh's Satyagraha. Lord Mountbatten added his imperial touch by warning princes and even such hardened Dewans as C P.R Aiyar about the threat of Communist violence, which must have reminded them of the fate of the CZAR. He displayed great diplomacy in frustrating the intrigues of the Nawab of Bhopal. He exploded the pour parler over proposals for the inter-communal social alliances among some princely families. He prevented Jodhpur and Jaisalmer from joining Pakistan by raising the spectre of communal violence between their predominantly Hindu populations and people of the communally based Pakistan regime. He warned them about what might happen, if they continued to cling to their tiaras, pearly necklaces. awesome forts and imposing gaddis, while their peoples were clamcuring for Swaraj and hungering for ultimate authority over their gaddis, with all the support of the leaders of the victorious democracy of India and thus helped to snap their last lingering fancies for Maharajapratha, He pleaded with them as well as their Maharanees to bow heroically and patriotically before the dictates of history in the same dignified manner as the far more powerfsul and proud British Emperor was getting ready to go away and thus win the appreciation of the leaders of the New India and

gratitude of their peoples. Simultaneously with that campaign, Sardar patel and V P. Menon, Proposed that the princes and their legislatures should agree to accede either to India on this side or to Pakistan on the other side, atleast in regard to three vital subjects of governance, namely, foreign affairs, communication and defence. Despite all Menon could do, some of the States Rulers, notably Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bhopal, Kashmir, wanted to take advantage of the withdrawal of British paramountcy, to declare themselves as Independent States and exercise their rights to deal with India and Pakistan just as independent and soverign states do with each other in Europe or Latin America. By such and smany similar moves, made in such a Sherlock Holmes manner. Menon got round the princes. Rulers like the Nizam of Hyderabad and Nawabs of Bhopal, Junagadh Rampur and even the Matharajah of Kashmir did their worst to prevent as many princes as possible from acceding to India even temporarily through Stand-still Agreements; Right uptill the end of July 1946 Princes of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer were trying to strike their bargains with Jinnah of Pakistan. Travancore and Mysore Dewans mesmarised their Maharajahs with the fanfare of Independence and dared to propose to send their representatives to Pakistan Government, as if their states would be able to assume indpendence, in the wake of British withdrawal of Paramountcy. Some states stored up armaments and recruited and trained their so-called armies and even began to build ordnance factories. I have seen one such factory in the Fort of Jodbpur, when I visited the State in 1948. Many a former British ex-army officer and experienced chief of political department was busy goading the princes to opt for independence, with the promise of support of funds, arms, volunteers etc., from Britain. Thanks to the lightning like diplomacy of Menon, Sardar's command over thunder-bolt-like power derived from the States' peoples and the timely and helpful whipping from Mountbatten, most of the states decided to accede to India. What civil strife would have resulted over how vast an area and how much of suffering to people, and destruction of national wealth would have been inflicted, upon the

people of both the States and provinces, if Sardar and Menon had not succeeded through their determined and skillful activities, with all the speed of revolution, by preventing the emergence and cosolidation of the third Force of princely India, as was being projected by the political Department and its allies in India and in England, is any one's guess. But judging from the colossal political troubles and human sufferings resulting from the criminal procrastination caused by Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir in acceding and the unpatriotic and ambitious intrigues of the Nizam and repression and violance inflicted by Razakar minority on the overwhelming majority of Hyderabad Hindus. we can realise the magnitude of the services rendered to India by these two great leaders by achieving the integration of states in such a non-violent manner with so great a speed. Speed proved to be their special weapon against the intrigues of Pakistan's Jinnah. For, Mr. Jinnah was trying to poach into Junagadh of Sourashtra, Rajasthan's Jodhpur and Jaisalmer, Bhopal, Hyderabad, and Travancore. If he had succeeded, India would have gone on suffering from debilitating sores arising from such international complications as have arisen out of Kashmir and Pakistan. If Sardar had been obliged to let States peoples to capture power in their own States and aid them in the same way as he had done in Junagadh, India would have come to be pilloried in the U.N.O. Menon and Patel, Mountabatten and Jawaharlal saved India from all such evil consequencse by their Gandhian statesmanship. Menon emerged as the most patriotic, honest and dignifild administrative architect. Most members of the constituent Assembly felt he brought credit to India's tradition of ancient Chanakya of Maurya times, Timmarusu of Vijayanagar era Sardar used to say to us that no other Secretary could have seconded his efforts half as well as Menon had done and done more adroitly and as painlessly. True, some of us complained against the high annual cost of privy purses and other previleges offered to the princes though we recognised that all that praise lavished on Menon was well deserved But the Sardar reassured us that it was so small a price, when compared to the peaceful and cooperative trnsfer of power from the puranic-minded princes. The detailed inside

story of how Menon aided the Sardar in negotiating with the hundreds of Indian princes and thousands of their experienced and traditionally skilled advisers and succeeded in persuading them to preside over the liquidation of their age-long constitutional princedoms is a story that could add lustre even to the Arabian Nights. It was narrated in his prosaic, yet piquant manner by himself in his two great books and by many others.

That equally great was Menon's contribution to the transfer of power from the British earliar (August 1947) than the D' Days (June 1948) fixed by Labour Cabinet, was testified "you found the solution which I had not thought of, of making it (Dominion status) acceptable by a very early transfer of power. History must always rate that decision very high and I owe it to your advice; advice given in the teeth of considerable opposition from other advisers". (P.14 of the Last Days of the British Raj by Leonard Mosley, 1971). Actually Mountbatten had another proposal "Dickie Bird plan" which came to be approved by the British cabinet but about which Nehru fumed 'It won't do, I will never accept a plan like this. Congress will never accept it. And India will never accept it either. "(Ibid.p.135). Such was Menon's brilliance and diplomatic skill. Such was also his innate robust patriotism.

Parliament and states people have continued to feel grateful to him. It was that Menon who was good enough to offer to work as one of the Secretaries, When I was called upon by Pujya Rajaji to be the President of the Swatantra Campaign for protecting self-employed, cultivating peasants. Menon was so sociable and had such gifts to gain and retain colleagues that within a short time, he gained for the Swatantra cause the support of the bulk of eminent public men of Bangalore. He organised the convention of Southern states under my Presidentship to protest against the 17th Amendment of the Constitution, which sought to legalise confiscation of peasants land holdings. Upto the day of his Swargarohan, Menon remained a friend of the peasants and my good and loyal collegue.

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41. MOULANA AZAD

Indian nationalists have known only one Moulana from the time of the Ramgarh Congress held in 1940. He was Moulana Azad. He presided over the Congress continuously for six years four and half of which were spent by him and most of us, freedom fighters in jails either as Prisoners or as detenues. Moulana Azad was more or less of the same age as Jawaharlal but looked much older and was certainly more mature in the ways of the world. While Jawahar locked attractive, Azad was beautiful with his Arabic complexion, masculine moustach and vigorous pointed beard. He was taller than Jawaharlal, who came to hold better positions and achieve taller reputation.

The Moulana attained the Congress gaddi in his thirties. Whereas Jawaharlal and Subash gained it in their forties and that made all the difference, in the greater weight that people and their politicians came to attach to his opinions. I was agreeably surprised once to find Rajaji prefacing his remarks in the Congress working Committee by saying "I am most reluctant to differ from Moulana Saheb but may I most respectfully submit for his consideration, another approach to this issue" and so on. Never did Rajaji speak half as respectfully to anyone else and by that time, he had already been the Governor-General and Home Minister of Government of India.

Azad was well known among the Moulanas including Shaukat Ali, Md. Ali as the authority on their Holy Koran. Unlike the Ali brothers, Azad lived and died as a consistent congress freedom fighter. He was a famous scholar in Urdu, Persian and Arabic. His interpretation and recitations of Koran were highly respected by devout Moslems, especially of Calcutta. So he proved to be a great asset to the Congress, particularly after the rise of the influence of Mr. Jinnah It is the

irony of history that the Moslem masses allowed themselves swayed to be away from Indian nationalism by Jinnah, who knew so little of Urdu, much less of either Arabic or Persian and could not claim to have been devoted to Koran, before he chose to shed Indian nationalism and assume the mission of Pakistani anti-Indianism. Even stranger twist of history was witnessed when Mr. Jinnah gained overwhelming majority among the Moslem legislators in 1946-47 whereas his league lagged far behind National Congress in 1936-37. That decade 1936 46 proved to be as disastrous to Indian nationalism as to British Imperialism. It was during that decade the Moulana tried to lead the National Congress but in vain from the Round Table Conference scheme of phased Dominion status to Nehru's Independence. It was also during that disastrous decade that Mr. Jinnah dared to castigate the Moulana as the 'Show Boy' of the Congress; and the Call of National Congress and Gandhiji to British Empire to 'quit India' strengthened Jinnah and reconciled the British to idea of Pakistan and to the liquidation of their Empire.

Moulana Azad tried his best to save India's unity. He was sincerely opposed to the whole conception of Pakistan, as much in the interest of indian nationlism as in the interests of Moslems and other minorities, Every objection he raised to the vivisection of India has been proved to be correct by later history, Every warning he gave to Moslem masses as to what all disadvantages they were likely to suffer from and what horrible fate would overtake them on the advent of Pakistan has been justified by the sufferings of the Moslem masses on both sides of the borders between India and Pakistan, And to the last, he valiantly fought against Jawahar's approach whom he loved most. Unfortunately what all supporters he could fiind within the Congress were not enough to prevent Nehru and Patel from commandirg an effective majority. Even a greater misfortune was his failure to gain even a sizeable section of Moslems to accept his lead and to sustain his stand among the minorities and vigorously protest against the proposal for sequestering Indian nationalism. The final and painful back of both himself and Indian nationalism was demonstrated by the unchecked, inhuman and Fascist type

of communal orgies, organised openly with the blessings of local moslem ministers in Calcutta, and Punjab, in support of the demand for Pakistan.

He favoured the Wavell's plan, which contemplated the continued unity of India, a federal central government with over-all powers over foreign affairs, Commerce, Defence of all governments in the States. His own confidante Jawaharlal torpedoed it because of his impatience with any idea of a tie with the Commonwealth and his dislike of Wavell. He would have supported atleast the Cabinet Mission's plan or even the "Dickie Bird Plan" of Mountbatten but neither Jawaharlal nor Sardar Patel would look at it. He could have gained some effective strength as against their impatience to gain complete power for the non-Moslem majority area, if only Mahatma Gandhi had not mooted the utterly unacceptable plan of handing over complete power to Mr. Jinnah to form and run the Central Cabinet with whomsoever he would like to choose. Thus Moulana Azad was made helpless witness of the loss of azad of the whole, undivided India that our people had been visualising in all their momemts of Patriotic prayers of Vande Mataram and endeavours ever since National Congress was founded in 1885.

Azad was noted for his extraordinary courage since his twenties, when he championed the Khilafat Cause and when he joined Gandhiji and strengthened the non-co-operative Movement. He was a sight for the gods, as he stood so valiantly on the A. I. C. C. dias in Bombay in 1942 and inspired us to make the most desparate effort to wrench Indian freedom from imperialists. He was then indeed the incarnation of the total spirit of Bharat Mata. When partition took place and communal virus enveloped North India in its evil embraces and millions went mad and shed blood in such a beastly manner, Moulana exercised immense fortitude and Patriotic patience and continued to strengthen Jawaharlal and Sardar and did all he could to heal so much of the wounds that mad people inflicted upon each other and on our body Politic. He could easily have lost his composure and inveighed bitterly against the other national leaders but that he would not do and displayed thereby his nobility. As Education Minister he made great contributions; not the least of which was the formation of the

independent university Grants Commission empowered to distribute grants as between universities without being influenced by the politics of Government of the day.

He would have made an excellant Rashtrapathi and won the plaudits and hearts of the West Asian nations as our national Chief. But Rajendra Prasad, his senior had to be called upon to play that role. Well-Known in the Arab and African world as he had been as a noble Moulana he did so much by his pain-staking tours to popularise India's cause and counter Pakistani anti-India propaganda about Kashmir and thus served free India as well as he promoted her cause of freedom when not free.

As an individual he was such a dignified person. I always found him so gentle and helpful. In the Congress working committee, he was the only one who felt free to smoke, and drink tea in the presence of Gandhiji. He was the one person whom Jawaharlal trusted completely. He was never in a hurry to intervene in our debates either in the Party Executive or the working Committee. I found him so helpful, on so many occasions when anyone of us complained against the misbehaviour of ministers in the States. Once we won his approval to any plan or programme, we used to feel that half the battle was won because his word carried great weight with Jawaharlal. He constituted himself as the sentinel on behalf of the oppressed people and minorities but never did he display any prejudice against innocent people of the majority. Altogether Azad was a noble soul, great patriot and true knight templar.

42. MUDALIAR TWINS

A. Ramaswami Mudaliar of Justice Party, born on 14-10-1887 advocate, Madras, M. L. C. 1928-30, Council of States 1930, Central Legislative Assembly 1931-34, at the Round Table Conference, Member, Vice-Chairman, Viceroys Executive Council 1939-45, Member War Cabinet, Pacific Council 1942-43, Leader of Indian delegation to U. N. 1945, Chairman of U. N. Committee on Forced Labour, President of UNESCO. Vice-Chancellor, Travanoore University, Dewan of Mysore, Pleaded for equal rights for Non-Brahmins, socially depressed peoples, Mayor of Madras. [Ed]

Mudaliar Twins-Ramaswami and Lakshmanaswami were the idols of Non-Brahmin youths of Justice Party of the twenties. Both of them rose high in the imperial scales of opportunities, values, honours and became knights of British Empire. These famous twins are named after epic brothers Rama and Laxmana of Ramayana according to Indian Religious tradition.

Ramaswamy Mudaliar and S, Satyamurty, the two briliiant orators of Madras used to regale the intellectuals and students of Madras for about 25 years (1915-40) with their eloquence. The silver tongued Mudaliar and bronze-tenoured Satyamurti were competing with each other in popularising their rival themes; primacy for social revolution and equal opportunities for all communities, urged by the former and the urgency of national revolution favoured by the latter. Both of them had to fight for leadership in their respective parties, Justice and Congress because the less dynamic but more politically fortunate elders gained supremacy and recognition. But once they gained their places in the front ranks of their respective parties, they fought with each other through their eloquence on the arena of Madras Legislative Assembly and Corporation and on the political forums on the expansive beaches, competing for the hearts of the younger people, as their trophies. The final trial

of strength was provided by the general elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and Satyamurti triumphed over Mudaliar and became M. L. A. (Central).

It all looked as if Mudaliar lost everything. But the British knew his worth in Parliamentary debates and needed his co operation in their unequal and ever losing Parliamentary fight and political debates with the Congress. So they invited Mudaliar to join their Viceroy's Council, first as member and later on, as the Vice-Chairman, next in honour though not in power, to the Viceroy and the leader of their party in Assembly.

Having gained his due place in the Central Cabinet of the Viceroy, Mudaliar displayed his latent sense of national self-respect, genuine patriot that he essentially was, in the many war-time international Conferences in which he represented India and pleaded with all the sweetness of his supreme eloquence and great abilities, for honourable place for India and human rights. He distingished himself in the deliberations over the foundation of the United Nations at San Francisco. He master-minded the monumental researches and report on the Slave Labour Camps which arose on European Continent in the wake of armistice. He contributed his mite in formulating the Charter for the UNESCO.

Ramaswami was not overjoyed when I was appointed the Professor in Pachaiyappa's College because I accepted Congress priorities for national freedom. But when he became Mayor, he liked my work in helping slum-dwellers. We both were in Central Assembly and appreciated each other though sitting on opposite benches. When I appealed to Non-Brahmins not to support the Britisb during Salt Satyagraha, he supported the College Trust Board's ultimatum to me to give up politics. On the whole we were happy in opposite political platforms.

Why did he then persist in fighting the Congress between 1915-45? It may be a mystery to those who feel that national freedom alone is the be all and end all. But those who realise that in an ancient country like India with her heritage of social garbage of inter-caste rivalries, priestly taboos, and faith in

god-ordained unequal status of different social cadres, and the soul-killing institutions of untouchability and social sense of inferiority, depression and opporession, as being the order of fact and karma, it is as revolutionary and progressive a mission for Mudaliar to follow the political leadership of the dynamic social revolutionaries like Dr. T. M. Nair, E. V. R Naicker and feel as Annadurai came to propagate later on, that social revolution should precede politial liberation. Mahatma Gandhi failed to carry conviction to Mudaliar and his friends of the Justice Party with his double-edged weapon of national revolution, leading to social revolution, because they were not prepared to ignore the earthly presence of the supremacy of just the arch-beneficiary of social arthodoxy who held sway over the Congress of their generation. Moreover, they could not visualise the possibility of Gandhi succeeding in wresting complete power from the British'. Impatient as they were to make use of whatever driblets of power that the British were willing to concede in order to utilise it for the advancement of themselves and their fellow-Non Brahmin masses, they fell into the blind alley of responsive co-operation with the British and opposition to the national liberation cause and thus won much opposition and opprobium and ultimately delayed the social liberation of their beloved Non-Brahmins.

Mudaliar's brother, Laxmanswami concentrated on medical studies and educational causes. He avoided the political controversies and was content with whatever laurels he could win in the Constructive fields. He too was an equally eloquent and silver-tongued orator but did not pit them against the national cause. So his gifts-as rare as those of his brother came to be utilised even by the Post-Swaraj Congress leaders for the development of education in India and Madras. Thus he was welcomed by Conpress governments to work as Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University for over two decades and to head the Education Commission to reorganise High School Education etc.

Annadurai combined in himself the spirit of sacrifice, social revolutionary zeal and organising genius of E, V. R. Naicker

and Varadarajulu Naidu, founders of Self-Respect Movement on one side and Congressmen of the stature of Rajaji and Satya-murti on the other and built up the D M. K. from out of the crucible of suffering in jails, drudgery in decades of service and propaganda. They (D. K. and D. M. K) thus raised the Tamil Masses from out of their age-old sense of inferiority and helped them to capture political power in 1967. The Mudaliars and their elders must have dreamt of such a mass upsurge and consummation of political liberation but they were content to follow the more glittering but less evangelical and historical path of service.

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43. HIREN MUKHERJI
and his Parliamentary Comrades

Dange S.A. Bombay was born on 10-10 1899. He joined Labour Movement in the twenties and was imprisoned in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. He was one of the founders and President of the All India Trade Union Congress. His strong base of operations was with the Textile and other labour in Bombay, Poona and Sholapur. He was one of the founders of the C P.I. He co-operated with Ranga in All India Kisan Congress at Faizpur in 1936 He has been on the Communist Polit Bureau from its inception; received Order of Lenin from U.S.S.R was elected to Parliament 1957-62. He was imprisoned many times both before and after Swaraj.

A.K. Gopalan of Malabar was born on 1-10-1904, started as a teacher, freedom fighter, imprisoned both before and after Swaraj, Within the Congress Upto 1942, was General Secretary of Kerala P.C.C., in the C S. P. and later in the Communist Party. Rose to be a member of Polit Bureau of C. P. I., now a leader of the C P.I. (Marxist) along with Sankaran Nambudripad, Co-operated with Ranga and Nambudripad in building up Malabar Kisan Congress (Sabha), M. P. since 1952. President of All India Kisan Sabha for some time after the great split in 1942 was in Vellore Jail along with Ranga, escaped from it and worked in underground for some years. His wife is also an M P.

Hirendranath Mukherji, M.A., B. Litt., (Oxon) was born in Calcutta on 23-11-1907. He is a Professor in Calcutta University. He graduated from Oxford University. He served in Andhra University also. He was a Congressman for some time and also a member of the A I.C.C. He started being a C.S.P., a student leader, as President of A. I. Student Conference and became a Communist and a founder-member of the Friends of Soviet Union 1941-52 and editor of the Indo-Soviet Journal.

He has been M.P. since 1952. He is the leader of the C.P.I. Group in Lok Sabha and has been one of the eloquent and distinguished Parliamentary Leaders in Opposition. He is an erudite scholar and versatile writer and his books on Gandhi and Indian Freedom Struggle are classics in Communist Literature of India. Together with Ranga, he was a foundation member of the All India Progressive writers Association in 1936. He has travelled all over the world and he is a famous scholar and teacher. [Ed]

Communists have begun to come into Parliament since 1952 and play a vital role in both its Houses. Jawaharlal released thousands of them from jails on the eve of the first general elections and invited them in to partnership in the Indian democracy. Having become disappointed over the results of their abortive Telangana violent revolutionary movement, to short circuit through Indian independence towards China-type Communist capture of power, they decided to enter into legislatures with the same objective of discrediting them as the Swarajyists had in the thirties. They achieved spectacular successes in that election, thanks to the romanticism felt by the middle classes for their earliar adventurism in violent and revolutionary activities, in which so many of them suffered so much and labour peoples' sufferings from the controls and the general sense of disappointment and frustration of their exaggerated hopes of progress from four years of Nehru's Prime Ministership.

Shri P. Sundarayya from Andhra born in 1913 who had come to our peasant Institute and who reluctantly. Co operated with the kisan organisation despite his lack of faith in the revolutionary mission and role of peasants became the leader of C.P.I. in Rajya Sabha and Shri Hiren Mukherjee of Oxford vintage and the prestige of professorship of Calcutta and Andhra Universities and A. K. Gopalan of under-ground sufferings assumed leadership of their party in the Lok Sabha.

Gopalan as well as Sundaraiah were seasoned Communist leaders but they were not trained for parliamentary work. Both were weak in English, Gopalan was more talkative and

voluble but less studious than Sundaraiah ard d'd not bother to gain parliamentary skills during his more than a decade of Lok Sabha membership. Yet he was in the leadership because of his seniority in the party.

Sundaraiah was new to parliamentary arena and was not so fluent in English but he used to do his home work as studiously as he had played his role in Telangana revolution in such a heroic manner. He had the C.P.I party Secretariats briefs and speeches prepared with care by their scholars and researchers for all of them in accordance with their party policies and programmes. He was also resourceful. He was as transparently sincere as Hiren Mukherjee. He had been a Congressman, though not Gandhian. But his social habits are as Gandhian as Hiren Babu is aware of Gandhism. His patriotic endeavours and jail life before he embraced Communism gave him the needed approach to impress the House. It fell to my lot, on many occasions, to counter his Communist thesis and defend parliamentary democracy, just because I was more aware of the dangers of Communist ideological challenges to our nascent democratic institutions. Yet we came into frontal duel with each other only once. After he chose to shift to Andhra Assembly, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, with his momentous machine-gunning eloquence assumed leadership. Even Dr. Rachakrishna's great prestige could not restrain his torrential and intemperate outpourings and rapidly he gained an ascendency over the opposition and the ear of the House yet so alacratic, so uncouth, all so piercing. The House gradually got accustomed to his loud voice, heavy out-pourings of contempt for the scruples of Liberals, faiths of Socialists and the laborious assertions of ministers. So many an M.P. wished for the return of the Gandhian-mannered Sundaraiah and his sincere, though uncompromising exposition of Communist view-points.

In the Lok Sabha, Shri Dange, the long-time Trade Union Congress Leader and founder- president of the C.P.I. assumed leadership in 1957-62. He is a renowned speaker in English, Marathi and to some extent in Hindi on labour platforms but he

failed to adjust himself to parliamentary method of persuasive speaking and expositary argument, reserving assertions of faith in one's own ideology of declamatory eloquence to perorations. Though we all tried to listen to him with great care, as justified by his eminence in labour and political fields we found his mannerisms of thrusting his self-satisfied points in the face of others so unimpressive. His conclusions based on class-room files of one-sided facts failed to make us re-think about our own ideological or practical approaches to the issues under discussion, He could not be a parliamentarian, willing to persuade others and concede to others the right and possiblity of holding an equally justifiable viewpoint. I am as convinced a Socialist Democrat as Dange is a hardened Communist totalitarian. He came to Parliament to bust the Constitution and I was in it to strengthen its moorings and broaden its democratic bases for the rights of our masses. So it was not unnatural for me to counter his challenge on the ideological planes. Many friends on either side of the House congratulated me upon my presentation of the case of Democratic Socialists in a more challenging manner and with as great a spiritual faith in Gandhian Socialism. It is true that I was not then saddled with my coalition with Market-Economy Champions and I had only my self-employed masses to champion.

The really genuine and effective parliamentarian of theirs is Hiren Mukherjee. He has led them in Lok Sabha since 1952 with great distinction and gained the respect of the House and the ear of the Press gallery, as much by his exquisite eloquence, refined figures of speech and torrential and declamatory criticisms, lit with his transparent sincerety. As good chance would have it, we both belonged to the same St. Catherines Academy of Oxford and achieved research degree of B. Litt. obtainable for distinguished researches. He is as intolerant of hypocritical poseurs of some of the Treasury Bench Ministers as Bhupesh Gupta but his denunciations of such poseurs are graceful. His felicitous phrases and quotations from English and Sanskrit impress the House. He wields his scholarship in English and Sanskrit as effective weapons to worst his opponents. It is a pleasure to listen to his sonorous, persuasive eloquence, and to

see the transparent absorption of his personality in the invocations he conjures up to damn his opponents and inspire the ranks ranged on his side during the debate of the day.

Hiren Bubu is not like so many other Communists who do not believe in Parliamentary method of reaching the consensus by sincerely trying to persuade others, while being ready to be persuaded, by not questioning the sincerety of purpose of each other. He is a genuine debator of the best type and a full-fledged parliamentarian. Many a time he was good enough to consider carefully my criticism of their Communist approach to a debate and generous enough to congratulate me both on the Floor and in the Lobby for my achievements and so did I find it possible and pleasurable to applaud his Communist ideals and attitudes, though neither of us would allow our party's moves to be weakened. In recent years, he was wondering how he could be patient with the tantrums, physical as well as unruly, unseasonal market-like demonstrations, with so much contempt for parliamentary decencies of debate, favoured by the hot-heads on both sides of the House.

More often he used to ask me how I could put up with some of the harsh words and half truths that some of my colleagueus would press into service to worst his party's case in the debate and would allow himself mollified when I referred to the worse treatment meted out by some of his partymen to non-communists. He would wonder how Ranga who could read and love the writings of Soviet novelists like Solokhov could keep company with Free-Enterprise friends and when he was asked to consider the humour of all opposition parties voting together against Government, though they remain loyal to their respective party platforms, he would laugh charmingly and admit that Ranga would always remain Ranga of the masses Then we would console each other by observing that so much of ill-humoured talking has to be borne as part of the game and we should be content to search for the truth in any debate. He did not like my Colleague's eloquent exposition of market economy but he would allow himself to be visibly moved by what he was pleased to observe as my eloquent championship of peasants,

self employed masses and the poor and the needy. I always admired his speeches in support of adjournment motions and No-Confidence motions, and loved the way he would succeed in making many a Minister feel shamefaced under his hammer for his support of an insufferable indignity caused by Government. Lok Sabha was enriched more by his presence, his voice, his style of argument and his sincerely held Socialist faith than by many a top-ranking Minister.

As chairman of Public Accounts Committee in 1976. he is exemplibying what a responsible opposition leader can contribute to parliamentary control over administration.

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44. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKERJEE

Dr. Shyma Prasad Mukkerjee was born in Calcutta, son of famous Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Ashutosh Mukherjee. He himself became its Vice-Chancellor. Minister in Bengal In 1943, Central Cabinet Minister 1947-50, Persuaded Employers and Workers to work together for 2 or 3 years for industrial development. Founder of Jan Sangh, earlier President of Hindu Mahasabha, led Satyagraha against Sheik Abdullah's Kashmir Government and died there in detention. (Ed.)

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was one of our national leaders, who made signal contribution to our national freedom movement. His contribution to communal harmony was considerable. He distinguished himself, amorg so many ministers in the first post-Independence cabinet, by helping the All Iudia Industrial Conference-convened by Government of India and representing industrialists, labour leaders and Chief Ministers and parliamentarians to decide unanimously in favour of industrial truce for two years, so that both employers and employees maintained peaceful relations on the industrial front. He thus laid sound foundations for whatever progress India has made in industrial development. It stands to his credit that the first phase of the industriai policy of our Government was given a progressive and realistic shape.

Shyama Prasadji knew the value of ministerial power. But he did not run after it or hang on to it in the indecent and demoralising manner that has come to be the malaise of so many Congress and other party ministers especially since 1962. Even before Swaraj was achieved, he had the political foresight to organise a coalition ministry on a national basis in order to

drive out a communally-oriented ministry in Bengal, and when even that Ministry came to ignore national interests, he had the courage to resign from it and proceed ultimately to jail in order to help the national cause.

His Role In The Industrialisation of India

It was therefore natural that Shyama Prasad Mukherjee should have won the admiration of Sardar Patel. So, he was He invited to join the National Government though he did not belong to the Congress Party, and entrusted with the key portfolio of Industries. It was my privilege to have been invited by him for close consultations and co-operation in his efforts to evolve draft plans for industries for submission to the Cabinet. invited me to join the Committees on Industries, Cottage Industries, Textile Industry and Handloom Industry. I can testify to his ability to extract the best out of every one of his colleagues.

His heart bled so much for the refugees that he visibly became very weak during the heart-rending massacre indulged in by the Pakistanis against the peace-loving Hindus of East Bengal. Syama Babu, who used to look like a young pahelvan, came to be too small for his clothes, which began to sit loose on his dwindling shoulders. When he found that Jawaharlalji was unwilling to accept his advice to back Sardarji's demand on Pakistan for transfer of land from East Pakistan to India in proportion to the forcibly ejected Hindus from Pakistan, and to provide adequate rehabilitation facilities for those unfortunate refugees and for satisfactory compensation for tneir properties lost to Pakistan, his disenchantment with Nehru's policies also grew. And so, he did not hesitate to press his differences with Nehru to the point of controversy. And he did not stop there. He resigned from the Central Cabinet as a protest against the open and implied concessions made by Jawaharlalji through the Jawaharlal - Liaquat Ali Pact. Sardar Patel was very unhappy over that development as he felt that the Cabinet would be very much the poorer for the exit of such an able minister and redoubtable champion of the millions

of refugees, Dr. Mukherjee led the way for Dr. Mathai and Dr. Ambedkar who also resigned later from Nehru's Cabinet. What had begun as a National Cabinet was now reduced to a party cabinet.

HE KNEW WHEN TO RESIGN

I too came to leave the Congress in the middle of 1951 and invited Shyama Babu to join so many of us, like Kripalani, P. C. Ghosh and others, in forming a viable and powerful opposition party. He was, however, so keen about strengthening the cause of refugees and tackling other problems like Kashmir that this true and full-blooded inheritor of the Bengalee tradition of 1908 national struggle was not able to join us. Moreover our faith in secularism was alien to his faith in Hindu polities. But we were able to co-operate with one another in Parliament in fighting Nehuru's deviation from ganhdism and developing the tradition of democratic opposition in our parliamentary life.

FIRST MINISTERIAL REBEL

What a stentorian orator Shyama Babu was ; His resonant voice made his wonderful eloquence over-powering in its effect even when his arguments and conclusions were not always fully acceptable. Shyama Babu's stature - intellectual and political as the first ministerial rebel against Jawaharlalji's leadership lent additional glamour to his unrivalled debating skills and parliamentary acumen. So many of us, who were then ranged against the Congress Cabinet and Jawaharlalji's almost suffocating charisma, used to feel proud of his being on our side. It is no exaggeration to say that Shyama Prasad Mukherjee raised the levels of our parliamentary life and debates by his unrivalled and eloquent espousal of righteous causes.

It was in pursuance of his strong sympathy for the refugees, minorities in Pakistan and in keeping with his pre-Swaraj championship of Bengal's masses (as opposed to the Muslim League Ministry's one-sided communal policies in Bengal) that Shyama Babu seems to have decided not to join hands with so many of

us but to g've shape to a new national leadership in opposition. He therefore formed the Jana Sangh and became its first President. He was fortunate in finding many able and young colleagues like the late Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, Prof. Balraj Madhok, and Atal Behari Vajpayee to develop that party.

Like Jawaharlal, Shyama Babu was fortunate in his family atmosphere. Fathers of both were eminent and brilliant patriots. He was also launched into public life under as advantageous circumstances as Jawaharlalji. Ashutosh Mukerjee, the eminent Judge of Calcutta High Court was one of the ablest and most renowned Vice-Chancellors who fought for the freedom of education and autonomy of universities from governmental interference. He was launched into University Syndicate with the aura of the success of his father at as young an age as Jawaharlal ji was launched into Congress Presidentship. With the glamour of his father, Shyama Babu rose to the level of every opportunity that came his way-whether it be Vice-Chancellorship of the premier University of Calcutta or Finance Ministership of United Bengal or Industries Ministership of Central Cabinet-and covered himself and the concerned causes with credit, But whereas Jawaharlji refused to resign from Prime Ministership when so many of us demanded it even after our national debacle during the Chinese attack, Shyama Babu never hesitated to resign from Ministership either in the Bengal Government or in the Central Cabinet, when national interest demanded it.

Such was our Shyama Babu. As Rajaji told me Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was as broad-minded as the tallest Congressman of his time.

The causes for Shyam Prasad's death in Kashmir are as much Shrouded in doubt as the circumstances and fact of Netaji's death somewhere in South East Asia. Several of us advised Shyam Babu not to go to Kashmir at that stage of Hindus satyagraha, when he local muslim majority was not yet reconciled to Indian citizenship. It is true he was not too well in health Yet his love of Hindus was so great and his passion for keeping within India, the whole of Kashmir, if possible or

at least Jammu–was so irresistible, that he rushed into that couldron. He was treated cruelly in jail and even the minimum facilities usually allowed to such political prisoners were denied to him. When he fell seriously ill, Shaik Abdullah, the then Premier, failed to afford him the best medical facilities and send the doctors of his choice to treat him. Having himself been a political prisoner many a time, he should have known that such an eminent leader deserved the best advice, attention and medical treatment; yet, that was denied to him, even when Shyama Babu demanded and complained of its denial, Thus the impression has gathered weight behind the Jan Sangh's complaint that Shyam Babu was victimised by Kashmir Government. He died a martyr for India's integrity.

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43. KULAPATI MUNSHI

Shri K. M Munshi was born on 30-12-1887. Was a leading lawyer in Bombay and later at the Supreme Court ; one of the top ten legal luminaries, together with Alladi of Madras, Sethna and Ambedkar of Bombay, who framed the Constitution ; founded the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan with branches all over country, Bhavan Journal and publications; author of many popular and authoritative books in English and Guzerati of which Krishnavatar is famous; cabint Joined Congress cabint in Bombay 1936-39; at the Centre 1948-51 and Governor of U. P. 1951-57, Joined Rang ain protesting against Congress Campaign for compulsive Co-Operative farming and was elected one of the Vice president of Swatantra Party, continued as long as Ranga was president; famous as a Sanskrit scholar, historian and Chief of the editorial Board for the standard work on Indian History died in 1971. Mrs. Leelavati Munshi was also a famous writer and poetess in Guzerati, an M. P. and M. L. C , and co-builder of the Bhavan education complex and Journal, (Ed.)

K M. Munshi was one of our distinguished savants. He achieved heights of scholarship, while leading a creditable career as a politician. He filled with distinction, such positions of power as the Home Minister of Bombay, Food Minister at the Centre and positions of dignity and decorum as the Governor of U. P. and Vice Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of many a university. He wrote many novels, breathing a spirit of social reform, calling for liberation of women and emancipation of thes upressed social strata and also novels of historical romance, equal to those of Sir Walter Scott.

He was a chroniclar of the achievements of Gurjars of Maha Gujarat. He breathed life into the dead stones of Gujarat's forts and forgotten capital Pattan.

Dr. Munshi loved Sanskrit, like Dr. Katzu, and they tried to

create a new national interest in Sanskrit learning, did much to help it find its place in university studies and in the hist of national thm

He wanted to provide an inspiring as well as authoritative history of India for our university students and scholars. So he succeeded in organising the study of different periods of Indian history by some of the best scholars and published several volumes. He set the standards and styles for popular histories of the peoples of different areas and their achievements in the course of ages by his own eloquent and inspiring, yet authentic history of Gurjars wrote 'Kakatiya NAYAKS' in that tradition.

Munshi had a great fascination for forests and greenery, befitting an imaginative lover of the environment of ancient Rishis, like Kanva, Vasishta, Viswamitra and the admirer of Kalidas' description of lush greenery from which Sakuntala derived her charms. So he deplored the blind destruction of forests. He warned the country, like every other post-Swaraj minister that freequent floods in the Gangetic valley, the silting and drying up of the ancient and vast lakes in Bharatpur Bhopal. Udaipur, Jaipur was due to deplorable and insare destruction of forests. But he alone displayed his constructive genius by initiating the imaginative national campaign for tree planting as a socio-economic annual festival and grafted it on to Indian cultural matrix, and called it "the VANA MAHOTSAV". Ever since, more than ten million of them have been growing, it is a creative enrichment of Indian landscape and agriculture.

His attachment to our cultural heritage, in which the cows and cattle hold a special place, has also led him to initiate the "KEY VILLAGE" scheme for maintaining well-bred bulls, both native and hybrid, and for storing and utilising artificial insemination to develop the quality of breeds of Indian cattle. That scheme has also become permarent and wide-spread and laid the foundation for the improvement of quality and capacity of our cattle wealth Thus his tenure as Minister of Agriculture has becoms memorable.

From the time of Sadler's Commission, Indian statesmen and educationists complained about the absence of an Indian

touch in our educational environment. Even the latest Commission appointed by Justic Chagla the then Education Minister failed to indicate any practical and economical scheme for making our educational institutions serve Indian culture, at least as well as Jesuit institutions serve theirs. Many a Gandhian, from Sadhu Vaswani, Kripalani to G. Ramachandran, tried to do this between 1920-60, through their various National Vidyapiths in the wake of the boycott of schools since 1920. The Bhavan, as an all-India educational foundation with a growing chain of Bhavans in different cities, provides the Indian cultural background, as warp with the fabric of social and scientific studies as weft in the modern university.

Munshi buttressed the Bhavan by developing the stream of Bhavan publications, on the lines of the British Home University Library and America's Mentor Publications, and also the Bhavan Journal with its editor Ramakrishna, the constructive genius who is devoted to Munshi. Leelavati Munshi, his gifted and experienced wife and Ramakrishna have built them up into powerful wings of the Vidya Bhawan. What the Swamis of Ramakrishna Mission, Sivananda Satya Sai Baba etc. have been trying to do to the religiously oriented scholars, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawans are attempting to do to the worldly—minded youths of India.

This development is going on, as an educational movement and even after Munshi's Swargarohan, Smt. Leelavati has been organising, with the able assistance of Jaishuklal Hathi, the veteran Bhavan-sponsor, and their organisational architect, Ramakrishna, the Bhavans in such muffassil centres as Guntur and foreign capitals as London. Verily Munshi is thus twice blessed.

Munshi's approach to life was characterised by his boundless patriotism and passion for freedom. He risked his place in the powerful National Congress repeatedly whenever he felt that India's integrity was threatened and people's freedoms were likely to be jeopardised. When Gandhiji was trying his best to appease Mr Jinnah and his Muslim League and Munshi feared that too heavy concessions leading to ultimate partition of India

were likely to be made, he approached Gandhiji, with great trepidation, and pleaded for his spiritual permission to leave the Congress, as a protest. He risked his whole political future by founding the Akhand Hindustan Organisation. He soon realised that he could not make much headway with that move, since organising a political party and the movement to further it was not his special forte. He continued valiantly to protest and oppose Congress acquiscence to League's demand for partition and agreed to work with the Congress again only after Gandhiji appealed to Congressmen to bow to the dictates of India's evil fates.

Similarly, Munshi and, I expressed our resentment almost simultaneously and sounded alarm to the nation against the evil portents of the Nagpur Congress resolution of 1959 to inaugerate an almost coercive national campaign in favour of co-operative cultivation and against peasants self-employment economy. He expressed in his powerful manner how totalitarianism would overwhelm the country, once that campaign against the largest socio-economic sector gained momentum. Jawaharlalji was touched to the quick and issued an immediate rejoinder with his usual vigour. For the next twelve years of his earthly activity, Munshi and myself worked in joyous comradeship, with the blessings of Rajaji, in protecting and furthering peasants freedom, and self-employment. He knew how much that revolt would affect the fortunes of the growing Bhavan movement. Yet he risked everything, for the sake of dame Freedom.

Munshi was so unhappy at the rapid development of fissiparous forces, leading to national disunity. So he pleaded for special steps for ensuring national integration. Jawaharlalji was alert enough to seize upon that wise suggestion and so, he constituted the "National Integration Council".

Munshi fought for the freedom of women with great zest. He wrote many a poem, essay and novel to persuade our hidebound man-dominated society to look upon their womenfolk, not merely as goddesses to be worshipped but confined to the temples of their homes but also as comrades-in-arms in our daily activities and public life.

He hailed Leelavati, as a kindred spirit, after reading her literary contributions and helped her to rise to be a first class poetess and writer. Eventually they came to marry each other in the most romantic manner of Indian epics, with the blessings of their respective families and founded the Munshi family. Leelavati justified Munshi's confidence by becoming one of the leaders of modern Indian womanhood. She gave shape to his dreams by successfully working for property rights for Hindu women. She is now helping so manfully, the myriad institutions which have germinated from the fertile brain of Munshi and her own poetic heart.

Munshi and Leelavati set the new standards for modren decorative, expressive Gujarati prose and poetry. Many learned men like my old friend, Bhailal Bhai Patel and H. M. Patel M. P. I. C. S (Re'd) admire their contribution to Gujarati literature. Their contribution to Gujarati liberal arts alone are enough to make them immortal.

Munshi, as a writer even in English, is highly imaginative and distinguished. He painted in words of golden hue his own romantic love-life, that has given us Leelavati of the Bhavan. His monumental prose-poetic story of Lord Krishna-called Krishnavatar-does credit to the story of romantic domestic life and statesmanship of Shri Krishna-the lovable youth, unrivalled stragtagist and inspired philoscpher. Munshi used to tell me with a quiet twinkle in his sweet eyes that though it was a true story-telling after the Sanskrit texts, he was able to introduce many a modern concept and interpretation to make Krishna the beloved of the present-day generation.

Many wondered how this handsome golden epicurean who would bestow such care over his appearance and dress, from the snowy Gandhi cap to the shining dark chappals, with the Crinky paper-thin dhoti and the long, loose shirt with its creases, could passibly impress that old, shabby and cunning Nizam who never bent his knee before any but a Viceroy! Munshi was a romantic, Nizam a realist! Would not Munshi's romanticism make him humble himself too much before His Exalted Highness and tongue-tied in answer to Hyderabad's arrogant claims for

independence! A careful perusal of his book "End of An Era" would make us realise how he was firm, yet respectful in his dealings with the Nizam and his prime Minster, how his romantic feelings towards royalty were concentrated on Indian leadership, symbolised by Nehru and Sardar and steeled him in his attitude towards their latent and patent foes from Viceroys to Nizam.

Munshi derived his courage when beleagured by Razakars and Nizam's diplomats, from his Gurzar heroes of Pattan of historical novels. The Razakars, the organised wing of the communal gorillas of Hyderabad Muslims, began to raid Hindu villages on both sides of our borders as a part of their political fight for gaining power for the Nizam's order of Muslim supremacy in that State. I was then organising the self-defence corps (Seva Dals) of the Andhra people. I was pleading with Prime Minister Nehru and States Minister Sardar Patel to undertake police action against those Razakars, which acted as Nizam's bandit-forces. I found a good ally in Munshi, the Agent-General of Delhi stationed in Hyderabad. I requested Munshi to personally visit the affected border villages on both sides. Delhi was unwilling to give him permission to do that. Nizam's Government refused to assure him requisite protection. As one of the leaders of freedom fighters of Hyderabad State and as the President of the Andhra Congress Committee, I requested Munshi to join me, braving the Razakars and the frowns of both Delhi and Hyderabad, in undertaking the much needed tour, in order to infuse courage into the terrorised villages. My appeals found an echo in Munshi's heart, and he declared his intention to tour the areas from which he received complaints of Razakars' atrocities. After informing Jawaharlal and Patel, I went by air from Delhi to Hyderabad. Munshi and I toured the Andhra border areas for one whole day. We were ready to face Razakars' bows or bullets. Everywhere rural masses thronged to Munshi, with their tales of attacks made by Razakars After reaching Vijayawada, Munshi declared in a huge meeting that Delhi would have to take police action. That declaration was outside his book of instructions But that was

so characteristic of Munshi, at once a romantic and a man of action Soon afterwards Sardar ordered police action. Munshi used to say, many a time, "Rangaji, you certainly put me in the lion's den". I used to answer, with pleasure ,'Munshi Saheb, you bearded these lions in their own dens". Thus he succeeded in serving free India as loyally as he evoked the gratitude of the Nizam, whom he saved from an abject and unedifying surrender to the Military Chief of Police Action. Indeed, Munshi emerged as a happy diplomat with India's political prestige unaffected in the United Nations Assembly He brought credit to Sardar, his political chief, and satisfaction to Jawaharlal who did not want Nizam to be too much humbled.

It would be difficult for many of the coming generation, who would know him as the founder of the Bhavan, and as the author of so many romances, topped by the evergreen romance of Krishna, that Munshi was an eminent Supreme Court advocate and one of the legal brains behind the Indian Constitution. He made a great personal fortune as a leading advocate in Bombay High Court. It was with a part of that fortune and from the rising fees he was charging as Swaraj was hovering on the horizon that he dared to float so many trusts and institutions.

It was first Munshi who realised that our Constitution lacked a provision to protect people from corrupt and arbitrary ministers and officials, and suggested the adoption of the Swedish device of 'Ombudsman', to investigate and decide upon complaints against such high dignitaries As a colleague of that legal wizard, Alladi Krishnaswami, and as a political and legal associate of that arch social rebel and humanist. Dr. Ambedkar, and as an ally of that Socialist-minded modernist Jawaharlal and other friends, Munshi succeeded in giving shape to the Chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of our Constitution. His emotional awareness of the needs of the masses and his passion for freedoms of awakened peoples, Impelled him to keep company with Jawaharlal and Ambedkar and with so many of us of Gandhian persuasion. He strengthened our democracy with those two historic chapters, but unfortunately there was the omission of a provision to reconcile them,

with each other whenever needed. It became necessary for India to persuade Parliament to pass amendwments 25 and 26 in order to effect the needed reconciliation.

Bharati Devi and I had very pleasant relations with both the Munshis. Bharati Devi co-operated with Leelavati in the campaign for women's property rights. I was her colleague in Rajya Sabha. We both pleaded for relaxation of food controls and for 'Cheap Grain Shops' for the poorer sections. She founded the 'Annapurna' food catering, under the auspices of the All India Women's Food Council and demonstated how non-cereals could be converted into good, palatable eatables and supplied at cheap prices i. e. on no-profit, no-loss basis. She was as earnest and persuasive in her parliamentary work as she has been constructive in all her other activities. When Munshi was Governor, she was in State Council, and carried on her legislative activities confidently. She is famous for her writings in guzerati.

The Munshis kept a rich table and welcomed their guests with all the charm typical of them and helped their friends to accept the cultural glamour of their expansive well-decorated halls and book-lined rooms and the romantically scented atmosphere as their own Rajaji and I were their guests many a time since 1960 and he was worshipped as it were by them and I was welcomed as an honoured comrade and we were loathe to leave that charming abode of Munshis which reflected the poetry and fragrance of India's culture.

46 NADAR KAMARAJ

NADAR KAMARAJ :- born 15 July 1903; he was impri—soned in all Congress Struggles for freedom, detained along with Ranga in Amraeti Jail, Maharashtra, President of Tamilnad P C C. from 1940 to 1952, Chief Minister of Madras 1954,-62, Member Congress Working Committee 1950 64, President of All India Congress 1964 67. Defeated in Lok Sabha election 1967, re-elec-ted in 1968, Joined Congress (Organisation) after the great split in 1970, died on Second October 1975. He was awarded the Pesthumous honour of Bharat Ratna in 1976. The merger bet-ween two brings of Congress took place on 14-2-76 as for his last wishes (Ed)

The rise of Kamaraj Nadar and D. Saniivaiah from the ranks of volunteers and peasants and workers to the Presiden-tship of the National Congress; not to speak of Chief Minis-tership of such big States as Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh demonstrates the triumph of Gandhism in propelling non-violent Social revolution.

Nadar joined the Congress in the twenties as a volunteer in Rmanad's agricultural area. His parents were poor kisans. He studied only in the local High School. His Caste had been classified as a Criminal tribe, like the sister Caste Marava, because, those Caste people had repeatedly defied successive rulers, the Moslem and British The orthodox Brahmins treated the Nadars as unworthy of temple entry. Thus Nadar, like Muthuranga Thevar started life with few privileges but under many disabilities.

He got his most unexpected political opportunity for leadership when Satyamurti, the then nationally - known par-liamentarian, got him elected in 1939 40 as P.C.C President defeating Shri C P. Subbaiah, sponsored by his great rival Rajaji. For years, that is, until his death, Satyamurti was happy to train, and prop him up and even to write his speeches and press statements. Thus Nadar was helped to gain self-confidence and self-reliance by 1945, when he was released from the prolonged war-time detention. If it had not been for that rivalry between Rajaji and Satyamurti, he would not have gained that extraordinary opportunity to gain and sustain the much prized leadership of Tamilnadu Congress.

His next march towards Chief Ministership witnessed the successive failures of the political giants of South India. He tried in vain to ban the re-entry Rajaji into Congress and regain his place in Working Committee when his P.C C. refused to admit Rajaji into Congress because of his war-time anti-Congress opposition to Quit India movements. Gandhiji and Moulana Azad checkmated his moves by admitting Rajaji on behalf of the A.I C.C. Office. He however scored over Gandhiji by encouraging Prakasam for Chief Ministership, as against Rajaji and thus prevented Rajaji from attaining the Chief Ministership for the second time But when it b came too risky to openly support Prakasam, Nadar sponsered Sri Muthuranga Mudaliar, the veteran Tamil Leader, knowing full well that he had no chance to succeed, just to avoid open conflict with Sardar Patel and Congress Working Committee. After thus having won the Cudos, albiet indirectly for preventing Rajaji to attain the gaddi and helping Prakasam to gain it, he soon began to work against Prakasam When Prakasam became weakened because of his fight with the all-India leaders on one side and his failure to gain the co operation of a powerful section of Andhra Congress Legislators, Nadar seized his opportunity to fight and defeat him with Sri O. Ramaswami Reddiar as his protege. When Reddi began to show signs of chafing at his too insiduous partisan interference in the working of the Government, in the partisan interests of Congress, he set up Sri Kumaraswami Raja, the only other important Tamilnadu leader as the rival candidate for Chief Ministership and succeeded in getting him elected, against the combined forces of of Prakasam and Dr. Subbarayan, the two outstanding statesmen of all-India reputation.

In 1952 Nadar in Tamlnadu and Sanjiva Reddi in Andhra, and their allies in the ministry were responsible for the defeat of the Congress in the first General Election held under the Constitution and its adult franchise, because of their amoral politics and corrupt practices of the ministry. I was then the leader of the Krishikar Lok Party with its 17 M L. As and they needed our support to muster the needed majority to form the ministry under the auspices of the Congress. I insisted that

none of their former colleagues should be the Chief Minister and the astute politician that he was, Nadar agreed reluctantly to my proposal that Rajaji should be elected as Congress Leader of the Assembly Party and he thus regained power for the Congress.

Rajaji's administration recaptured for the Congress, People's Confidence but lost the forbearance of Nadar. Soon after Andhra State was carved out of the Combined multi - lingual Madras State, Nadar made it impossible for Rajaji to continue as Chief Minister and belowed him out and got himself elected as the Leader and rose to be the Chief Minister.

Nadar displayed extraordinary statesmanship by including in his ministry Sri Subrahmaniam whom he depated in the contest for leadership and thus ensured unity within the Party for as long as he was Chief Minister-thus setting an excellent example for other Chief Ministers.

Nadar's period of Chief Ministership was noted for efficient, and tolerably honest administration - that is, what was unattainable for other Congress ministries.

It was during his tenure, as Chief Minister, that the drive towards the development of both large-scale and decentralised medium-scale industries was initiated; thanks to his able Industries Minister and his over all leadership. When suddenly the Congress lost in a bye-election, Nadar realised, what most of the other Congress leaders had failed to do, that the most serious and enervating disease a efflicting the Congress was the mad passion of Congressmen for ministerial power and so he decided to resign from Chief Ministership and devote his energies and time to the Party's propaganda and organisatian at the grass roots. That decision-at once so heroic and unique-inspired Jawaharlalji so much that he hastened to cion the national slogan, called the "Kamaraj Formula" and thus made him and his example so famous in our Parliamentary history.

Unexpectedly Nehru called upon Nadar to assume the Presidentship of the National Congress It was so high an opportunity as well as a distinction. But was Nadar wise to have accepted it? Should he not have considered whether his undoubtedly exciting ard benefical experiences as a successful state-level loss, expertness in Cliquism (as complained of by

Gandhiji himself so long ago and his lack of experience, in all-India level political affairs might not be enough to enable him to achieve as great a success as he had achieved at State-level. But which politician could withstand the temptation to jump at that great honour extended by so great a national leader? So Nadar jumped to snatch at that great opportunaty..

His advent as the head of the Congress almost coincided with the commencement of disablement of Jawaharlalji owing to the first tremours of heart-attack. So Nadar was obliged to think or scheme of possible successers for Nehru. Some Western Writers began to write books about "Who after Nehru" and mooted his name also as one of the possibles. Indian Journalists began to flatter him to think of himself as being more than a match to every other Central possibles. Jawahar himself inflated his ego, by upholding the "Nadar Formula" to rid himself of a number of inconvenient ministers at the Centre and Chief Ministers in some States.

When Jawaharlal passed away, Nadar could think of only Lal Bahadur Shastri as his successor, possibly because all others were too much his seniors or unmanageably powerful or nationally distinguished. So he managed to cold shoulder Sri Morarji Desai, undoubtedly the most distinguished claimant. That smooth management of what was considered to be the most difficult phase in Indian Politics by the so-called experienced Western Journalists and Politicians brought great credit to Nadar. An year after that, he was faced with a similar crisis, on the unexpected death of Shastri. Once again Morarji's claims seemed to be insurmountable. Nadar did not want him under any circumstances. So he encouraged Indira Gandhi, who was awaiting such an opportunity to come forward, with all the great advantages that have accrued to her from the traditions of her noble grand father and father. He managed, once again, to conjure up a majority and ensured her success in the contest that was forced this time by Morarji. Indiraji hailedim as her leader and promised to be guided by him.

But Nadar is a hard master to please and Indira is made of Nehru-type of steel and so, very soon, differences arose and interested North-Indian politicians seized upon that opportunity to widen the primising breach. The 1967 results of general elections witnessed the defeat of Nadar himseif as well as the Congress Party in majority of States. Moreover in his own Tamilnadu, Congress was ousted from power by the D.M.K. and he had nothing to recommend him to the Central Leadership. So his moral authority has suffered very much. He was however determined to weaken Indira's authority by encouragirg Morarji's claims and in the end, he succeeded to forge a compromise between Indira and Morarji by offering Deputy Prime Ministership to the latter. That did not please Indiraji and she bilded her time to free herself from his control by abstaining from asking him to continue to be President at the next turn. Nadar hoped to be called upon to join the Central Cabinet, after he was re-elected in the hotly contested bye-election but Indira was not willing to saddle herself with his bossism. Nadar found himself thus, on the losing side of Central leadership.

Then the debacle over Rashtrapati election, in which his candidate and long-time political ally Sri N Sanjiva Reddi was defeated, the fateful split of the Congress itself from the top to the grass roots, in which Nadar became captive of the losing faction and the avalanchic victory of Indiraji in 1971 general election and smothering of Nadar's side of the Congress in the debris of colossal defeats succeeded one after the other with breathless rapidity.

But Nadar was after all so unlike the other bosses, in that his grass-roots contacts, his close attachement with cadres and his great reputation as a leader of financial and administrative integrity were so enduring. So he continued to be a greater force in Tamil Nadu than Indira's Congress. Efforts were therefore continued to be made by both sides to come together, but the needed personal atmosphere of mutual confidence look to long in maturing. His wish for reunion matured four months after his death

Nadar certainly could only be a Socialist by the urges of his social upbringing. I know how he studied Socialist literature,

that we got together, when we were in Amraoti Jail. He had gen uine love for the poor and depressed masses. He sincerely hailed Nehru's drive towards Socialist Pattern of society. He did not like, Morarjis ridicule of Indira's package of Stray Thoughts presented at the A. I C. C. nor was he patient with S K Patils fancy for Capitalist approach, So he was chafing at his political imprisonment in the Cong (0).

He shoud have been as heroic in simply offering to join Indira,-because her leadership after 1971 is the right choice of the masses-in the same heroic way that he threw up Chief minister-ship. I am afraid his three decades long indulgence in political bargaining; and Power mongering, unmindful of national issues and nobler motivations disabled him from acting after the fashion of Gandhi and Nehru, whom he held as his pole-stars and throwing up all considerations of persoral or hating group prestige and power and embracing the national call, of the masses as indicated in 1971 and 1974 elections. Great as he grew to be and self sacrificingh as he had always been, he was not noble enough to liberate himself from the narrow groove he created for his triumphs.

Nadar was tall, by South Indian standards, with an ungainly paunch and cladin Tamilian lungi and short shirt and an angavastram on his shoulders, as can be seen even from the bronze statue near the Wellingdon Bridge of Madras. He did not care for personal wealth as such, He was so much like a Catholic Priest without his Collar and Gown, in his devotion to celibacy and single-minded dedication to his cause-in his case, the secular causes of nationalism and service to the Common man.

In him, both a tribal Chief and Saivite Zealot could find common features in appearance and unerring political archery He did not have much awe of intellectuals but hasd the practical sense of utilising their services in both the Congress Organisation and administration. He was loyal to his intimates but not too scrupulous in his dealings with his colleagues or political opponents He displayed immense patience and courage in meeting the repeated, ever broadening challenges of D. M. K.

and its leader, Anna Dorai but failed to visualise their capacity to erode public faith in his party and politicai leadership. He gained the very valuable support of the explosive and sincere champion of Dravidianism, the Periar, even while retaining his following among the political-minded Brahmins. Though he was a man of the masses like Annadorai, he could not attain the spiritual stature and political following of Anna either by erudition or by spontaniety of eloquerce or statesmanship. So he and his Congress phalanxes, with all the support vouchsafed to them by the politicals and industrsalists and tribal - minded local leaders could not arrest the revolutionary march of the backward classes, Harijans, Tribal Peoples under the inspiring leadership of Anna Dorai. The attained Parity with each other on this final march the funeral pyre; when lakhs of mourners paid their homage to these beloved leaders of the masses of Tamilnadu.

47. NAGABHUSHANAM P.

Gandhiji realised that mass illiteracy caused a dreadful weakness to our national life. Gopala Krishna Gokhale's Bill in the then Imperial Council made the world aware of the urgent need for compulsory elementary education. Lajpatrai was the first among Congress leaders to educate political workers to render national service. Many nationalists, who took to wholetime national service in the first decade of this century found that without public libraries, publications in local languages on all modern subjects problems and adult educational centres, it would be impossible to spread the message of Swaraj, which was given so bravely by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and declared by the Calcutta Congress of 1906 as our national objective under the inspiration of G O M. Dadabhai Naoroji,. It did not take long for Congress leaders and workers to realise that without reaching the masses, who were steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, the national movement could not respond to the new revolutionary Gandhian lead, programme and call for active participation and sacrifice. So they began to promote elementary schools, even during the season of boycott of schools; organise night schools for adults, and float libraries in rural areas. It was during that dynamic and constructive phase of the national struggle, that the rural library movement became an important tool of national renaissance.

The Andhra Library Movement is one of our popular mass movements that arose in the wake of that national freedom struggle which are responsible for furthering adult education among our masses. Mysore Library Movement alone can claim as great record of educational service in our country. The earstwhile Baroda state did have such a movement but it was sponsored and financed more by the late Maharaja than by the people of that State.

Our Andhra movement is predominantly rural in its base

and attitude. Ayyanki Venkata Ramanayya was the most important leader of this movement till 1930 and rendered great service for over 20 years in encouraging rural literates to develop libraries and cultivate the love of books. This movement was fortunate in finding an equally able and sincere worker in Paturi Nagabhushanam, who has been serving this cause for the past 35 years so persistently and with such a spirit of self-sacrifice; Nagabhushanam is one of the products of this Gandhian age Even while he was in college, he realised the need of the rural masses for education and began to interest himself in anti-illiteracy campaign.

Nagabhushanam was a freedom fighter and had his quota of imprisonments during the 1930-32 By 1934 he decided to work for Library Movement as his wholetime public activity. It was a courageous decision because it was not at that time enjoying any special favours in our national life. Like M Jagganna Sastri and Sanivarapu Subbarao his elders, he realised the need of our masses not only for libraries but also for good books. So he began to search for good scholars like Manikonda Satyanarayana, and Goteti Jogiraju, retired agricultural scientist who were not being encouraged adequately by national leaders but who had the capacity to write good books. He undertook the onerous task of collecting funds and enlisting in advance of publication, subscribers and then publishing the authoritative books of Shri Manikonda and Jogiraju on the national and agricultural questions respectively. It was indeed a valuable service to the people.

Long before Government realised the need for organising training in library work. Nagabhushanam recognised the value and for Library Science, and organised training camps, for hundreds of youths in library work, and gave them diplomas, in the fashion of the Peasant Institute. It was my privilege to be a lecturer in these Camps.

Nagabhushanam conceived a great admiration for that intrepid veteran patriot, the late Harisarvottama Rao M A. who was the first prominent Andhra leader to become a political

prisoner in 1908 He appreciated my critical sketch of that great Patriot and invited him to provide leadership for the library movement. Their comradeship of over two decades had then become one of the fine sagas of cultural co-operation in Andhra public work. They worked as if they were father and son, in the ancient Gurukul manner and made valuable contribution to the adult education movement of Andhra. When it became possible for Nagabhushanam to gain the friendship and support of some of the leaders of the Patamata Lanka they constructed the permanent headquarters in Patamata for the Library Association and named it after Hari Sarvottama Rao, as Sarvottama Bhavan. They have founded the Andhra Library Trust and Bharati Devi became one of its members.

Nagabhushanam should have been a member of one of the Legislative Chambers long ago but the elections have become too costly, too complicated and too much subject to so many uncontrollable social and communal forces within the post-Independence politics. So, our legislatures have lost the chance of having the benefit of his valuable experiences in serving our masses, especially in fighting illiteracy and adult ignorance.

It is unfortunate that though we took the vow, when passing our Constitution in 1950, to do our best to abolish illiteracy within ten years, our planners are unable to assure its fulfilment till 1984. It is a blot on our democracy, Parliament and public workers. We need lakhs of such devoted lovers of education and servants of the masses likeS. Subbarao, Jagganna Sastri and Nagabhusharam to help India to shake off mass illiteracy. The only saving grace is what is being done by the radio by way of conveying some knowledge, smattering of popular education, through daily broadcasts That is not at all enough. As they did in Soviet Russia, Mao's China, Tito's Yugoslavia, our social workers must follow the example of such genuine socialists as Nagabhushanam and educate our masses to learn to read, write and think. Both Anti-illiteracy campaigns and other media of adult education like libraries and debates and recitals are the urgent needs of the day.

Nagabhushanam is ore of our best social workers. He makes a good friend and pleasant colleague. He is a loyal worker and leader. He has exemplified through his life-long services, without obtaining any financial recompense, how to promote public causes, through devoted and disciplined work,. I am very glad that Shri Ayyanki, his senior in honorary work in library movement was honoured by the President with Padma Shree. and he is honoured by Andhra University by hon degree of Padmashree, It is our good fortune that he is in good cheer, He is still continuing to publish valuable books in Telugu on the art of adult education and library maintenance.

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48. DESODDARAKA NAGESWARA RAO

"Desoddharaka" was the title by which Mahatma Gandhi called Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao. The whole of south India and Delhi celebrated his birth centenary about a decade ago, gratefully remembering the patriotic services rendered by that noblest of South Indian Brahmins of the Gandhian age.

Nageswara Rao founded the first Telugu Daily, called Andhra Patrika sixty years ago, and published it, as the companion to his decade-old weekly of the same name, from Bombay. He was then living in Bombay, manufacturing the excellent skin and nerve therapy medicine, called AMRUTANJAN. For over two decades, the profits from Amrutanjan were poured patriotically into these losing ventures.

There were many Rajas and Maharajas and Millionaires in Andhra and they retained their so-called 'Court Poets and Pandits.' But none of them thought of popular education. It was only Nageswara Rao who ventured to risk hundreds of thousands of Rupees in publishing that Telugu daily in those remote times, when the strength of the reading and paying public in Andhra was anyone's guess. He went from SUNNAMPADU, a hopeless village in Kristna District, without taking his degree, all the way to that distant Bomay in search of employment. He found a clerical job with an Englishman who was a Pharmacist. He pleased him so much by his intelligence, industry and public spiritedness that he gave the formula for the manufacture of Amrutanjan to Rao before he finally left for England. Rao built up the sales of Amrutanjan so well that money began to pour into his coffers beyond his dreams. He could think of only his fellow Andhra's need for enlightenment for the use of his rising fortunes.

The Andhra Corference held in BAPATLA, in 1913 same year in which Rao began to publish his Telugu Daily decided to

mobilise Andhra Public for the achievement of separate Andhra State, based upon the principle of linguistic redivision of India. Its wholetime champion was no other than Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah of GUNTUR. Those were the times when the Balkan States regained their national corsciousness and soul as it were by re kindling their peoples' love for their native languages and Venkatappaiah and his colleagues, including Rao drew inspiration from that example of Balkan People's rejuvenated nationalism. So Rao made the achievement of Andhra State, awakening of the spirit of sub-nationalism of Andhras and spread of political consciousness, in tune with the 1908-1911 Bengal-Maharashtra based national movement, the special aims of his Telugu Daily. As one who had been helped to read and appreciate his weekly "ANDHRA PATRIKA", thanks to the initiation provided by my kisan-Guru J ANJANEYULU, I became one of its first set of subscribers and I can testify how greatly the political education of myself and thousands of youths and middle aged Andhras was furthered by that first daily paper in our own homely Telugu.

To the last day of his life, Rao used to devote more than one tenth of its circulation as free copies sent to the libraries, mostly in villages to spread the message of Gandhiji and Congress. He was one of the most indefategable peripatetic propagandists, He used to liberally promise to send its complimentary copies to Corgress Centres and local Workers, because of his firm faith and passion for the spread of the knowledge of political and sccial principles of the Congress through the medium of daily paper. Thus Rao became the most effective circulating library as it were.

The non-co-operation movement and its campaign of boycott of Courts, Schools and government employmenent fourd enthusiastic response from among Andhra public-spirited people. So thousands of Congressmen who joined that campaign found themselves, after the recession of public enthusiasm for campaigns, without any supporters, even for their cut of pocket expenses, not to speak of providing any maintenance. Almost all the rich and landed people were on the side of the

Government and its ally, the Justice Party of Non-Brahmin leaders Rao, who had come to Madras, with his workshop as well as the Daily and Weekly papers rushed into the breach, shared his surplus resources with as many Congress workers and their leaders as possible and thus sustained the national front. Whether it was some token payment for articles or reportage, or monthly allowance or occasional sums for railway fares to attend Congress meetings, Rao's offerings were available to most of Public workers.

Rao hailed from one of the most orthodox Brahmin families but of the revolutionary Basaveswara Cult, which would not accept the customary Hindu orthodoxy regarding gradations of Castes, untouchability. Yet his immediate Priestly associates were even more reactionary than ordinary run of Brahmins. Rao on the other hand accepted wholeheartedly Gandhiji's social reform standards. So he fought Hindu orthodoxy over untouchability. He became the President of the Andhra Harijan Seva Sangh, toured large number of places, preached humanism and pleaded with the orthodox Brahmins and their more reactionary landed peasants for liberal treatment of Harijans. He succeeded in getting temples, tanks, wells thrown open to Harijans. He provided funds for the construction or repair of many a well nearer Harijan areas. I had the honour of accompanying Rao, then rich in age but passionately fast in his movements, in his rural tours and sharing in his revolutionary fervour to make normal men out of the bent or broken Harijans of the depressed villages.

Thakkar Bapa, the President of the All India Harijan Seva Sanghand Bapu (Gandhi) were content with the removal of untouchability, as the first step but not so was Nageswara Rao. He used to go the whole hog with so many of us, his juniors in offering full and equal social honours to Harijans, So he took part in the Cosmopolitan dinners organised by Smt. Bharati Devi and myself in Tallapalem and by the late Swami, and Basavaiah and ourselves in Vinayashram, in which Harijans were our guests, cooks and servers. That proved to be so popular an

example that many Congressmen developed similar Cosmopolitan Socials in rural Andhra.

The spread of Khadi became as dear to Rao as to Gandhiji and both Rajendra Prasad and Gandhiji congratulated him for the munificent donations he gave to many Khadi Production Centres and Gandhi Ashrams all over India devoted to the development of Constructive Programme and hardi crafts.

The all round developmet of Andhras was one of his personal as well as patriotic aims. When the famous historian K V Laxman Rao could no longer publish later volumes of Andhra Encyclopadia, Nageswara Rao undertook that financial burden. While other Publicists were giving up their Telugu monthlies, he developed "BHARATI" monthly as the going concern, and as the vehicle for Telugu scholars. He was the ever-ready supplier of book parcels to rural library movement. He constituted himself as the undeclared patron of every struggling artist, painter, sculptor, dramatist, actor, film artist, poet, writer, and even Publisher of a weekly or monthly. It is no exaggeration to say that it is difficult to find many on their way to prosperity and fame who have not sought and gained from the munificent and beneficent offerings of Rao. He never grumbled or hesitated when any public spirited worker or indigent artist or writer expressed his need and it was always his joy to help them without hurting any of their sensibilities. Knowing all this and much more, Gandhiji took great pleasure in hailing Nageswara Rao as Desoddharaka.

Rao was a good writer in Telugu He loved Telugu literary heritage and contributions of Telugu Poets and Writers, It was due to his encouragement, by way of donations, free printing of their books, frequent publication of their writings in his Daily, Weekly, and cultural monthly, called "BHARATI" that many famous Telugu Writers have attained their later fame and fortune Kalaprapurna Poet like Tummala Sitaramamurti, historians like Chilukuri, M.S K. Sarma, biographers like, Pandit Gorrepati, artists like Adivi, Poet Laurates like Viswanatha, revolutionary poets like Jashua, Bhimanna obtained much encouragement from this Desoddharaka.

Rao was also a politician, but not of the Power hungering type. He never fought for positions and when Presidentship of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee was offered to him, after Congressmen were tired of the blustering and bossing Chiefs, he accepted the responsibility and restored the prestige of that national platform. When the Andhras needed him, he agreed to go into the Central Assembly only when I was also chosen by all India leadership, despite the opposition of the local bosses. He played the same role in Andhra Congress Politics as Rajendra Prasad had done; that is, to soothe ruffled feelings of workers, to step into the breach whenever power-hungry and power-intoxicated fellow-leaders were too tired with their mutual disputations and rank and file needed the Gandhian healing touch.

Nageswara Rao had immense faith in the ultimate success of our national cause for freedom as well as linguistic state. He was in the Central Legislative Assembly for only three years. He did not agree with Jawaharlalji in his opposition to acceptance of ministry. Unfortunately for us, he died just as Congress was on the threshold of the first ministerial power in majority of States and all-India Power was moving into the hands of India.

I was fortunate to have worked with him for over twenty years. He gave much publicity to the Kisan Schools and organisational activities, women's political movements including schools organised by Smt. Bharati Devi. I found in him an indefatigable worker, wise organiser and liberal colleague. When we were in Jails, he proved to be saintly, and prayerful, like Desabhakta and utilised that period of incarceration for the study and interpretation of Shri Krishna's Bhagavadgita. He used to send donations to many families of political prisoners, Parcels of Cloths, fruit and medicines to political prisoners themselves and provided rest and medical facilities for released politicals who were in need Rao was the special benefactor

of thousands of freedom fighters, in jails, in underground or in convalescence. British Government knew his key role in our freedom movement but dared not interfere with this Desoddharaka, because like a religious institution, he could not be reached by Government repression. He achieved divinity om all accounts, even while alive.

49. NANDA GULZARILAL

Gulzarilal Nanda - was born in Sialkot, now in West Pakistan on 4–7-1898. He made his name as Secretary of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, which was blessed by Gandhiji and led by Sardar Vallabhai Patel. He was one of our veteran Freedom Fighters. He served labour according to Gandhian Principles in 1922-46. He was Labour Minister in Bombay 1947-50 and in Delhi in 1957. He was the first Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission 1950-52 and was a member along with Ranga, of the Congress Standing Committee on Economic Planning 1948 50 He was Home Minister under Jawaharlal and also Railway Minister. Nandaji acted twice as Prime Minister for a few days soon after the deaths of Jawaharlal and Lal Bahadur. He has been the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of Citizen ever since 1971 to mobilise Citizen behind the national Campaigns for Defence etc. He Started in 1947 The Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) with the co-operation of Ranga, Abid Ali and others; He founded Bharat Sevak Samaj in 1952 with Jawaharlal as President and Ranga as a member of the Executive Committee. He also founded Bharat Sadhu Samaj. (Ed)

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda is one of our distingushed elder statesmen. He is a visionary with an organisational mind. He thinks he has also a genius for practical achievements but he is not as practical as to keep in step with his dreams or visions. While this incongruity is experienced by most of dreamers, only a very few are blessed with Nandaji's dynamism for organisational activity.

Gandhiji found in him a sincere well-wisher of labour and Sardar Patel, a splendid organiser and willing worker for the Ahmedabad Labour Union.

It was on the advice of Gandhiji, after our Sevagram talks

in 1944 about the constructive programme, that I met Nanda in Bombay and discussed the need to help the industrial labour to free themselves from the Communist move in favour of their "Peoples War". He was able to visualize, more readily and enthusiastically, the revolutionary significance of democratic Gandhism, as was embodied in the ideal of democratic K.M.P. Raj (Kisan, Mazdoor, Kalakar, Buddhi jeevi Praja Raj). No sooner was it blessed by Gandhiji during our talks in 1944, than Nandaji persuaded Sardar Patel and the Ahmedabad Union to adopt it as the motto for theHindustan Mazdoor Seva Sangh. We agreed that it was high time for nationalist labour to organise themselves independently into their own national labour congress. Shri Giri had achieved unity between the rival national trade unions only a decade earlier, after much travail. So patriotic labourites were hesitant for a while about this new move for a rival organisation but Nanda boldly ventured forth to organise the rival platform. Thus arose the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), such was his dynamism.

We co-operated with Jawaharlalji on the Congress Planning Committee in 1949-50 with Shanker Rao Dev as its convenor. It was during those discussions I discovered how Nanda was inclined to favour industrial labour and urban masses, even at the cost of the self-employed peasantry. That endeared him to Jawaharlal, but it created painful chasm between us. His enthusiestic and sincera response to Jawaharlal's priorities for industrial development, even at the cost of relegating agricultural development to a secondary priority, pleased Jawaharlalji so much that he was brought from labour ministership in Bombay to the Planning Commission in Delhi.

From that time onwards, his comradeship with Jawaharlal grew in depth and brought him into the inner councils of the Central Cabinet. Jawaharlal was a super dreamer and he needed such an organisational colleague as Nanda. Unlike so many of his other Cabinet colleagues who cared more for their jobs than for achivements, Nanda could not be happy in the Cabinet unless he was able to go on building up some organisation or the other and thus broaden masscontacts and

deepen human relations. and, no wonder, Nanda and Nehru became inseparable

He gave shape to Bapu's idea of Lok Sevaks by forming the Bhart Savak Samaj. I offered my co-operation, when he sougth it, as I felt that Nanda was best placed to give practical shape to our Gandhian plan Political differences did not prevent him from offering and obtaining co-operation from his fellow workers on any programme which did not go against fundamental interests of the Party So he invited me in 1952 with the concurrence of Jawaharlal, thought was the leader of K L.P. in opposition to join even the Executive Committee of the B. S Samaj More than any other Cabinet minister. he realised how limited is the real contact that even democratic ministries could establish with the masses. His long trade union experience helped him to realise the need for buttressing the Cabinet and its precedent-bound and time-consuming civil service by developing a broad-based, service-oriented voluntary organisations. Jawaharlal also appreciated that such racial orgainisations would be able to play as important a role - if not more - as the hide-bound Civil Service and used his great influence with the Congress and State Governments to develop the Bharat Sevak Samaj (B S S) Nanda proved to be just the man to put life into it. No wonder the B.S.S. grew into a giantic semi-official social force with a wide network of branches, right down to taluk and town levels, and drew into its embraces the largest number of Gandhian constructive workers, who were happier with such a social platform than with any governmental agency Unfortunately it also attracted a good number of post-Independence political and social adventurers. That proved to be the tragedy of that great national organisation.

Narda's inability to manage public workers and mobilise masses, settling their mutual differences and weld them into disciplined zealots, despite their mutual wrangles, for promotting common causes by offering prizes or threatening punishments was mostly resporsible for the non-success of the many well-intentioned voluntary public institutions like the Bharat Sadhu Samaj, that he created to live upto half his expectations of them.

He used his official positions to do more and more good to people and not to strengthen his hold on the Party. Thus, though he became Prime Minister twice he could not aim at nor cou'd he achieve his confirmation in that eminent position. He has not been a manipulator or a Party boss.

If B S S. came for much adverse criticism at the hands of many Parliament members, it was due to political misuse that many a Chief Minister and State Congress Chief made of it.

When he became Home Minister, he developed another organisation of public workers to fight corruption in Services. As railway minister, he made similar efforts to evoke public co-operation in order to stop ticketless travel, pilferage of goods and develop civility towards users of Railway.

High places of responsibility came his way; he filled them with honour and distinction Unlike so many other ministers, he was never content with merely marking time. As Home Minister he announced his determination to remove corruption in two years and even if his achievements fell far short,, what he actually achieved was certainly more than what any other more pretentious minister did achieve.

Even today he continues to make constructive contribution to our social life, without any place in Government by guiding the Citizens Councils :

Nanda is neither vindictive nor frustrated. Years sit lightly on his thin shoulders and his mind is full of plans for ever new organisations for uplifting some socially oppressed or neglected or under-privileged group of people. I am indeed proud of my association with him in public life during the past 30 years and Indian public life is all the richer for Nandaji's contributions.

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50. NARLA V. R. and his friend ACHARYA

V.R Narla was born on 1—12—1908; B A ; Joind Satya-graha movement in 1930, and was jailed, M.P. 1958-69, Editor of Andhra Prabha of Madras daily for 10 years. founder-Editor of Telugu daily Andhra Jyoti, Vijayawada from 1968; delegate to UNESCO, toured all over the World, in contact with Progressive Writers in Europe, USSR and USA, author of many books in Telugu and English, especially on "Veeresalingam" and Vemana, and Andhra Social Revolutionaries and Poets, published by the National Sahitya Academy (Ed)

India is fortunate in having more than ten fully developed and culturally progressive literatures, helping their votaries to make their rich contributions to the cultural wealth of our multi-faceted nation. Telugu, the language of Andhras, is one of the six rich media of our cultural heritage and has reached its literary eminence centuries before Shakespearan age of England and Europe. It stands to the credit of Andhras that in every succeeding century, inspired poets and writers have been making original contributions, despite the obstruction of some reactionaries. Sage Vemana of the fifteenth century liberated the Andhra's vision from out of the lowering and clouded horizons of Puranic superstitions and challenged them to think freely and boldly about earthly Gods, Heavens, Priestly ceremonies and tribal functions. Veeresalingam of the last century has enriched the heritage gifted by Vemana's poetry and philosophy by taking the Andhras into bolder and vaster fields of thoughts and media of thought-world, especially poetry, prose and roused Andhras to play their role in the modern scientific and rationalist world. Gurazada warned them about the need to think of Patriotism in terms of Humanism.

During this generation, Narla has come to add lustre and strength to that heritage of Veeresalingam, Gurazada and

Gidugu, by helping Telugu prose to become strong in texture, deep in content and energetic in expression, through his writings in the Daily and Weekly press and inspiring books of prose and verse. Thanks to their efforts, Telugu Prose has come to be so close to the idioms and expressions of the masses, with the least impediments of scholastic grammer and with just the easiest democratic discipline and maximum scope for innovation.

Narla's style in Telugu is unique in its eloquence and dynamism, He is the creative architect of so many new words, phrases and even modes of expressions, at once powerful and popular, enabling Andhras in this atomic age to enjoy felicity in their expressions about latest thoughts of his scientific and politically minded world. He has led the way for acclimatising many English, Hindi words and expressions through felicitous adaptations and thus enriching Telugu verbiage and expressions.

Narla is no blind supporter of political leaders; nor is he afraid of campaiging against Congress Gods. For instance, he differed from N. Sanjiva Reddi, K. Brahmananda Reddi, when they were Chief Ministers on many public issues and faced their wrath and official frowns. That did not prevent him from supporting their popular activities He happened to agree with me, that Government lands ought to be granted only to landless Harijans, Girijans and other agricultural workers. So he campaigned in 1952-53 against such lands being granted to Freedom Fighters. When he found that such prominent Congress leaders as Sri B. Gopola Reddi and Sri N Sanjiva Reddi, then ministers (later became successive Chief Ministers) who also happened to own large holdings got grants of five to ten acres of lands, he took strong exception and carried on a powerful popular campaign in his daily 'Andhra Prabha'. Again when recently the Andhras were engaged in their all-embracing people's fight for separation, he ventured to write series of editorials, despite repeated public protests, against their violent activities and agitation through his daily 'Andhra Jyoti'. He is thus unique among Indian editors in his display of independent judgement and fearless use of his powerful pen.

There was an occasion when he misunderstood my attitude towards him and rushed to criticise me. But he was noble enough to overcome that and dedicate to me his first English book, published by the National Book Trust, that is, about the Social Revolutionary Veeresalingam. He has earned an enviable reputation, almost unique, among editors of language newspapers, for political independence.

In keeping with his reputation for original thinking and making literary innovations, Narla has recently sallied forth with his praiseworthy efforts to bring to the notice of the rest of India and English knowing world critical and constructive essays upon the achievements of these two great social revolutionaries, of nineteenth century whose contributions to Telugu literature are as great as to the evolution of modern Indian social matrix.

I have found Narla's book on "Traditional Values in Indian culture" highly thought provoking. His thoughts on Indian Culture are stimulating His study on Mahatma Gandhi versus Jawaharlal Nehru in their differing thoughts and varying approaches to life is constructive and critical. He is a rationalist like M. Chalapatirao. Both of them appreciate the national aspects of Gandhism, while being bold in dissenting from much of his faith in the Orthodox. Hindu social beliefs and cults. Just as so many of us are devoted to Bapuji, Narla is devoted to Nehru. However, he is ever-ready to argue out his case with his usual verve and characteristic logic.

His appreciation of the sculptures in Nagarjuna Konda and Amaravati and Ajanta frescodes is inspiring. Thirty four years ago, Bharati Devi, an artist in her own right and myself, an amateur lover of art visited Nagarjuna konda and admired the sculptor to Nagarjuna times who chisled all the pathos of the drooping neck and tearful face of the horse which returned to the Sakya palace from the forest, without its Prince Siddhartha. Decades later, Narla also lost his heart for that very same horse and its sculptor. We share so many common loves like this. He is a connoissuer of sculptural finds and takes immense pains in salvaging many a neglected idols from out-of-the way villages. He is a lover of books and has collected a big library. He is a good conversationalist. He can

be very inspiring, entertaining, and tolerant. He is passionate in espousing a public cause and persistent also in hunting whomscever he thinks to be the public enemy of the day. Altogether he is a passionate, powerful and sincere editor; reminding us of the famous Khasa Subbarao of the "Swarajya" He has toured extensively over the Western World and made friends with some of the famous writers and editors in democratic as well as Communist countries. He loves to make and keep friends and maintain correspondence with them on cultural topics It has been my privilege to be one of his friends despite occasional differences over politics.

Quotes from Introduction to Narala's souvenir

He arrived in Madras with only one rupee and four annas in his pocket, and had to suffer many hardships. During those days of struggle and privation Narla found a rare friend in S D. Acharya, editor of the PRAJABANDHU. Acharya, kept Narla as a guest for a month or two. Even in later days whenever Narla fell ill Acharya used to nurse him with tender care.

During the period of his stay as Acharya's guest, Narla was hard put even to find his tram fare One day when he set out, on his usual rounds in search of a job he thought that as he was pennyless he had to leg it. After walking some distance, he casually put his hand in his pocket, and he found to his pleasant surprise a four-anna coin The next day another coin appeared in his pocket. And yet another on the third day. By then it was clear to Narla that it was Acharya, not wanting to hurt Narla's feelings, who was depositing the coin unseen by anybody. Narla's heart warms up with love and gratitude when he remembers the good Samaritan, the late S G Acharya, who was a fine editor and a finer man.

Trlbute from Kodavatikanti Kutumbarao

He started the reform of Telugu Journalism with its language and style. The language was the spoken language of the educated Telugn man-"Vyavaharika Bhasha". The style was an impersonal style free from slang and regional idiosyncrasies a sort of genuine Telugu Journalese. Even the smallest bit of news had the "Narla" stamp. Narla did not merely dictate, he wrote the language and style he wanted his staff to adopt.

Narla contributed another factor to Telugu Journalism, which was more or less lacking until then. He put 'fire' into it. It was not merely a matter of infusing nationalist fervour through the pen; others did it before him. But they were on a pedestal. Narla 'faced' his reader and talked his language. He played the part of a political leader-with the pen. He was probably the first major political journalist in Telugu to come very close to the common reader.

From K.R. Seshagiri Rao, M. A.,

On the achievements of Narla as an editor, mention should also be made of the relief funds which he had sponsored. During the decade between 1945-55, Narla had collected nearly ten lakh rupees for rendering help to the victims of natural calamities. The relief funds he sponsored were ; The East-Coast Cyclone Relief Fund, the Rayalaseema Famine Relief Fund, and the Godavari Flood Relief Fund. (Bangladesh Fund, being the latest Ed) Two out of these three Funds were administered by the Sri Rama Krishna Mission, Madras, and the Swamis of that Mission put every rupee to the best possible use.

S. G Acharya

The late S.G, Acharya of Madras was the founder and editor of weekly Praja Bandhu and fortnightly 'Chitra Gupta'. His gifted wife, Smt. Annapurna edited the monthly called 'Chitrangi'. After his untimely death, she was invited by Shri N. V. Rama Naidu to join the 'Zamin Ryot' of Nellore. He introduced many new features into Telugu Journalism. He was extremely independent in the exercise of Journalistic freedom in criticising, castigating or evaluating political and Social leaders and events and so, he did not accept the repeated offers of Desoddharaka Nageswararao to join the editorial staff of Andhra Patrika, the Telugu Daily upto 1937. Even after the second daily 'Andhra Prabha' came to be organised by Sri R. N. Goenka, Acharya preferred to remain independent. He was a freedom-fighter and suffered imprisonment in the cause of Swaraj. He believed in Gandhism but supported Subhash Bose's political approaches. He was an ardent socialist and strengthened the causes of peasants and workers and proved to be a consistent supporter of the struggles that I was carrying on for promoting their interests. He encouraged many a promising young writer and some of his proteges, like Narla, have since become famous journalists and leaders.

———

51. NATH PAI

Nath Pai came into parliament as a shaft of scented breeze from the sweet estuaries of Goa. He was elected to it in the wake of Goa Vimochana Movement, spear-headed by Socialist leader Lohia. He captured the hearts of M. Ps on all sides by the charm of his melodious voice, race and soft flow of his well-turned phrases and his velvet–sheathed criticisms. He was a master of English prose and an artist painting his word pictures with magical ease He used to get round Speaker Sardar Hukum Singh by cleverly twisting the rules armed with his sweet reasonable poses No other M. Ps gained the ear of the House in such a meteoric manner. Soon he became bete noir of the treasury benches: by his knack of first getting some partial admission of a truth, then turning that admission, after a lapse of time or mood into a weapon and finally turning that weapon into the soft belly of governmental pride.

Many a time, he succeeded with other opposition parties, when Lohia's brusque and aggressive propositions would only induce them to put their backs up. He used to make his points on occasions when all the industrious pleading of Madhu Limaye could only irritate the less patient M. Ps with closed minds.

His astounding triumph was achieved only after his untimely death. Being a Socialist of the Lohia type aggressiveness and believing that it would not be possible to get over all the legal hurdles in order to convene another Constituent Assembly, he wanted to break the shackles fastened upon Parliament by the Supreme Court Judgement in Golaknath case to amend the Constitution and thus facilitate the progress of socialist society within the expanding ambit of Constitution. For full two years, debate continued on his plea that Parliament should have the right to change the Constitution. So many of us did not agree with him. We wanted the

Fundamental Rights not to be tampered with. We thought all the progress that democratic Socialists would like to achieve, even if it be by rapid stages, could be achieved within these scope of the Constitution, without empowering fleeting Parliamentary majorities, however great to subvert or loosen the structure of the Constitution. Parliamentary see-sawing debate on that vital issue was locked up in a draw until the 1971 general election, because Indiraji did not command so big a majority as to settle the issue. In that fateful 1970 71 general election, the voters were asked by Indira, through her challenging "Slogan of Garibi Hatao" to give her majority big enough to remove the Constiutional impediments preventing her march towards the fulfi'ment of that inspiring slogan of too long gestation The people gave her that extra-ordinary and overwhelming majority. Indira was able to push Nath Pai's bill, suitably amended through Parliament, with all the support needed for a Constitutional amendment. Nath Pai was thus vindicated; a unique tribute to any M P. durlng this Post-Swaraj Parliament.

I am glad to record that though his party was all for the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution proposed by Jawaharlal Nehru, he congratulated me on my spirited and prolonged opposition to it and sympathised with my plea for the protection of the self- employed peasant masses When the opportunity came, at the Select Committee stage to amend it, he used all his influence to see that all those peasants whose holdings are below the Ceilings levels would be exempted from its mischief He and his Colleagues in Socialist Party appreciated the strength of my complaint that if and when anti-peasant majorities fructify and if Parliament or Assemblies are so persuaded, the ceiling levels might be reduced to such ridiculous levels as were being mooted by Communist Parties in Kerala and West Bengal. But he would not agree to freeze the Ceilings levels.

On the plane of Civil Liberties we co-operated with each other whole heartedly. And what unsurpassable and stone-melting eloquence, he and Kamath used to marshall to strengthen

is in to making Government look so visibly foolish and apologetic for the attacks they were hurling at the autonomy of State ministries. When I complained that the then Home Minister Chavan was one of the best men but he was the worst Home Minister", those two powerful parliamentarians hailed that as the deeply-felt expression of Parliament's conscience. In this manner Nath Pai and I worked together in Parliament agreeing to disagree on some of the most *important issues* bu with deep respect for each other. When the verdict of th masses has so clearly been demonstrated in favour of his stand-point and move I have hastened to accept it and thus paid my tribute to his soul and to the call of the masses.

It is not every period of Parliament that wins the presence of such a delightful and dignified tribute of the masses. I used to caution him, after he suffered his first heart-attack not to strain himself too much and not to join the fray on every proceedural or local issue But his innate jest for fight was too much and his sincere urge to contribute his utmost was too compelling and so he burnt his candle of life from both ends and Parliament and Socialist cause have lost irretrievably by his untimely death, without even witnessing the triumph of his Bill.

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ERRATA

Page	Para	Line	*Please, read*	*For*
3	2	1	Constitution	Constltullon
11	2	6	Dharma	D. rma
13	3	6	enthusiastic.	enthusiatic
14	4	4	protectlon	prot ctlon
15	3	2	colossus	colossns
18	1	3	compliment	complement
18	2	5	the	ne
19	5	12	campaign	campalgn
19	5	16	to term	toterm
22	4	9	fight	flight
23	2	13	abolish	ablolish
23	2	16	important	Importan
24	2	10	He	Hs
24	3	1	E.V.R.	E.R.
26	1	3	set	et
31	1	4	successfully	sucesfeully
31	2	1	all	ali
33	8	6	to	ot
34	3	4	and	end
34	4	9	Deep word Grameena	
36	1	1	spokesman	spokeman
36	1	9	inveighed	Inveigned
37	2	16	drop words "He needs"	
43	2	1	NIDUBROLU	NIDUEROLU
45	1	12	demanded	denanded
45	2	26	bigger remu-neration	blggerremu-neration
46	1	22	folk who used	folk used
46	1	23	and our	our
46	1	24	upon	and for
46	2	2	in	n
48	4	1	unique status	uniques tatus
52	2	4	became	bacame
60	2	2	literatures	literaturese

Page	Para	Line	*Please, read*	*for*
65	2	16	counselling	couneelling
72	1	6	self	seif
72	4	2	drop the words	or ungan-dhian"
76	1	12	bonfire	bon 1 fire
78	5	1	sacrifices	sacrifies
82	3	16	resilience	resilince
83	2	5	drop words "their capacity sefrificance"	inspiring his
84	3	1	sense	sence
96	3	14	influence	infiuence
99	1	15	halled	ailed
101	5	11	my	ny
113	2	1	1952	1962
113	2	2	drop the word "by	
113	2	3	drop the word "was"	
116	2	18	At last he	Atlas the
121	1	4	example	ensamble
121	3	18	greater	preater
123	1	11	in	ever
125	2	9	observed	abserved
125	3	10	later	iater
127	2	19	and the	and he
129	2	6	forgot	forget
129	2	7	personal	personel
131	5	3	article	articie
134	2	4	boldly	boldy
135	2	4	there due	their due
137	2	10	resist	tesist
138	4	4	These	There
139	2	1	extenua-	externa-
141	1	7	Brussels	Brussls
141	2	5	seems	seens
142	1	7	as he	is he
143	2	3	personal	perrenal
143	2	3	ideological	deological
143	2	20	investing	Inedxesting

Page	Para	Line	*Please, read*	*for*
144	1	2	from	form
149	1	5	mutual	nutual
151	2	6	died as	as
151	3	15	utterly	utter by
162	2	4	consensus	consus
167	2	1	started	sarre1
167	3	2	1950	1945
172	2	4	impress	and impre-ssed
184	2	4	prayerful	praverful
188	3	4	came	come
188	3	7	became	become
189	2	21	GANDIVA	GANDVA
196	3	2	vigilant	vlgilant
198	2	26	He weeps	Weeps
199	3	2	too far	too for
207	1	6	strata	stratas
212	2	1	graduates	graduate
212	2	3	Ichchapur	Khahpur
212	2	4	believer	belberi
216	1	2	and more	so more
227	2	5	A.I.C.C.	I.A.C.C.
229	3	5	amend	pamend
234	3	3	failed to	detail of
241	4	1	three	there
249	1	9	moustache	moustach
264	2	8	He invited	invited
266	4	5	the local	he local
269	1	2	list	hist
274	2	2	know	kno
276	4	3	1939-,40	1939-40
278	1	19	India	ndia
278	5	12	to coin	to coin
279	3	9	A year	An year
270	3	17	halled him	haildin

Page	Para	Line	*Please, read*	*For*
280	3	7	took to	look to
281	4	3	had	hard
282	1	13	They	The
282	1	14	their	this
282	1	14	to the pyre	the pyre
287	3	9	Bombay	Bomay
289	3	2	Sangh and	Sangh-and
292	1	3	on	om
294	2	6	sincere	sincera

There are many technical misprints, such as "iater" for later on page 125 para 3 line 10 and "articie" for "article" on page 131, para 5, line 3, where one letter "i" is placed for the letter "l". We have omitted mention of such mistakes, in the hope the readers can espy them, and may not mistake the general meaning or sequence of thought. We express our regrets for these slips. (Ed.)

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INDEX

Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Badshah Khan 183 to 186
Abdul Ghani, 184
Abdullah Shaik, Md. 56,155 267
Abdul Rahim. Sir, 65
Abhayankar, 17
Abid Ali, 293
Abraham Lincoln, 2,3
Acharya S.G. 300,301
Achint Ram, 54
Achyut Patwardhan, 32,155,240
Ahmed, Z.A. 172,222
Ambedkar, Dr. BR. 9,11 to 14, 25, 34. 52, 95, 132, 274
Anantasayanam Ayyangar, M. 238
Anasuya, 77
Anasuyabai Anasuya Ben 32
Aney, MS. 17 to 20, 169, 190
Anjaiah, J. Anjaneyulu, J. (Preface), 2. 288
Anna. 12, 13, 21 to 31, 132 to 222, 225, 255, 282
Annapurna (Mrs. Acharya), 301
Annapurna (Mrs. Bapineedu), 39, 76,
Ansari Dr. 37
Apparao, B. 210
Aruna Asaf Ali, 32, 33, 34, 36
Aryanayakam, 199
Asaf Ali, 33, 35 to 38
Ashok Mehta, 155, 158, 239 to 241
Ashutosh Mukherjee, 266
Atal Behari Bajpai, 266
Atchamamba, Smt. 34
Attlee, 195, 243
Avinashilingam Chettiar, 6, 67
Ayyanki Venkata Ramanaiah, 6, 284, 287

Babha, Dr. 124
Balraj Madhok, Dr. 266
Balarama Krishnaiah, D. 3,4,6
Banerjee, S M. 229
Bapineedu, M. 3,39 to 42
Basaveswara Basava 25,129
Bertrand Russell
Bhaikaka, Bhailalbhai Patel 111 to 119, 272
Bharati Devi, 8, 32, 33, 34, 43 to 50, 76, 80, 108, 111, 114, 123 to 126, 129, 176, 185, 209, 213, 219, 236, 275, 285, 289, 291, 299
Bhartruhari, 118
Bhulabhai Desai Bh. Desai 37, 62, 64 to 69
Brahmananda Reddi K. 298
Brailsford, H. N. 187
Brijlal Nehru, Mrs. 33
Brockway. Fenner, (Lord), 187
Buddha. 25, 87,

Byron 61

Chaitanya, 129
Chalam Gudipati, 7
Chalapati Rao, M. 55 to 59
Chanakya, 247
Chandrasekharan Maragatham, 177
Chavan, Y. B. 104, 304
Cherukuwada Ch. V. Narasimham 3, 4
Chintamani C. Y. 81
Choudary P. A. 209
Chukkamma, 76
Conrad Cornfield, Sir 244
Lord Cornwallis, Lord. 189
Cousins Mrs, Margaret 43, 50, 176
Curzon 1

Dadabhai Naoroji 283
Dadubhai Amin 111 to 114
Dahyabhai Patel
Dalai Lama 196
Dange S A. 166, 257, 259
Dasappa H. 245
Das C. R. 67, 157, 193
Deen Dayal Upadhyaya 266
De Gaule 155
Deo P. K. 51, 63
Desai C. C. 231
Deshmukh C. D. 77, 78, 105
Desoddharaka Nageswara Rao Kasinadhuni 7, 64, 83; 287 to 292
Dhillon (Lok Sabha Speaker)' 237
Dhiren, Desai 68
Dikshitulu 109
imitrov George 114
Diwan Chamanlal 60, 61, 62, 166
Dulles 56
Durgabai Deshmukh 48, 50, 76 to 80, 176
Durga Das 82

Emerson
E. V, R. Naicker (Ramaswami Naicker)12, 13, 21, 24, 27, 31, 132, 221, 222, 255

Farhadi 94
Frank Anthony 82
Frank Noyce, Sir 18
Forenc Nagy 114
Feroz Gandhi 125

Gadgil N V. 16, 90, 169
Gadicherla Gadicharla Harisarvotham Rao 2 3, 6, 8, 284, 285.
Galbraith 149
Gandhiji 85 to 98
George Fernandez 224
Ghosh P. C. 265
Gidugu 298
Giri V. V. 36, 64, 99 to 106 164, 210
Goenka R N. RamanathGoenka 188 301
Gopalakrishna Gokhale 1, 165, 203, 204, 206, 283,
Gopalan A. K. 257, 258

Gopalaswami K. V. 108
Gopichand Bhargav 54
Gopichand T. 7, 107 to 110
Gorrepati Pandit 6, 7, 108

Gurazada Apparao 296, 297

Hanumantaiah K. 120 to 122, 182, 245
Hanumanta Rao. K. 2. 4
Harikishanlal 60
Hari Krishna Mehtab 63, 120
Harischand Mathur 51
Harold Laski, Prof. 195
Hiralal Sastri 245
Hiren Mukherji 140, 229, 257 to 262
Hitler 123
Hukum Singh Sr. Speaker 236, 302

Indira Gandi Mrs, 57, 72, 74, 95 99, 100, 104, 105, 123 to 140, 155, 159, 160, 177, 280
Iswar Dutt 81 to 84

Jagganna Sastri 4, 6, 7, 284
Jagjivan Ram 102, 104, 135
Jai Shuklal Hathi 270
Jamanlal Bajaj 245
Jashua, Poet 109
Jayadeva 118
Jayakar M. R, 165
Jawaharlal Nehru 7, 12, 15, 20 32, 34 36, 37, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 66, 68, 72, 141 to 154, 156 to 158, 166, 180, 244, 249
Jaya Prakash, Jaiprakash Narayan 139, 155 to 163, 176, 193, 194, 196, 230, 240
Jhansi 7
Jinnah 18, 62. 67, 98, 158. 172
Jogiraju Goteti 284
Johnson 137
Jomo Kenyatta 61
Joseph Poet 8
Joseph Pothen 201
Joshi N. M. 36, 104, 164, to 169, 203

Kabir Humayun 170, 173
Kaleswara Rao A. 2, 4, 6
Kamala Devi 34, 50, 76, 174 to 177
Kamala Devi Chattopadyaya 122, 174 to 177
Kamala Devi Vedantam 77
Kamalamma 76
Kamala Nehru 50, 123
Kamaraj Nadar 27, 28, 72, 134: 276 to 282
Kamath H. V. 51, 73, 121, 178 to 182, 229, 241, 303
Kameswari 76, 77
Kanakamma Penka 76
Kasturba 76
Kalzu Dr, 268
Keats 61
Kelkar 17
Kennedy J. F. 89, 126, 137
Khan Saheb Dr. 183
Khruschev 89, 197
Khushalbhai Patel 113
Kodanda Ramaiah P. 131, 210
Kripalani J, 113, 122, 147, 181, 192 to 200, 265
Krishnamachari T. T. 71
Krishna Menon 34, 56, 158, 180
Krishna Murti M. 2

Krupanidhi G, V. 82, 83. 189 201, 902, 240, 270
Kumarappa Dr. 45, 156
Kunzru Dr. 180, 203 to 206
Kuttiammal 76

Lal Bahadur Sastri 279, 292
Lala Lajapatrai 4, 7, 61, 62 193
Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, 253 to 256
Latchanna G. 32, 207 to 212
Laxmana Rao 1, 2, 3
Laxmibayamma Smt. 76
Laxmikanto Moitra 17
Lakshminarayana G. 4, 44, 45, 46, 213 to 220
Lakshmi Narayana Unnava 76
Lakshmipati 2
Leelavati Munshi Smt. 34, 76, 177, 268, 270
Leonard Mesley 243
Liaquat Ali Khan 68
Lohia Ram Manohar Dr. 133, 176, 193, 221 to 227, 303

Madhu Limaye 224
Madhusudana Rao K. 213, 214
Malati Nabakrishna Smt. 50
Malaviya K. D. 34
Malaviya Madan Mohan 17, 20, 62, 193, 203
Manikya Rao B. 14
Mao 127,137,285
Marco Polo 127
Masani M. R. 155,158,222,228 to 231, 240, 241
Massingham 187
Mathai 265
Mavlankar G. V. (Speaker) 232 to 238
Maxton 221
Md. Ali 249
Meharalley 155
Menon V. P. 242 to 248
Mishra 125
Medi Sir H, P. 18
Mohanlal Goutam 176
Moonje Dr.
Morarji Desai 70 to 75, 104, 112, 121, 127, 182, 271
Motilal Nehru 7, 17, 51, 62, 67, 193
Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad 33 37, 171, 193, 242 to 252
Mountbatten, Lord 243, 244, 245, 248, 251
Mridula Sarabhai 32, 34, 76, 177, 199
Mujibur Rehman 172
Munshi K. M. 51, 118, 119 148, 268 to 275
Murthi A. G. K, 109
Mussolini 123

Nagabhushanam Pathuri 3, 6, 283 to 286
Nagaiah Achanta 213, 214, 216. 218
Nageshwara Rao 124
Nagineni Venkaiah 113
Naidu P. B. 216
Nair T. M. 255
Nambudripad Shankaran E. M, 176
Nanak Guru 129
Nanda Gulzarilal 150, 293 to 296
Nandini Satpathi 95
Narayana Rao 70

Narendra Dev Acharya 155, 156, 193
Narla V. R. 7.297 to 300
Nath Pai 229, 302 to 304
Nizam 272, 273

Omar Khayyam 60

Pabitra Mohan Pradhan 63
Padmaja Naidu 95
Pant G, V. 18, 19, 64
Paranjpai 17
Patel H. M. 272
Patel Sardar 37, 67, 68, 84, 104, 112. 114, 116
Vailabhai Patel 156 to 158 193 to 196, 232, 242 to 244, 246, 250 251, 293. 294
Patil S. K. 158, 239
Pattabhi 5, 195
Peter Alvaris 224
Pathick Lawrence 243
Pillai Dr. P. 164
Potanna, the poet 130
pragada Kotaiah 209
Pragjibhai Gujerat 113
Prakasam T. 17, 40, 50, 55, 77, 103, 147, 148, 188, 189. 193, 277
Pratap Singh Kairon
Punnaiah K, Journalist 81

Radhabai Subbarayan Mrs. 175
Radhakrishna S. President 50. 84, 105, 124
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai 125
Rajha of Panagal 23
Rajendra Prasad 12, 37, 51, 105, 157, 193, 195. 252
Rajaji 12. 37, 40 41. 48. 55 89 99, 102, 103, 104, 109. 114, 117 119, 122, 148, 149 161. 165 188, 189. 193, 231. 236. 249 266, 271. 277
Raj Narain (Socialist) 224
Raghava Das 21
Raghavaiah V 131
Ramachandran G. 270
Ramachari 3
Ramakoteswararao 3
Ramana V. V. 209
Rama Naidu N. V. 213, 214, 301
Ramananda Tirtha 245
Ramanuja 25, 129
Rama Rao K. 56, 81, 82
Ramaswami Aiyar C. P. Sir 245
Ramaswami Mudaliar 253 to 256
Ramaswami Reddiar O. P. 277
Ramaswami Chowdary T. (Barrister) 2, 7, 12, 13, 22 to 27, 132, 222
Ramaswami T. 107, 108
Ramsay Macdonald 11
Rama Sitamma 76
Reddi C. R. 7, 41. 50, 81. 83
Reddi K. C. 245
Roy M. N. 108
Rudrama Devi 126, 127

Sada Sivam 188
Sahajananda Saraswati, Swami 23, 25, 47, 111, 176
Sambamurti B. 77
Sampurnanand 155
Sanivarapu Subbarao 5, 8, 284 285
Sanjiva Reddy 104, 237, 277 280, 298
Sanjeevaiah 133, 135, 275, 276
Santanam 148, 189
Sapru Sir Tej Bahadur 81, 165 204
Sarat Chandra Bose 7, 66, 232
Sardar Lal Singh 117
Sarojini Naidu 7, 50 61, 76, 84, 95, 124, 176
Sastri M. S. 4
Satyamurti 64, 253. 254, 276
Satyanarayana Manikonda 284
Satyanarayana Moturi 41, 108
Satya Sai Baba (Swamiji) 270

Seshagiri Rao K R. 301
Seshaiah A. 216, 217 218
Seth Govind Das 67
Shakespeare 61
Shankar Rao Deo 249
Sherwani A 65
Sivarao Digavalli 4, 34. 204
Shoukat Ali 62, 249
Shyam Babu 32 155
Shyamprasad Mekherjee 262 to 267
Singh Deo R N. 63
Sircar N. R. 18
Sivananda Swami 270
Sivarama Krishna B. 67
Srinivasa Ayyangar 7
Srinivasa Rao 164, 203
Srinivasa Sastry 276
Subblah C. P. 208, 213, 214 215 217
Subbaiah G. V. 216, 218
Subbiah N. V. 76
Subbamma Duvvuri Mrs. 55, 82, 83, 186 201, 300
Subbarao Khasa 277
Subbarayan Dr 157, 166
Subhash Bose Babu 180, 194, 217, 301 270
Subhash Chandra Bose 54
Subrahmanyam 32, 34, 50 54 76 95, 192 258, 259
Sucheta Kripalani 123
Sundarayya 199
Suseela Devi 201, 202
Suseela Nair Dr 104
Suseela Krupanidhi
Swaran Singh

Tagore Gurudev 172, 173
Tandonji P. 195, 225
Tennyson 61
Tagore Ravindra Nath Gurudev 172, 173
Tandonji P. R. 195, 225
Thakkar Bapa 40. 131, 203. 204, 245, 289
Thakurdas Bhargav 51 to 54
Tilak Balgangadhar Lokmanya 17, 283
Timmarusu 247
Tito 285
Tukaram 129

Varadarajulu Naidu 256
Veeresalingam 2, 7, 83, 297, 299
Veer Savarker 7
Vemana 130, 297
Venkata Narasaiah Jasti (Poet)
Venkatappaiah G. 46, 213, 2168
G. V. Appaiah 218, 219
Venkatappaiah K. Desabhakta 288
Venkata Ramaiah 3
Venkata Sivarao Digavalli 6
Vijayalaxmi Pandit 76, 78, 95, 124, 180
Vinoba Bhave 109 155 157 159
Visweswarayya 66
Vithalbhai Patel 17 112
Yadurandan Sharma
Yasoda Devi 212

Zaheer Brothers 172 229
Zakir Hussain 199
Ziaudin Ahmed 36

Rajaji *in his preface to "Bapu Blesses" 1970.*

"Ranga is one of our exceptional men—men whose whole concern is the happiness of our people and not one's own advantage."

Mail :

"Ranga is one of the greatest political and social leaders of India before and after independence" 1975.

Swarajya :

Ranga gave willing adherence to Bapu's path of Prayer in his own sphere of activity,– The touch of Bapu Ennobled Ranga, as it did many others".

Statesman :

Ranga is - also that rarity, a politician who is not afraid to defy party whip and give full vent to his views quite regardless of personal consequences (1958).

Deccan Chronicle :

"Ranga has distinguished himself as a politician, Agricultural Economist, Parliamentarian, Author and Social Worker and perhaps have very few parallels in this respect among the Indian Politicians" reviewing his book "Agony and Solace" 8–12–1974.

Amrita Bazar Patrika :

Many regard Prof. Ranga as the Propagator of ideas known as Peasant Philosophy.

M. Chalapati Rao, *Editor, National Herald*

"Ranga was my first Professor of Socialism."

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