

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

I. Statement of the Problem

Chakraborty Rajagopalachari (1878-1972), popularly known as "Rajaji" or "C.R.", was a great patriot, an astute politician, an incisive thinker, and one of the great statesman that modern India produced. As a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, as an ardent freedom fighter, as the Chief Minister of Madras, as the Governor of West Bengal, as the Home Minister of independent India and as the first Indian Governor-General; C.Rajagopalachari's life was quite eventful and he gave yeoman service to the people of India. C. Rajagopalachari was the principal leader in South India for launching Gandhian programmes in social and economic policies. He was also the author of numerous works expounding ancient India's religious scriptures. His political style and career had been controversial. He was often accused of lacking any truly popular support. He defended the rights of princes to their privy purses and his new party was aristocratic. Yet newspaper headlines at his death described him as king among the commoners. His command of English was flawless. Unlike Gandhiji or Nehru, C.Rajagopalachari never studied outside his home state of Tamil Nadu. His wisdom was truly indigenous. He was a well-known national leader without Gandhiji's mass appeal who never emerged as a closely watched personality. He differed with Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress when

both were at the peak of their popular appeal. A compendium of the leader of modern India summarised his leadership saying Rajaji is not a man but a technique.

C.Rajagopalachari wrote no works of sustained theoretical interpretation. His first loyalty was to the practicalities of statecraft. Yet his conservatism was a searching and brilliantly integrated synthesis of ideas from European and Indian culture. Only an insensitive and uncritical reading of his thought would brand him as a mere reactionary. From Edmund Burke in particular, he acquired a belief in the need for gradualist change. As he grew in age, the substance of his thought derived less from European and more from Indian culture. During the later phase of his political career, he did retreat from his earlier perception of socialism, branded as crypto-socialism by some critics, in which he saw socialism as a kind of extension of the principle of Indian joint family to the whole of society and also, from his earlier criticism of the caste system, towards an argument that in the jati, there existed a viable alternative means of social support to that of the state.

II. Significance of the Study

C.Rajagopalachari, the most astute intellectual among the elite of Indian nationalists,¹ and one who always

disliked communism, was one of the leading figures of the freedom movement of India. The political and social ideas of C.Rajagopalachari provide an example of an intellectual who, in the wake of change generated by colonialism, tried to reformulate the traditional Indian social order and sought a revival of India's classical liberal tradition.

Antonio Gramsci theorised the role of the intellectuals as part and parcel of his reinterpretation of Italian history and cultural tradition. Gramsci posed the problem of the member of the intellectuals in its proper context. He wrote : "Are intellectuals an autonomous and independent social group, or does every social group have its own particular specialised category of intellectuals"?² Gramsci's answer to his own question was clear : "intellectuals are not an autonomous group. Gramsci acknowledged that historically, intellectuals largely hail from certain social classes."³ However, the class of origin of intellectuals is irrelevant. What matters is that they, as a professional category, namely, as a set of persons whose common denominator is their professional role, acquire social and political weight only by acting as theorists, organisers, strategists and spokesmen on behalf of autonomous social groups, that is, social classes, either existing or in the process of formation.

For intellectuals like C.Rajagopalachari, Hinduism was an awe-inspiring arsenal for fighting the Raj, on the

one hand, and for providing for the blueprint for the future of independent India's course of action amidst the comity of nations, on the other. Thus making Hinduism as the pivot, C.Rajagopalachari increasingly took upon himself, during his political career, the task of preserving and propagating ancient India's tradition, directly through translation of scriptures and indirectly through short stories. By defining culture as essentially the prevailing pattern of joyous restraint accepted by the people, C.Rajagopalachari maintained in his book Our Culture that the Indian culture which is organically linked with dharma and spirituality should be the basis of our national life. Modernisation without cultural moorings is fraught with dangers. Similarly, in his Hinduism : Doctrine and Way of Life, C.Rajagopalachari gave a modern interpretation to Karma and Maya.

C.Rajagopalachari made significant contributions to almost all aspects of India's recent past. he was a leading figure in the Congress movement during Gandhiji's leadership, and he seemed to be set to succeed Gandhiji as leader till the younger and more charismatic figure of Jawaharlal Nehru acquired this role. He was to drift apart from the Congress in the early years of the War, anxious for some war-time collaboration with the Raj. He opposed Congress's resumption of civil disobedience in August 1942. Jawaharlal Nehru brought him back into Congress politics after 1945, but whilst C.Rajagopalachari

went on to hold high offices, he was never at ease in the new political dispensation, and in time broke from Congress to help to form, in 1959, a conservative opposition group, the Swatantra Party. Arguably his most significant political achievements lay in those two periods when he was in charge of the administration in the Presidency of Madras. C. Rajagopalachari, himself ^aTamil and ^aBrahmin, stood out for some form of stern Gandhian programme in social and economic policies. He was a divisive leader, revered by some, while bitterly resented by others. He has been pushed to the margins in almost in all accounts of India's recent history. A.R.H.Copley's work and Rajmohan Gandhi's two-volume biography, was an attempt to do justice to this unfairly neglected career.

However, regarding the study of C.Rajagopalachari's political career, the objective conditions of early twentieth century Tamil Nadu have to be taken into account. The emergence of non-Brahmin movement, unlike other states, in Tamil Nadu, put a strong hurdle to the Congress philosophy and organisation and consequently to the political career of C.Rajagopalachari and other Congress stalwarts. It was only during 1937-47 and 1957-67 the Congress was strong in Tamil Nadu, the former due to the overwhelming national upsurge for independence and also for international factors and the latter due to the leadership of Kamraj Nadar, a non-Brahmin leader. For all these objective

factors, leaders like C.Rajagopalachari with his great intellectual power could not succeed in the long run. Thus completed, the proposed study might claim to be a balanced, objective and total assessment of the largely controversial personality of C.Rajagopalachari, who occupied an important place in the political development and nation-building in modern India.

III. Objectives of the Proposed Study

The present study will seek to achieve the following objectives :

The primary objective is to highlight the origin and development of the social, economic and political ideas of C.Rajagopalachari in the backdrop of the continuing debate between tradition and modernity in India. To confront colonialism politically, culturally and intellectually, Indian thinkers conjured up a contradictory nationalist discourse; some placing their emphasis on the revival of ancient Indian institutions, structures and ideas, however, not without modifications; others emphasised the emancipatory role of the Western ideas and principles of social organisation. While the former group of thinkers had a strong mobilisational role against imperialism despite their harking back to the past; the latter, despite their progressive image, remained elitist due to their class character.

The proposed study seeks also to show, in this connection, that most of the votaries of the so-called Indian tradition, however, useful their critique of the West, supported the status quo in the name of the tradition. Past and tradition can be reconstructed according to the demand of the particular group or class in society. The revivalistic nationalists, during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, in their eagerness to mitigate the colonial subjugation, provided a wholesale justification of the past.

Another related objective is to analyse the background and substantial content of C.Rajagopalachari's critique of the Congress policies under the banner of the Swatantra Party. From the mid-fifties till his death, C.Rajagopalachari was one of the sharpest and most perceptive critics of the Congress regime in India. It is interesting to note that this 'Rightist' opposition to the Congress rule, despite its intelligent, experienced leadership and potential, failed to make ^a breakthrough in the Indian political arena and petered out rather prematurely.

A third objective is to analyse the long and eventful political career of C.Rajagopalachari, which witnessed so many twists and turns. C.Rajagopalachari, from a critic of state power under the spell of Gandhiji, later became a votary of power and authority during his brief stint of power in Madras and New Delhi.

In this connection, the present study will also seek to examine C.Rajagopalachari's interaction with the political process and with the political leadership both before and after Independence, his role within the rightist faction of the Congress before Independence, his relations with Nehru after Independence, his contribution towards the development of the distinct political and socio-economic ideology of conservatism, and the relevance of his ideas in his own times and afterwards.

IV. Sources of Data Collection

The methodology of the present study is primarily historical and analytical. For the purpose of the present study, the original writings of C.Rajagopalachari have been analysed in detail. Unpublished archival materials available at New Delhi relating to C.Rajagopalachari have been duly consulted. Besides, secondary sources like books, newspapers and journals, which were mainly available at the North Bengal University library, the National Library at Calcutta and the library of the NMMB, N.Delhi were consulted. Also, personal interviews were taken of a few persons closely associated with C.Rajagopalachari at Madras. The whole range of literature on conservatism and Indian nationalism have been analysed before the preparation of a meaningful conceptual framework. Extensive references have also been made to secondary sources and wherever

possible, cross references to other related themes have also been made. It may be noted here that unlike Gandhiji or Nehru, books on the political career and ideas of C. Rajagopalachari are scarce, and that is why the present work is an attempt at reconstruction of the era of the movement for freedom and at the life of C. Rajagopalachari in the backdrop of the freedom movement and after.

V. Overview of the Existing Literature

The most famous book of Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France, 1790,⁴ is treated as a conscious attempt to build conservatism as an anti-ideology against the ideas and impact of the great French revolution. In his book, Burke did not try to place his analysis within the framework of the whole course of western history. Instead, his analysis was confined specifically to the eighteenth century France. In this restricted framework, his key casual factors were nevertheless legitimately conservative, for, aside from a general change in the moral opinion, he saw the primary cause of the French Revolution to be the failure of the nobility to satisfy the upper middle classes by giving it social status. Oppression by the king, Burke said, cannot be considered the cause of the Revolution. Nor it was the faulty economy or deteriorated culture which ushered in the Revolution. The real difficulty was the existence of social and economic conflict between the

nobility and the middle classes. Burke's basic critique of the Revolution was that it was total and social, instead of cautious and political, as he considered the English Revolution. After having dwelt at some length on the problems, he dismissed the Revolution merely as error of opinion which could have been easily corrected. Surely, it was an amazingly superficial analysis.

Morton Averbach, in his book, The Conservative Illusion⁵, was of the opinion that the transcendent value of conservative ideology was the Platonic idea of harmony, and that this conception has assumed a wide variety of historical forms. If consistency was the test of ideology, then conservatism had been consistent only in two limited periods during the past two thousand years ---- the late Middle Ages when something resembling a conservative society actually existed, and the Dark Ages which were the preconditions of the Middle Ages.

Thomas Paine's Rights of Man⁶ was a skilful attack on Edmund Burke. Paine argued that Burke knew nothing about the real principles motivating the French Revolution; and he was impassive even before the evils of Bastille. The practical humanitarianism of Paine was outraged at Burke's pompous rhetoric. According to Paine, in the rhapsody of his imagination, Burke had discovered a world of wind mills,

and his sorrows were that there were no Quixotes to attack them.

Progressiveness and Conservatism : The Fundamental Dimensions of Ideological Controversy and Their Relation to Social Class⁷ by C.P. Middendorp, was an *empirical* study on the progressive-conservative debate. The major aim of the book was to conceptualise and operationalise the progressive-conservative anti-thesis in the Dutch population. In this study, the definition of progressive-conservative anti-thesis had been attempted through the construction of ideal type conceptual model. And the operationalisation of this model had been made both at the abstract and philosophical levels.

Political Ideologies : An Introduction⁸, by Robert Eccleshall and others dealt firstly with the resurgence of ideological controversy in Britain during the recent years and then examined some of the problems that surround the concept of ideology. In the book there were chapters on liberalism, conservatism, socialism and democracy etc.

Clinton Rossiter, in his Conservatism in America,⁹ made an analysis of conservatism in general and then surveyed conservative thought in America periodically. In his analysis of conservatism, Rossiter made a distinction between the temperamental, possessive, practical and philosophical types of conservatism.

H.L.Erdman's book, The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism,¹⁰ had made a careful analysis of the genesis of the Swatantra Party and its place in the broader constellation of the right-wing parties and forces in the country. He first considered the concept of conservatism, social bases and political organisation of the right-wing parties prior to 1959. The author made a shrewd appreciation of the strength of the rightist forces within the Congress.

The author commented that the Swatantra Party was an anti-statist organisation but not necessarily liberal. The Swatantra Party was not committed to any programme of change even in a liberal fashion against the traditional social order. The Swatantra was obsessed with anti-communism and was prepared to cooperate with and accommodate most anti-liberal and Hindu communal forces. In this context, Erdman made a perceptive studies of the position of C.Rajagopalachari, Mino Masani and R.G.Ranga. But the author failed to mention anywhere the remarkable affinity between the aims and policies of the Swatantra Party and the American policies towards India.

A.R.H.Copley's book, The Political Career of C.R. 1937-1954 ; A Moralistic in Politics,¹¹ was an analytical study of C.Rajagopalachari's political, administrative and intellectual activities. It contained a brief sketch of C.Rajagopalachari's relationship with eminent contemporaries of the Congress High

Command. The author probed in depth into the manifold aspects of C.Rajagopalachari's Prime Ministership in the Madras Presidency, his contribution during the war-time collaboration with the British, and the consequent decline of his influence with objective detachedness. In the last chapter, the author presented a fascinating comparative study between C.Rajagopalachari and Morarji Desai and the relevance of C.Rajagopalachari's ideas in the present context of India.

A.R.H.Copley's other book, C.Rajagopalachari ; Gandhi's Southern Commander,¹² dealt with the earlier period of C.Rajagopalachari's political career. In this book, Copley analysed C.Rajagopalachari's contact with Gandhiji and his rise in Madras provincial politics through Gandhian constructive work and against the odds of the Swarajist faction within the Congress under the leadership of S.Satyamurthy and also against the Justice Party. Copley amply showed how precarious a standing did C.Rajagopalachari hold in the Madras Congress and also his conservative and rightist leanings.

Rajmohan Gandhi's Rajaji Story I and II¹³ was an important study and contribution on the political career of C.Rajagopalachari and his multi-faceted personality. The first volume was the study of the first 59 years of C.Rajagopalachari's life and career which culminated in his acceptance of the Madras Presidency Premiership in 1937. In the second volume, Rajmohan Gandhi probed C.Rajagopalachari's relationship with Gandhiji,

Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose, M.A.Jinnah and Jayaprakash Narayana. It also analysed C.Rajagopalachari's differences with Jawaharlal Nehru, his role in the formation of the Swatantra Party, and his relationship with Indira Gandhi. Despite all these, the book remained a biographical study with valuable source materials.

Eugene F.Irschick's book, Politics and Social Conflict in South India : The Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism,¹⁴ was a perceptive account of political evolution in a region that had been long neglected by scholars. His book was of particular interest because it offered not only substantial contribution to regional political history but also provided vital clues to an understanding of Non-Brahmin caste politics in the Madras Presidency. Previously, Non-Brahmins had occupied an unimportant position in the South Indian politics and administration. The inauguration of the Indian Home Rule Movement in 1916 ushered in attempts by Non-Brahmins to secure more influential and assured place in public life. Much of the narrative was concerned with the activities of the Justice Party and its leaders. Irschick described the relation between the Non-Brahmin associations and the Congress Party, and the evolution of a tradition of literary and historical studies of the Tamil and the Dravidian past.

In his book, Our Culture,¹⁵ C.Rajagopalachari made a difference between civilisation and culture. According to him,

the Indian culture which was organically linked with dharma and spirituality should be basis of Indian life. Modernisation without cultural moorings was fraught with dangers.

In his book, Hinduism ; Doctrine and Way of Life,¹⁶ C.Rajagopalachari analysed the Vedantic and philosophical roots of Hinduism. According to him, Vedanta still had immense value and can provide the clue for solving the problems of modern civilisation. He also gave modern interpretation of Karma and Maya.

In the Upanishads,¹⁷ C.Rajagopalachari asserted that the Upanishads was the best modern book on religion. A study of the full texts of the Upanishads would be the means for comprehending the minds of the fathers of Hinduism.

In his Bhagvad Gita,¹⁸ C.Rajagopalachari opined that the purpose of the book was to give nothing new beyond what had previously taught by the Upanishads. C.Rajagopalachari's book did not propose to give any new interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita. The purpose of C.Rajagopalachari's book was a simplified presentation of the Gita content, and at bringing it within the small compass so as to enable the modern students to understand, in the midst of his other studies, the faith, discipline and ideals that lighted the path of life for generations of Indians, and to which was given the name Sanatana Dharma or Hinduism.

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In his Jail Diary,¹⁹ C. Rajagopalachari provided a glimpse of the life of a political prisoner in British India and also his reflections on contemporary political developments afflicting India. He wrote in his Diary : "Non-cooperation is not a means to a political end, but Dharma by itself. By our sacrifices we have made the history of India in this generation an honourable chapter, a relief from the continuous story of surrender, indifference and dishonour."

In their book India's Struggle for Independence, Bipan Chandra et al examined everyone of the varied strands of the Indian freedom struggle individually and collectively and presented it in a new and coherent narrative and analytical framework. Basing themselves on or_gl and other primary sources and years of research, the authors took the reader through every step of the independence struggle to the final victory in 1947.

Sarvapalli Gopal's three-volume biography of Jawaharlal Nehru²¹ was recognised as the standard work on one of the key personalities of the twentieth century. Written from first-hand knowledge of Nehru and with the advantage of unrestricted access to Nehru's papers, the volumes provided more than an account of a personality and branched into a definitive study of both the man and the age.

In his Modern India 1885-1947²² Sumit Sarkar attempted a synthesis keeping the anti-imperialist struggle as its central

focus while trying also to place it within the totality of economic, socio-cultural and political developments of colonial India. The historiography of modern India and its freedom struggle had often tended to have an elitist bias, concentrating on the activities, ideals or factional manoeuvres of leading groups at various levels. But Sumit Sarkar's work tried to explore, in the light of the author's own research, some of the rich possibilities of a history from below. The shift in focus towards tribals, peasants and workers made a significant shift from conventional history writing.

E.M.S.Namboodiripad's A History of Indian Freedom Struggle,²³ was one of the few comprehensive works on Indian freedom struggle written from a consistently class point of view. The book described in detail the development of capitalism in India as an inevitable consequences of the British rule and the rise of the new class of bourgeoisie which remained throughout at the forefront of the national struggle for freedom. This, in fact, decided the nature of the general tactics of the freedom struggle, the tactics of mass action for negotiations with the British. Particular attention had been paid to bring out the class content of the Gandhian method of struggle and the role played by the working class and other labouring masses at the different stages of the struggle.

In their Khaki Shorts and Saffron Flags,²⁴ Tapan Basu et al made a meticulous and penetrating critique of the forces

of Hindutva. The authors traced the roots of the Hindutva ideology to the politics of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. They discussed the history of the RSS and the Viswa Hindu Parishad, analysed the institutional structures of these organisations, their political language, their attempts at transforming Hinduism and their strategies of communal mobilisation.

In his Why I am not a Hindu : A Sudra Critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy,²⁵

the author identified himself as a Dalitbahujan, a member of the exploited and suppressed majority of Indians. The author wrote with passionate anger, laced with sarcasm, on the situation in India today. He looked at the socioeconomic and cultural differences between the Dalitbahujans and the other Hindus in the context of childhood, family life, market relations, Gods and Goddesses and death. Collecting many of the ideas of Bahujans, he presented their vision of a more just society.

Partha Chatterjee's book, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World ; A Derivative Discourse,²⁶ was an ambitious attempt to analyse the nationalist thought of modern India from a critical Marxist perspective. In this book, the author criticised western theories of third world nationalism both Marxist and liberal. He demonstrated how the western

theorists, with their emphasis on the power of reason, the primacy of hard sciences and dominance of empirical method had assumed that their presuppositions were universally valid.

The author took the case of India and examined the political thought of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Each of these thinkers was taken as the representative of stages of development of the nationalist thought of India. The author concluded that the third world nationalist thought failed, despite Gandhiji, to emerge as an alternative to challenge the legitimacy of capitalism.

Political Thought in Modern India²⁷ was an edited book by Thomas Pantham and K.L. Deutsch. The essays in the book focussed on the two major streams of modern Indian political thought ---- one which favoured the adoption of western political thought and traditions, and the other which sought to evolve indigenous or alternative formulations. The overall conclusion which emerged from the volume was that in order to formulate an adequate philosophy of modern age, both western and Indian traditions had to be taken into account.

Reba Som, in her book, Differences within Consensus : The Left and Right in the Congress 1929-1939²⁸ analysed the political career of Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari as the chief articulator of the Congress right. According to her, the trio developed into an independent

coterie as a result of the challenges it faced not only from the British imperialism, but also from the left wing of the Congress. The left wing represented by Nehru, Bose, the Congress Socialists and the Communists, could not, however, put up a united front against the right wing. The book focussed on this left-right encounter within the Congress, identified the composition of these two groups, studied the social background of the chief spokesmen on both sides, distinguished their broad point of view on key issues, and analysed their interactions within the overall consensus framework of the Congress.

In his book, Colonialism, Tradition and Reform : An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse,²⁹ Bhikhu Parekh made a critical discussion of Gandhiji. He located him in the tradition of political discourse developed by his nineteenth century predecessors and showed how Gandhiji continued and broke it. The author then discussed Gandhiji's various battles against ugly social and moral practices and assessed his successes and failures.

A.R.Desai's Social Background of Indian Nationalism³⁰ was a pioneering book on Indian nationalism. The book probed Indian nationalism in various forms of social, religious, economic and cultural aspects. It gave a historical account and Marxist analysis of the genesis of Indian nationalism.

In his article, Hindu Conservatism in the Nineteenth Century,³¹ the author, Sudhir Chandra, attempted to prove that the western impact produced a whole spectrum of responses in India. Representing a variety of attitudes from abhorrence to fascination, the West co-existed to varying degrees. Reacting to the impossibility of avoiding change, and to the urgency of preserving the religious moorings, the Hindus, endeavoured to evolve rationally defensible and practically effective via media. In the event, the Hindu society changed, yet stuck to its traditions. What made this persistence possible, according to the author, was the instinctive conservatism of the average Hindu. Most of the admirers of the West turned to his traditions. Thus was created, besides a recurring ambivalence, a belief, real or stimulated, in the superiority of Indian culture which provided a defence mechanism against the western cultural onslaught.

In an article, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian Capitalist Class, 1936,³² Bipan Chandra showed that during 1933-36, Nehru produced consternation among the Indian capitalist, and the Right-wing in the Congress. They took certain steps to counter and contain him ---- thereby revealing a long-term strategy to deal with him and others like him.

S. Bhattacharyya, in his article, Cotton Mills and Spinning Wheels ; Swadeshi and the Indian Capitalist Class, 1920-22,³³ argued that the boycott programme of 1921 did not

mean the same thing to all men ---- to the merchants, petty traders, the cotton mill owners and the Indian consumers. But overriding the short term pros and cons the long term perspective was the balancing of the bourgeois mentality.

The article, Indian Capitalist Class and Congress on National Planning and Public Sector 1930-47³⁴ by Aditya Mukherjee, examined the ideas put forward by the Indian capitalist class and the Congress on issues such as economic planning and the role of the state. The author concluded that the national leadership before the Independence made two common basic assumptions ; the overthrow of the colonial state structure; and, second, its replacement by an independent indigenous capitalist state structure.

In his article, Mid-term Poll in a Working Class Constituency in Tamil Nadu,³⁵ the author E.V.Ramaswamy made a revealing comment on the personality of C.Rajagopalachari. The author observed that during the 1967 elections, C.Rajagopalachari was the sworn enemy of the Congress. His son was, however, contesting as a Congress candidate. When asked why he did not oppose his son, C.Rajagopalachari maintained that in Indian culture it is not dharma to work against one's son.

In his article, Ramaswami Naicker and the Dravidian Movement,³⁶ the author, Mohan Ram, argued that equating poverty with race, and race with caste, E.V.Ramaswami Naicker founded

the Dravidian movement which against the Congress which was to him synonymous with Brahmin domination and Brahminism. His anti-Brahmin movements had the elements of Jyotiba Phule's Satyasadhak movement in Maharashtra and also a secessionist content. Even after Independence, Naicker's movement continued to represent a strong Tamil reaction to Brahminism and also the assertion of Tamil identity vis-a-vis the rest of India.

In his article, Dravidian Movement in its Pre-Independence Phases,³⁷ the author, N.Ram, observed that the significant feature of the political situation in Tamil Nadu was the existence of two mass-based and politically powerful organisations ---- the D.M.K. and the A.I.A.D.M.K. These two streams defy the logic inherent in the condemnations of regional forces. The article attempted a political explanation of the complex historical forces that were working in the second half of the 19th century and which gave rise to the Dravidian movement.

VI. Plan of the Study

The first, and introductory chapters, starts with a statement of the objectives, significance and methodology of the present study, besides the overview of literature connected with this work. While the second chapter makes an analysis of conservatism as a reaction against liberalism in the wake of the French Revolution in Europe, and, conservatism

as an ideology, it also deals with the forces and processes of ideological development of modern India. With the founding of the British rule in India, and under its consequent impact, there emerged a broad stream of nationalist anti-colonial movement. However, attempt will be made to chalk out the distinct conservative stream in the broad nationalist current.

The third chapter deals with C.Rajagopalachari's political activities and styles before Independence. Unlike other Congress politicians, C.Rajagopalachari's political career was full of twists and turns. He had to create a support base in the shaky terrain of the Indian National Congress in the Madras Presidency and that was also possible, to a great extent, with Gandhiji's blessings. However, it would be wrong to presume that he owed his political standing to Gandhiji's support alone. Acute in intellect, and self-righteous in conviction, hailing from an ordinary family of Brahmin background, he possessed sufficient skills and qualities to enable himself to emerge as a national leader. During the beginning of his political career, C.Rajagopalachari was quite involved in the factional politics of the Madras Congress, in the Gandhian constructive movement, and Right-Left factions within the Indian National Congress. However, he differed with Gandhiji in 1942 on the issue of the Quit India

Movement which brought his political isolation and disrepute.

The fourth chapter deals with the social and religious ideas of C.Rajagopalachari. It seeks to analyse and illustrate his ideas in detail as gathered from his writings and also secondary sources. Also, in this chapter, attention will be paid to bring out the reasons why C.Rajagopalchari is called conservative.

The fifth chapter will make a study of the origin of the Swatantra Party, its growth and decay. Against this backdrop, attempt will be made to make an analysis of C.Rajagopalchari's role in the creation of the Swatantra Party and his role as a Swatantra ideologue and its assessment.

The sixth chapter is the concluding chapter of the work. It will make a summary of findings of the earlier chapters. Besides, it will make concluding observations regarding the political career and ideas of Chakrab orty Rajagopalchari in a nutshell.

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