CHAPTER I

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Definition of the term nationalism

Any powerful expression or word in a language becomes a cliche when it loses its capacity to convey the power and meaning which it intended to communicate. Usually too many correct definitions lead to the abuse of the word paving the way for its death. Study of language or a particular subject overcomes this obstacle by analysing the background and growth of the circumstances leading to the birth and development of a phenomenon. The definition of the word nationalism which is crucial to the subject of this thesis proves this point admirably.

Minogue defines nationalism as a set of ideas, a form of self-expression by which a certain kind of political excitement can be communicated from an elite to the masses.¹ Professor Hans Kohn makes the point clearer when he says nationalism is a state of mind namely a love for his birth place, a preference for his own language, customs and food and a deep attachment to his own religion and race.

Almost a century has elapsed since Indian nationalism has been studied and despite the remarkable acceleration of research
in recent years there is still a conspicuous absence of agreement to the important episodes in Indian history. In fact, the approaches to the study of Indian nationalism are so diverse and explanations of its origin so varied that a scholar might be forgiven if he finds himself lost in a maze of conflicting interpretations. These varying approaches are but a testimony to the complexity of the subject.

The four major approaches to the subject are Annie Besant's romantic concept of the origin and development of Indian nationalism, Manabendra Nath Roy's perspective of historical nationalism, McCullay's theory of educated class, Anil Seal's theory of group competition. Annie Besant's concentration was on the role of the principle of Hinduism and the philosophy of Hindu scriptures what is called India's constitutional struggle for freedom. Roy's views are of limited value because he admits in his work his application of the technique of Marxist analysis. McCullay conceives English education as the agency through which nationalism entered India. Anil Seal sees the phenomenon as a result of the failure of the British rule to revitalise the economic sphere in India. However, the British rule did engender a middle class or bourgeoisie. When the INC came into the scene, it received support from the bourgeoisie who were dissatisfied with the British rule. For our purpose in this work, McCullay's views would be of great value.
He maintains that the resentments and aspirations of the educated class led to the germination of the seed of nationalism in India. These were partly economic in nature; unemployment had become widely rampant and chronic, and British government's refusal to provide a solution furnished fuel for the nationalist agitation. Another quarter to which the problems of the educated can be traced is the English education. The emergence of India's nationalism was largely the outgrowth of British rule and English education. Implicit in McCullay's analysis is the view that the educated constituted a new class in India. It may be noted that this view coincides with that of Anil Seal's too. A common education had not only imparted a sense of unity and shared expenses among the English educated but also burdened it with common economic and cultural problems. The educated middle class as a term is rather misleading because in the Indian context it means a minority, an elitist group consisting of the upper class Hindus. For it was the upper class Hindus, in other words, Brahmans who occupied the higher stratum of society both in terms of economic and cultural advantages were the first to be exposed to European education. The concept of nationalism was first introduced in India through western education and it was such a milieu which moulded men like C.R.

A paradox which may strike one at this point is that indeed how could an emotional or intellectual response even remotely resembling nationalism be audited by a totally alien and synthetic education? For one may think that the actual content
of the English education in spite of giving information on the rise of the people against injustice in different ways, was geared at moulding India to serve as petty bureaucracy in the British government. The question is answered by the fact that men who played a great role in attaining freedom for India, men who were worthy of being called nationalists were of such intellectual calibre and emotional mettle, that they transcended the boundaries marked by the educational system and allowed their powers of thinking and reasoning to expand. Depending on their individual outlook and their approach to the problem of British Colonialism these men devised different kinds of solutions to the problem. If the word nationalism could be applied to the motivating force which drove these great men to sacrifice their personal gain and lives at the altar of the freedom struggle, the specific methods which they chose to employ marked the different nuances of meaning which can be applied to the word.

In India the concept of nationalism is on high premium to day. The four decades after independence have seen a surfeit of communal violence, strife born of religious, sectarian and linguistic differences. It is this context which highlights the study of nationalism as a concept and feeling with reference to G.K., who preached and practised it in its purest form. The choice of the subject seeks to strike a balance between an analysis of a theory as an isolated entity and a biographical study of a leader. Its relevance to the present context lies
in the explication of the ideology of a leader who strove to integrate India and in its attempt to prove that his policies are still applicable to the present position in India.

The aim, scope and period of the study

The aim of this work is to view and analyse the concept of nationalism through a set of events and ideas in which C.R. was the central point. The focus of the study is as much on the conceptual plane as on the concrete i.e., it at once takes into account the ideological force of nationalism and the individual characteristics of C.R., who is a nationalist. The work attempts to prove the premise through a detailed study of events spanning five decades. It is crucial at this point to take stock of what possible relevance that such a study might hold after the obviously mammoth and exhaustive work that has already been done in the field. What had been written on C.R., pertain to his political and personal life against the back drop of the period he lived in. This work seeks to zero in on a particular slot in the general picture; it undertakes an analysis of a concept through the ways in which it was realised in the ideas and actions of an individual. It thus focusses on a particular and most important facet of C.R's guiding spirits i.e., nationalism and thereby seeks to highlight the fact that the entire life career and decisions of C.R. were motivated by the conceptual force of nationalism. The period of study covers fifty years 1920-1970 viewing C.R. in the roles of an active participant
in the Indian nationalist movement, an administrator in the pre- and post-independent period, a keen critic of the composition and working methods of bureaucracy and a social reformer who wanted to better the living standards and moral fibre of his fellowmen.

Sources

The source material include a wide range of unpublished and published records, reports, books, journals, periodicals, pamphlets, both in English and Tamil and personal interviews with people who were closely associated with C.R. The private papers of Lord Erskine, Records of the Home Department of the Government of India; Fortnightly Reports from Madras, Linlithgow papers, Sathyamurthy papers, The Government of India Act of 1935, Jawaharlal Nehru Correspondence, The Gandhi Correspondence, Files of the AICS (referred to in the text as Congress party records) are taken from National Archives of India and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. The Government orders Census Reports, Election Reports, Police Reports, Administration Reports, Reports on non cooperation movement, Civil disobedience movement, Khilafat movement in Madras, Reports on Khadi development in Madras state, Excise and Prohibition (1946-1954), Administrative Vigilance Commission, Prohibition enquiry committee (Gounder committee) and Report of C.R. on Guruvayur Referendum, have been collected from Tamilnadu Archives (Madras Record Office). Further the Indian Annual Register, Madras Legislative Council
proceedings and Madras Legislative Assembly Debates and Fort St. George Gazette (1937, 1947, 1973) have also been consulted. Proceedings of the meetings of the Council of Madras Corporation and minutes of the meetings (1952-54) have been gathered from Madras Corporation Record Office. Besides these, books in Tamil and English written by C.R. himself as well as books in Tamil and English authored by other eminent men on C.R., have been studied with care. A list of journals and periodicals in Tamil follows: Anandavikatan weekly, Dinamani weekly and daily, Kalki weekly, Swadesamitran weekly available at Tamilnadu Archives, Dravidanadu weekly, Kudiarasu, Vidudhalai available at Periyar Rationalist Research Library, Madras. A list of journals, periodicals and newspapers in English is given below: Bhavansjournal, Dipika, The Onlooker, Hindu, Indian Express, Madras Mail, Illustrated Weekly of India, available at Madras University Library and Connemara Public Library, Madras. The back numbers of the above-mentioned have been of great value. The articles of C.R. as seen in the back numbers of Swarajya and Kalki available at Rajaji Centenary Library, Madras, have been used with much importance. The souvenirs on C.R., Swatantra party news letter, pamphlets on Swatantra party, are found at the Kalki office, Madras. Other pamphlets written by C.R., used in this work are available at Gandhi Ashram founded by C.R. at Tiruchengodu. Further personal correspondence of C.R. and interviews with persons who have been intimately connected with C.R. proved helpful in
providing clear, valuable information. Interviews were also useful in getting guidance to get access to source material.

**Study of relevant literature**

A closer and more detailed survey of the books would read like this. *Rājāji en Thanthai* by A. Ayyamuthu hinges on the author's relationship and experiences with C.R. and his perception of C.R's social activities and political decisions. The narrative rests on the author's close association with C.R. The work highlights the author's differences with C.R. which by the author's own admission resulted from his lack of experience and understanding and therefore proved C.R's far sightedness and wisdom. Narana Duraikannan's work *Rajaji* is a biographical study. It narrates the events in the personal and political life of C.R., in the traditional style of biography. T.S. Kaliaperumal's *Nāttukku Ulaitha Nallavar* gives a picture of the services of C.R. in various fields. A lucid narrative the book lists the key points of C.R's life and career and projects his decisions in the light of their effects on the surface area of the matter concerned whether it is the political economic, or social scene. Kalki Krishnamurti's *Nāttukku Oru Pudhalvar* consists of a compilation of articles in Tamil which first appeared in Kalki (Tamil weekly). The slant of these is mainly biographical. This however is fragmentary in so far as it does not cover the entire life of C.R., due to the early demise of the author. The work is valuable as it
highlights the major turning points in the social and political life of C.R. Yet another work along similar lines is a compilation of forty one articles of M.P. Sivagananam entitled Nanarindha Raajaji in which the author discusses his differences with C.R., and expresses his reasons for admiring C.R. The work of Subramania Iyer reviews the social aspect of C.R.'s public life in general and his steps towards demolishing the caste barriers and creating an integrated society in particular.

The works of G.T. Boag and Antony Copley are concerned with the entire political career from 1937 to 1954. Antony Copley lays stress on C.R.'s actions in politics and administration with special stress on politics of power, communalism and principle and ably analyses in the light of specific events and decisions such as C.R.'s stand on the question of partition of Pakistan, his re-entry into Congress in 1946, and his Second Spell of administration of Madras from 1952-1954.

Thousand Days with Rajaji by Bimanesh Chatterjee presents a fascinating portrait of C.R.'s public image and his private life. It has vividly captured the lonely and restless spirit of a man who will not and cannot join the herd; further it also presents the essential paradox in C.R.'s personality which made the butt of criticism for people who did not understand him. The unpredictable cynic, the humorist, who lived under no illusions about his fellowmen and a sage who loved mankind and wanted to better the world are both brought alive to the readers.
The work of B.K. Aluwalia Rajaji and Gandhiji and Antony Copley C. Rajagopalachari Gandhi’s Southern Commander draw a parallel between C.R. and Gandhi. A critical review of the political arena of the most crucial period of India’s struggle for freedom and the successive years is achieved in this manner. B.K. Aluwalia draws comparisons between two of the most powerful individualistic and wise leaders of Indian nationalist movement in terms of their principles, their viewpoints in socio-economic and literary fields. Antony Copley’s work is a collection of essays. A sense of precision, authenticity and sharpness is induced by the author through the style and manner of presentation. The material is divided into three sections illuminating the three central phases of C.R’s career, between 1916 and 1937. They are (1) his contribution to civil disobedience; (2) his contribution to the constructive movement; (3) his role in the debate on whether or not the Congress should accept office. These essays constitute a self-contained study of C.R's rise to power as Primier of Madras in 1937. They establish in unequivocal terms the extent of C.R's indebtedness to Gandhi as far as the evolution of his mind and thoughts are concerned, and the distinct identity of his own personal life.

I Meet Rajaji by Monica Felton gives a remarkable insight into the individualistic quirks of C.R., the man and the leader, consisting of author’s conversation with C.R. on several occasions in 1953. Other biographical works include The Rajaji Story by Raj Mohan Gandhi, Rajaji Life and Work by
R.K. Murthy, *C. Rajagopalachari: His Life and Mind*\(^{22}\) by K.T. Narasimhachar, *Rajaji: A Biographical Study*\(^{23}\) by N. Perumal and *Rajaji*\(^{24}\) by Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. These works are written along the lines of traditional biography in the expository style.

This thesis attempts to bridge a void left by these works by taking up a unique point of view to explore the area. It highlights the various ideas, theories, and policies of C.R. and the events resulting from them by focussing on a single and most important feature which motivated and coloured his decisions i.e., the sentiment of nationalism. The effect is prismatic, in other words it presents and proves the view that the spirit of nationalism or more simply, the desire to integrate his fellowmen into a stronger unified whole transcending the differences of caste, creed, and religion was the moving spirit behind the political decisions and ideological theories of C.R., through an analysis of source material. The work also provides a reply to the criticism and opposition offered to many of the policies and decisions of C.R.

**Methodology**

Apart from the traditional method, historical empirical analytical and synthetic methods have been adopted in the study of documents, primary, secondary and tertiary sources personal accounts. A scientific manner of analysis marks the work both in terms of deduction/inference and the presentation of facts.
Chapterisation

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter by way of introduction defines the term nationalism, states its relevance to the study on C.R.'s policies and ideology, the aim of the study, indicates the research methodology adopted, reviews relevant literature explains the sources and their benefit.

Chapter two presents an historical background of Tamil country, the place where C.R. was born in 19th century. The French elimination and establishment of British imperialism, imposition of illegal levies, forced labour, and consequent impoverishment of the rural community, neglect of irrigation works, were a few features in the political arena. Revenue and fiscal measures of British led to raise in the value of money, peasant discontentment. In the 19th century improvements in technology of production and distribution of goods had resulted in a tremendous expansion in volume of trade and it had paralysed the spinning and weaving trades. The society was as feudal and caste ridden as it was in the days of the medieval kingdoms. The people of lower castes called Adi Dravidas were treated as untouchables and subjected to a process of merciless elimination when, feudal lords had wielded the power of life and death over the hapless populace. The top drawers of the society who were liberalminded social political propagandists advocated the change and upliftment of the backward classes.
The Western ways and habits appeared obnoxious to the Tamils and they imported their customs and promoted their sciences but neglected the local arts and languages. The Christian Missionaries took a pioneering work in the promotion of education among the Tamils irrespective of caste or religion. The educational training had instilled among the members of professional elite an appreciation of democratic values and a knowledge of the skills of effective political action. Equally it provided opportunities for resisting arbitrary Government action and upholding the sanctity of the rule of law. The emergence of the Indian National Congress led to a series of political developments and events and cultivated a sense of patriotism and nationalism. It was under these circumstances and background C.R. was born in an orthodox Hindu Brahmin family. His ancestors were known for scholarship in Sanskrit, and reformist tendencies. In the formative years C.R. observed the errors in political system, socio-economic errors and felt the need for a solution to the problems of India. A portrait of the status quo during the early and formative years of C.R. depicts how much the existing conditions had shaped C.R's emergence as a nationalist.

Chapter three deals with policies of C.R. in politics in pre-independent and post-independent years. His entry into politics as a Tilakite, his change over to Gandhian ideology, his role in Khilafat Movement and his views on the incompatibility
between Congress Indian Nationalism and Khilafat Pan Islamism, his views on non-cooperation, his Vehement stand on no changers' and his proprigation of non-violent non-cooperation view of Gandhi were his initial work in politics. He rose in level through Civil disobedience movement in conformity with Gandhian ideals. His voice to discourage a loosely affiliated Swarajist party, insistence on unity within congress fold, and his policy to cooperate with British in the war effort between 1941-44, his approval of Cripps' proposals, his views on Muslim Leagues' demand, his popular C.R. formula were all based on nationalism. While he agreed upon Muslim separatism he differed in the separatist linguistic views of B.R. Ambedkar which again was due to his keen sense of nationalism. In the post-independent days, C.R. viewed many political issues with a keen sense of nationalism and with an urge to establish and integrate uncorrupt democratic welfare state. The formation of Swatantra party and his voice raised against inflation, statism, socialistic pattern of government, undue taxation, corrupt election system. C.R's views in international issues and his crusade against nuclear war also bear testimony to his nationalistic outlook.

Chapter four deals with the policies of C.R. in the administrative field. C.R. occupied the office of Prime Minister of Madras Presidency from 1937 to 1939 and Chief Minister from 1952 to 1954. He guided the Ministry with a broad coalition of nationalist elements united by a reformist constitutional outlook. C.R. advocated separation of the executive from
judiciary. His implementation of Prohibition of Liquor, revival and protection of Rural Craft Industries, upliftment of Scheduled Castes, Sales Tax to make up the loss of income due to prohibition, introduction of Hindi in Schools were measures and ideas presented by him with a national interest, particularly focussed on people of lower strata of the society. The second phase of his administrative career, was marked by removal of rationing, Tanjore Tenancy and Pannayal Protection Bill, famine relief, his crusade against communist activities, introduction of shift system in schools to enable the children to spend part of the day in formal education and rest of the day in learning skills of the family profession. To C.R., this was a means to uphold the interests of labour and to improve the productive capacity that would build the nation. In all his measures the motivating force was nationalism which according to him should be the binding force which held the fabric of the society.

Chapter five deals with C.R.‘s views and ideology in the socio-economic, religious, and cultural spheres. C.R. was a champion of prohibition of liquor which ruined the common man, and was an ardent supporter of the rights of depressed classes, Temple entry, inter-caste marriages, removal of disabilities of depressed classes. His views of Khadi development found expression through his Gandhi Ashram at Tiruchengodu established in 1925. He voiced his opinion against injustice in land ceiling, heaping many burdens on the lower sections of the society, gold nationalisation, danger of inflation, unemployment
and black marketing. A far sighted economist, he suggested measures for better production, welfare state, a stable economic condition which would help the economically backward that revealed his sense of nationalism. He voiced his opinion against imposition of Hindi as the official language. His arguments were based on unity and integrity of India. C.R.'s deep religiosity, his faith in the principle of Hinduism as advocated by Vedas, his love for the traditional Hindu style reveal the fact that C.R.'s desire to go back to the age of the Vedas, his knowledge of and love for the Hindu precepts were the fountain-head of his nationalism which in turn motivated him to revamp the system. This is exemplified through his views on prohibition casteism and temple entry.

Chapter six analyses the journalistic pieces of C.R., mainly his articles on national and international issues, his short stories, translations, interpretations and his dissertations on religion and philosophy all aiming at reaching the masses, with a message relevant to the time and need. His writings had a specific aim of including among people knowledge of Dharma and nationalistic tendencies. He voiced his opinions on contemporary issues on policies, social evils and he tried to improve the cultural and moral stance of the contemporary society and always had an appeal for the youth. The underlying purpose of his works of course was the need to integrate a fragmented society and to inculcate a sense of nationalism among youth.
The concluding chapter collates the facts discussed in the work and seeks to establish the nature and strength of nationalism in the policies and ideology of C. Rajagopalachari.
REFERENCES


