

THE INDOMITABLE SARDAR PATEL

By

PROF. N. G. RANGA

Deputy Leader
Congress Party in Parliament

PATEL, SARDAR VALLABHBHAI

[Sardar Patel was born in 1875 in Karamsad of Bardoli taluk; was a Barrister at Ahmedabad; joined Gandhiji in the Bardoli, Kaira Kisan Campaigns; organised non-co-operation movement in Gujarat in 1920, and Bardoli Kisan Satyagraha in 1928; was hailed by Gandhiji as the Sardar; Chairman of Ahmedabad Municipality; his brother Vithalbhai also a Barrister became Mayor of Bombay, and Speaker of Central Legislative Assembly; both went to jail several times; Sardar became Congress President in 1931 at Karachi; Chairman of powerful Congress Parliamentary Board from 1935 to 1948; President, Hindustan Mazdoor Seva Sangh; organised and managed Parliamentary elections of Congress; opposed Subash Chandra Bose and Congress Socialists; right-hand man of Gandhiji in the Congress constructive work; organised State Peoples of Saurashtra; became Deputy Prime Minister; achieved integration of Indian States in Indian Republic; organised Police action in Hyderabad; warned against China's aggressive designs against India; encouraged K. M. Munshi to renovate the famous, historic Somnath temple at Veeravala and helped Bhailalbhai Patel to build new Gujarat University, now known as Vallabh University....Passed away in 1950.—Ed.]

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL had his roots in the self-respecting and enterprising kisans of Gujarat. He and his brother Vithalbhai Patel, distinguished themselves as lawyers and built up prosperous practice in Bombay courts. Vallabhbhai became Chairman of Ahmedabad Municipality and displayed his latent capacity for honest and dynamic administration. On becoming the political follower of Gandhiji, he gave up his legal practice and ably promoted the non-co-operation and triple boycott programme. By sticking loyally, along with Rajaji, to that Gandhian line in opposition to Motilal Nehru-C. R. Das deviation in favour of Council entry, Vallabhbhai established his reputation as the most dependable disciple of Gandhiji in Gujarat. When Gandhiji chose to retire from active politics and left the field free to the Swarajyists, led by Motilal, Das, and Vallabhbhai, Vallabhbhai quietly accepted Gandhiji's line and contented himself with the con-

structive programme and busied himself with the development of Gandhian organisations all over Gujarat and the princely States, and that laid sound foundations for later political hegemony of Congress organisation both in Gujarat and Maharashtra. On that solid constructive work, he raised the peasants' satyagraha campaign of 1928-29 and achieved their resounding success, and established his reputation all over India as the most powerful organiser. While his brother advanced India's cause through Speakership of the Central Assembly, Vallabhbhai became the Sardar of Swaraj movement.

Sardar Patel spent more than thirty years, under the leadership of Gandhiji, in training the nationalist workers of Gujarat in the first instance and those of the whole of the then British India to accept and obey the Congress code of discipline. That unpleasant task of enforcing discipline could be shouldered only by one who had no fear of the electorate and who could be sure of the unquestioned confidence of the supreme leader. Though Rajaji, Rajendra Prasad and Nehru enjoyed equal confidence of Bapuji, the Sardar alone had the steel and strength in him to accept that responsibility. Who can say he made no mistakes or that many colleagues did not suffer at his hands? But which disciplinarian anywhere in the world in schools and universities or temples and churches or parliaments and ministries, has ever succeeded in not inflicting pains and conferring only favours. I can say as one who did not gain any favours from that steel-fisted Sardar, and one who was made to withdraw by him, all so unfairly, the peasants' pledge that was to be signed by kisan candidates of the Congress in 1936-37 elections — as a subsidiary promise of loyalty to kisans' interests, subject to the overall supremacy of the Congress pledge — that Sardar was a noble wielder of the sceptre of Congress.

I derived much inspiration from Gandhiji's leadership of the peasants' struggles in Champaran and Gujarat,

to pump out information but also to infuse inspiration for dynamic action, not only to admonish but also to stimulate self-confidence. Jawaharlal could not succeed to inspire that much intimate contact, confidence and comradeship.

Secretaries of the ministries used to go to the Sardar and make him aware of the situation and as sure as anything, he would get the Sardar's definite and precise advice. Once a secretary obtained his directions from the Sardar, he would go ahead with that line of action without any more fear of the Cabinet. I think it was because of this sense of confidence that he infused in the secretaries, that quick decisions became possible during that all too brief tenure of his office at Delhi. There was never any possibility then for such a scandal as that of the V.O.A. which is only an outward culmination of many a blunder.

It has taken fifteen years of disappointing disputations in the United Nations over Kashmir for us to realise the wisdom of the Sardar's advice not to get embroiled in U.N.O. over Kashmir. Why did we go to the United Nations as a petitioner, in spite of the Sardar's advice? Did we not gain much by being nationally self-reliant over Hyderabad? No wonder, both Rajaji and Radhakrishnan, exclaimed in 1962, in the face of the threat of Chinese Communist imperialism, "How we wish the Sardar were alive to-day to lead us". Indira reached up to his strategy and statesmanship in marshalling India's self-defence during Bangladesh struggle for freedom in 1972.

In one great affair he felt himself seriously and frequently thwarted by Jawaharlalji's wilful assertion of his Prime Ministership, thanks to the support offered to him by Maulana Azad and Mountbatten. Regarding the problem of Hyderabad, he was all in favour of early integration of Hyderabad. But Jawaharlalji would not agree; Lord Mountbatten's diplomacy further delayed the application of the famous Sardar touch. The army had complete confidence in the Sardar and assured him that if

and when action became necessary all that facade of Razakar's military might could be overcome within a week. But the Prime Minister exercised his genius for delaying such unpleasant decisions, without openly coming into conflict with the Sardar. When he was pressed by so many of us who knew how Razakar's violence was on the increase, the Sardar exclaimed "What can we do but be patient with him? I was promised that urgent and effective steps would be taken by the Army and was therefore asked to come away from my perch for heart-rest. It is now weeks. Yet he does not make up his mind". With great difficulty, after a good deal of tension, the Sardar had his way and Hyderabad State joined Indian Union after a travail of just two days of Police action. Jawahar's lack of decision took much longer time to let Hyderabad integrate with India than the Sardar's diplomacy took to get more than five hundred States to join the Indian Union. No wonder that doyen among the Secretaries, V. P. Menon, became such an admirer of this Sardar.

The Sardar was unhappy over the impetuous friendship proffered by Jawaharlalji to Communist China, without making sure of her leaders' political attitudes towards India's neighbours, specially Sri Lanka, Sikkim, Nepal, Burma and Tibet. So many of us were anxious to make sure that China—whether of the K.M.T. or the Communist—would not insist upon its imperialist claims over Tibet and that post-war China would continue to honour the Tripartite Simla agreement of 1912, that is, between China, Tibet and India recognising the free independent and autonomous Tibet. But Jawaharlalji would not heed our fears, nor, would he realise the geopolitical interests and needs of India and ambitions of China to ensure the autonomy of Tibet, as a buffer Himalayan State to the north of India.

The Sardar being more far-sighted and realistic, agreed with us. So he tried his best to persuade Jawaharlalji to safeguard India's geopolitical interests also, not in opposition to China's genuine national aspirations but in

so did the Sardar. It was given to Patel to experiment successfully with that means of struggle — Satyagraha — to secure justice for kisans during the Gujarat kisans' fight in 1928-29 against an unjust and oppressive enhancement of land revenue. He demonstrated in that struggle the kisans' capacity for revolutionary action. He also created a sense of confidence in the nation about its ability to overcome the British oppression. So the whole nation hailed Gandhiji's recognition of him as the Nation's Sardar.

Many people think that he was only a man of steel and not so much a man of sentiments. Those of us who had the good fortune to come into the closest comradeship with him know, as Rajaji so aptly put it, that he had the heart of a Mother. He could love his colleagues with much attachment and yet could prevent them from venturing to take undue advantage of his softness towards them.

There was an occasion in 1939 when Subash Babu wanted to get round his inveterate opposition to his Presidentship, after Tripura debacle by suggesting my name in the last resort, for the one and the only change he wanted to make in the set-up for the Working Committee insisted upon by the Sardar, so that the "faces" of all could be saved. Yet the Sardar would not allow Bapu to agree even to that much of a compromise, though he knew that it would hurt Bapu also to have to drop my name. Of course Subash Babu and so many of us who were working with him were hurt by that demonstration of the Sardar's sceptre.

But there was also an occasion in 1949 when the same Sardar was unwilling to go into the Congress Working Committee unless I was also included in it and it was because of his loyalty to me that the formation of the Committee by President Pattabhi came to be delayed by a month. The difference in his attitude did not denote any change in him or me, because on both occasions we were equally devoted to Gandhian way but in the changed cir-

cumstances of the national needs. Did he hate anyone ? It is easy to say, "Yes". He loved many but he was not demonstrative. He was extremely loyal to Gandhi and highly disciplined as a Congressman.

The late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and the Sardar were frequently at loggerheads. The Sardar trusted the late Ballabh Pantji and wanted him to be left undisturbed in his leadership of the U.P. Ministry. Rafi Saheb did not think it necessary to keep Pantji in the enjoyment of such arbitrary leadership. Once things came to a head; Patelji turned to Rafi Saheb in the Working Committee, before either Jawaharlalji, Rafi's prop, or Pantji came in, and talked to him and asked him to make up his mind either to support or oppose Pantji. Rafi preferred to remain sullen and silent. Many ardent supporters of Rafi, including the powerful and explosive Palliwalji came to be suspended by PCC of U.P. for the mere sin of having appealed to the Central Working Committee and the latter was made powerless to intervene.

On the linguistic redistribution of the country, he and Jawaharlal agreed with Rajaji. They feared that it would sow the seeds of national disruption. Many of us did not agree with them, because we were under the influence of that principle which entered our political matrix long before the advent of Gandhism. The Sardar was much pained by our refusal to accept his advice but strong man though he was, he yielded to our equally sincere demand, although reluctantly, and continued to love us. Have the later events proved him wrong ? He was so much in favour of multi-lingual Bombay and separate Saurashtra. Yet, the Maha Gujarat movement could not have achieved success, and the break up of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat would not have emerged if it had not been for the Sardar's tradition of struggle. In public life there is no unmixed good or evil. It is always an uncertain choice.

This became so glaring over the manner in which we all opposed the communal representation, and the system

of federation propounded on that basis but, finally Congress came to accept Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. What was the Sardar's stand over that unpleasant decision ? Was he right in finally yielding to it ? Did he allow himself to be misled by Jawaharlalji and Mountbatten in accepting the final partition of the country and in making Gandhiji feel helpless for want of his support in that crucial hour ? Did he hope to be freed from Moslem communal obstruction, after partition ? Who could be entirely right or wrong over such historic decisions, which are not really the result of any one group's decisions ? They are the inevitable consummation of historical and social imponderables. It is possible that if our Independence had been delayed for a while, as has happened in Africa, some other and less painful solution could have been found. We now are able to see, that Nehru and himself gave way to impatience for power and Mountbatten drove a wedge between him and Gandhiji. It proved to be a tragedy for this sub-continent. The fate of this sub-continent would have been far better, if only those national leaders had not grown so indifferent to Gandhiji's advice and warnings against partition, thanks to their bitter experiences of the Coalition Cabinet. Anyhow, it stands to the credit of the Sardar, that he disappointed many an enemy of India and created a much bigger and politically more unified India though it is painfully different from the traditional picture of Mother India, as visualised by our Rishis and as painted in the magic tunes of poets, Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath and Bharati and as dreamt of by Tilak and Gandhiji. India and Indira helped Bangladesh to become free from Pakistan's domination. But has our sub-continent become stronger or its people happier ? The misery of it all is that thirty years after Bapu was thus abandoned by Congress top leaders, Indian sub-continent is being debilitated by the rival burdens of military armaments.

Rajaji, Rajenbabu, Kripalani and Sardar foresaw in 1936 that Jawaharlalji's socialism would queer the pitch for India's social economy, and therefore, they boldly pro-

tested against his campaigning for socialism from the vantage ground of his Presidentship of the Congress. It was because of that historic letter of protest from them and their colleagues, that Jawaharlal had to wait till 1959 before he could inaugurate his offensive against the peasant economy of India and her self-employed people's enterprises.*

Again when so many of us were pressing the Congress Government to develop our economy on a planned basis, the Sardar expressed his doubts as to the turn it would take. He observed to me, when I found myself in a minority in the Agrarian Reforms Committee, that he feared that the so-called planning against self-employment economy would jeopardise the foundations of our democratic peasants' proprietorship and self-employment and people's economy, and so he felt shy about socialist plans. Unfortunately, he was by that time in the grip of heart disorder and he could not exert himself effectively. So, we were left helpless to protect self-employed economy of peasants and artisans against the growing powers of Jawaharlal and the Planning Commission.

Vallabhbhai was not able to please many stalwarts of the Congress; it fell to his lot to displease many freedom fighters like K. F. Nariman, B. Khare, and Subash Babu by his unpleasant decisions. He incurred the wrath of so many great men because he had to wield the axe on behalf of the Congress when they challenged its hegemony. Who could justly say that he had not erred sometimes in giving provocation to those eminent rebels or that he could have avoided using the axe of discipline in many a case? It is not possible for me to say categorically that personal animus did not enter into any of his actions against the great leaders. I can however say that he did not wield the sceptre out of personal jealousy or out of fear for his own position or merely for wreaking vengeance. I was very much hurt by his attitude towards Subash Babu and

* "Bunch of Letters" of Jawaharlal.

I was enraged when Subash was expelled from the Congress. But the Sardar had the considered approval of Gandhiji in that affair and in many other painful affairs and so, he cannot be accused of having acted on his own. Many of the other leaders enjoyed the luxury of privately deploring Sardar's use of the axe but benefited from the consequent gains to the Congress organisation.

In most cases, the Sardar was guided by one criterion, that is, whether anyone is bent upon defying Gandhiji. Once he became convinced that anyone, may he be Nari-man or Kharè, Prakasam or Subash Babu, was bent upon defying a clear advice of Gandhiji, he used all the means at his disposal to fight him. I quarrelled with him over the means he adopted because those means were not specially Gandhian, and often smacked of Lord Krishna's politics. In the end, all of us were reconciled to him, though with hurt feelings, because he was about the least vengeful disciplinarian of the Congress.

It is rarely that a country is fortunate enough to find, in times of need and ready at hand, a leader with such an adequate personality, courage and organising capacity. England found such a leader in Winston Churchill during the Second World War and India found him in Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel just when it had to forge political and national unity.

The Sardar had already grown grey in experience and national service, when he was called upon to piece together the five hundred odd princely States and fit them into what has since then become our united India. The dream of so many of us who had struggled for decades under Gandhiji's leadership to see a politically unified and free Mother India entering the community of World Nations was falsified by the partition of our country and creation of Pakistan. An attenuated India, lacerated with the infection of divisiveness in all the hundreds of States, was transformed into a New India by the magic wand of Sardar Patel within a short period of 3 years. The consumma-

tion of it was so quick and painless that many are unable to realise its uniqueness.

The British administrators in India and Labour Cabinet in England were then working at Cross purposes; the former were keen on splintering India, leaving only a truncated body politic to the Congress and favouring the Muslim League in every manner, while the Labour Cabinet was keen on keeping India united under a Congress-League leadership. The Princes of States were assured that they would be free to choose their political alignments, that is, to be independent or accede to India or to Pakistan. Some Princes like those of Travancore and Hyderabad toyed with the chance of gaining independence and started negotiating with Mr. Jinnah. Others like Jaisalmer, a few Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan Princes wanted to join Pakistan and were actively intriguing with the Nawab of Bhopal, the favourite of Jinnah and Junagadh Prince actually signed the accession with Pakistan. It was with great difficulty that the States Princes were persuaded by Mountbatten to yield to temporary or standstill agreements of accession, pending their final choice between India and Pakistan or even Independent Status. Sardar Vallabhbhai had to move quickly but sagely, hold his temper under the leash, exercise all the statesmanship he could command and gain control over the quick-silver ambitions and machinations of many avaricious Princes and their wily Dewans. All the assistance he could gain could come only from V. P. Menon, the patriotic and experienced Secretary of the newly formed Ministry and his Indian members of the I.C.S. like C. C. Desai.

He had however his great hold over the States Peoples and their Praja Mandals, most of whose leaders were amenable to his Patriotic leadership. He could threaten the Princes to rouse their people against their autocratic regimes, and he could warn them that the British, as the paramount power, would no longer be available to prop up their power, as had been happening during earlier

Satyagrahic Campaigns of States Peoples. Even then he had to use that contingent power with the utmost sagacity and affectionate cajolery, which could only be felt without being noted either by word or by gesture. Sardar achieved what then appeared to be almost an impossible feat by exhorting the Princes that "none can segregate us into segments. I invite my friends, the Rulers of States and their people to the Councils of Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour, inspired by common allegiance to our motherland for the common good of us all". He evoked just the needed hearty response from his long-time friend and leader of Princes of Kathiawar, Jam Saheb of Navanagar. The Prince said to his fellow Princes "If India is free, the Princes are free. If India is honoured, every unit is honoured. If India goes under, who survives?. In this Gandhian manner, this masterful Sardar achieved the integration of States, their Princes and People with India and Indian People. He thus exemplified how Gandhian approach could be masterful and invincible, in the hands of such a Sardar.

We are now better able to realise, by hindsight, how unique was that timely achievement of Sardar Patel, in the light of the plight of the African People by being so hopelessly splintered and the Arabs by being set at each other ears. Sardar robbed the imperialists of the kind of mischievous opportunity with which the African, Asian and South American People are being weakened and exploited, even though they are nominally independent.

A friend who had become a Chief Minister once observed with chagrin, that the "old man is wonderful in the way he keeps abreast of all that happens in the States and at the Centre; especially about the top personalities. How does he get all this information?" Another leader, who was vying with him for party supremacy, observed, "He is a wizard. He knows the soft and strong points of all of us. He knows which key to press, when and how

far, to get his results". Such was also the experience of our veteran administrator, Sri V. P. Menon in their treatment of the Prinees. The genius of the Sardar lay in knowing whom to trust, and how far to trust to get the best results. The wish lingers that if only Bapu and Rajaji could have called upon him to be the first Prime Minister !

How was he able to maintain contacts with public feelings and sufferings ? He was growing old. He was always difficult man to reach. Yet, he was able to talk to about twenty persons or delegations, coming from different walks of life from various States and cities, during his daily morning walk in that Lodi Park and the following rest lasting for an hour or a little more. People would meet him by appointment or by managing to catch his eye. One or the other of his colleagues was always there ready to answer a question or offer information with an affectionate gesture. Every delegation used to move up from behind or to his side and take three or five minutes and withdraw, once he nodded and gave his smiling bow. Each delegation used to offer information, analyse a problem, seek his counsel and if and when he asked about other points or persons or the politics of the concerned area, as he invariably used to do, give the carefully weighed information and judgment of theirs. The fear of his known impatience with fools, meaningless gossip or undignified thoughts made the visitors sift their information and thus offer him only what they considered to be the most relevant and decent, and publicly important or personally interesting. That one hour of intimate contact between that old man and groups of seasoned public men or aggrieved public workers was worth more by way of public contact than five hours spent by any other minister in his office room or public meetings. Pantji tried to develop a similar contact in his lounge but it was not so effective nor was it so spontaneous or homely. Moreover, the Sardar had his own genius not only to listen but also to provoke, not only

harmony with the traditional interests of all the three powers, Tibet, China and India. His last letters to Jawaharlalji before his death, containing his eloquent, yet pathetic and paternally reasoned plea for such a sober approach, are the most effective and unanswerable criticism of the wrong policy followed by the Prime Minister. The later Chinese invasion of India, Jawaharlalji's heart-rending disillusionment with China and her cruel response to all the love lavished by him and whole of India on the resurgent China, fully under-score the Sardar's far-sighted warnings. They also justify the confidence so many of us found it possible to repose in his superior statesmanship. My support for the Tibet Liberation and Tibet Day was opposed by Nehru. And we paid bitterly by not following Sardar's advice and policies. After all he was the senior among us all, who were then privileged to shape the policies of our nation.

In another respect, he was not as forward looking as Jawaharlalji; that was in regard to Hindu Law of Property. Ambedkar agreed with Jawaharlal. Yet, thanks to the statesmanship of Pataskar, Sardar's junior minister in the Home Ministry, an honourable compromise was achieved, whereby women's rights for heritable properties came to be established even within the four corners of Mitakshara Laws. This demonstrates how the Gandhian approach could help those who are very much to the left of the Centre, those who are just to the left of the Centre and those around the Centre to work honourably together in furthering the cause of progress and people.

He was unhappy because I would not agree to go into the Cabinet when Jawaharlal was the undisputed chief, and then, continue to wrangle with him, as I was obliged to do in the Congress Working Committee, Parliamentary Party's Executive and many smaller committees. He knew the difference between the two; one of a subordinate though a colleague, and the other of an equal though a junior. But he did not agree with me. He thought that I

was missing a good chance to influence events and help our Kisans.

The latest disclosures made through the publication of the correspondence between the Sardar and Jawaharlal as to how Jawaharlal insisted upon the acceptance of his decisions even by the redoubtable Deputy Prime Minister, and the trend of his replies to my letters (Agony and Solace P.P. 206-203 letters 159, 160) protesting against what seemed to me to be his insistence upon the finality of his decisions even over and during the discussions within the Cabinet and Congress Working Committee, justify my reluctance at that time to join his Cabinet, specially when our views regarding the role to be played by peasantry and artisans as the principal wings of self-employed economy differed so radically. I had great respect for Jawaharlalji. Both of us were wedded to basic approach of socialism and humanism. But he favoured State socialism and I appreciated Guild Socialist approach, which is being experimented with by Yugoslavia and which fascinated even Krushchev. He thought peasants could not help India in becoming, as rapidly as he desired, a Socialist and industrial power, whereas I felt that India's all-round progress and prosperity could and should be achieved with the active co-operation of Self-employed peasantry etc. Since he knew about temperamental differences between us also, the Sardar respected my feelings and became all the fonder of me, for abstaining from such attractive offers and opportunities.

The Sardar's heart was the softest when and where kisans and his trusted colleagues were concerned. I used to worry him about the sufferings of Kisans caused by the Working of Controls. He agreed with me that the compulsory procurement should go and that it was a sin to turn peasants into so called law-breakers just because they stored the foodgrains produced by themselves and needed for the consumption of their families and labour. He also felt that the procurement prices were too low and

it was no sin for kisans to sell their surplus foodgrains at the open market prices. More than once did he direct the leaders of Delhi, Bombay or some other cities who were complaining about the vagaries of rice and wheat rationing and the ration-shop dealers to ask me, how the actual producers were also suffering. "Then who benefitted from all this Control Regime? He used to observe with a winkle in his eye, "Let Ranga and Jawaharlal agree. The trouble would be ever".

Just as the Charter of Permanent Settlement given by Lord Cornwallis to the Princelings of Zamindars was abolished in the first decade of Swaraj India, the latest but similar Charter of Privy Purses given by the Sardar to the Indian Princes when they agreed to merge their States with Indian Democracy has also come to be abolished by Indira's fiat on the eve of the 'Garibi Hatao' national campaign. Sardar, the national revolutionary could not have hesitated to let that last vestige of functionless feudal privilege to go the way of Cornwallis Settlement though he might have succeeded to obtain the consent of the Princes through less painful but equally effective means.

This reversal of Sardar's settlement with the Post-Independence Princes only 25 years after it was incorporated in the Constitution demonstrates how the march of social revolution could not be arrested even by what would appear, at the time, to be honourable settlement; if it is not based on useful social function.

Sardar's bronze statues have been raised in many a city in the former Princely States. But the statue in the Parliament Street of New Delhi has come to assume special significance, ever since the great Peasants March of 1964 to Parliament to protest against the 17th Constitution Amendment formally offered Indian peasants' homage to this strongest Kisan Sardar of Swaraj India. Every time, any demonstration moves through New Delhi makes it a point

to offer its homage to the Sardar at that Statue and seems to draw inspiration and strength from its contemplation of his indomitable courage. His huge bronze statues in Hyderabad, Junagad, Anand and Karamsad, his birth place are also inspiring.

Sardar's Centenary Celebrations were held in Delhi's Red Fort by rival forces of Patriots. The Prime Minister and President and all governmental forces demonstrated their loyalty and homage to the Sardar and quoted their triumphant leadership of the Country during the 1971-72 Bangladesh Crisis and the defeat of Pakistan's aggression and the emergence of independent Bangladesh, as their fitting tribute to the Sardar. The opposition phalanxes also staged their rival celebrations and avowed their admiration for the successful statesmanship of the Sardar in unifying India and thus ensuring national success in 1971-72 emergency, despite all the machinations of U.S.A. behind Pakistan's aggression.

