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Bhaurao Deoras

Deendayal—the Symbol of Dedication*

IN 1952, when the all India session of the Jan Sangh was held at Kanpur, though there were many others, the choice fell upon Deendayal Upadhyaya. He was chosen the General Secretary of the Party. The reason for this is not that he was a very competent politician. In fact, he was very much different from the ordinary run of politicians. What marked him out from others for being chosen the General Secretary were the qualities he acquired as a *swayamsevak* and as a *pracharak*, from 1938 to 1951 which made him eminently successful as an organiser. For a successful worker of the RSS, the quality of collecting and keeping people together, known as the quality of *Lok Sangrah* (लोक संग्रह) is of utmost importance. Without this quality, one cannot be a successful worker of Sangh. For one to have this quality of *Lok Sangrah* special type of life style is needed. He must be utterly devoid of egoism. Life should be simple and straightforward; his conduct should be in consonance with his profession. A person in whom there is no harmony between his conduct and his profession cannot do *Lok Sangrah*. After collecting people, if their life is to be transformed in a particular direction, if they are to be imbued with the qualities of dedication for the nation and the society, this can be done only by personal example. *Lok Sangrah* is not possible merely by virtue of oratory, intellectuality or scholasticism. These do not help in building up men.

Whether as a Sangh *pracharak* or the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh, Deendayal Upadhyaya could inspire his workers, not because he was a great intellectual, not because he spoke with authority on different aspects of politics, but because he could fully identify himself with the joys and sufferings of his co-workers. He

used to be so intimate with them, that they never took him to be a great leader and General Secretary of a great Party. They could meet him freely, even at midnight, without fixing up prior appointment. He used to converse with them in a heart-to heart manner, as between colleagues. Thus he used to exert great influence on the workers. Through his life he taught that Sangh work is essentially a work of intimate personal contact.

It was these qualities that Deendayal Upadhyaya acquired as a *pracharak* of the Sangh that stood him in good stead in establishing the Jan Sangh. Dr Shyamaprasad Mukherjee passed away, or was murdered, one year after the founding of the Jan Sangh. Therefore, the task of making Jan Sangh an all India political party devolved on the shoulders of this seemingly ordinary person, Deendayal. To set up any organisation, it requires some effort, some qualities. But establishment of an all India political party is a supremely difficult task. This difficult task was ably shouldered by Deendayal Upadhyaya from the year 1952 to 1968.

No Followers: Only Colleagues

There may be persons who call themselves followers of Deendayalji but a person who has watched him from close quarters would know that he did not make any followers. He had only co-workers. He created innumerable co-workers. And it was with their cooperation that he set up the countrywide organisation of the Jan Sangh. But even while setting up such an organisation he was particularly keen about developing the qualities required for *Lok Sangrah*. He never desired anything for himself, neither name, nor fame nor power nor pelf. His was a life totally dedicated to the nation and the society. Because of that, he could build up such a huge organisation. Had there been in him the slightest desire for name or fame or power, if he had any sort of selfish ambition, Jan Sangh after the demise of Shyamaprasad Mukherjee would have met the same fate as the Janata Party. Deendayal Upadhyaya built up a grand political party through the medium of excellent co-workers. So, whether as a Sangh *pracharak* or Jan Sangh General Secretary or its President, the secret of Deendayal Upadhyaya's success was not in his oratory, in his intelligence nor in his ability to expound any thesis, but in the exemplary life he lived. There are people who can deliver beautiful lectures on the problem of poverty, quoting facts and figures but that can hardly influence any individual life. What transform lives is the great agony one feels about the condition of the poor and the downtrodden. What is the inspiration behind a dedicated life, intelligence or heart? In our country, there is no dearth of intelligent people, those who can deliver faultless speeches on the problem of poverty, but they do not feel the pinch themselves. Their sleep is not disturbed even for a night on account of the thought of the misery of their people. How many of these intelligent people are prepared to effect some cut in their personal standard of life so as to contribute a little to alleviate the sufferings of the poor? How many of them are prepared to devote some time for their service? Do the thoughts they express, in anyway reflect in their conduct? True inspiration comes from the heart. Only those people are inspired to act, who experience the agony of the people's suffering in their heart. The intelligent only talk; they do not live a dedicated life. Deendayal Upadhyaya belonged to the former category.

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Had He Been Alive Today!

Today the Jan Sangh, which Deendayal built up brick by brick is no more. One is naturally tempted to ask as to what he would have done, had he been alive today. It is difficult to answer the question. Under the present political situation, probably he would have taken to political *sanyas*. In fact, at no time did he have any liking for politics. He entered politics because of circumstances. After the formation of the Janata Party, seeing the state of affairs, he would have kept away from all positions of power. Not only that, he would have tried to come out of it and return to Sangh. If he had still continued in it, he would definitely have bid goodbye to it the moment questions like dual loyalty were raised, saying 'I am basically a *swayamsevak;* my source of inspiration is the Sangh and whatever I am is the gift of the Sangh'. But if due to pressure of circumstances he still continued in politics, he would not have spent his time in Delhi. He would never have taken interest in the political gymnastics of party leaders. He would have been continuously on the move, keeping constant touch with his innumerable co-workers in the country, placing before them his thought and ideas regarding the people and the situation. Contact with workers, constant contact with people—that is what he always aspired for. He would not have taken part in the type of politics going on. Slowly he would have built up a worthy political structure, because for him political party was not just an instrument to capture power. Power without principle was not his aim. Keeping away from power, he would have built up a principled party or an organised structure, however small it may have been.

Deendayal Upadhyaya died comparatively young, at the age of 51. Had he been allowed to live he would have maintained the tradition of great men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jayaprakash Narayan. Today when one looks at the country, one feels convinced that it cannot be uplifted through the so-called political leaders. The tradition of rare men like Mahatma Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan and Deendayalji would have to be continued. If the country is to rise, then, a new leadership of men who do not aspire for name and fame, who do not care even for the prime ministership of the country will have to be once again thrown up. Men who care only for the nation and the society—only such can bring about the upliftment of the nation. Deendayal Upadhyaya belonged to that line of great men for whom the country was above everything else. Today, the country requires such a leadership. Had Deendayal Upadhyaya been alive, it would have been his endeavour to create men of such devotion and dedication!

*Gist from a speech of Shri Bhaurao Deoras delivered on the eve of 13th *Punyatithi* of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya at Deendayal Research Institute, New Delhi.

Justice H. R. Khanna

Centre-State Relationship in our Constitution*

THE SUBJECT which I am going to deal is Centre-State relationship as visualised in the Constitution. The subject has assumed importance in view of the fact that demands have been made in recent months by some sections of population for reviewing the Centre-State relations. It has been urged that we must have a federal set-up in the strict sense of the term and that for this purpose more powers should devolve upon the State. Demand likewise has been voiced for vesting of greater financial powers in the Centre.

Two principal forms of constitution are generally known in constitutional law. One is called the unitary and the other federal. The main characteristic of unitary constitution is the supremacy of the Central polity and the absence of subsidiary sovereign polities. As against that, a federal constitution is marked by the existence of a Central policy and side by side with that the existence of subsidiary polities. Each of these polities is sovereign in the field assigned to it. An important feature of a federal constitution thus is the division of sovereignty between one national and several regional governments. It seeks to establish a unified government in some fields of activity and, at the same time, maintains a complete regional self-government in others. The problem of every federation, in the words of Bryce, is to keep the centrifugal and centripetal forces into equilibrium, so that neither the planet states shall fly into the space nor the sun of Central government draws them into consuming fires.

Some of the prominent characteristics of a federal constitution are as under :

(i) The government of the country is carried on within the framework of a written constitution.

(ii) There exists in the country one national and several regional governments. Powers of these governments are coordinate with each other and are defined by the constitution. Separate subjects of legislation are earmarked in the constitution for the national legislature and some others for the regional legislatures. Certain federal constitutions have also a concurrent list of subjects.

(iii) There is an independent tribunal to interpret the constitution and adjudicate in case of disputes between the national and regional governments with powers to declare invalid any legislation which encroaches upon the field earmarked for the other.

(iv) The division of powers between the national and regional governments is such that each government has control over certain sources of revenue, so that each maybe, in principle if not in practice, finacially independent of the other.

There is, however, no uniformity even in the above characteristics in all federal constitutions. Switzerland has a federal constitution but there is no tribunal in it with power to invalidate federal legislation. As against that, in USA, Canada and Australia courts exercise the power of invalidating legislation in case they find earmarked for the other polity.

The fact that a constitution is described as federal would not necessarily go to show that it is really federal in character. It is always necessary in dealing with constitutions, which in the letter of law are federal, to discover how in practice the constitutional law operates. A federal constitution, as observed by Wheare, may be in practice unitary, as indeed are the so-called federal Constitutions of Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and the Argentina.

Trend Towards Centralisation

There has been a trend towards centralisation in the matter of division of subjects between the national polity and the regional polities. At the time the US Constitution was framed in 1787 Madison enumerated mainly four heads for central control : (1) Security against foreign danger; (2) Regulation of intercourse with foreign nations; (3) Maintenance of harmony and proper intercourse among the States; (4) Certain miscellaneous objects of general utility. Eighteen topics thereupon came to be enumerated for federal powers and the rest were assigned to the states. The question of division of powers again came to be considered in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the British North America Act was enacted for Canada in 1867. The Quebec Conference which was convened for this purpose enumerated 20 dominion powers and 16 subjects for the provinces. The residuary powers were assigned to the Dominion Parliament. The question was again taken up in 1900 when the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia became the subject of enactment. Thirty-nine sections in the statute enacted for the purpose dealt with federal powers. It would, however, be unrealistic to assume that the trend towards greater powers of the Centre has been the result of only the provisions of the constitution.

The needs of a modern state, the economic exigencies and a number of other factors, to which reference would be made hereafter, have all resulted in enlarging the powers of the national government. It has also in the process resulted in corresponding diminution of the power of the component units.

This is so irrespective of the fact whether the constitution of the country is unitary or federal in character. The typical instance is that of the US Constitution. The said Constitution gave to the Congress the power 'to regulate commerce .... among the several states'. At the time the Constitution was drafted in 1787 the United States consisted of thirteen states which were sparsely populated. The country was at that time predominantly agricultural with not much of 'interstate commerce' for the Congress to regulate. The advent of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ushered in the industrial and commercial revolutions. The means of communication also underwent a radical change with the invention of steam engine, telephone, telegraph, radio and air traffic. These inventions led to a sudden spurt in interstate commerce. A major consequence of the above was that even without making any change in the provisions of the Constitution, the Congress of the United States acquired, through its power 'to regulate commerce.... among the several states,' authority over a wide range of activities. This authority, according to Wheare, was not taken from the states; they never had it. It had rested from the first with the Congress; but there had not been much scope for its exercise. The growth in interstate commerce thus brought about a growth in the power of the Congress of the United States and a corresponding change in the balance of power between the Union and the States which composed it. A similar change, though somewhat less marked, occurred in Australia. There, despite the fact that the constitution safeguards the independence of the States more strictly, the control of the Government of the Commonwealth over the Government of the States has become so great that some observers, as put by Wheare, would say that in practice the States of Australia are little more than the administrative agencies of the Commonwealth.

This apart, other factors too have tended to increase the power of the Centre. War, or the fear of war, is one of the most potent factors that leads to centralisation. The defence of the country is necessarily a field for the Central government and because of that immense powers come to be exercised by the Central government not only when the actual hostilities start but also because of fear and threat of hostilities. This is so irrespective of the fact whether the country has a unitary constitution or a federal constitution. At times of war most federal governments assume almost the character of unitary governments. They do so by the exercise of the power of defence by the Central government in a variety of matters which in peacetime would clearly lie within the authority of the states. As observed by Wheare, in war federal governments come near to being unitary governments not by alteration in the words of the constitution but by bringing into the ambit of the defence power many matters of great importance which in peace time would clearly lie within the authority of the states.

Economic crisis which sometimes engulfs a nation is another factor that leads to enlargement of powers of the Centre. Economic crisis necessitates pooling of the entire resources of the country with a view to alleviate distress in those areas which are adversely affected by the crisis. On occasions economic crisis results in disparities and disequilibrium which can only be controlled by a planned national economy. This apart, economic crisis can result in imbalance in foreign trade leading to decline in foreign exchange and consequent necessity to conserve it for certain national needs claiming priorities. Such situations need

to be dealt with by planned economic measures on a nation-wide scale for which powers can only be vested in the Central government. Apart from that, it can be said that the growth of industrialisation and the discarding of the theory of *laissez-faire* has also necessitated and led to the vesting of greater powers in the Centre.

One other important factor which has led towards centralisation is the urge to have a welfare state. Welfare state postulates that the government should provide citizens with a minimum standard of welfare in the matter of education, health services and old age. It also becomes the duty of the government to make food available to the citizens at reasonable prices. Such welfare services are needed mostly by those who can, as a rule, afford them the least. To find funds for this purpose, the governments have necessarily to tax the rich and the affluent. Welfare services, in the very nature of things, have to be administered by the Central government and as such this process leads to increase in powers of the Centre.

The fact that most of the democratic countries have accepted the ideal of welfare state has according to the constitutional pandits, paved the way to increase in the powers of the Central government with the development of democracy. In the words of Wheare, democracy and centralisation have gone together in most countries of the world, and in many cases the connexion has been one of cause and effect. The nexus between democracy and greater powers of the Centre is also the theme of Alexis do Tocqueville's book *Democracy in America*. 'It results', he says, 'from the very constitutions of democratic nations and from their necessities that the power of government among them must be more uniform, more centralised, more extensive, more searching, and more efficient than in other countries'.

Judiciary and Centre's Powers

The needs of the modern state have also influenced the courts, while engaged in the task of interpreting the provisions of the constitution, to widen the powers of the Central government. According to Wheare, in the decades that followed the first half of the nineteenth century the US Supreme Court was asked to decide on many occasions just where inter-state commerce ended and intra-state commerce began. The question acquired considerable importance in the context of the industrial, commercial and transport revolutions which converted the United States into one closely interlocked economic and social system. The US Supreme Court in a series of pronouncements adopted successive formulae, the common characteristics of which was to extend the power of the Congress. As a result thereof, the Congress lacks no power to control modern economic life. So extensive has the commerce power proved to be that it has been unnecessary in the United States even to think of amending the Constitution with a view to adjust the powers of the Congress for meeting the challenge of economic problems. It is indeed remarkable that powers granted over one hundred and ninety years ago to an agricultural country with a few million people should prove effective and be capable of being adapted to the needs of a great industrial power with more than thirty times that population. In making the Constitution adapt itself to the modern needs, the US Supreme Court has played a most significant role. It has also been helped in the task by the fact that the provisions of the Constitution were couched in general language.

Unlike the United States, the judicial interpretation of the provisions relating to the distribution of powers in Canada has led to partial erosion of the powers of the Centre. At the time the British North America Act, 1867 was enacted, the distribution of powers visualised a more centralised system than that of the United States. The Act contained a number of provisions not to be found in US Constitution, which gave larger powers to the federal government. Those provisions related to the federal government to invalidate provincial statutes, the power to appoint Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces, the power to determine appeals from provincial decisions affecting minority educational rights and the power to bring local works within exclusive federal legislative jurisdiction by declaring them to be for the general advantage of Canada. Wheare was so impressed by the elements of provincial subordination in the British North America Act that he refused to describe Canada's Constitution as federal. According to him, Canada has a quasi-federal Constitution.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was the final court of appeal for Canada in constitutional cases until appeals to the Privy Council were abolished in 1949. Two law lords dominated the course of Privy Council decisions in Canadian Constitutional cases. One was Lord Watson (1880-1899) and the other was Lord Haldane (1911-1928). Both these law lords believed strongly in provincial rights and they laid down the law which gave narrow interpretation to the principal federal powers and wide interpretation to the principal provincial powers. The decisions of the Privy Council were much criticised in English Canada though not in French Canada for their provincial bias. Forsey called them the 'wicked stepfathers of confederation'. Since the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council, the judicial interpretation has permitted some growth of federal powers.

In Switzerland there is a move for amendment of the Constitution. One of the main grounds put forward by the protagonists of the amendment is that in modern times large powers are needed to be vested in the federal government and that whatever powers are entrusted to the Centre in the constitution drafted long ago are not sufficient for the purpose.

In Russia the various states of the USSR enjoy theoretically a large measure of autonomy. In actual practice immense powers are exercised by the Central government and no state would dare to think of defying the national government's directive. Although the USSR Constitution of 1936 described itself to be federal, the extent of powers conferred upon the Central Government was so very large and the degree of control, particularly of financial control over the constituent republics permitted by the Constitution to the Central Government was so far-reaching, that in the words of Wheare, "the federal element even in the law of Constitution is insignificant." The fact that one single party is in power both at the Centre and the States has also led to the concentration of huge powers in the Centre.

According to 1949 Constitution of Federal German Republic and 1946 Constitution of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, both the countries have federal governments. None of them, however, strictly satisfies the orthodox concept that the powers of the national and provincial governments should be co-ordinate. According to statutes which have been enacted in Western Germany, the Land Governments

(Provincial Governments) are subordinate to the Central Government in several respects and the Central Goverment acts for the most part through the administrative agencies of the Lander. In Yugoslavia, the activities of the People's Republic and the Autonomous Units are effectively controlled by the Federal government through the latter's control of finance.

Factors to be Considered

In considering the demand for reviewing the Centre-State relations, we must take into account the trends mentioned by me earlier. There are also a number of other factors which must not be lost sight of.

The first factor is the lesson taught to us by history. The history of India reveals that whenever the Centre has become weak, it has invariably been followed by the process of disintegration. A weak Centre has set in motion secessionist forces and resulted in loosening the ties which bind the different parts of the country together. On the contrary, a strong and stable Centre has deterred the emergence of fissiparous tendencies. It is no mere accident that the most glorious chapters of India's history have synchronised with the periods when we had a strong and stable Centre.

The background of events which preceded the dawn of Independence should not be lost sight of. While the Congress and the majority of population wanted greater powers to be given to the Centre, the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr Jinnah desired that there should be a kind of confederation and the Centre should have powers only in respect of the following subjects :

i) Defence,
ii) External Affairs, and
iii) Communications.

This resulted often in situations of confrontation, negotiation, breakdown and ultimate failure to reach an agreement. The Cabinet Mission Plan which visualised a constitutional framework on the above lines had to be abandoned. This finally led to the partition of the country. The partition changed the entire complexion of things. With the creation of Pakistan, secessionist forces within what was left of India had either to migrate or to mute their strident voice and subdue their secessionist propensities. The members of the Constituent Assembly under the leadership of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel evolved a constitutional set-up with a strong Centre. In this they were assisted by a band of jurists and leaders of great eminence like Ambedkar, Munshi and Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar. At the same time, it was realised, looking to the vast size of the country, the different languages spoken in different areas, the already existing administrative division of the country into provinces and the princely States, that a unitary system of the government would not serve the purpose. What was, therefore, evolved was a Union with attributes of a federation but at the same time avoiding certain rigidities and limitations which a strict concept of federation postulates.

In drafting the relevant provisions of the Constitution, the members of the Constituent Assembly and of the various Committees thereof had not to work under the constraints caused by political compulsions under which the Committees formed earlier under the Chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had to work and give their reports. On one side the members of those Committees had taken cognizance of what they believed to be necessary for India. On the other they took into account what they considered to be

politically feasible. The members of the Sapru Committee considered it unfortunate if the residuary powers were placed in the hands of the provinces. Yet for the sake of peace and amity, the members recommended establishment of a loose federal system in which the residuary powers in accordance with the Muslim view would be vested in the provinces. The Cabinet Mission Plan visualised a political system more akin to confederation than federation. The position, as pointed out earlier, underwent a radical change as a result of the decision about the partition of the country. The Union Powers Committee of the Constituent Assembly in the course of its Report observed that the severe limitation on the scope of Central authority in the Cabinet Mission Plan was a compromise accepted by the Assembly which we think against its judgement of the administrative needs of the country in order to accommodate the Muslim League. The members of the Committee were unanimously of the view that "it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak Central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of coordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere." The Committee accordingly suggested a federation with a strong Centre. This view also gained ground that only a strong Central Government could survive the communal frenzy and deal with the crisis which may emerge from time to time. Panikkar asserted that federation was a fair-weather Constitution and to have one would be definitely dangerous to the strength, prosperity and welfare of India. P.S. Deshmukh even went to the length of suggesting that the draft Constitution be scrapped in favour of a unitary government.

One factor which coloured the views of the members of the Constituent Assembly was the political reality that the provinces of India were already members of Federal Union during the period of the drafting of the Constitution. As observed by Ambedkar, the federation was not the result of an agreement by the states to join in a federation. The federation not being the result of an agreement, he said, no state had a right to secede from it. This view thus came to be accepted that the members of the Constituent Assembly were not the representatives of separate states coming together as in the United States to frame a constitution to become one nation. They were members of a family who, for the first time, must find a way to live together in it. Another significant factor was the existence of a powerful political party—namely the Indian National Congress—with nationwide authority. There was also the absence of strong regional or province-based political parties.

The Committee, dealing with the powers of the Union, was at first thinking of a rather weak Central Government when in April 1947 the question of partition of the country came to be actively discussed. The Constituent Assembly then postponed the debate. On June 3, 1947 announcement came about the partition of the country. On June 5, the Union and Provincial Constitution Committees met in a joint session. On the following day the Union Constitution Committee met alone. Amongst those present were Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Azad, Govind Ballabh Pant, Jagjivan Ram, Ambedkar, Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, K.M. Munshi, S.P. Mookerjee, Krishnamachari, Panikkar, N.G. Ayyangar and Govinda Menon. The tentative decisions taken by them were as under :

> The Constitution would be federal with a strong Centre. There should be three exhaustive legislative lists and the resi-

duary powers should vest in the Union Government. Princely states should be on par with the provinces regarding the federal list subject to special matters. Generally speaking, the executive authority of the Union should be coextensive with its legislative authority.

Dr. Ambedkar, in the course of a speech, observed that India might, in certain circumstances, become a Unitary State. His reference was apparently to the emergency provisions. In the Second Union Powers Committee's Report which was sent under Nehru's signature to Rajendra Prasad it was said "the soundest framework for our Constitution is a federation with a strong Centre". Introducing that Report, N.G. Ayyangar said that the Committee came to the conclusion that we should make the Centre in this country as strong as possible consistent with leaving a fairly wide range of subjects to the provinces in which they would have the utmost freedom to order things as they liked.

According to Dr Ambedkar, federalism traditionally suffered from rigidity. He pointed in this connection to the Australian Constitution, according to which exclusive authority of the Australian Parliament to legislate extended practically to three matters only. This disadvantage had been overcome by conferring upon Parliament of the Commonwealth large powers of concurrent legislation. In India, as against that, ths Union List enumerated more than 90 items.

American and Indian Constitutions

As the American Constitution is a typical federal constitution, it may be worthwhile to compare the provisions of the Indian Constitution with those of the American Constitution. The Americans have a federal government at the Centre and the State governments in each of the states. The federal government is not a mere league of states nor are the states administrative units or agencies of the federal government. To this extent there is similarity between the American and the Indian Constitutions. The differences that distinguish them are much more fundamental and glaring than the similarities. One difference is that in the United States the dual polity is accompanied by the dual citizenship. Each citizen of the United States is also a citizen of one or the other of the States of that country. Despite the fact that the rigour of double citizenship has to some extent been relieved by the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution, a certain amount of discrimination, favouritism and special advantages in respect of certain matters still exists in the various States because of the incidence of double citizenship. Under the Indian Constitution, despite the dual policy there is one and single citizenship for the whole of the country. State citizenship is not contemplated by our Constitution. Describing the US Constitution, Bryce observed that the Central or National Government and State Governments could be compared to a large building and a set of smaller buildings standing on the same ground yet distinct from each other. Dr Ambedkar, in the course of his speech while comparing the provisions of the Indian Constitution and those of the US Constitution, observed that whereas in the United States Constitution each State, subject to the maintenance of the republican form of government, was free to make its own Constitution and could alter the same, no such course was permissible in India. The Union and the States in India are part of a single framework and have to function as such. Another distinctive feature of the Indian

Constitution, as observed by Dr Ambedkar, is the power of the Union executive and Parliament to take over the functions of State executive and legislatures in times of emergency. In times of war, the Constitution is so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. In a normal federation the dual polity is based on divided authority with separate legislative, executive and judical powers for each of the two polities. This diversity, though welcome up to certain limits, can also lead to chaos. Our Constitution has sought to ensure the coexistence of uniformity in basic matters essential for the mintenance of the country's unity. We do not have hierarchy of State judiciaries and the federal judiciary. There is also in India uniformity in fundamental civil and criminal laws. Besides that, we have certain all-India Civil Services. Another singular feature of the Indian Constitution is the power of the Central Parliament to change the boundaries of the State. Although for passing a Bill making such changes, the recommendation of the President is necessary and the President has to ascertain the views of the legislatures of the States concerned, there is nothing in the Constitution which makes the views of the State legislatures binding upon the Parliament.

With regard to matters enumerated in the Concurrent List, the Constitution (Article 254) provides that if any provision of a law made by the Legislature of a State is repugnant to any provision of a law made by Parliament, then the law made by Parliament, whether passed before or after the law made by the Legislature of such State shall, unless the State law has been reserved for the consideration of the President and has received his assent, prevail and the law made by the State Legislature, to the extent of repugnancy, shall be void. The laws made by the Central Parliament in respect of subjects in the Concurrent List have thus normally primacy over the laws made by the State Legislatures. The Union Parliament is also empowered under Article 249 to make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List for a duration not exceeding one year if the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest for Parliament to do so. The duration of such laws can, however, be extended if and so often as a resolution approving the continuance in force of any resolution indicated earlier is passed in the manner given above.

Some of the other features of the Constitution are as under :

i) The power of declaration of emergency and its continuation vests in the President, *i.e.* the Central Government and the national Parliament. The States do not come into the picture.

ii) During the period of emergency, the power of the Central Parliament to make laws is not confined merely to subjects mentioned in the Union List or Concurrent List, it also extends to subjects mentioned in the State List vide Article 250.

iii) During the period of emergency, the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any state as to the manner in which the executive power thereof is to be exercised.

iv) The President, which in effect means

the Central Government, is vested with the power to impose by proclamation President's rule and take over the entire administration of the state whenever the President (*i.e.* the Central government) is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Such a proclamation has to be laid before each House of Parliament and shall, except where the proclamation is revoked, cease to operate at the expiration of two months unless, before the expiration of that period, it has been approved by resolution by both Houses of Parliament. The material thing to be noted is that it is president (*i.e.*, the Central Government) and the national Parliament who are to decide as to whether the Government of the State can or cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The state governments or legislatures have no material say in the matter.

v) The Governors, unlike the President, are not elected but are appointed by the President. The Governors hold office at the pleasure of the President. As such, the Governors look more to the Central Government than to the State Government at all crucial times because in the final analysis they owe their position and continuance in office, to the Central Government.

vi) The judges of the High Court, which is the highest court of the State and exercises the power of judicial review, are appointed by the President (*i.e.*, the Central Government). Although consultation with the Governor (State Government) is required to be made, there is nothing in the Constitution which prevents the Central Government from appointing a judge of the High Court contrary to the recommendation of the State Government.

vii) The executive power of every State, in terms of Article 267, has to be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union. The Union can also give such directions to a state government as may appear to the Central government to be necessary for that purpose.

viii) Any initiative for making amendment of the Constitution must emanate from Parliament under Article 358. No such initiative can be taken by the State Legislatures, though once a Bill making constitutional amendments has been passed by the requisite majority by the two Houses of Parliament, it has also, in respect of certain entrenched matters to be ratified by more than one-half of the State Legislatures in the country. The position under our Constitution is thus different from that obtaining in the US Constitution where under Article V the State Legistature can also take initiative for calling a National Convention to amend the Constitution if two-thirds of them apply for that purpose to the Congress.

Two Contingencies

From what has been stated above, it is apparent that apart from the general scheme

of our Constitution towards vesting of large powers in the Centre, there are two contingencies wherein the Centre can assume extraordinary powers in respect of the administration of the states. One such contingency is the proclamation of emergency under Article 352, while the other contingency is the assumption by the President of all or any of the powers of the State Government under Article 356. In view of the far-reaching consequences which flow from the exercise of either of these powers, it is necessary to ensure that resort is had to either of these measures only in circumstances warranted by the Constitution and keeping in view the provisions thereof, both in letter and spirit. It is of utmost necessity that powers in this respect be not used for partisan ends or ulterior purposes. Can we, however, say that the power vested in the Centre for this purpose has never been abused ? It would perhaps be not possible to make an unequivocal statement in this respect. It would indeed be straining our credulity and an essay in excessive euphemism to avert that there has been no misuse of the powers vested in the Centre in this respect. A feature of our Constitution which one cannot fail to notice is that if the State Government or other State agencies misbehave, the Centre can intervene and assume vast powers to rectify the situation. There is, however, no corresponding provision to rectify the situation if the Centre misbehaves. The best guarantee for such a situation is the good sense of those in power, the vigilance of the people and the pressure of the public opinion. In making the people vigilant and aware of the dangers, the Press and intelligentsia have a great role to play. It would also be necessary to create an atmosphere where in we adhere to certain norms and abide by basic rules of political morality. Some might also think of resort to judicial remedies. It may, however, be said that there is no modern instance of judiciary having saved a whole people when forces of intolerance and oppression sweep the land. The fear of periodic elections and the acountability to the electorate also provide deterrent for this purpose.

Apart from that, the forty-fourth Amendment has incorporated in the Constitution some built-in safeguards against abuse of the exercise of power for proclamation of emergency under Article 352 or assumption by the President of all or any of the functions of the State Government under Article 356. Section 37 of the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1979 requires a proclamation of emergency to be approved by each House of Parliament by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting. The continuation of emergency beyond every period of six months is also contingent upon the passing of such a resolution by each House of Parliament with the aforesaid majority.

So far as the exercise of power under Article 356 is concerned, section 38 of the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1979 provides that the assumption of such powers shall be initially for a period of six months and shall not be extended beyond one year unless—

(a) a Proclamation of emergency is in operation, in the whole of India or, as the case may be, in the whole or any part of the State, at the time of the passing of such resolution, and

(b) the Election Commission certifies that the continuance in force of the proclamation during the period specified in

such resolution is necessary on account of difficulties in holding general election to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned.

There is one more provision of the Constitution to which one may also make a reference. According to Article 263, if at anytime it appears to the President that the public interests would be served by the establishment of a Council charged with the duty of inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between states; or investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the states, or the Union and one or more of the states, have a common interest; or making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action with respect to that subject, it shall be lawful for the President by order to establish such a council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure. In view of the fact that in recent years points of friction have arisen between the states *inter se* on some occasions and on others necessity has been felt of investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the states, or the Union and one or more of the states have a common interest, the appointment of an inter-state council might need consideration. It would also perhaps be necessary in the context of new developments to reactivate the zonal councils which were appointed soon after the states reorganization, as such councils can play a significant part in focussing light on some of the problems peculiar to the states in a particular region of the country.

Unity of the People

Apart from the provisions of the Constitution, there are other factors which lend support to a strong Centre. One of the most potent factors for this purpose is the existence of a feeling of unity amongst the people. It needs not much argument to show that when a feeling of oneness and unity pervades the people residing in various states, it helps in fostering national outlook and an attitude to look at things from an all-India rather than a regional angle. At the same time, it creates a sense of kinship amongst the people living throughout the length and breadth of the country. As against that, absence of such feeling of unity and oneness is apt to create *inter se* dissensions and disputes. It also creates a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration because interested parties are bound to play upon regional passions by seizing upon every opportunity to show that there has been a discrimination against the region. Likewise, interested parties would play upon religious or linguistic passions to show that a particular religious or linguistic group has had a raw deal. For this purpose, the accusing and minatory finger would be turned towards and pointed at the Centre as the guilty party. We have yet to build the public norms that even for the purpose of deriving political advantage, nothing be done to the detriment of the country. Any such pandering to regional, religious or linguistic passions would lack elements of credibility, and not make much headway if there were to pervade a general feeling of unity and oneness in the people. On the contrary, such propaganda, even for a fancied grievance, would find receptive audience in case the people are in the grips of a feeling of disunity and obsessed by subnational sentiments.

It is, therefore, essential that forces which strengthen the unity of the country be encouraged. Unity can only be built upon

foundations of tolerance and amity. It also calls for a spirit of accommodation and moderation and a curb of extreme postures and militant stances.

Despite all the provisions of the Constitution for a strong Centre, fissiparous and secessionist forces can sometime emerge and gather strength because of the bungling, and pettymindedness of some individuals or parties. One major imperative is the need to ensure that no section of the population should have cause to entertain feeling of being subjected to oppression, injustice and discrimination. A few things rankle in human heart more than a brooding sense of oppression, injustice and dicrimination. This is true both of individual as well as of large sections of population. A basic postulate of democracy is that the minority should accept the rule of the majority and the majority, in its turn, should not rule too oppressively. Despite majority rule, democracy contemplates an attitude of tolerance towards the minorities and due deference for their views. Minorities would cover both religious and linguistic minorities. India's history shows that its brightest chapters have always synchronised with a high degree of catholicity of outlook and spirit of tolerance. Likewise, the majority needs to show better understanding of the views of the linguistic minorities. We must understand that serious harm can be done by the language fanatics seeking to forcibly impose a language. What happened to a neighbouring country when due deference was not shown to the feeling for language of the people of one region should constitute sufficient warning for all.

One of the great forces for cementing bonds of unity and oneness is the judicial system. As observed by Munshi in his note to the *ad hoc* Committee on the Union Judiciary, "the unconscious process of consolidation which a uniformity of laws and interpretation involves makes the unifying unconscious and, therefore, more stable." I feel tempted in this context to repeat what I said sometime ago. We in India are fortunate to have one of the most well-integrated judicial systems. Leaving aside some local enactments, we have the same in force in different parts of the country. The rulings of Bombay and Calcutta High Courts are cited in the Courts in Bihar and Assam and those of Kerala and Madras High Courts in the courts in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The converse likewise is true. There indeed runs through the fabric of judicial system throughout the country a golden thread of innate unity and oneness. Lawyers from one State are taken to another State to argue important cases. The judicial system has thus proved to be a great unifying force. This has been mainly due to the fact that the language of the High Courts has been the same, namely, English. Any attempt to replace English as the language of the High Courts is likely to affect the integrity and oneness of our judicial system. It might also create walls and erect barriers between the judicial system in operation in the different states and thus pave the way for its possible disintegration or what may be called the Balkanisation of our judicial system. The question of replacement of English as the language of the High Courts may, therefore, have to wait till such time as a common Indian language like Hindi can take its place in all the High Courts. Till then the linguistic zealots, it seems, would have to curb their zeal for replacement of English in the High Courts. It must also be mentioned in the above context that the language used, especially in the pronouncements of the higher courts, calls for a

a certain measure of precision and exactitude. There are shades of meaning and nuances of ideas which can make all the difference in the sphere of law. To unduly hustle the process of replacement of English as the court language would take away most of the quality of our judgements.

Greater Financial Powers to States

We may now advert to the demand for greater financial powers for the states. Under the classical concept of federal constitution, both general and regional governments, in the words of Wheare, must each have under its own independent control financial resources sufficient to perform its exclusive functions. Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar who played a significant part in the drafting of the Constitution, while conceding that independent sources of revenue were necessary for the proper functioning of a federal government, observed that "there was a distinct tendency in several federations for the Central government to act as the taxing agency. He also mentioned that the units shared in the proceeds of the taxes and received other subsidies.

The members of the Constituent Assembly were not oblivious of the fact that, under the scheme contemplated by the Constitution, State tax heads could not produce enough revenue to meet expenditure. This was also the position of provinces under the 1935 Act. The statistics presented by the first Finance Commission showed, in fact, that the revenues of the most of the states fell short of the expenditure of normal administration by approximately 15 per cent. As such, the states were dependent upon the Union for part of the revenue apart from the grants for capital development purposes.

Our Constitution visualises a cooperative system of revenue distribution. Perusal of the provisions of the Constitution shows that in the division of taxing powers taxes that have an inter-State base are under the legislative control of the Union, while those that have a local base fall under the legislative jurisdiction of the States. Among the various types of taxes which fall within the Union jurisdiction, are the taxes which are levied and collected by the Union and of which the Union retains the proceeds. Corporation taxes, customs duties, taxes levied on companies and surcharges levied on taxes belong to this category. Then there are taxes which are levied and collected by the Union but the proceeds of which are to be shared with the states. The taxes of this kind are primarily income-tax and some of the excise duties. The agricultural income-tax and certain excise duties are, however, reserved for the states. A third category of taxes are those levied and collected by the Union but the proceeds of which are assigned wholly to the states. Succession and estate duties in respect of property other than agricultural land, terminal tax on goods and passengers belong to this category. Lastly, we have taxes which are levied by the Union but collected by the states such as stamp duties and excise on medicinal preparations mentioned in the Union List. The taxes which fall within the jurisdiction of the state governments are land revenue, agricultural income and land succssion taxes, excise duty on alcoholic liquors and narcotics, sales-tax, taxes on professions and callings and taxes on vehicles and on passengers travelling by road as also taxes on luxuries and amusements.

In arriving at the above scheme of revenue distribution, the Constituent Assembly had the benefit of the views of the Expert Committee on the Financial Provisions of the Constitution. Although the

said Committee suggested that the provincial governments should have adequate resources of their own, without having to depend upon the variable munificence of affluence of the Centre, the Committee at the same time did not consider it practicable to enlarge the area of provincial taxation. According to the Committee's report, there must continue to be 'divided heads' of taxation with their 'shares of the Centre and the provinces in these heads . . . . adjusted automatically (and) without friction or mutual interference.' For this purpose, the Constituent Assembly hit upon the idea of having periodically Finance Commission and left this task to that Commission. The precedent for such a Commission was found in the Commonwealth Grants Commission of Australia. It was accordingly provided that at the expiration of every fifth year or at such earlier time as the President considers necessary, a Finance Commission shall be constituted to make recommendations for distribution between the Union nnd the states of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be, or may be, divided between them and the allocation between the states of the respective shares of such proceeds. The Commission was also to recommend the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the states out of the Consolidated Fund of India. In view of the provisions about Finance Commission, opinion has been expressed that the provisions of the Indian Constitution in the matter of sharing of taxes are much more flexible than those of other federal constitutions.

Question has been raised as to why the members of the Constituent Assembly framed provisions of the Constitution in such a way as to make the Union Government, the banker and collecting agent for the State Governments in some of the most essential matters of tax. Why was this approach adopted when, according to the Expert Committee of the Financial Provisions of the Constitution, "every province has drawn pointed attention to the urgency of its programme of social service and economic development and to the limited nature of its own resources, both existing and potential?" The Committee agreed that the provinces must have adequate financial resources if the services on which the improvement of human welfare and the increase of country's productive capacity so much depend are to be properly planned and executed. Despite all that, the most lucrative tax heads were placed under the Union for being collected and thereafter distributed among the provinces according to their needs. One of the handicaps from which the states suffered at that time was the difference in the approach of the different states. As personal income-tax provided the largest sum of divisible revenue, the Government of Bombay expressed the view to the Expert Committee that it should receive one-third of the total divisible revenue from income and corporation taxes as it was the largest contributor under these heads. The Government of West Bengal took the stand that the distribution of income-tax proceeds should be on the basis of 'collection' or derivation. According to these demands, Bombay would have received 33 per cent of income-tax revenues, after having contributed 45.8 per cent of the total revenue and West Bengal would have received her contribution of 28.6 per cent of income-tax revenue. Together the two provinces would have received between them approximately 62 per cent of the divisible amount, although they had only 17 per cent of the nation's population. When confronted with this anomaly, neither Bombay nor West Bengal stuck to its demands. They were also conscious of the fact that the

yield of large tax revenues from these two States was mainly due to the fortuitous circumstance that head offices of large business concerns were in Bombay or in Calcutta. The Government of Central Provinces and Berar in the above context came forward with the suggestion that the Union should play a more effective role and that succession tax and tax on agricultural land should also, for the sake of uniformity, be collected by the Union and distributed amongst the provinces. It was in these circumstances that the proposal to have the Finance Commission was evolved and accepted. Ambedkar described the distribution of revenues as "better than any financial system that I know of", but with the defect that the provinces are very largely dependent upon grants made to them by the Centre.

It may, in the light of the above, be considered whether more heads of tax should be transferred to the states so that their economy may not suffer from lack of viability or whether the present position should continue with Finance Commission recommending every five years as to how the divisible taxes should be divided and how the shares therein be allocated. Whatever may be the decision, it must take into account the paramount needs of defence against external aggression, communications and other vital matters which are the exclusive responsibility of the Centre and which must, in the very nature of things, be accorded a priority.

One other provision in the matter of finance which one must not lose sight of is that relating to financial emergency as contained in Article 360. According to this Article, if the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, he may by a proclamation make a declaration to that effect. During the period of such declaration the executive authority of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any state to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the directons, or as the President may deem necessary and adequate for the purpose. One effect of the declaration is that all Money Bills shall be reserved for the consideration of the President after they are passed by the Legislature of the State. There has, however, been no declaration of financial emergency so far and one can only hope that an occasion for the proclamation of such type of emergency would not also arise in future.

It is apparent from what has been said earlier that in concentrating large political and administrative powers in the Centre, our founding fathers took into account the lessons of Indian history, the trends and developments in constitution-making, the actual working of the various constitutions of the world, the experience of the different nations and the needs of a modern state. It would be inexpedient and undesirable from a long-range national point of view to tamper with the broad scheme of the constitution in this respect. Some aspects have, however, come to the surface about the potentialities of abuse in the exercise of certain powers., They have been taken care of in the Forty-fourth Amendment of the Constitution.

So far as the demand for more financial powers is concerned, it can be said that the States have a case which needs to be examined.

Despite the fact that our Constitution has vested immense powers in the

Centre, it does not necessarily follow that Centre would always present a picture of strength. It would all depend upon the persons at the helm of affairs. The provisions of a Constitution can give strength to the Centre but that is only on paper; real strength can manifest itself only if an occasion were actually to arise. The potency of a strength in fact lies not so much in the exercise of it as in the fact of its presence being felt by the recalcitrant elements. Governments like institutions reflect the strength and weakness of those in charge and operating their machinery. Great countries require great men with vision, catholicity and broadmindedness to run their affairs. Pettymindedness and narrow parochial outlook ill go with the governance of a country, much more so in the case of a big country of the size of India with a huge population, residing in about a score of states and speaking different languages and professing different faiths. It would also be wrong to believe that Centre can remain strong, if the states comprising it become weak or layout under a sense of injustice or dissatisfaction or carry a feeling of rancour. In the final analysis, the Centre would reflect the strength of the states. Well-administered and economically prosperous states, there can be no doubt, would add to the strength of the Centre.

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*From the Fifth C.C. Desai Memorial lecture held at Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad.

N.K. Devaraja

Responsibilities of Modern Indian Philosophers

THE SITUATION in philosophy in contemporary, *i.e.* post-independence, India presents a mixed appearance to cultural observers. Looking at the surface there seems to be no visible change in the activities of scholars working in the departments of philosophy in numerous universities and colleges. For one thing there is a marked continuity of interest in the exploration and interpretation of India's rich heritage in philosophy. In particular great classics of Mahayana Buddhism—some of them recovered and reconstructed from Tibetan and Chinese sources—have engaged the attention of some of our leading scholars. Scholars of Jainism, mostly the Jainas themselves, have edited and published practically all their classical works in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit. Among the Hindu systems, Realistic Schools, Tamtra Works, classical writings in Kashmir Saivism, Philosophy of Grammar and Navya Nyaya have claimed special attention. Among the twentieth century thinkers Gandhi and probably Sri Aurobindo have attracted the largest number of exponents and commentators. On the other hand, there has grown up a generation of scholars in philosophy by and large out of tune with traditional Indian thought due partly to their ignorance of the classical languages, specially Sanskrit, and partly to the influence of the anti-metaphysical trends in recent Anglo-American and even Continental philosophy.

This latter influence, particularly the influence of Anglo-American Analytical Philosophy, it may be noted, has produced a rift, a sort of crisis of communication, between scholars wedded to the tradition and those interested primarily in contemporary Western thought. Before we proceed to discuss some important consequences

of manifestations of this rift, we should like our readers to notice and appreciate the fact that no such rift divided the scholars of philosophy in pre-independence India. For during the four pre-war decades of the present century, while the Marxist gospel had begun to influence a section of our intelligentsia, that influence was confined mostly among political workers. This is not to say that teachers of philosophy were in any sense indifferent to the political aspirations of the Indian people; on the contrary the majority of them were intensely patriotic and greatly attached to the Indian cultural traditions particularly in philosophy and religion. However, these scholars contributed to the national struggle for independence mainly by strengthening the forces of cultural renaissance inaugurated during the ninteenth century by such illustrious leaders of thought as Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), Dayananda (1824-83), Ramakrishna (1836-1886) and Vivekananda (1863-1902). One important factor that sustained religious and philosophic leaders of the Indian Renaissance in their work was the respectful attitude towards our religio-philosophic heritage shown by Western Orientalists. Another factor, equally important is that it largely conditioned the attitude of aforesaid Orientalists, was the predominance of idealistic philosophies in Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and their general resemblance to the better known traditions in Indian spiritual thought.

The resemblance in question ceased to be a significant factor linking the Indian philosophic tradition with the Western shortly after the downfall of idealism in the West. India, no doubt, had its tradition of realistic thought that experienced a sort of revival after the advent of Moore and Russell in England and the New and Critical Realists in America. But this revival was too short-lived to materially affect the attitudes of Indian scholars. On the contrary, the rise of anti-metaphysical, analytical schools of thought—whose influence penetrated into the Indian mind only gradually and was articulately felt more or less after the Second World War—directly led to the rift or schism, referred to above, among the ranks of Indian philosophers. This schism, as we shall see, has adversely affected both the parties concerned.

Two Schools of Philosophers

The exponents and interpreters of our classical spiritual thought, who ushered in and lent support to the forces of Indian renaissance were inspired on the one hand by honest faith in the relevance and regenerative power of that thought particularly for contemporary India; and, on the other, by the patriotic motive of instilling cultural self-confidence in the Indian people fighting for their independence. However, in the face of the new, emergent factors on the cultural horizon of the civilized world dominated by scientific technology on the one hand, and the positivistic thought-currents, both sustained by and giving sustenance to the predominantly pragmatic scientific outlook of the age, on the other, scholars exploring Indian heritage no more command the faith and confidence of their forbears belonging to the last decades of the ninteenth and the earlier decades of the twentieth century. Undoubtedly, an important factor responsible for their loss of self-confidence is the attitude of the fellow-scholars claiming to represent the modern scientific-analytic currents of thought. On the other hand, it is being noticed that this latter brand of scholars has not so far succeeded in making any notable construc-

tive contributions to Indian philosophic thought. This is not to say that the so-called modern or modern-minded scholars of philosophy have been sitting idle and not doing writing and research work each in his own way. However, the work done over years by most of them seldom amounts to more than a record of stray reactions to issues raised and discussions conducted chiefly by Anglo-American philosophers. As a consequence an observer of the philosophical (or broadly cultural) scene in contemporary India would scarcely come across a work attempting a bold, innovatory synthesis of problems or data agitating the minds of contemporary thinkers and their interested readers all over the world. This situation obtains not only in the field of philosophy but in most of other fields of inquiry in today's India. Partly, no doubt, the situation may be due to the relatively unsettled and unsatisfactory conditions, political and economic, prevailing in the country. But, probably there are other factors that influence the course of philosophy in the country today.

Lack of proper communication between the exponents and admirers of the tradition and those having preference for modern Western thought tends, we believe, to obstruct the growth of significant constructive thought in our midst. Such thoughts should satisfy the two conditions of being Indian as well as modern. In order to qualify to be called Indian our thought should in the first place have roots in our age-long tradition; in the second place, it should in some sense express and fulfil the needs of modern India. Indeed, the thought that arises from and belongs to the soil of a country cannot but be an instrument of its self-awareness; as such its main task consists in the articulation of the aspirations and values cherished by the people. That the thought should be modern implies that it should proceed under the guidance of a proper sense of evidence characteristic of our scientific age. These statements invite some elaborative comments.

Our philosophic tradition spreads over more than two millennia. It is marked by intense spiritual seriousness and depth of conviction on the one hand and acute dialectical temper bordering on scepticism on the other. It also exhibits an immense variety of viewpoints particularly in the analysis of moral-spiritual matters and logico-epistemological issues. The long history of Indian philosophy in its three major manifestations, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu, has, with varying degrees of articulation, raised and discussed most of the problems and issues that agitate or trouble the modern minds. This will be evident to say unbiased connoisseur of contemporary thought who cares to acquaint himself with the philosophical reflections of the several Buddhist schools, *i.e.* the Sarvastivadins, the Madhyamikas and the authors of logical texts; the Mimamsakas and the Grammarians; as also the more important critics and controversialists in the Nyaya and Vedanta camps who fought dialectical battles with the great Buddhist thinkers.

A careful perusal of even a few among the major dialectical treatises in Sanskrit is enough to puzzle the minds of those trying to understand the nature and assess the role of philosophical thought and reasoning in the direction of man's cognitive culture. In our opinion scholars who confine their attention mainly to contemporary thought are likely to miss the baffling puzzlement, and the deep intellectual and spiritual disturbance, that arise in consequence of a thinker's intimate encounter with such a rich and varied tradition in philosophy as

the Indian. This is not to suggest that a similar familiarity with the Western tradition is not equally rewarding. That familiarity, however, is more or less presupposed by intelligent participation in contemporary discussions carried on in the West. But it seems that too much absorption in these discussions tends to blur the historical perspective; indeed, but a few contemporary thinkers, specially in the Anglo-American world, seem to command that perspective. Now the Indian philosophical tradition happens, in some respects, to be distinct and different from the Western, particularly in the order of issues raised by it and the amount of time and emphasis given to them severally. While sharing some of the interests of medieval European thought, Indian philosophy differs from it, first, in its approach and methods, and second, in the major, operative conceptions developed and the more important conclusions as to the wisdom of living reached by it. For these reasons that tradition, so peculiarly indifferent to the modern man's secular and scientific concerns and so thoroughly committed to a transcendent goal while yet employing ruthless dialectic in its service, is more likely to force on us the perspective of historical and cultural relativism.

Not Repudiate, But Reform

By virtue of being Indians born to a mature yet varied tradition, we are bound to find ourselves in sympathy with some of the attitudes embedded in it. We owe it, first, to ourselves to articulate our awareness of these attitudes and the varied perceptions, partly moral—religious or spiritual and partly conceptual and aesthetic, accompanying and engendering or determining those attitudes; we also owe it to other cultural traditions of the world to invite them to share with us the wealth or the burden of the perceptions and attitudes peculiar to our inheritance. In no case should we allow ourselves to think either that it is possible for us to steer clear of the tradition in thought and practice, or that it would benefit us in any way to disown it. In view of the latent influence that the tradition exerts on the course of our socio-cultural and moral-spiritual life, it will not do for us to denounce it with a view either to proclaiming our distinction from or superiority over our compatriots or to gain entry into another tradition rated superior to our own. There are several important reasons why a person alienated from his own culture should, rather than repudiate it, seek to reform and modify it from within. For one thing no civilized human being completely rid himself of the attitudes and values inherent to his tradition; the reason is that the attitudes and values in question enter into the very blood and texture of the being of the individual as the latter grows into cultured manhood—a condition necessary even for the experience of alienation, For another thing, the attitudes and values unconsciously imbibed from one's tradition are likely to interfere with effective acquisition and absorption of the perceptions and values informing a significantly different tradition. In the third place, as a convert to the new tradition the person concerned is not likely to achieve an inside view—comparable to the view he has in relation to his own culture of the contradictions or shortcomings of the alien culture or tradition towards which he is attracted. As a consequence of this it will not be easy for him to make a genuine contribution to that tradition in terms of its own accepted norms and attitudes. It may be contended that there are some purely technical areas in philosophy comparable to mathematics and also to the physical sciences that have no intelligible

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connection with one or other tradition in culture; and that such areas may be cultivated equally well by gifted individuals irrespective of their different cultural backgrounds. It is also contended by some that philosophy as a whole may be treated as a technical subject like mathematics and various scientific disciplines, the implication being that its pursuit by a person need not be influenced by his cultural affiliations. This view of philosophy is by and large unacceptable to us. For, unlike mathematics and the sciences, philosophy is concerned chiefly with the analysis and critical assessment and appraisal of value attitudes cherished by the elite in a society. It follows that there cannot *e.g.*, be a philosophy of morals, or art, or religion—even a philosophy of history or physics—which is wholly unrelated to the perceptions and assumptions relating to values entertained by a society. While it may be granted that the pursuit of some technical subjects, such as symbolic logic, is eminently free from cultural influences, it is doubtful if the *energy* and the *enthusiasm* needed for the pursuit would be made available to workers in equal amounts by different cultures. For a worker in any field can hope to receive support from the people and culture to which he belongs only when there exists a minimum of harmony of interests between him and the latter.

These, probably, are the reasons why the scholars working wholly without reference to the indigenous tradition have not been able to produce noteworthy schemes of ideas acceptable to the Indian people. The last important scheme of this type was produced by Sri Aurobindo during the pre-independence decades. No comparable scheme, acceptable to the new generations of Indians—with stricter standards of evidence and proof characteristic of our time, and with requisite degree of intellectual maturity and moral seriousness has so far been offered to the intelligentsia.

The metaphysical system of Sri Aurobindo, while lacking the logical subtlety and vigour of Hegelian philosophy, bears a general resemblance to it. Like German idealist, Aurobindo uncritically presupposes the reality of spiritually directed evolution, as also that of an Absolute regarded both as the Originating Agent (First Cause) and the goal of evolutionary process. Needless to say both these assumptions became progressively more repugnant after the re-emergence of the positivistic current of thought in the early twenties. The assumptions in question render tenuous and ineffective his lengthy reflections on society and politics, history and progress.

This, of course, does not imply that the subjects and the issues touched upon by such idealistic thinkers as Hegel and T.H. Green, Bradley, Bosanquet and Aurobindo are not important. The point is that in the changed intellectual climate of today, when peoples and governments have greater faith in planning than in a providential design and when many a prediction about history, claiming to be eminently scientific or in accordance with the governing principles of the (human) cosmos, have already come to grief, the reflections about the problems and the issues in question need a thorough remodelling and reorientation. Nor is it a good reason for ignoring those questions and issues that the same are not being debated by contemporary Anglo-American or, for that matter, the Continental thinkers. Here, indeed, is a matter regarding which the Indian thinkers may profitably follow a different line. Having devoted centuries of thought to normative ethics and cultural

history, European thinkers may legitimately ask for a holiday or a period of repose from that type of work; but the same cannot properly be claimed by the thinkers in our country where empirical matters, socio-political, moral and cultural, have long remained neglected by the acclaimed leaders of religio-philosophic thought.

Challenge and Opportunity

Regarding the aforesaid questions and concerns the philosophers in modern India are faced with a new challenge, which they may convert into a new opportunity. In the new technological environment created by the progress of science, mankind find themselves hemmed in by numerous and diverse problems of adjustment, psychological and moral-spiritual, no less than economic and political. The challenging question is: In the light of our experience as an ancient race that has withstood the storms and stresses of a variegated history, are we in a position to suggest some new yet tried remedies for the ills of the modern world? I, for one, believe that as inheritors of a diversified tradition in ageold wisdom, we can help ourselves and fellow-humans if we learn to translate that wisdom into modern terms. This means that we resist the temptation to revive today the metaphysical idiom that the ancients used in support of the wisdom in question. The enterprise may require us to look for and invent new conceptual bases for supporting the insights and or values recommended by a galaxy of our wisemen.

The foregoing considerations together with the circumstances that no person or culture today can afford to ignore the methodological triumphs of science as also its technological achievements that have brought about the meeting of peoples and cultures belonging to different parts of the globe, should enable us to see our responsibilities at this juncture in history. The problems facing the modern man are so complex and of such magnitude that he needs all the resources of knowledge and understanding, will and character to tackle them. Our first responsibility as custodians of traditional wisdom and as privileged participants in modern adventures of ideas, is to our own people. Instead of trying to forcibly uproot their minds from unhelpful tradition, we should try to introduce them to modern attitudes towards the universe and the human society in terms intelligible to them with reference to their own tradition suitably represented through reconstruction or reinterpretation. These activities need not involve either falsification or misrepresentation of the past; they should rather mean redistribution of emphasis in representing the more sensitive areas of value-perception. Both the reconstruction and the reinterpretation in question have to be accomplished with an eye mainly on the requirements of the modern age and modern mind. It is not implied that modern scholars and thinkers driven like politicians soliciting votes, by needs and requirements of the moment should proceed to deliberately falsify history. The suggestion is that assuming that the tradition actually contains some insights both valid and valuable for our age, competent scholars and thinkers should endeavour to identify and uncover them, and then proceed to incorporate them in a world-view relevant for our times. By these processes the insights in question can both be preserved and be made helpful to the onward march of man's higher culture.

It seems that even the more important and valid insights embedded in a rich tradition of longstanding can be transmitted and preserved for posterity

mainly through the agency of people born to the tradition. It is also true that people belonging to such a tradition cannot easily be persuaded either to discard, for good or bad, the insights and emphases enshrined in that tradition, or to give acceptance to attitudes and values contradictory to or radically different from those propagated or endorsed by that tradition. One of the assumptions of this paper is that such attitudes and values, with a kernel of meaningful relevance for all mankind, cannot fail to affect the minds of even radical thinkers inheriting the tradition

Conditions for Effective Communication

It is far from our intention to make out a case for traditional outlooks and to plead for orthodoxy either in religion or in morals and politics. All that we are mainly concerned with is to spell out the conditions that make for effective communication between the truly original thinkers and their compatriots having varying degrees of understanding of, and admiration for, traditional doctrines and values. In the context of present-day conditions in Indian life and culture one of our tasks is to prepare the people's minds for the acceptance of new ideas and valuational attitudes by familiarising them with scientific findings and achievements with a bearing on their day-to-day life. This objective is partly achieved by the processes of industrialization of the country and the exposure of the villagers to city life. Intellectuals particularly the philosophers, can contribute to the acceleration of the processes of modernization of the Indian mind in two ways. First, they should accustom the national mind to questioning and critically examining the tradition by highlighting the differences and mutual criticisms of thinkers present within the tradition itself. Thus a modern scholar and teacher of Indian philosophy may sympathetically expound and present the criticisms levelled by the Buddhists against the "Atman" or substance tradition of the Hindu philosophers; criticisms of Sankara's Advaita by rival Vedantic commentators; criticisms of theistic god by Jaina and Buddhist philosophers, and so on. It may be presumed that even anti-metaphysical thinkers will be more sympathetic to some positions in traditional Indian philosophy than to others. At least as a teacher, the philosopher should be able to use his modern bias for the liberation of the pupil's minds. But in our view, he has no right to pose to be indifferent to the rich and varied heritage in his country's philosophy.

Every original thinker has to reckon, by way of criticism and/or accommodation, with one or other tradition before proceeding to expound his own views. There is no reason why an Indian thinker should seek to avoid this work in relation to his own tradition. For one thing the thinker concerned is likely to injure the prospects of his own thought-system by his refusal to bring it in relationship with the indigenous tradition. Nor is it easy for an Asian thinker, however original his conceptual scheme or conceptions, to secure a footing as an effective contributor to or continuator of an alien tradition. It seems to us that such footing may be gained only by a scholar or thinker working in the field of such formal disciplines as symbolic logic and mathematics as also the physical sciences.

Do the above considerations imply that contemporary Indian philosophers have no responsibility whatever towards philosophy as a subject or towards mankind in general?

I see no contradiction whatever between serving the cause of effective philosophising in India and that of world philosophy or of philosophy as a subject; nor do I see any conflict between being useful to the Indian people and to mankind in general. It will be granted that the ancient Greek thinkers, who thought and wrote for their own people, left a legacy in philosophic and political thought that has been useful to future generations all over the world. Similar claims may be made on behalf of significant ideas developed either in ancient India or in ancient China, Egypt or Persia.

The point of these assertions is that, there being no conflict or opposition between serving one's own tradition and people and humanity at large with its varied traditions, needs and ideals, the best way to assist in the growth of world thought is *through strengthening the growth of important ideas and values within the tradition* to which one belongs. In this connection it may be noted that Mahatma Gandhi, who never yielded to the suggestion to visit and preach his gospel in Western countries, has probably exerted greater influence on world's ethico-religious and socio-political thought than any other modern Indian thinker. While working within a tradition a competent scholar or thinker help to build up and promote a significant variant of man's creative possibilities in a particular field; this variant is attended to with respect and advantage by people belonging to other traditions. Even so, the literary productions of people as different as the Chinese and the Greeks, the Indians and the Arabs, the Italians and the Germans, etc., are read and enjoyed by one another. Any deeply felt and powerfully portrayed emotional situation in a novel or play, whatever the language or the tradition wherein it belongs, proves to be interesting to connoisseurs all over the world. The same seems to be true of significant intellectual problems and perplexities and the attempts made to solve or resolve them. This is the reason why the dialectical arguments against, *e.g.* motion (or plurality), advanced by such brilliant thinkers or antiquity as Zeno and Nagarjuna, continue to intrigue and puzzle us today, even as the works of Homer and Valmiki are enjoyed by modern lovers of literature.

Indian Thinkers and Modern Philosophy

Indian thinkers can serve modern philosophy better if, having properly acquainted themselves with their powerful tradition, they draw sustenance from it in producing conceptual wholes having a distinctive flavour which, whether recognizable as Indian or not, will play a supplementary role in relation particularly to Western currents in contemporary thought. To take an instance, while Zeno finds fault with the categories of motion and plurality, to Nagarjuna those of rest and unity are equally repugnant. What Nagarjuna seeks to discredit in his Madhyamaka Sastra, is not this or that single category, but the pairs of contradictory categories in all possible combinations. His dialectical onslaught, indeed, is directed to all concepts or conceptual ways of thought made possible by the use of language, For the *Tattva* or the Real, according to him, lies altogether outside the range of our linguistic categories which, as *Vikalpas*, serve merely to distort it. While F.H. Bradley believed, like Hegal, that our thought systems progressively aimed at building up and reflecting the harmony of the Absolute, no such concession to human thought is granted by Nagarjuna or even by his successors, *e.g.* Dinnaga and Dharmakirti. To take one more instance

the Judeo-Christian tradition in religion, which holds sway even today over the Western religious mind, has never visualized the possibility of a religion without God conceived as First Cause or Creator. On the contrary, India has produced great religious teachers from Mahavira and Buddha onwards, who bequeathed to posterity some of the noblest traditions in religious thought and practice without reference to such a godhead.

In ancient and medieval India it was the passion for religion or passionate involvement in religious quest that furnished both energy and motivation for vigorous philosophic thinking; in ancient Greece the problems of morality and socio-political organisation formed the main concerns for responsible philosophers. As regards cosmology and theory of knowledge, these constituted the necessary basis for speculations in other fields. In modern Western thought while questions concerning the moral-religious life or the spiritual destiny of the individual dominate continental philosophy, those relating to the exact meaning and significance of the cognitive concepts in science and everyday life occupy the minds of Anglo-American philosophers. It seems to us that, for some decades to come, Indian philosophers may not be able to make important contributions in philosophy of science. But they can certainly develop passionate interest in issues with a bearing on socio-political life and with those concerning the destiny of man and the course of human civilization and culture. The special problem facing contemporary Indian thinkers is to forge powerful links between traditional, moral-religious or spiritual reflections on the one hand and the socio-cultural issues arising in our present-day democratic society with diversities of language, belief, custom etc., on the other. I am persuaded that the desired links can be established by bringing to the fore and strengthening the humanistic elements in our mixed heritage. I have no doubt that this, our considerable heritage, particularly in philosophic and religious thought, approached and exploited in the right spirit, will prove to be the source of renewed self-confidence and of new points of departure in our discussions of quite a few important problems relevant for our times.

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Asrarul Haque &
Sudihrendar Sharma

Is 'Crowd' Menacing?

CROWDING IS often defined as "a number of persons or things closely pressed together, without order and this refers to people in general." Overcrowding is something quite common and a matter of concern in big cities. Though, the term 'crowding' differs from man to man, its implications on our lives and society are manyfold. To a villager, a group of family welfare workers may seem to be a crowd, whereas for a urbanite this scale is quite wider. The reason often put forth is one's adjustment to the environment.

While overcrowding is a nuisance, loneliness is disastrous. A certain amount of crowding is essential for proper overall development of a complete individual. Prof. W.C. Allee of Chicago University demonstrated in 1949 that a optimal level of crowding is obligatory. Examples of various animals prove this concept. Goldfish, for instance, is one which grows faster and lives longer at a particular group density. Below or above this density, the differences in development and longevity are significant. Fresh water shrimp follows similar trend. On human population also, Prof. Allee's findings hold good.

Crowding could be classified into two distinct sub-divisions. Temporary crowding is the one often encountered during a rally, political meeting, place of prayer etc. Permanent crowding refers to the one which is taken from human settlement point of view. Temporary crowding often has more effects in comparison to permanent ones, that is why, Gustave Le Bon pointed out that crowding intensifies emotions, stimulates impulsive actions and exaggerate human sentiments to the extent that a crowd becomes more than the sum of its aggregate parts. On the other hand, Russian poet Yevtushenko said, "I need crowds, enor-

mous crowds." Quite obviously, a poet or a leader or a speaker cannot do without crowds. We do not include 'temporary crowding' in our discussion here as its effects are very short-lived and have very little implications on our mental or physical health.

Permanent crowding in big cities is common and reasons are quite clear. Exodus to the cities or industrial towns are due to wider employment opportunities and glamorous living. This is due to 'step-motherly' treatment given to the rural folks in comparison to urban lots. India is one of those 148 countries, numbered by the FAO Production Yearbook, where percentage of population economically active in agriculture has dropped in recent years. Alarming rise in population coupled with lesser employment opportunities in rural areas has kept the 'exodus' going.

World Population at a Glance

The world population is growing in a disproportionate manner. It took 1600 years for the world population to double after the birth of Christ, whereas the next doubling occurred in only 200 years. Now, this doubling period has come down to 45 years and it is expected that the present world population of four billion would double in just 35 years. Automatically, the density of population on earth's surface has risen gigantically over the years. Imagine a situation when only two persons occupied one square mile area, way back in 6000 B.C. The growth was quite comfortable, with 4 persons per square mile in 4000 B.C. and six persons per square mile in 1 A.D. The present average population density on the earth is more than 100 individuals per square mile, but this includes figures as low as one person per 500 in Tundra and as region high as 50,000 persons per square mile in many of the metropolis. While the average figures look deceptive, the present state of affairs is more critical. The distribution of space is improper. On one hand a family of five is covering more than thousand square meters with a lush green lawn and swimming pool in developed countries on the other hand, more people are squatting on a few square meters in underdeveloped and developing countries.

Indian Situation

Population in India is increasing at an increasing rate and has registered a growth rate of 24.79 according to 1971 census. This increase in population has clustered in urban areas due to wider employment opportunities and other amenities and as such the urban population has shown a growth rate of 38.21 (Table II). The population of most metropolis in India is rising continuously (Table I) over the years and there is every likelihood of a further increase.

This increase is uneven to the extent that poorer people are seen jampacking one room, while the elite class enjoys more space. It can be seen from Table III that as much as 77 per cent of the total population in Bombay is occupying one room accommodation only. On the other hand a very small fraction of the population is affording accommodations of 5 rooms or more. The state of affairs in other big cities is not comfortable. These figures do not include the sublettings, very common in our cities, which if taken into account will aggravate the problem much more.

Dr Rashmi Mayur, an authority in the field has described life in Indian metropolitan cities as a nightmare.

The density per square kilometre in Calcutta (30,276) Bombay (13,640), Bangalore (9,466), Delhi (9119), New Delhi (7,061) and Hyderabad (6,018) presents a sorry state of affairs. The National Committee on Science and Technology has observed that, "there is no scope for further absorption of population in big cities as they already reached their saturation point."

As already pointed out, the population explosion and mass migration towards cities are the prime causes of this problem; the mechanisation of agriculture has no doubt increased food production but has left more hands jobless. The establishment of major industries, educational and scientific institutions and various government departments in major cities, on the other hand have further worsened the situation. This is quite evident from the data available for Indian cities. The cities with a population of over a lakh in 1931, have risen to over-populated cities now, whereas, those with less than ten thousand people in 1931 have shown a negative trend. Thus, the over-populated cities have grown in number on the Indian map in the past fifty years.

Point of Concern

The question that automatically comes to mind is, why are we concerned about this crowding? The answer is that crowding is the root cause of many physical and social abnormalities. Lot of studies about crowding have been done on animals with extrapolation of these results to human population. These studies have shown that overcrowding leads to endocrine abnormalities of the adrenal pituitary system which brings in diseases like gastric ulcers, hypertension, kidney diseases. In addition, prolonged overcrowding may be the cause of Addison's disease involving adrenal exhaustion, muscular weakness, shock, coma and even death. In addition to these pathological abnormalities, behavioural disorders have also been recorded and they seem to appear faster than the former. Overcrowded animals show a market tendency towards aggression, violence, abnormal sexual behaviour, and break-up of stable social groups. These findings have further been interpreted to fit human systems, which provide a more clean picture of the subtle changes.

While it is accepted that overcrowding is the cause of diseases like tuberculosis, venereal diseases, emphysema, high infant mortality etc., it is also agreed that it increases the number of drug addicts, criminals and brings about more social instability. Certain examples need a mention here. The crowded population of central Chicago carried abnormally high ratio of schizophrenia. Higher rates of mental illness in densely-populated cities have been recorded in the three volume book 'Mental Health in metropolis. New York University researchers have established an interesting relationship between the height of the high rise apartments and urban crime. They have recorded that in three-storey apartments crime statistics was of 30 serious crimes per 1000 families per year, whereas in building of 13 to 30-storey apartments the crime rate was observed to be 68 over the similar population. Another study in Chicago indicated that overcrowding affected parental care, caused juvenile-delinquency and psychological disorders.

However, there are certain reports which try to underestimate the effects of crowding. A very common example cited conveniently in support of it is of Singapore. There are more than 200,000 people in this island

covering an area of 224 square miles. While it is one of the overcrowded countries, but the residents maintain good health and that is why the death rate is just 5.5 per 1000 people. But, this is not the advantage of overcrowding, it is because of the fact that a majority of population is under an age group of 20, coupled with a better planning comprising parks, green belts and other aesthetic public places. Our cities, for that matter, are most unmastered ones.

Freedman is another author, who considers economics as a cause of crowding and overrules the psychological and behavioural patterns attached to crowding. However, he also observed, ". . . . crowding intensifies peoples normal reactions to situations. If they ordinarily respond positively; they will be more positive under crowded conditions; if they are negative, they will be more negative; if afraid, they will be more afraid; if affectionate, they will be more affectionate." Thus, it is obvious that crowding aggravates feelings and responses. The chances of positive aspect are more likely under temporary crowding, whereas, permanent crowding leads to enhancement in negative aspects.

Aesthetic value is more important while planning a city. Lawns, parks and green belts give a soothing effect to the inhabitants. Meller, in his book 'Architectural Environment and our Mental Health', points out, "more buildings will be built in the next ten years than have accumulated since the beginning of civilization." Furthermore, he warns, "we should recognize that if we continue to permit the structuring of a physical environment which is essentially hostile, to which man must somehow try to adapt, the cost to individuals and society will be far too great—in terms of mental illness, delinquency, poor motivation, and fulfilment of our capabilites for creative work and community usefulness."

City planning is very important no doubt, however we have to see that the population of cities does not increase any more. This can be achieved if the population which normally migrates from the rural to the cities in search of jobs is employed in the villages itself. Creation of alternative sources of employment apart from agriculture in the rural sector is the only answer.

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TABLE I

Urban Population Projections

(Class I Cities)

(x 1000)

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Calcutta	3149	3939	4565	5242
Bombay	5971	7717	9902	12,389
Delhi	3289	3901	5027	6299
Madras	2469	3138	3967	4909
Hyderabad	1607	2023	2532	3111
Ahmedabad	1586	2254	2879	3587
Bangalore	1541	2051	2637	3302

TABLE II

Growth of Population—All India 1901-1971

Year	Total Population	Growth Rate	Urban Population	Growth Rate	Urban % of total
1901	238,337,313	—	25,851,873	—	10.84
1911	252,005,470	+5.73	25,941,633	+0.35	10.29
1921	251,239,492	−0.30	28,086,167	+8.27	11.18
1931	278,867,430	+10.99	33,455,989	+19.12	11.99
1941	318,539,060	+14.22	44,153,297	+31.97	13.86
1951	360,950,365	+13.31	62,441,190	+41.42	17.30
1961	439,072,582	+21.64	78,929,755	+26.41	17.98
1971	547,949,809	+24.79	109,094,309	+38.21	19.91

TABLE III

Percentage of Households

City	1 Room	2 Rooms	3 Rooms	4 Rooms	5 Rooms & above
Calcutta	66.49	18.55	8.00	3.78	3.14
Bombay	77.40	14.22	5.28	1.90	1.11
Delhi	57.39	26.38	9.36	4.28	3.10
Madras	53.57	24.43	10.95	5.19	5.39
Ahmedabad	57.50	27.82	7.82	3.87	3.24
Bangalore	45.40	27.50	11.90	7.40	7.80

(Jawaharlal Nehru University; Mehrauli Road, New Delhi)

Om Prakash
and
Shitala Prasad

Indian Labour Movement—IV

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

ANOTHER ALL INDIA trade union organisation, namely Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, was established in Bhopal on July 23, 1955, the auspicious birthday of Shri Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak, by a discreet thinker, Shri Dattopant Thengdi. The founder General Secretary of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, Shri Dattopant Thengdi while explaining the need and objectives of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh said "Before the formation of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, mainly two types of ideologies were prevalant in trade union field. One was the ideology of communist, who were struggling against the affluent class for the workers' cause; but they were not interested in either the well-being of the workers or in the settlement of industrial disputes. They wanted to find ways as to how the disputes could be multiplied, or how the poverty and unemployment could be increased so that as a result of these conditions, there should be feelings of dissatisfaction, which they wanted to exploit for their party's interests. They were against nationalism as much as they were against capitalism. To hand over our trade union movement to them was dangerous for our country. The second ideology opposing the communist was that pursued by the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC). INTUC's people no doubt had love for the country but they too failed to look to the welfare of the workers because INTUC was under the influence of Congress, Congress was under the government and the government was under the capitalists. So even at the time of need INTUC would not have a direct confrontation with the capitalists, meaning thereby that despite its love for the country, INTUC patronised the capitalists. From the viewpoint of workers interests, both these ideologies were irrelevant. This is the reason that we thought of establishing a third workers organisation

which would love the country like INTUC but would not be a slave of the capitalists and which might confront the capitalists when necessary but should not be irresponsible.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is such a third organisation. Ideologically, AITUC is a believer of class struggle, and INTUC in class preservation, Bharatiya Mazdoor has no faith in 'classism'. In practice, strike is the first weapon for the communists, while INTUC looks at it as untouchable; Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh neither takes it an untouchable nor as the first weapon. If other constitutional methods fail, then only Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh accepts strike as the last weapon.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has adopted 'Bhagva' coloured flag. Their insignia is human-thumb. They celebrate labour-day on 'Vishwa Karma Jayanti'. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh entered the labour field with the objectives like national interest, industrial peace, solving labour problems and to save workers from the anti-national elements. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh does not believe in class struggle and they want to remove economic inequality. To give employment to the maximum number, they demand a proper protection to the cottage or small scale industries. They are against any retrenchment in the name of automation. They are in favour of distribution of the benefits of increase in production among capital, labour and consumer.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh while keeping the workers organisation away from politics, has adopted a constructive attitude. 'Work to all' is its slogan and that is why 'save worker not the machine' and 'Labour intensive planning' are their demands. It has demanded proper share for the labour.

According to Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh the industries instead of being 'nationalised' should be 'labourised' because after nationalisation only the ownership is changed, not the slavish conditions of the labour. In this connection Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has demanded from the very beginning that, 'Nationalise the Labour; Labourise the Industries; and Industrialise the Nation.'

The activities of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh are being extended at an appreciable speed, to all the states and industries.

The following Indian industrial federations are affiliated to this organisation :

1. All India Cement Mazdoor Sangh
2. All India Sugarmills Mazdoor Sangh
3. All India Electricity Mazdoor Sangh
4. Indian Engineering Mazdoor Sangh
5. Indian Steel Mazdoor Sangh
6. Indian Jute Mazdoor Sangh
7. All India Mine Workers Federation
8. Indian Transport Workers Federation
9. Indian Defence Mazdoor Sangh
10. Indian Textile Industries Workers Federation
11. Government Employees National Forum
12. National Organisation of Insurance Workers
13. National Organisation of Bank Workers
14. All India Agricultural Workers Federation
15. Indian Posts and Telegraphs Workers Federation
16. Government Employees National Confedaration (States and Centre)
17. National Organisation of Bank Officers.
18. Indian Railwaymen's Mazdoor Sangh.
19. All India Local Self Employees Sangh.
20. All India Non-teaching Employees Sangh

21. Fertilizer W
22. Public Under
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23. Bidi Workers

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21. Fertilizer Workers Federation
22. Public Undertaking Workers Federation
23. Bidi Workers Federation

During the past years, there is an appreciable increase in the membership of the organisation as shown here under :

Year	*Affiliated Unions*	*Membership*
1974	1313	839,423
1977	1555	1,083,488
1978	1344	1,102,183

The representatives of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh have made important contribution by participating in the national and international conferences, advisory committees and seminars.

Besides, in the country there were two rival federations of the railway employees, one was the All India Railwaymen's Federation and the other the Indian National Railway Workers Federation. Both had been recognised by the Railway Board. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was the President of All India Railwaymen's Federation and Shri Harihar Nath Shastri of the Indian National Railway Workers Federation. The railway employees and the leaders of both the federations had a strong desire to unite both the federations into one. After some efforts, there was an agreement between the leaders of the two federations, which later on merged into one, after which the organisation was named 'National Federation of Indian Railwaymen' of which Shri Harihar Nath Shastri was elected President, and Guruswami, General Secretary. The unity of the two federations was short-lived. Being dissatisfied with the activities of National Federation of Railwaymen, the old representatives of the All India Railwaymen's Federation convened in August, 1957 at Poona a meeting attended by a number of representatives of various unions. This resulted in bifurcation of the federation and there were again two federations for the railway workers,

The Defence Employees Federation was founded in 1952 with Srimati Maitreyi Bose as Chairman. This was the only federation of the defence workers, but later on as there could be no unanimity of views among its leaders, a party of the workers formed a separate federation in 1959.

The National Federation of Posts and Telegraphs Employees submitted to the Government a number of demands from the workers which included the demand for appointment of the Second Pay Commission and a rise in the dearness allowance etc. Seeing no satisfactory action by the Government, the Federation gave a notice for strike on August 8, 1957. The Government issued an ordinance to stop the strike. Owing to the intervention of the Prime Minister and some MPs the employees abandoned the idea of going on a strike. The Government appointed the Second Pay Commission. In July, 1960, the Government again issued an ordinance on receiving a notice of strike from this federation.

The All India Port and Dock Workers Federation, planned a protest strike in November 1955. This federation had been formed in 1954. The federation had placed before the Government a number of demands, but seeing that no action was being taken on them it had proposed to protest by launching strike. Thrice had the Federation decided to go on strike. On non-

fulfilment of demands, but every time on the assurance of the Government they postponed it. At last in June 1958, the employees were obliged to go on strike. Through the intervention of the Union Transport Minister, the strike was called off, and he assured the workers that the recommendations of the Chaudhari Report would be acted upon.

There was industrial unrest in 1958 in the coal and iron industries also. The employees of Jamshedpur declared a strike, which was quite fruitless and the employees derived no benefit from it. The working journalists also formed a union to voice their demand to determine standard wages for them. The Government appointed a wage board which gave its recommendations to the Government. These proved a very difficult problem for the working journalists and as a result, the publication of a number of papers was stopped.

The Second Pay Commission began to work in October, 1957 and in December, it recommended an interim relief to the employees with effect from July, 1957. The fifteenth Indian Labour Conference unanimously took a number of decisions and laid down the following norms to determine the minimum wage:—

1. In calculating the minimum wage the standard working class family should be taken to comprise three consumption units for one earner, the earning of women, children and adolescents being disregarded.

2. Minimum food requirements should be calculated on the basis of a net intake of colories as recommended by Dr Akroyd for an average Indian adult of moderate activity.

3. Clothing requirements should be estimated on the basis of a per capita consumption of 18 yards per annum, which would give for the average workers family of four, a total of 78 yards.

4. In respect of housing, the rent corresponding to the minimum area provided for under Government's Industrial Housing Scheme should be taken into consideration in fixing the minimum wage.

5. Fuel, lighting and other miscellaneous items of expenditure should constitute 20 per cent of the total minimum wage.

As regards rationalisation, it was decided that it should be adopted without retrenchment of the employees, the profit should be equally distributed among the community, the employer and the workers. The workload of an employee should be determined by the expert.

The Government has been taking keen initiative in paving the gulf of tension between labour and the management for the benefits of all the concerning groups. To this end in the fifteenth session of Indian Labour Conference in 1957 the measures of maintaining better discipline and improving the attitudes were discussed and a code was evolved in the succeeding years.

To enable the management and the unions to carry on their work properly the code of discipline framed in 1958 laid down following principles with regard to the recognition of trade unions:—

1. Where there is more than one union, a union claiming recognition should have been functioning for at least one year after registration; where there is only one union, this condition would not apply.

2. The membership of the union should cover at least 15 per cent of the workers in the establishment concerned. Membership would be counted only of those who had paid their subscriptions for at least three months during the period of six months immediately proceeding the reckoning.

3. A union may claim to be recognised as a representative union for an industry in a local area if it has a membership of at least 25 per cent of that industry in that area.

4. When a union has been recognised, there should be no change in its position for a period of two years.

5. Where there are several unions in an industry or establishment, the one with the largest membership should be recognised.

6. A representative union for an industry area should have the right to represent the workers in all the establishments in the industry, but if a union of workers in a particular establishment has a membership of 50 per cent or more of the workers of that establishment, it should have the right to deal with matters of purely local interests such as for instance, the handling of grievances pertaining to its own members. All other workers who are not members of that union might either operate through the representative union for the industry or seek redressal directly.

7. Only unions which observed the code of discipline would be entitled to recognition.

A procedure was also adopted to verify the number of members in the trade unions. In order to implement the resolutions passed at the Indian Labour Conference, and to probe the difficulties on this account, a committee for 'coordination and evaluation' was formed under the Union Labour Ministry. Later on such committees were also formed in states.

In our industry, the partnership of the employees is a progressive step, by which, the workers get a respectable position in the industry and they cooperate for an increase in production. This arrangement would lead to the realisation of Mahatma Gandhi's dream of 1918 when he had expressed himself thus:—

> "The labourers should enjoy partnership with the owner in an industry. It is very proper that the relation between the employers and the employees should be similar to that between a father and his son. A son enjoys the benefit of his father's experience, and knowledge, so should the employees do from the employer. I am trying to evolve a condition in which the employer should not exploit the employees nor should the employees deceive the employer."

Many industries have experienced the need for cooperation of the trade unions and they have effected important agreements with the trade unions.

In May, 1958 in the Indian Labour Conference held at Naini Tal in U.P. the representatives of four central organisations viz., the INTUC, the AITUC, the HMS and the UTUC adopted a code of conduct for mutual cordial relations. The following principles were laid down in this code:—

1. Every employee in an industry or unit shall have the freedom and right to join a union of his choice. No coercion shall be exercised in this matter.

2. There shall be no dual membership of unions. In the case of representative unions, this principle needs further examination.

3. There shall be unreserved acceptance of, and respect for, democratic functioning of trade unions.

4. There shall be regular and democratic elections of executive bodies and office-bearers of trade unions.

5. Ignorance and backwardness of workers shall not be exploited by any organisation. No organisation shall make excessive or extravagant demands.

6. Casteism, communalism and provincialism shall be eschewed by all unions.

7. There shall be no violence, coercion, intimidation, or personal vilification in inter-union dealings.

8. All central labour organisations shall combat the formation or continuance of company unions.

The report of the Second Pay Commission was published in December, 1959. The Government servants desired that the Government should implement the recommendations of the Commission after agreeing to a few changes in them, but the Government was not prepared to consider any such change in the recommendations. No solution could be found to the problem, by mutual exchange of views. Consequently, the Government servants resolved to go on a strike. To defeat the strike the Government passed the "Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance 1960" by which it was considered to be an offence to organise strike or to encourage all, among the employees of the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and such other important departments of the Government. In spite of it, the Government servants staged a strike from the midnight of 11th July, 1960. The strike continued for five days and ultimately failed.

After 1958, trade union functions entered a new era. The acceptance of resolution in the fifteenth Indian Labour Conference marked the commencement of voluntaryism in the history of Indian trade union movement. Trade union functions were not only limited to the securing of the material gains for the workers as well as settling industrial disputes but they were entrusted with the responsibility of giving new shape to the industrial relations, to cooperate in the industrial management and to regularise the inter-union relations. It was expected henceforth that the unions would take care of the welfare of the worker as also of the industry, along with they would keep a vigil over the national economy and social justice, and would take over responsibility for contributing to these factors. Inter-union code of conduct, which was accepted almost the same time and the adoption of Industrial Truce Resolution in November, 1962, owing to Chinese aggression, contributed in the promotion of the feelings of voluntaryism. For a period of about ten years, the trade union movement was saved from a split of any serious type.

On the other hand we would observe that with the exception of banking industry and some public sector undertakings, the entire period of trade union movement could be considered as 'Achievementless Decade". The rank and file of workers became frustrated especially after the enactment of Bonus Act 1965. Under these

circumstances many trade union leaders were also discouraged. As a result of all this once again the tendency of separation or of forming new organisations grew up. Some new central organisations which came up were as under :

1. *Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (HMP)*:— Samyukt Socialist Party formed a new labour organisation in 1965, namely the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat. This organisation was functioning independent of the recognised central organisation, Hind Mazdoor Sabha. So far this organisation is not popular in all the states. The merger of Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) and Hind Mazdoor Panchayat effected in a convention held in Bombay in February 1979.

2. *Centre of Indian Trade Union* (CITU):— As a result of split in AITUC in 1969, the Communist Party (Marxist) established a separate central organisation of unions known as Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU). This organisation became very popular immediately owing to its functional strategies; and membership from other organisations including AITUC, came in a big way to its fold. At present it is considered as a strong labour organisation in the labour field.

3. *UTUC (Lenin Sarani)*:—A split in UTUC resulted in the formation of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), having the support of those favouring Lenin ideology. The activities of this organisation are limited to West Bengal only.

4. *National Labour Organisation* (NLO):— This organisation was formed in 1971 in Gujarat and its activities are mostly limited to that state only.

National Labour Commission

In 1966 the Government of India appointed the National Labour Commission under the Chairmanship of the former Chief Justice of India, Shri P.B. Gajendragadkar. Shri B.N. Datar of the Ministry of Labour was the Member-Secretary of the Commission.

As recommendations of the National Commission on Labour (Report submitted in 1969) in connection with the trade unions are as follows:

According to the Commission the workers themselves should decide about their basic objectives for their organisations in view of the experience and needs. These organisations of workers should work as per direction of their members and also they should keep in view the legal situation in the country. The unions while protecting the interests of their members, would also be entrusted with the task of performing social responsibilities.

The Commission Recommended that the formation of craft/occupation unions should be discouraged while formation of centre-cum industry and national federations should be encouraged. Number of outsiders in the union executive be reduced and the leaders within the industry should be encouraged and entrusted with responsibility.

According to the Commission, the question of recognition of the trade unions should be left to the central organisations to decide and the Labour Court should intervene only where these organisations fail. As regards registration of trade unions according to the Commission, at the level of factories and industries, all unions should be compulsorily registered but this condition would not apply to the central organisations. The condition for registration could be minimum 10 per cent of the regular employees or one hundred, which-

ever is less. The subscription of the union should be raised from 25 paise to rupee one.

Trade Union Unity : *(Some Efforts)*

INTUC—HMS Consultative Committee:— In May, 1971 INTUC and HMS appointed a joint consultation committee. The objective of this committee was to explore possibilities of putting forward collective views on some common issues and to express jointly views on national and economic policy. But this consultative committee could not function in an effective way and its meetings were very few.

Because of the similarity on the political and other issues the question of the possibility of merger of these two central organisations (INTUC-HMS) was very hotly being discussed in 1973, a 12-member joint committee was organised for the purpose. This committee was expected to look into the possibilities of the merger of the two organisations. But owing to certain problems, the merger could not be materialised.

National Council of Trade Unions

In July, 1970 in the meeting of standing labour committee of Indian Labour Conference, it was felt that the three central organisations INTUC, HMS and AITUC had no similarity of views on some issues, like right to strike, governmental intervention in industrial disputes and the appointment of industrial relations commissions. The Government of India suggested that some informal discussions should be held among these organisations. As a result of this, meetings of the representatives of these unions were arranged and in one such meeting a proposal to have a national council was put forward. The National Council of Trade Unions was formed on May 21, 1972. But immediately afterwards on the issue of representation, difference came up. Even then without any constitution and without settling the issue of representation, many informal meetings among these central organisations were held and many important questions like bonus etc., were discussed. But for lack of attitudinal changes which could give efficiency and solidarity to the National Council, this effort has also proved futile although there was a feeling that such councils could be of immense benefit to the working class.

United Council of Trade Unions

A parallel to the National Council of Trade Unions some new central organisations of workers formed in 1972 another body called the United Council of Trade Unions. The central organisations which formed them included CITU, UTUC, HMP. This body also failed to do any remarkable work for the interest of the workers and presently there is no activity worth mentioning.

Third Pay Commission

As result of the tremendous struggle carried over by the central government employees, the Government of India appointed the Third Pay Commission in 1970. The report of the Pay Commission was presented to the Parliament on April 2, 1973. The Commission recommended Rs. 185/- as minimum basic pay per month for the Class IV employees in the beginning. The employees were dissatisfied with the recommendations of the Committee (established by the Commission for this purpose). The workers started agitation against this recommendation. The Government accepted this demand of the workers and raised the mini-

mum basic pay for the Class IV employees from Rs. 185/- to Rs. 196/-.

National Apex Body

In 1975 the Government of India formed a National Apex Body (NAB) in which the representatives of industries and workers were to discuss the problems of the industries. It was expected of the NAB to review the industrial relations situations and to suggest ways and means to improve them in time. In all there were 21 members. Although it was said to be a bipartite body yet in all its meetings Labour Minister and representatives of other ministers were also present.

While concluding our discussion on the trade union movement in India, we have to make certain inferences from the factual data presented briefly in this article. The foremost idea which comes to mind is that the so-called multiplicity is now a basic reality and to have a single central trade union organisation to coordinate and direct the trade union movement in this country is nothing but a utopia. We have seen that the compartmentalisation is owing to ideological differences. So far the attempts towards unity are said to have been hindered by the basic ideologies. The best course is to accept this bitter reality and make efforts that the central trade union organisations should carry ideological clarity to everyone of their affiliates, rank and file and even the people at large so that once for all the confusion created by vague ideologies and objectives be done away with. Further, once these clarities, an ideological and functional issues, are obtained, there will be much room for cooperative and coordinated efforts to work on all the accepted and common objectives, which are sure to be many, all being claiming to be working for the interests of the working class. For this purpose, coordinating committees at the lower level and an Inter-Union Apex Body at the national level can be created, while all the organisations are functioning independently.

Inter-union conflicts are no longer less harmful for the movement. As a matter of fact they precipitate creation of a new or rival organisation, after taking shelter of an ideology. Whether these conflicts are political or personal they can be settled through resort to internal arbitration system or by creating an effective internal grievance handling machinery. Resorts to litigation, leg-pulling and thereby crippling bonafide trade union activity, will have to be vehemently discouraged.

It is high time the trade unions should rise above the "Bread and Butter" trade union movement. Obviously they should extend their horizon to take into fold the issues so far untouched. Removal of disparity, may be for wages, legal applications, representations etc., needs immediate attention. Further they should take up the social responsibilities of implementing the national economic and welfare schemes on the working class, to save them the drudgery of economic and social backwardness. Thus they will have an effective role in formulating the national, economic, social and political policies, thereby starting a new phase of our trade union movement.

Having embarked on a broad range policy of national reconstruction, India is advancing fast through five year plans towards its goal. It is being attempted to incorporate democratic principles in every sphere of life. Application of the principles of democracy in the industry would eventually establish permanent industrial peace and develop

cooperative spirit for common interest. The responsibility of the trade unions is, therefore, quite heavy. Now the trade unions should attempt to make their members fit to shoulder the future responsibility. But unfortunately the present labour movement is working under the curse of narrow tendencies. The present trade unions are units dominated by political parties, which use them for their political ends, and are, therefore, not wholly devoted to the interest and welfare of the workers. They should be free from political influence and function solely for the benefit of the working class. The delicate plant of labour movement, which (managed to keep up its existence) under the dark shade of repression of a foreign power, does not appear to be flowering even in the blooming spring of independence.

If untiring efforts are made to carry on the labour movement on the principles of industrial democracy and equality, the country will have a solid, and powerful labour union, which will not only satisfactorily solve the routine problems of the workers but will also be able to raise their social, economic, political and cultural standards and to make them better citizens of the great country—that is ours !

(Concluded)

V.P. Varma

Influences of the Ancient Indian Political Thought on Modern Indian Political Thought

IF WE interpret the Vedanta in a comprehensive sense then we can say that there is a great resemblance between the idealistic metaphysics of Kant, Hegal and Schelling and the Vedanta of Sankara and Ramanuja. The pantheism of Spinoza (1632-1677), the pluralistic monadic idealism of Leibnitz (1646-1716) and the pietism of the Swiss mathematician and religious thinker Swedenborg (1688-1772) have their parallels in the history of Indian idealistic thought. Ram Tirtha also maintained that the teachings of Carlyle and Ruskin were derived from the philosophical teachings of Kant, Schopenhauer and Fichte, which in their turn represent the direct inspirations of Hindu philosophy. Edwin Arnold, Walt Whitman, Thoreau, Emerson and Edward Carpenter were also influenced by the Vedanta. Ram Tirtha upheld the view that Christian Science, Theosophy and American spirituality represent the direct and the indirect legacy of Indian thought.[1] Even in modern times the influence of the Vedanta has been felt on world thought. Tolstoy was influenced very much by the Buddhistic philosophy of compassion which in one sense can also be regarded as the legacy of the Vedic and the Upanisadic culture to Buddhism. Tolstoy had also read the Gita. Max Muller was a great admirer of the Vedanta[2] and he definitely said that for the preparation of a moral life and the cultivation of inner virtue the Vedanta might be regarded as an unparallelled system of thought. Paul Deussen was another great admirer of the Vedanta and he was of the view that Sankara, Plato and Kant represented the height of philosophic achievement because they enunciated a distinction between the real world and the phenomenal world. In the post-First World War period there was a revival of idealism, humanism and humanitarianism in several countries of Europe. It is not possible to

trace a direct relation between the Scandinavian, Celtic[3] and Slavonic idealism and the teachings of the Vedanta and Buddhism but it may not be far from the truth to say that Western idealism, humanism and humanitarianism show a spiritual kinship to a type of thought which has been cultivated in India for centuries. Josiah Royce, Bradley, Joachim, Edward Caird, Ouspensky and other idealists and intuitionists accept, in some form or other, super-intellectual elements in philosophical gnosis, although they are not as trenchant in their condemnation of intellectual categories as the exponents of Indian mysticism.

Gita and Indian National Movement

Most historians are now agreed that the Gita was written round about the period from the fifth to the third century B. C. Ancient Indian tradition would ascribe a more remote beginning to it. Since the book was written, it has continued to influence the lives of people and the thought of mystics and intellectuals. In modern India the Gita has been interpreted as a Bible of Indian nationalism. The social and political implications of the book have been stressed by Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. Although in his writings as a yogi, Sri Aurobindo interprets the Gita as a luminous spiritual synthesis of Karmayoga, Jnanayoga and Bhaktiyoga—the essence, core and supreme teaching of the Bhagvadgita being the devotional surrender of man into the hands of the divine and total conversion of the human agent into the voluntary agent for the execution of the divine will and action (दिव्य कर्म). In his career as a teacher, prophet and leader of Indian nationalism, Tilak interpreted the Gita as a gospel of selfless action which sanctions even violence and battle for a righteous cause. The fact that the Gita could serve as a solace to thousands of workers in the cause of the nation and could spur them to the path of selfless action testifies to the inner vitality of this great book. It provided the spiritual strength to thousands in bearing calmly and stoically their sufferings. Modern Indian nationalism has been nurtured not only by the teachings of Burke, Mazzini and Mill and the gospels of the American and French Revolutions, but also by the teachings of Nishkama Karmayoga as inculcated in the Gita. To a prostrate and defeated nation the Gita appeared as the gospel of vitality, strength and power. It helped to increase the capacity to endure deep anguish and profound sorrow. It is interesting to note that some Indian martyrs went to the gallows uttering the famous *slokas* in the second chapter of Gita which preach the imperishable character of the human atman. Thus the Vedantic metaphysics of the immortality of the atman was used in modern India to support the theory and practice of political resistance against an alien civilization and imperialistic power. The Gita teaches that without any hesitation one should stick fast to his duties. In the fight against British imperialism the scales were not equal. Hence the Gita teaching alone could goad the Indian people to heroic efforts and sustain them in the face of misery, starvation and persecution.

Role of Indologists

While several of the Western orientalists and indologists were content with interpreting Indian texts on the basis of philology, comparative history and linguistic paleontology, thinkers like Schopenhauer, Frederick Schlegel (1772-1829),[4] Max Muller and Deussen (1845-1919) had great appreciation for ancient Indian thought and their flat-

tering remarks were widely utilized to buttress the faith in the value of old scriptures and their precious wisdom. Vivekananda hailed Max Muller as a sage, and both Tilak and Gandhi quoted him. Ram Tirtha quoted Deussen. The great interest of Western scholars in Sanskrit led to the founding of the new sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology. Franz Bopp (1791-1867) is a landmark in comparative philology[5] and Roth in Vedic philology. Max Muller's name is intimately associated with the new discipline of comparative mythology and comparative religions.[6] A.J.A. Dubois, Prinsep (1788-1840), Fergusson (1808-1886), Cunningham, Grierson (1847-1941), James Burgess, Fleet and Hultzsch were leaders in the foundation of the new disciplines of Indian philology, ethnology, art, history and Indian archaeology. Korosi, G. Turnour, Fausboll, R.C. Childers, T.W. Rhys Davids, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Stcherbatsky (1866-1942), Poussin (1869-1938), Paul Dahlke and a few others were some of the pathmakers in the field of Buddhistic studies. The Western scholars were also interested in the problems of the original cradle of the Indo-European speaking peoples and they wrote hundreds of volumes bearing on ancient Indian studies.[7] M. Elphinstone (1779-1859) and Vincent A. Smith (1848-1920) have been leaders in the construction of a systematic history of India. The philological and mythological researches of Jones, Bopp, Roth, Max Muller and others convincingly demonstrated even to the rabid exponents of colonialism and cultural imperialism that the dark-skinned Hindu was also descended from the same common ancestors as the Greeks, Latins and Teutons. Even the black-skinned Dravidian was also a member of the primary Caucasian race. Sanskrit and Vedic-philological researches generated self-confidence and self-esteem among Hindu social and religious leaders. Vivekananda militantly proclaimed that all Hindus were Aryans. It can be safely asserted that Western indology was a contributive factor to the cause of Indian cultural nationalism.

Modern Nation Builders and Ancient Hindu Thought

Ram Mohan Roy eloquently taught the concept of the goodness of an Almighty Power. He did accept the metaphysical spiritual monism of the Upanishad, but he was also a monotheist. The unity of godhead was the central concept of his philosophy. Ram Mohan had been inspired by the simple and elevated moral teachings of the New Testament but he never subscribed to the doctrine of the trinity. Due to the possible influence of the Koranic concept of Tauhid or unity of God, Ram Mohan repudiated the traditional polytheistic ideas of the Hindus.[8]

Dayananda's political philosophy represents a synthesis of the ideas of the *Manusmriti* and the Vedas. From the *Manusmriti* he adopts the conception of a monarchy thoroughly rooted in obedience to *Dharma*. Manu had championed the notion of a conquering monarch who rules in conformity with *Dharma* and with the help and cooperation of the ministers. This ideal sketched in the *Manusmriti* has some resemblance to the eighteenth century ideal of philosophical kingship practised by Joseph II of Austria and Frederick II of Prussia. In the Vedas, there are references to assemblies and the election of the king. Dayananda stresses the element of election. The king, he interprets to be a president of the assembly. According to him the wisest and the most learned among the members

of the assembly was to be elected the king or the president.

He accepted the Vedas to be the fount of scientific and metaphysical knowledge. It is one of the prime concepts of Vedic culture that political authority—*Kshatra*—should be aided by *Brahma*—spiritual and moral authority. Hence Dayananda put the primacy on moral renaissance. He could never sanction any isolation of political considerations from moral considerations. He always pleaded for the guidance of the political rulers by spiritual leaders. Hence, it may be said that he would suspect a nationalism based on secularistic and materialistic considerations. A political motivation removed from the consideration of the good of mankind would repel him because he adhered to the famous Sanskrit maxim—"Good people use their power for the cause of altruistic philanthropy."

Rabindranath Tagore adheres to the concept of '*satyam, shivam, advaitam*' of the Manduka Upanishad. He was also a monotheist but not of the stern Hebraic brand. The monotheistic faith that he inherited from his father and from the atmosphere of the Brahmo Samaj was tempered by elements of pantheistic monism. To some extent he was an aesthetic integral monist believing in the supreme creativity of a super-spirit who is the fullness of love. In his later writings he regarded the absolute as Supreme Man and intensely believed in the conception of the Supreme Person. He, thus, imparts a deep personalistic content to his conception of the spiritual real. He not only accepted the supremacy of one sempiternal absolute spiritual being but was also influenced by the Upanishadic concept of divine immanence and the Vaishnava concept of personal supreme being,[9] and was of the firm view that God is realized through intuitional immediacy which goes beyond logical propositional ratiocination and conceptual arrangement. Sometimes Tagore regards the highest reality as a formless, speechless, colourless abstract being, while in several other passages he refers to a concrete universal real who can be adored and loved[10] because the ultimate reality is mind and person and not simply a law or impersonal substance. Thus in Tagore, as in several other schools of Indian thought, we find the simultaneous acceptance of pantheistic immanence and monotheism. He regards nature and history as the expressions and revelations of the boundless creativity of the eternal spirit.[11] There is no contradiction in the simultaneous acceptance of an absolute spiritual real being and his never-ceasing spiritual creativity.

Aurobindo

Both Rabindranath and Aurobindo have been hailed as intellectual and literary geniuses and wielders of a creative pen. Both were metaphysical idealists and accepted the operativeness of moral forces in the governance of historical fluctuations and dynamics. Both reacted against the rigourism and asceticism of Vedantic illusionism (*Mayavada*). Both were men of devout religious sensibility. Both upheld an organic conception of society. Both were great patriots. Both were champions of Swadeshi and in their later careers, both became prophets of cosmopolitanism and human unity. Both wanted the synthesis of the East and the West and both passionately and deeply felt that this synthesis should be governed by the dominance of Eastern spirituality.

But while Aurobindo was inspired by the

Vedic concept of Truth-consciousness and esoteric illumination, the Upanishadic conception of immanence appealed to Tagore. As a supramental mystic, Aurobindo wanted to psychicize and transform man, but Tagore, the sensitive poet, loved man as stationed in the world with its flowers, its sunshine, the beauty of the moon and the grandeur of the mountains. He painted the moving picture of pathos, mourning, frustration, humiliation, unhappy consciousness and tragedy. While Aurobindo was thrilled by the splendours of the divine life and the poetic illumination of Yoga, Tagore was singing hymns of glory to Nara and Narayana (symbols of divine humanism). While Aurobindo is a prophet of emancipation and liberation, Tagore is an ardent expounder of poetic exaltation and emotional transfiguration.

Aurobindo was an acknowledged prophet of an exalted, inspired, Indian nationalism that would be nourished by the consecration of all citizens at the altar of the Mother Goddess that is India. But Tagore was repelled by the mechanical barbarism and imperialistic exploitation of the modern nation-states.

Vivekananda did not construct any systematic theory of history. It is possible, however, to piece together some of his ideas in this field. Although as a mystic and a Vedantist he believed in the sole highest reality of the Brahman, he has also given us some reflections regarding the evolution of world history. He felt that the history of the world was a manifestation of the four principles which find their concrete realization in the fourfold social *varnas*— the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Shudra. The spiritual principle, he felt, was embodied in Indian history; the history of Roman expansion and imperialism represented the Kshatra or military factor in action; the epoch of British mercantile aristocracy was the concrete demonstration of the ascendancy of the Vaishya principle,[12] while the Shudrocracy of the future will be represented by American democracy.[13] By and large, he felt that the East symbolized the concept of suffering while the West typified the notion of action and struggle.[14] According to Vivekananda, Vedanta had been not merely a philosophy for ascetics and contemplative philosophers but a great factor in the advance of civilization. He accepted that Indian thought influenced Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Neo-Platonists like Prophyry, Iamblichus, etc. In the Middle Ages, Indian thought entered Spain. He accepted Moorish influence on Spain and recognized the impact of the science of the Arabs on the formation of European culture.[15] In the modern world, Indian thought had been influencing western Europe, especially Germany.[16]

Tilak

Tilak was a believer in the Advaita philosophy. The concept of the highest spiritual absolute which is referred to in the Nasadiya hymn of the Rigveda and is elaborately discussed in the Vedantic philosophy of the Upanishads, the Vedanta Sutras and the Bhagavadgita, profoundly appealed to him. For purposes of religious devotion, however, he accepted the notion of a personal god. In a speech on the Hindu religion delivered in 1901 at Calcutta he said : "Religion in the true sense of the word means and includes the knowledge of the nature of god and soul and of the ways and means by which the human soul can attain salvation." For people of less developed consciousness he accepted the importance of religious symbols. These symbols and their religious efficacy are recognized by the Upanishads and

by Badarayana and Sankara. Tilak also believed in the incarnation of God and accepted that Krishna was an incarnation of God. He has dedicated his monumental commentary on the Gita to Krishna. He was a philosopher but he accepted also the necessity of devotion or Bhakti in the religious life. Tilak was not opposed to religious ceremonies. He did accept that the specific religious ceremonies could and did change. But so long as they were not formally changed he wanted that they should be observed. He was a *Sanatanist* Hindu and had pride in his religion. But his adherence to the Hindu religion was not a matter of mere traditional acceptance or of acceptance based on mere intellectual argumentation. He also accepted the reality of mystic experience obtained by seers and yogis. But he did acknowledge that the highest knowledge leading to the final release could be obtained even by Karma-yogins leading the life of a householder.

The dominant metaphysical assumptions of Tilak influenced his political ideas. He was a Vedantist. The metaphysics of non-dualism of the Vedanta, implied, according to him, the political conception of natural right. Because the spirit is the supreme reality and because all men are portions or aspects of that absolute essence, hence all have the same autonomous spiritual potentiality. Hence Advaitism taught him the supremacy of the concept of freedom.[17] "Freedom was the soul of the Home Rule Movement. The divine instinct of freedom never aged . . . . Freedom is the very life of the individual soul which Vedanta declares to be not separate from God but identical with him. This freedom according to Tilak was a divine attribute. Freedom may be equated with the autonomous power of creativism. Without freedom no moral and spiritual life is possible. Foreign imperialism kills the soul of a nation and hence Tilak fought against the British empire. Thus, there were philosophical foundations for the political struggle for liberty in which Tilak was engaged.

Sri Aurobindo may have been influenced by the following notions of the Gita:

(a) *Purushottama* and *Visvarupadarsana* (The Cosmic form of God),

(b) *Avatara* (descent) and *madbhavamagatah*, (ascent)

(c) divine action,

(d) synthesis of knowledge, devotion and *karman*.

But there is one difference between them. While at one place the Gita calls this world as impermanent (*anitya*) and devoid of happiness (*asukha*); Aurobindo is emphatic in regarding the world as a divine manifestation.

Aurobindo held that the only remedy for the present evolutionary crisis, which has led to social and political deprivation, despondency, depression and chaos, can be found in the formation of a gnostic community. A mere economic rationalization and the democratic cultus of the average man cannot prevent the growth of the communal ego. A communist economic planning leads to authoritarianism. Humanism and humanitarianism cannot be the ultimate solutions, because a perfect society cannot be built on the basis of imperfect men. A hedonistic or a sociological ethics cannot provide the final answer, because it is constructed relative to the needs of a specific age and country and is not the manifestation of an absolute good. Although

religion asserts the spiritual nature of man, it cannot succeed in achieving the dynamic transformation of the collectivity, because in the course of its institutional evolution it becomes credal, formalistic and even dogmatic. Hence Aurobindo pointed out the ideal of a spiritualized society which would provide 'a simply rich man and beautiful life to all' and would rely on the spiritual sources of governance. But Aurobindo did not rest satisfied with the ideal of a spiritualized society. He wanted the divine supermind, which is all-aware and world-aware and is the creator of the world, to descend for the purpose of terrestrial transformation. Man should evolve beyond mind to the super-mind. Thus, a new race of beings would emerge who would be as far removed from men as the latter are removed from animals. Such a gnostic transformation consequent upon the aspirations of man and the consent of the Divine can alone solve the evolutionary crisis. Nature is in travail for the emergence of the supramental force on earth. This ideal of supramentalized superman as formulated by Aurobindo represents the fusion of the Vedanta with the ideas of Nietzsche. Nietzsche first formulated the idea of the Ubermensch"[18], although the germs of it he found in Renan. But while the superman as conceived by Nietzsche is an aggressive vital human being on an exaggerated titanic scale, the superman of Aurobindo is a transformed being who manifests the power and bliss of higher forces of the divine. Hence although Aurobindo borrowed the term "superman" from Nietzsche, he gave to it a Vedantic and spiritual character. This yogic superman will be governed by canons and criteria much higher than hedonism, convertionalism, historicism and pragmatism. He will advance even beyond the substantiality of subjective freedom. He will be altruistic, kind, compassionate and transcendentally-oriented. His yogic equanimity will be a negation of contradictions and alienations.

Gandhi

Gandhi accepted metaphysical idealism and hence he believed in the supremacy of ethical values and *Sarvodaya* (the good of all). The philosophy of Sarvodaya is based on the concept of the unity of existence. It implies a perpetual fight against cruelty to human beings and animals. It has its roots in the famous *Mantra* of the Yajurveda—"*Isavasya-midam Sarvam*"— the entire universe is permeated by the supreme God. According to Gandhi, socialism, even communism, is implicit in this Mantra. This idealistic philosophy necessarily inculcates the values of eternal truth and justice. It teaches universal love as the only law of life. It refuses to be satisfied with the progress and well-being of a class or a nation but advocates the emancipation and realization of the good of all living beings.

The Gandhian theory of ethical absolutism can be traced to the Vedic concept of *Rita*—the doctrine that there are all-encompassing, cosmic and moral ordinances which govern both men and gods. Buddha also had faith in the existence of a moral order. The great Hindu philosopher Patanjali also accepted that the cardinal concepts of ethics (the five *Yama* and the five *Niyama*) were beyond the relativism of space and time. Gandhi accepts these insights.[19] His own experience in life completely convinced him of the superior efficacy of the moral norm.

He interpreted history in terms of the progressive vindication of the superiority of *Ahimsa*.[20] "It is my firm faith that man is by nature going higher," he wrote.

Ahimsa was the farthest removed from acquiescence in evil or from a false masquerade for one's weakness. It was a demonstration of the resolute strength of the heroic soul which refuses to hurt anybody because every living creature is essentially spirit and fundamentally one with himself.

Gandhi challenged the foundations of modern civilization. The sophisticated, technological, secularistic, aggressive and lustful aspects of modern Western civilization repelled him. The industrial civilization of the Occident was based on the exploitation of the weaker peoples. Its complicated material life was inconsistent with high thinking. The modern civilization, therefore, was equivalent to darkness and disease. Gandhi, hence, provided a return to nature like Plato, Rousseau and Tolstoy, and said that true civilization consists not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. Earlier than Spengler, Gandhi prophesied the decline and doom of Western civilization but he had tremendous faith in the rejuvenating power of the human spirit and firmly held that non-violence could provide a healing tonic to modern civilization.

There are three fundamental sources of concepts in modern Indian political thought. First, some have been borrowed from the older literary tradition of the country. For example, *Satya* and *Ahimsa* emphasised by Gandhi have Vedic and Upanishadic roots. Chatuhsutri mentioned by Tilak and the extremist school to include *Swarajya*, national education, *Swadeshi* and boycott represents the use of a Vedantic term in the context of political freedom. Dayananda's notion of Trayavara Parishad has its source in the Manusmriti. The emphasis on *Panchayata* shows the revival of a medieval term. Secondly, certain concepts like fundamental rights, directive principles, separation of powers, rule of law, democratic socialism, scientific humanism, rationalization of industries, planned economy, economic growth, development, administration etc., have been borrowed from Western political literature. Thirdly, sometimes, it has also happened that to some words which were used in the ancient literature new meanings have been added. For example, the word *Swarajya* or *Swaraj* has been widely used in modern times by people like Dayananda. Tilak, Dadabhai, Gandhi, Motilal, C.R. Das and others. It is clear that more political, economic and moral meaning has been read into this concept than was done in the Sanskrit literature. Similarly, the word *Sarvodaya* which has been traced to a Jaina work of the middle ages connotes much more meaning today than it did in those days. Tagore, a spiritual humanist, who was also influenced in his thinking by the Western world used the Upanishadic word '*Vaishwanara*' but it bore a more extended connotation in his writings than in the old days of the *Brihadaranayaka Upanishad*. Similarly, newer political meaning is sought to be read in the Vedic, the Upanishadic and the Gita terminology by other modern Indian writers.

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1. Ram Tirtha, "An Appeal to America on Behalf of India", *In Woods of God Realization*, Vol. VII, pp. 118-120.
2. F. Max Muller, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (Gifford Lectures for 1892. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1893), p. 281; From a purely logical point of view, Sankara's position seems to me impregnable, and when so rigorous a logician as Schopenhauer declares his complete submission to Sankara's arguments, there is no fear of his being upset by other logicians.
3. W.B. Yeats and George W. Russell.
4. An Englishman, Alexander Hamilton, taught Sanskrit to Friedrich Schlegel.
5. *Conjugations* System (1816)
6. *The Sacred Books of the East* series in fifty volumes is a monument of intellectual labour. Lytton considered these volumes "colossal" which take "one's breath away". Against the monopolistic claims of Christianity, the translations of the ancient scriptures of Asia appeared as a support to universal religion. Even some of the coarse and obscene passages therein had to be viewed in a historical perspective. The study of the historical evolution of religious practices and notions was bound to be a foundation for inclusive cosmopolitanism.
7. V.P. Varma, *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*, (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1959), p. 4.
8. Cf. Brajendra Nath Seal, "Ram Mohan Roy: The Universal Man", *Ram Mohan Roy Birth Centenary Volume*, Part II, p. 99: "When he was about 30 years of age, he seems to have studied the writings of the rationalists and free-thinkers, certainly the Muwahidins, the Sufis and the Mutazilas, and, perhaps, also the speculations of Hume, Voltaire and Volney. Like the redoubted champion of freedom that he was, he gave battle to all so-called historical scriptures and religions of the world, and blew a long blast of defiance in his Arabic-Persian pamphlet, the *Tohfat-ul-Muwahidin*, his *Gift to the Believers in One God*. He divides mankind, in Voltaire's (and Volney's fasion, into four classes—those who deceive, those who are deceived, those who both deceive and are deceived, and those who are neither deceivers nor deceived. In this work, the influence of Locke and Hume may, perhaps, be traced in his analysis of the causes of superstition and its prevalence, an analysis which gives greater importance to psychological factors than to historical ones." It must, however, be borne in mind that while Voltaire (1694-1778) and C.F. de Volney (1757-1820) were unbelievers, Ram Mohan subscribed to the creed of divine majesty.
9. Since Rabindranath Tagore has at times spoken of God as the creator of the world, while he also believes in the reality of a primal spirit as ethical personality. A Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and Its Development*, p. 244, says that Tagore "wanders to and fro between monism and dualism as if there were no gulf between them." "With magnificent ingenousness he simultaneously identifies God with the Universe and regards Him as its Creator." *Ibid*.
10. In *The Religion of Man*, p. 24, Tagore states that the Super-Soul that pervades the moving totality of things is the God of the human universe.
11. In *The Religion of Man*, Tagore confesses that he is concerned not with the transcendent *parabrahman* but with God as Universal Person and Super-Soul who is the destiny of all and the ultimate truth, pp. 126 & 128.
12. Troy and Carthage in ancient times and Venice in the Middle Ages. represented, according to Vivekananda (*Modern India*), also to some extent the Vaishya principle.

13. *The Life of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. II, p. 685.
14. *The Life of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. II, p. 685.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 838
16. *Ibid.*, p. 651.
17. Tilak, *Gita Rahasya* (Hindi edition), p. 399.
18. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (Everyman's Library ed., London. J.M. Dent & Sons, 1938). p. 5.
19. Gandhi stated that he literally believed in Patanjali's aphorism that in the presence of non-violence, hatred will cease.
20. M.K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, Vol. I, p. 425.

S.C. Gangal

India and the World—A Quarterly Review

INDIA

The quarter (December 1979 — February 1980) was marked by intense activity and far-reaching developments in the politics and life of the nation. With the mid-term Parliamentary poll scheduled for January, 3&6, 1980, the major political parties came out with their election manifestoes early in December. The main actors in this context were the Congress (I), the Janata Party and the Lok Dal.

The Janata manifesto soberly recounted some of its notable achievements, especially in respect of restoration of freedom, rise in national income, strengthening of food and foreign exchange reserves and in improving relations with immediate neighbours. But manifestly it erred in making the sweeping statement that the Janata Party "is firmly dedicated to the political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi." Gandhiji believed in the 'practicable' ideal of a "predominantly non-violent state" in which the strength of the armed forces and the police would be progressively reduced. He believed in Thoreau's dictum "that government is best which governs least". And he believed—with great conviction and seriousness—in the desirability and practicability of the principle of "trusteeship" in the economic realm. These are among the fundamentals of Gandhiji's political philosophy. But one looked in vain for their adoption or reflection in the policies and practice of the Janata's 28-month rule. As a matter of fact, even the Gandhi-influenced elites and parties in India (and the Janata is surely one of them) are only notionally or, at best, partially or half-heartedly dedicated to the political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. As such the Janata Party's sweeping claim that it was "firmly dedicated to the political philosophy

of Mahatma Gandhi" could be hardly accepted on its face. Maybe, in the event, it boomeranged and adversely hit the Party's fortunes in the poll.

Like the Janata, the Lok Dal also swore by Gandhi. But it did so in a more careful and limited way. The manifesto read : "The Lok Dal believes in the middle-Gandhian path....We (must) move towards the establishment of an economy in which agriculture and cottage and other labour-intensive enterprises will have the primacy, and are not sacrificed to the big machine and the big city....Decentralisation of economic power can be secured only by following the Gandhian precept that whatever can be produced efficiently by decentralised industry, should be so produced. In order to prevent concentration of economic wealth and abuse of economic power, the Lok Dal will also give a trial to the 'trusteeship' idea propounded by Gandhiji." For all its apparent commitment to Gandhi, the Lok Dal manifesto passed over in silence any scheme of political decentralisation or the decentralisation of power. In Gandhiji's scheme, the villages were not only to be economically self-reliant but would also be the main repository of power, with the State and Central Governments exercising only limited or residual powers. Thus the Lok Dal manifesto—by being reticent on the crucial question of decentralisation of power—created a manifest credibility gap. Its undisguised quest for power—through the politics of defection—rendered its Gandhian credentials doubly doubtful. As it happened, the election results also exposed the narrow, regional character of the Lok Dal.

However about the most amazing election document (manifesto) was the one put up by Mrs Indira Gandhi's Congress (I). Among other things, the Congress (I) manifesto declared : "The Central Home Ministry set up numerous Commissions which, after Marathon enquiries, *found practically nothing against her* (Mrs. Gandhi)." Suffice it to say that those who have followed the proceedings and reports of the Shah Commission and the Gupta Commission (on Maruti affairs) would find it hard to swallow such a glaring distortion of facts. Then followed the most astounding declaration of the manifesto : "The Indian National Congress (I) is the only party and *Smt Indira Gandhi is the only leader who can save the country*." However despite these distortions and arrogant claims, the Congress (I) was swept into power with a two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha. This extraordinary phenomenon is too recent to be fully understood or explained. But some of its underlying causes would seem to be as follows :

i) The vastly superior organisational and financial resources of the Congress (I);

ii) Skilful exploitation (by the Congress (I)) of the credulity of a large section of illiterate or semi-literate population by means of big propaganda—also known as the technique of the 'big lie';

iii) and the people's disillusionment and anger at the speedy disintegration and eventual bifurcation of the Janata Party [as Janata and Janata (S)].

Mrs Indira Gandhi has repeatedly declared that the authoritarian policies of the dark days of the Emergency would not be revived and that her Government would not be vindictive in its functioning. It would be a great thing indeed if these solemn commit-

ments are kept up. But as one looks at the Cabinet appointments and appointments in the administration of the Capital—Delhi Administration—and the rehabilitation and elevation of so many 'notables' of the Emergency days, one is apt to see a wide gap between practice and precept in Mrs Gandhi's functioning. One thing is quite clear, that is, Mrs Gandhi's quest is for total power. Since she has assumed power at the Centre, she has also acquired power in 12 other States—in three (Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana) through the politics of defection or local manipulation, and in nine others (including the vast heartland States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) through arbitrary *en bloc* dissolution of popularly elected State Assemblies. For a Union Government—swept into power by a minority vote (as small as 30-35 per cent in a larger Northern areas)—to order the dissolution of a State Assemblies, midway through their 5-year term, is a highly questionable or undemocratic act. But it also presents, as it were, the opposition parties and the people with challenge and a new opportunity. Only time will tell who has the last laugh at the end of the drama. Meanwhile, the people would have seen how Mrs Gandhi tackles the three outstanding problems of the day, namely, the crisis in the north-east region, the economic malaise and the law and order situation....all of which have worsened since the new Government has assumed office in New Delhi.

The World

In the larger realm of world affairs, the most notable developments of the quarter under review—Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the issue of American hostages in Iran and the annual conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)—were located either in India itself or in areas close to India's borders.

For about two years—since April 1978—Afghanistan was marked by political instability and successive *coups d' etat*. Underlying these developments has been a constant factor, namely, the growing influence and power of Soviet Union, a giant State (superpower) whose territory borders on Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's hand was seen behind the seizure of power by Hafizullah Amin in September 1979. But soon after getting into power, Amin had started functioning on his own in a number of domestic and external affairs—without seeking orders from Moscow or the Russian 'advisers' in Kabul. This alarmed the Soviet leaders who seemed determined not to lose the geopolitically and strategically important Afghan territory at any cost. So, in the last week of December, the Soviet armed forces—airlifted to Afghanistan in their tens of thousands—swooped down on the Presidential palace in Kabul. Hafizullah Amin was assassinated. In his place, a Moscow-trained Communist and a former Afghan Ambassador to Czechoslavakia, Babrak Karmal was installed as the new Head of the State in Kabul. Karmal has been dutifully stressing the need for the prolonged stay of Russian troops (believed to number around 95,000) in Afghanistan. Meanwhile patriotic Afghan guerillas have stepped up their operations from within and outside the country. Some of them are believed to be operating from bases in Pakistan, with active assistance from Pakistan, China and the United States.

The Soviet action in Afghanistan is manifestly contrary to the norms of international behaviour from a variety of angles :

i) It is contrary to the principle of non-

intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state;

ii) it has been condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations by an overwhelming vote—as many as 104 member-nations asking for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces;

iii) it is rendered doubly ominous or obnoxious in view of the fact that it represents the use of armed force by a vast superpower against a small, traditionally independent and non-aligned Asian nation;

iv) and it has revived the tensions of the cold war which tends to threaten the developing non-aligned states of Asia which are still struggling to wipe off the remnants of colonialism.

India is among the pioneers of non-alignment and the doctrine of *Panchsheel*. Hence it should be one of India's international obligations to raise her voice against the outrageous events in Afghanistan. Kabul may well be the first step in Russia's military movements to the South. If not effectively stemmed—with all the force at the command of the world community—the Russians might, in the not too distant future, plan to press further southwards to India and beyond. Already, the Russian moves in Kabul have provoked new American military designs for Asia via Islamabad. Thus—as a result of these happenings—we see the emergence of a triple security threat to India : from the Russians in Kabul and wanting to press further southwards at the slightest opportunity or provocation, from the Sino-American, Pakistani military build-up (as a response to Russian moves in Afghanistan) in Islamabad, and the massive Chinese military presence atop the Himalayas in Tibet and all along the long northeastern border. Commitments to non-alignment and *Panchsheel* apart, even sheer *realpolitik* calls for a bold, independent Indian initiative on the Afghan situation. To be able to tell the Americans (and other Western allies) to keep off the subcontinent, India must first ask for the total and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This may be followed with urgent summons for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned nations in New Delhi with a view to devising concerted strategy to combat the emerging cold war in Asia. This would then signify India's hour of greatest glory in the annals of non-alignment and Third World diplomacy. It is also time India extended her hand to friendly Iran, caught in the coils of a complicated post-revolutionary situation, to defuse and get over the crisis arising from the continued captivity of American hostages in Teheran. Skilful third-party diplomacy can help reconcile divergent Iranian-American objectives without the need to hold innocent civilians to ransom. Iran and the entire West Asia region—like Afghanistan—is also situated close to India's borders; and India has many links with it from time immemorial. Hence she could ill-afford the snowballing of international tensions in the region, especially those of a more explosive variety involving one or more superpowers.

India is well set to play such a role. Recently she brought all the skill and maturity of her diplomacy to bear on the deliberations of the third annual conference of UNIDO in New Delhi. At the three-week long conference the deliberations mainly centred round three issues, namely, the creation of a global fund for economic and industrial assistance to Third World countries

(which will be founded largely by the industrially developed nations) the redeployment of industries and transfer of technology. On all these, the Third World nations (or the so-called Group of 77') were able to muster the necessary solidarity and unity. The socialist nations (headed by the Soviet Union) voted with the Group of 77—subject to certain nagging reservations. But the developed 'Western' nations voted against the plan of action proposed by the Group of 77, India tried her best to avert a confrontation and help formulate unanimously agreed declaration, but in vain. Thus for Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, the new External Affairs Minister, his first experiment with world diplomacy turned out to be rather frustrating. Nor was he able to draw out the visiting Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko, on the question of Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan and other related matters. Thus in foreign affairs — as in domestic affairs—Mrs Gandhi's Government has yet to open its account on the positive credit side of the national score-board. Their capabilities and *bonafides* would be on trial again when people in the nine States would go to the polls in the next few months.

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Institute Activities

DRI Launches Integrated Child Development Project

11th February is the day of late Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's martyrdom. This year the solemn function organised by the Deendayal Research Institute to pay homage to the late beloved leader witnessed two important items: one, launching of the Integrated Child Development Project by Shri Nanaji Deshmukh, Chairman of the Institute and another, an enlightening talk on the late Deendayalji by Shri Bhauraoji Deoras, who was a close associate of his when he was an RSS *Pracharak*.

A brief description of the activities undertaken by Deendayal Research Institute was given by the Secretary, Dr J.K. Jain during the course of his welcome speech. Besides academic activities, they include Rural Reconstruction Project, Religious Unity Project, Medical Mission, Medicine Bank, Relief Work etc. He described them as translation into practice of late Deendayalji's idea of Integral Humanism. As a mark of *Shraddhanjali* to the late Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, Shri Nanaji Deshmukh, launched his long-cherished plan—the Integrated Child Development Project. The objective of this Project will be to develop various qualities in the children, along with knowledge and capacity. Shri Deshmukh said that 80 per cent of the mental and physical development of a child takes place during the first six years of its life. While in many countries great care is bestowed on the children from their inception, in India, most of them remain neglected because of the general ignorance. A child's learning takes place at three centres—the family, the society and the school. The role of this Project will be to coordinate and improve conditions at all the three centres. Giving outlines of the Project, Shri Deshmukh said that children up to 12 years of age will come under the scope of this Project.

To begin with, the experiment will be initiated in one ward, each, of the two cities, Bangalore and Nagpur. The selection of wards will be made keeping in mind the composite nature of the population and availability of one or two public parks.

A husband-wife team will be put in charge of the Project which will be executed with a missionary zeal involving the entire local population. The target will be to bring within the purview of the Project the entire area of corporation within a span of five years.

Presenting a blueprint of the Project, Mr Deshmukh said the emphasis in the pro-

gramme for the first two years of the child would be to give medical care, nutrition, creation of a family environment conducive to proper '*sanskaras*' and proper upbringing.

In the second stage, the programme will include, in addition to preventive health, care and nutrition, mental stimulus in pre-school activity and arrangement for games, love and security.

In the third stage—from 5 to 12 years—the programme will cover primary schooling, games, absorption into life of the family and community, initiation in cultural activities and development of constructive habits.

Shri Bhauraoji Deoras described at length his relationship with Deendayal Upadhyaya and threw revealing light on the various aspects of his life and mission. He concluded his speech by reminding that the real homage the Institute could pay to the departed leader was by trying to produce men like Deendayalji in large numbers.

DISCUSSION GROUP :

"What We Can Unlearn From the West"

"The fast-moving Western technological civilization is creating insoluble problems for humanity. Greed and envy are its propelling forces. It is putting such heavy strain on the human mind which it cannot cope with. Grave psychological problems are creating a serious situation. Extreme violence done to ecology is taking its hvye toll. India has nothing to learn from the West. In fact, she has to unlearn a lot" said Shri Krishna Amin, Burlington, Canada, initiating a discussion on "What We Can Unlearn From The West" at the Deendayal Research Institute Library Hall on February 27, 1980. The engineer turned social worker, Shri Amin said that in the relaxed traditional life style of India lay the clue to mankind's redemption.

An interesting discussion followed in which some members questioned the assumption that man can any longer go back to his primitive beginnings. Nor was it nature's design, they pointed out.

Shri P. Parameswaran, Director of the Institute, in his concluding remarks pointed out that Mahatma Gandhi and Deendayal Upadhyaya have emphasised the need for the adoption of an appropriate technology, which will eliminate the evils of high tension Western technology, but will at the same time enable us to benefit from the advances of science. Quoting from E.F. Schumacher, he said "Man cannot live without science and technology and more than he can live against nature. What matters is that the *direction* should be towards non-violence rather than violence; towards an harmonious cooperation with nature rather than a warfare against nature, towards the noiseless, low-energy, elegant and economic solutions normally applied in nature rather than the noisy, high-energy, brutal, wasteful and clumsy solutions of our present-day sciences." In short, he quoted Deendayal Upadhyaya to say that India needs a Bharateeya technology. ●

Book Review

An Introduction to Buddhist Psychology by *Padmasiri de Silva*, Library of Philosophy and Religion; *General Editor*; *John Hick*, Published by The Macmillan Press London and Basingstoke; 1979 pp.xii; 134. Price £ 10.

Here is a welcome addition to the more than a dozen titles brought out by John Hick under a new set of books covered by the Library of Philosophy and Religion series. The book is apparently on psychology but can in fact be said to be one also on religion and philosophy. It is intended to be so by John Hick when he, in his foreword expresses the hope, "Dr de Silva's book will be a valuable resource for the comparative study of religion, and in particular the study of Buddhism, in both West and East," (p.x) and is admitted to be such by the author, Dr Padmasiri de Silva, when he avers in the preface, "This book is addressed to both the student of Buddhism and the student of psychology interested in Asian thought" (p.xi) and confirms the same by asserting, in the chapter on Personality. "In the discourses of the Buddha the philosophical and psychological aspects of the 'person' concept are often intermingled and interwoven, and it is only by a process of dissection and abstraction that the material can be separated for purposes of study," (p.80) further, "The psychology of Buddhism offers material for the study of both *traits* and *types* of personality. However, in keeping with the framework within which Buddhist psychological analysis emerged, both trait and type analysis are rooted in a basic ethical and spiritual concern about man," (p.81) again, "In the context of Buddhism, the psychological perspectives on personality study cannot be completely separated from the more philosophically-oriented (or 'meta-psychological') analysis of the person concept." (p.82).

This obviously reminds the reader of this book, as *e.g.* the present reviewer, how closely are psychology, philosophy and religion knit together in the fabric called life. A study on any of them would *ipso facto* be a study also on the other two. Such a realization has all along been there, perhaps, in the Eastern tradition. In the Western tradition, however, such a realization has been quite a recent one. The emphasis that we find on an interdisciplinary or an integrated approach, there also these days, was not in evidence some three to four decades back. The trend then was in the opposite direction which, thus, was there also as a passing phase. Metaphysics and physics were not far removed from each other in Aristotle's thought. In the Renaissance period philosophy seemed to thrive in opposition to and independent of religion by which it was completely overpowered in the middle ages. But philosophy was still regarded as the science of all sciences. But then sciences started getting independent of philosophy and within about

a century or so physics and metaphysics seemed to stand completely apart. Towards the beginning of the present century even psychology, which was the youngest or the latest of sciences claiming separation from philosophy left the latter as mere metaphysics which was sought to be eliminated or dismissed as nonsensical by a group of thinkers claiming to be logical empiricists or the votaries of scientific thinking. That attempt failed because the advanced and deeper study of sciences such as physics and chemistry left many a great scientist convinced of the unbreakable connections among science, philosophy and religion. The trend was soon reversed.

It was rightly been observed at the very outset that "The analysis of psychological phenomena in the discourses of the Buddha offers significant insights into the nature of consciousness and the psychology of human behaviour"(p.1). Having made the remark that 'a comprehensive group of the entire doctrine of the Buddha cannot be arrived at without extensive study of the Buddhist concepts of mind, cognition and motivation, and of the nature of emotion and personality' (Ch.1 titled Basic Features of Buddhist Psychology, P.I) it is natural for Dr de Silva to divide his study into chapters with titles such as 'The psychology of cognition', 'Motivations and Emotions' and 'personality'. Being conscious of the fact that he is primarily addressing his book to the Western scholars and of his own understanding. "That both in its philosophy and psychology, Buddhism is basically, therapy-oriented" (P.106). It has been quite appropriate that he should add a chapter with the title, 'Buddhist Psychology and the West: An Encounter Between The rapentia Systems.' Dr de Silva deserves to be congratulated for having done so well at the task undertaken. His is a neat precise and concise study.

Production wise too the book with a good get up,notes and index and a short yet significant bibliography is commendable.

K. K. MITTAL

RSS : Myth and Reality by *Dina Nath Mishra;* Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi. Price Rs 60/-

RSS has been in the news during the last two years, but it persistently being projected as a dangerously reactionary, communal and 'fascist' organisation by a section of politicians. Smt Indira Gandhi began the tirade against RSS during her first eleven years of office. In fact, Pandit Nehru was the first campaigner in Indian politics from 1948 in this regard. Since then no authentic literature has been published by the RSS to rebut the mischievous and hostile propaganda. Speeches and interviews of the RSS leaders were the only authentic source of information available on the subject. Only a few months back the RSS launched an information campaign to educate the people about the work and ideology of RSS. This, of course, is a welcome beginning. More recently two books—one by Shri Nana Deshmukh namely *RSS—Victim of Slander* and *RSS: Myth and Reality* by Shri Dina Nath Mishra have been published which may give the public reliable information as the authors are from the ranks. They would serve a useful purpose and give curious public some idea of the reality of RSS. Shri L.K. Advani in a recent public statement had said, "The RSS has reason to feel unhappy with politicians who have since been using the RSS only as a stick to fight their power-battles with, or as a

scapegoat to blame for their own failures." Shri Balasaheb Deoras had observed some months ago that RSS is being evaluated only from a political perspective or bias, its performance has not been assessed in the social field. Politics and politicians have been given a disproportionate importance in Indian social life. This being the situation utility of a person, institution or an idea is always judged from the political point of view.

Shri Dina Nath Mishra's book attempts to project RSS as an organization of nation-building with a patriotic, selfless and dedicated leadership to guide and with hundreds of *pracharaks* and workers as organisers. Shri Mishra has given the *modus operandi* of the RSS, and has discussed in detail the qualities and shortcomings of its leadership. The book also gives an account of the work of organisations and movements sponsored by the *swayamsevaks* of RSS such as Bharateeya Jan Sangh, Bharateeya Majdoor Sangh, Vidyarthi Parishad, Kalyan Ashram, Deendayal Research Institute etc. The writer has pointed out the challenges which the RSS is facing today and need for its transformation to meet the the demands of the time. The appendix gives the Constitution of the RSS. The book is written in the current political idiom. It takes note of the oft-repeated allegation against the RSS and the author gives a convincing case of the RSS. The Chapter 'The Touchstone of Modernity' lacks coherence of the theme, and in fact it is a bunch of thoughts expressed by the Sangh leaders on a variety of topics such as urbanisation, westernisation, science and technology, sex and morality etc. The Sangh is not known to have its opinions on these subjects because it had no occasion to formulate them.

The author could have traced the genesis of RSS in the political situation that existed between 1920 to 1925. Dr Hedgewar was a follower of Lokmanya Tilak and was a freedom fighter. Modern Indian renaissance of which Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Dayanand, Lokmanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo were the leaders. They believed in the spiritual culture of Hindus and nationalism propounded by them was essentially cultural nationalism with liberal Hindu outlook and Western political liberal thought. To them Congress was an embodiment of new Indianness which was emerging as a new political phenomenon. Dr Hedgewar inherited these political ideas, but was in search of a model of organisation of a cadre of patriots during this period. He had seen the weaknesses of the new demonstrative political style. The over-publicised sacrifice of individual patriots, superficial ideas of social service and the hollowness and egotism of political leaders must have been observed by him very closely. The Western model of political organisation which we adopted created new patterns of social and individual behaviour. Dr Hedgewar's greatness and distinctness lie in the model he himself created out of his social observations, political insight and deeper understanding of human mind and social mind. He was not at all inspired by Hitler or Mussolini, but by Hindu philosophy, family system and philosopher-saint of Maharashtra Guru Ramdas. Shri Mishra rightly points out that the office of *Sarsanghchalak* was conceived as the head of family. It may be called the paternal authority of RSS which guides and controls the millions of *swayamsevaks*. Here the idea of a Hindu family was adopted for the functioning of the organisation. Family is a permanent and continuing institution without any written constitution. On the same lines, RSS was therefore evolved as a national fraternity

and built by person to person contacts and motivation. The bonds thus created last longer and have also a social significance because they mould the character of each individual. Nationalism has a cultural content which is transmitted from generation to generation, one individual to other. The Sangh builds character more by personal example than precept. National culture, national character and national organisation are thus the three objectives of the RSS which are pursued quietly, but vigorously. RSS technique of organisation is a model which cannot be imitated but it is a complete model by itself. But it has its strength and weaknesses as any human organisation.

The author has discussed the leadership of RSS in a separate chapter. He has raised very valid questions which deserve serious consideration at this point of time. Shri Mishra says, "However, looking at this leadership of the Sangh, a question which naturally arises is: Can these men reach the goal of national regeneration which the Sangh has determined for itself?" Secondly, about the Sangh itself, the author asks "Would the RSS be of any consequence in the context of the problems which beset the nation? How relevant is the Sangh against the background of these difficulties?" Thirdly, "the cadre of *swayamsevaks* competent to provide the leadership which can be effective in bringing about an explosion of people's power, can help in the solution of social, economic, political and educational problems? Are those who have been brought up in the tradition of the Sangh able to lead?" The author's conclusion is that the Sangh "is producing what can be referred to as better average leaders at all levels. But they are less than a match to the challenges the times have thrown. The Sangh is yet to synthesize group-leadership and 'individual bests.'' It is difficult to give answers to these in a book review. But one would have thought the Sangh leadership should have been assessed on the background of the crisis of leadership in India as a whole and the possible role of RSS leadership that it could play. The RSS came into the mainstream in 1975.

The leadership crisis in India is much deeper at different social levels. The concept of JP's Total Revolution could not catch up because it relied only on power-seeking politicians. In this context, the new role of the RSS could be defined. RSS leadership is qualitatively far superior in organisation planning and execution of projects like Antyodaya and district development projects like Gonda in UP. The RSS work among *adivasis* is yielding good results. The adult literacy drive which was undertaken by the RSS on its own is making headway. Bharateeya Majdoor Sangh has a strength of 15 lakhs. Vidyarthi Parishad has shown its constructive approach in many ways. What is now needed for the RSS is a total ideological and policy frame and the inter-coordination and linkage of all these institutions so that it can project a more dynamic and constructive image of the RSS as nation's reconstruction organisation. The communication gap that exists today between people and the RSS, to which the author has rightly referred to by saying "The Sangh needs to fight its own isolation in society. The impediments are: Lack of communication with intellectuals, lack of relationships with non-RSS members and subs equently lack of credibility."

In short, the RSS needs a breakthrough and must get equipped itself for playing a more dynamic role in throught,

social reconstruction and cultural renaissance of this country.

As regards, the ideology and the concept of India's nationality—Hindu or Indian, Shri Mishra has made certain observations which he himself feels are difficult to be accepted by the RSS. One would have thought that the treatment of this subject should have been more thorough, deep and precise. Shri Guruji himself, as recently stated in an article in *Panchajanya* (February 17, 1980) by Shri Devendra Swaroop, had evolved a new approach to the genesis of nationalism in India. He is quoted to have said that his book '*We*'—should be considered as outdated.

The controversy of Hindu nation and Indian nation has both sides. Dr S.V. Ketkar, an eminent Indian sociologist had said in his book on Hinduism that Indianism is the natural growth of Hinduism. If the political odour of the word 'Hindu Nation' goes, Indian people including the minorities will accept the hard fact that Bharat and Hindu nation are synonymous words. RSS only can create such a situation by leading the people to glory and prosperity which everyday they say in their prayer—"*Param Vaibhavan Netumetat Swavashtram.*"

—*Vidura*

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

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