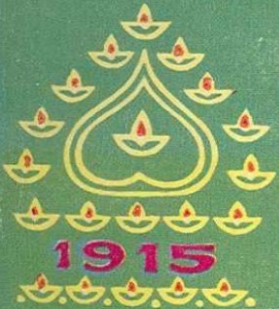


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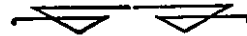
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# FOREWORD

The GIPA Jubilee Committee has much pleasure in offering to the public this Souvenir of the completion of fifty years since the formation of the nucleus of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, and twenty years since its consolidation in a developed working form on a permanent basis. Its history is outlined in an article in this publication (pages 55 to 91).

A few friends and well-wishers, who have watched the growth of the Institute for many years with keen interest, held a meeting on January 10, 1965 and formed a Committee to celebrate the Jubilee of the Institute. The celebration was planned to be mainly in the form of:

- (1) a Public Assembly,
- (2) the issue of a Souvenir, and
- (3) the presentation of a Purse to the Institute to meet its urgent needs and facilitate the expansion of its activities.

The Committee's Appeal for help and co-operation from the public, signed by more than forty distinguished publicists, scholars, leading members of learned professions like Law and Medicine, and well-known businessmen and industrialists, is given in Appendix 10, pages 93-94 of this Souvenir.

The Committee is grateful that the response by the general public has been hearty and liberal.

The Committee is deeply indebted to the eminent scholars and publicists, distinguished in fields of learning and service to the motherland, who have contributed valuable articles to the Souvenir. The Committee feels certain the articles will be eagerly read and appreciated by a large number of readers.

The Committee desires to record its thankfulness to the proprietors and managements of the several industrial and commercial firms which have extended their advertisement support to this publication. The help given by them is of substantial value to the Institute towards the achievement of its objects.

To the many philanthropists and public-spirited citizens, who have contributed generously to the Jubilee Purse, the Committee offers its tribute of deep gratitude.

We have to record with special thankfulness that several Governments have contributed to the success of the Jubilee effort. The Government of Mysore responded to our appeal promptly and liberally; and the Government of Andhra Pradesh, the Government of Madras, the Government of Maharashtra, the Government of Gujarat and the Government of India have given much help. These tokens of appreciation by Governments of the usefulness of the Institute to the public are of happy significance to all interested in the progress of the GIPA.

Many are the friends to whom the Committee's sincere thanks are due for the success of its efforts to strengthen the Institute. In particular, we should like to acknowledge the encouragement and support we have constantly received from Sri T. Sadasivam (of *Kalki*, Madras) and his associates, in the form of donations secured from large-hearted well-wishers to the Jubilee Purse and advertisement orders from many leading business firms and institutions. They have also helped us in many ways as regards pictures, printing blocks, cover-design etc. for this Souvenir. This is by no means the first occasion of the Institute's having received large-hearted assistance from Sri T. Sadasivam and Padmabhushana Srimati M. S. Subbulakshmi. For years they have given it sustenance in one form or another. We cannot forget the help and co-operation we have received from Sri S. Narayanaswamy of M/s. Chitra & Co., Madras. To all such friends we offer our heart-felt thanks.

The Committee regrets that owing to certain unavoidable circumstances, the publication of the Souvenir had to be postponed from May originally intended for the Jubilee. At the same time, the Committee is glad to record that the interval since then has served to bring in additional support to its cause.

The Committee is thankful to Messrs Associated Printers (Madras) Private Limited, Bangalore-1, for their promptness and artistic skill in producing this Souvenir.

A. R. NAGESVARA IYER  
*Chairman*

K. S. RAMASWAMI  
*Hon. Secretary*

GIPA Jubilee Committee

G. I. P. A.  
17th October 1965

## ಮಂಗಳಂ

ಯಾ ಶಂಭೋಃ ಕೀರ್ತಿರೂಪಾ ಮುನಿಜನತಪಸಾಂ ವ್ಯಕ್ತರೂಪಾ ಚ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಃ |  
 ಸೌಭಾಗ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರಾಪಿತಾ ಯಾ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಹಿತಪರೈರ್ಭೂಪಮುಖ್ಯೈರಜಸ್ರಂ ||  
 ಲೋಕಾನಂದಾಕರೈರ್ಯಾ ಕವಿಕೃತಿನಿಚಯೈರ್ಭಾರತಿ ಕಲ್ಪಾಂತಸಂಸ್ಥೈಃ |  
 ಶ್ರೀದೇವೀ ಭಾರತೀ ಸಾ ಜಗತಿ ವಿಜಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀಯಸೇ ಭೂಯಸೇ ನಃ ||

ಧರ್ಮಃ ಪ್ರೋಚ್ಛತಕೃತವಃ ಪ್ರತಿಪದಂ ಪ್ರಾವರ್ತಿ ಯಃ ಪೂರ್ವಜೈಃ |  
 ಮನ್ನಾದಿ ಪ್ರಮಿತ್ಯೈರ್ನೃಪೈಶ್ಚ ಮುನಿಭಿಃ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಕೃದ್ಭಿಃ ಸತಾಂ ||  
 ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ನಾಮ ತದಂಗಭೂತಮಿತಿ ತತ್ ಸರ್ವೇ ಶ್ರಯಂತೇ ಜನಾಃ |  
 ತತ್ಕ್ಷೇಮಾರ್ಥಕೃತೌ ಪ್ರವರ್ತನಪಟುರ್ನೀತಿಃ ಪ್ರಜಾನಾಂ ಗುರುಃ ||

ವಾಸಿಷ್ಠಂ ವ್ಯಾಸದಿಷ್ಟಂ ವಚನಮನುಸರನ್ಯದ್ವಭಾಷೇ ಯತೀಂದ್ರೋ |  
 ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯಸ್ತದಗ್ರ್ಯಂ ಮತಮುಪದಿದಿಶುರ್ಗೋಖಲೇಗಾಂಧಿಮುಖ್ಯಾಃ ||  
 ಶಕ್ಯಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಾದಿಲೌಕ್ಯಂ ಚರಿತುಮಿಹಪರಜ್ಞಾನಿನಾ ಸಮ್ಯಗಿತ್ಯಂ |  
 ಸೋಽಸೌ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯಧರ್ಮಃ ಪ್ರಸರತು ನಿತರಾಂ ಸತ್ಯನಿತ್ಯಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಃ ||

ಯಸ್ತೇಕೋ ವಿಶ್ವನಾಥೋ ಭಜಕಜನಮನೋಬುದ್ಧಿವೈವಿಧ್ಯಹೇತೋಃ |  
 ತತ್ತತ್ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಮಿಚ್ಛನ್ ಧರತಿ ಬಹುವಿಧಂ ನಾಮ ರೂಪಂ ಚ ದಿವ್ಯಂ ||  
 ಹಿಂದೂ ಜೈನಾಗ್ನಿಭಕ್ತೇಸ್ಸ ಮಿಕಯಹುದಿಯಕ್ರೈಸ್ತವಾದ್ಯೈರುಪಾಸ್ಯಂ |  
 ಸೋಽಸ್ಮಿನ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೇ ನಿರಧ್ಯಾತ್ ವಿವಿಧಜನಗಣೇಷ್ಟೈಕಮತ್ಯಂ ಚ ಸಖ್ಯಂ ||

ಪರೇಶಭಕ್ತಿಂ ಪರಿವರ್ಧಯಂತೀ |  
 ಸಮೇಧತಾಂ ಭಾರತಭೂಮಿರೇಷಾ ||  
 ಸಮಸ್ತ ಲೋಕಾನಪಿ ಸಾಧುಮಾರ್ಗೀ |  
 ಪ್ರವರ್ತಯೇದ್ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕಧರ್ಮದೀಪಃ ||

ಗೋಖಲೇ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಯೋಗಕ್ಷೇಮ ವಿಚಾರಿಣೀ |  
 ಸಂಸ್ಥೈಷಾ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಧರ್ಮಸ್ಯ ಜೀಯಾದಾಚಂದ್ರಭಾಸ್ವರಮ್ ||

## ॥ मङ्गलम् ॥

या शंभोः कीर्तिरूपा मुनिजनतपसां व्यक्तरूपा च सिद्धिः ।  
सौभाग्यं प्रापिता या प्रकृतिहितपरैर्भूषमुख्यैरजस्रम् ॥  
लोकानन्दाकरैर्या कविकृतिनिचयैर्भाति कल्पान्तसंस्थैः ।  
श्रीदेवी भारती सा जगति विजयते श्रेयसे भूयसे नः ॥ १ ॥

धर्मः प्रोज्झितकैतवः प्रतिपदं प्रावर्ति यः पूर्वजैः ।  
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राज्यं नाम तदङ्गभूतमिति तत् सर्वे श्रयन्ते जनाः ।  
तत् क्षेमार्थकृतौ प्रवर्तनपटुर्नीतिः प्रजानां गुरुः ॥ २ ॥

वासिष्ठं व्यासदिष्टं वचनमनुसरन्त्यद्दभाषे यतीन्द्रो ।  
विद्यारण्यस्तदग्र्यं मतमुपदिदिशुर्गोखले गांधि मुख्याः ॥  
शक्यं राज्यादिलौक्यं चरितुमिहपरशानिना सम्यगित्थम् ।  
सोऽसौ राष्ट्रीयधर्मः प्रसरतु नितरां सत्यनित्यप्रतिष्ठः ॥ ३ ॥

यस्त्वेको विश्वनाथो भजकजनमनोबुद्धिवैविध्यहेतोः ।  
तत्तत् सौलभ्यमिच्छन् धरति बहुविधं नामरूपं च दिव्यम् ॥  
हिन्दू जैनाग्निभक्तेस्लमिकयहुदियकैस्तवाद्यैरुपास्यम् ।  
सोऽस्मिन् राष्ट्रे निदध्यात् विविधजनगणेष्वैकमत्यं च सख्यम् ॥

परेशभक्तिं परिवर्धयन्ती ।  
समेधताम् भारतभूमिरेषा ॥  
समस्तलोकानपि साधुमार्गै ।  
प्रवर्तयेद्राष्ट्रकधर्मदीपः ॥ ५ ॥

गोखलेसार्वजनिकयोगक्षेमविचारिणी ।  
संस्थैषा राष्ट्रधर्मस्य जीयादाचन्द्रभास्करम् ॥ ६ ॥

## MOTTOES



*Public life must be spiritualised— G. K. GOKHALE.*

*Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country should be to act in the political field, . . . to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring.—MAHATMA GANDHI, Bangalore, 8-5-1915.*

ज्ञानिना चरितुं शक्यं सम्यग्‌राज्यादि लौकिकम् । —श्री विद्यारण्ययतिः

ಜ್ಞಾನಿನಾ ಚರಿತುಂ ಶಕ್ಯಂ ಸಮ್ಯಗ್ರಾಜ್ಯಾದಿ ಲೌಕಿಕಂ | —ಶ್ರೀ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯಯತಿಃ  
ಮಾನವ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಕ ಧರ್ಮಾನುವ್ರತಮಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಂ |  
ಜ್ಞಾನಿಯಿನಕ್ಕುಂ ಹಿತಸಂಧಾನಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಾದಿ ಲೌಕಿಕವ್ಯವಹೃತಿಯೊಳ್ ||

Political activities are chiefly of value not so much for the particular results achieved as for the process of political education which is secured by exciting interest in public matters and promoting the self-respect and self-reliance of citizenship. This is no doubt a slow process, but all growth of new habits must be slow to be real.—Mahadev Govind Ranade (*Deccan Sabha Manifesto*)

Generous aspiration, exalted enthusiasm, is made to do duty for reasoned scrutiny...They exaggerate. Their sense of proportion is bad...Such vices of political method,—the substitution of generous illusion for cool induction, are just as common among glowing Conservatives as among glowing Liberals. Nobody in any camp will quarrel with the view that one of the urgent needs of today is a constant attempt to systematize political thought and to bring ideals into closer touch with fact.—Lord Morley (*Politics and History*)

The ideally trained servant of the community is the man who, when—during the indifferent reading of a Blue Book—his eye is attracted by some numerical total of disease or unemployment, is, in a moment both alive to its significance and already started on the work of remedy...Social judgement in the Great Society is as urgently needed as light in an office building.—Graham Wallas (*Great Society and Social Judgement*)



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March 12, 1965  
Phalguna 21, 1886.

On the occasion of its twentieth  
anniversary I send my best wishes to the  
Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs for  
continued success in its useful work.

(S. Radhakrishnan)



**His Highness Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar**  
*Maharaja of Mysore*



# PROSPECTS OF COMMUNISM IN INDIA

By HIS HIGHNESS SRI JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR  
*Maharaja of Mysore, Governor of Madras*

Indian democracy is still very young and the circumstances of its infancy have been exceptionally trying. It is painfully true that the urgent need for finding quick and effective solutions to a bewildering variety of socio-economic problems in the domestic sphere and the imperative necessity of making timely and cautious adjustments in international relations so as to suit the shifting permutations of international politics have imposed heavy burdens upon this democracy. However, there is plenty of scope for the Indian political genius in helping democracy to work with increasing effectiveness. But in view of the startling reversion to authoritarian non-parliamentary types of dictatorship in some Afro-Asian countries in the recent past questions are asked about the safety of democracy in India. There are several considerations which would ensure the vigorous growth of democratic institutions in the country and which would render the adoption of Communism unlikely; but India has to shed complacency in the matter and remain vigilant so as to make herself safe for democracy.

The Communist Party of India has been in existence since 1924, wedded to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of establishing a new social order in India. Being too weak to oppose the Congress organization effectively it has thought it expedient to range itself in

many matters behind the Congress at the same time keeping its conspiratorial and revolutionary activity ready and well-oiled as otherwise its claim to be a revolutionary organisation would disappear. At present Communism in India has attained a position of some influence though it is peripheral in most states and confined to certain pockets elsewhere. However, the success of Communism in China from small beginnings and under unpropitious and positively discouraging circumstances has created the apprehension in some quarters that the danger of communism ascending on the Indian political horizon is very real.

Though on superficial observation India might appear to provide a soil for the germination of communism the majority of Indians do not believe that it is so. Westerners are somewhat surprised and perhaps even bewildered by the calmness we display towards the question of the danger of communism. There is clearly no hysteria about this problem. This calmness in the presence of a vocal dissident group wedded to Marxist-Leninist ideology seems to westerners surprising. This is because Indians have had a pacifist and humane civilization dating back to more than four thousand years. The inheritance of India is largely and traditionally Hindu and Indian though the inheritance from the West is important in many fields. Its mental background and equip-

ment are largely determined by the persistence of Indian tradition though it is influenced by the democratic ideals of western liberalism and the ethical ideals of scientific socialism. As professor R. H. Tawney in his book on *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* observes the quality of civilization depends on the transmission less of physical qualities than of a complex structure of habits, knowledge, beliefs and spiritual values. All these are to be found in our religious texts which, in the ultimate analysis, are based on the Vedanta. As Swami Vivekananda has said, "Whether we are conscious or not, we think the Vedanta, we live in the Vedanta, we breathe the Vedanta and we die in the Vedanta and every Hindu does that." The Vedanta has given India an ideology, life, outlook and standards of judgment. This civilization and materialistic totalitarianism are fundamentally incompatible.

Communism is based on a negation of God and religion. Marx is aware that religion utilizes the hope of the oppressed people for a better life. "The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization," says Marx. "To suppress religion which provides an illusory happiness, is to establish the claims of real happiness." Engels observes that "the first word of religion is a lie." "Religion," wrote Lenin, "is one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." Communism aims at the spiritualization of the collective and the supremacy of the proletariat. All actions performed to secure this end are justifiable and one need not invoke the doctrine of morality, dharma or the sovereignty of God to serve as a touchstone of one's actions. Even international relations, statecraft, social organization and political system must subserve this supreme end.

The important features of the structure of an undiluted communist society from the standpoint of human rights are administrative centralization controlled entirely by the party, the dominance of the executive over the legislature and the judiciary, complete 'mastery over the mind' which does not allow the people to think in any way not allowed by the Party and which is secured by changing living conditions and subordination of the individual to the interests of the state. Communists maintain that individuals can be sacrificed for the end which according to them is good and in consonance with science and history as they understand it. The final scientific truth about

men and society which the communist theory claims to lay bare justifies it in treating men and women as clay to be moulded for creating an ideal society.

Indian philosophy begins not with politics but with a conception of life in which politics has a place. Its foundation is the belief in the sovereignty of the Supreme (paramatman) who wills the good desiring that human institutions should conform as far as possible to the good which can be embodied in the state or polity. The state being a human order is under a strong temptation to do evil which can take such forms as oppression, promotion of a purely materialistic view of life, the exercise of arbitrary and unrestricted power, etc. From the standpoint of the state they may be represented as good things and the whole mechanism of the state may be applied to promote them. What is 'good' may be interpreted as that which furthers the aim of the class—the proletariat under communism. But the Hindu religion finds this view of 'good' and 'right' as being inconsistent with the principles of Sadacara which permits not oppression but freedom, the spiritual, not the materialistic, understanding of life, honesty, not cunning; and service, not exploitation. Thus, in so far as the whole life is an object of moral judgment the state too must be judged as an object of such judgment. A state dominated by such an outlook and an awareness of the all-pervading Supreme would not act in a manner repugnant to the moral ideal. The Vedic saying is; "Know this to be the essence of Dharma and then practise it; refrain from doing unto others what you will not have done unto yourself. Other behaviour is due to selfish desire."

War, violence, terrorism, exploitation which are virtues approved by communist ethics, are all repugnant to Hindu sensibilities. War is an evil; it causes wastage of life, pain, anxiety, hatred; therefore it is sin and sin is to be punished in accordance with the principles of dharma (righteousness). In order to establish the dictum that might is right Hegel rationalized morality. Hegel's positivist ethical doctrine insists that there is no moral standard but that what exists is rational and good. Marxian positivism projecting the Hegelian doctrine into the future holds that since the future emanates from the present it will be good and rational; if today, might is right it must be so tomorrow as well. The realist may argue that the

appeal to morality is irrelevant to the political scene which is the product of what 'is,' and what 'ought to be' and any attitude which ignores this is 'Utopian' and therefore ignores the essential nature of politics. But Hinduism counters this argument by saying that politics is the study of the collective life of man and since man is a moral being the extension of his individual life to the collective scale must have its moral aspect. Therefore political behaviour is good or bad not because it is or is not expedient or pragmatically defensible but because it is seen to be good or bad in relation to dharma. Vyasa exhorts us to conform to dharma even if it involves the frustration of all worldly desires and threatens the destruction of one's own life.

The state may be regarded as doing good to its people if it protects them from evil powers. A logical extension of this attitude would be the justification of all that the state does. Thus, an aggressor state may be conceived as being moral when it expands in order to provide a protective fringe for its territory. Whether such behaviour is thought to be morally right or wrong depends upon the moral view-point of the state concerned. At one time imperialists thought that they had a prescriptive right to rule 'the lesser breeds without the law,' now the communists claim it to be their moral duty to 'liberate' people from the capitalist yoke through war and violence and to advance their ideology. But Hinduism regards this as being opposed to sanatana dharma, wisdom of the ages, the *philosophia perennis*, and contrary to the deepest human interest. If each state acts in its own self-interest without regard to the interests of others the states will be no better than bands of brigands practising power politics. Hinduism believes that unless man acts in conformity with dharma which is the only standard of judgment of human conduct there can be no alternative but abandonment to an orgy of destruction. This belief underlines the philosophy of Panchsheela, (five principles of right conduct) on which India's foreign policy is based. The ideal of Hinduism is 'Sarve janah sukhino bhavantu' or the happiness of all people. Vyasa says: "May all beings be happy, may all attain bliss, may all see happy days, may no one be subject to suffering." What is important is the interest of society, of humanity as a whole, not of any class or community. Hinduism has given our

civilization a soul and men and women a principle to live by.

Hinduism prizes freedom more than anything else. Pandit Nehru says "There was no totalitarianism in religion or culture and they indicate an old and wise civilization with inexhaustible mental reserves." He finds in the Upanisads of the Hindus a question: What is this Universe? From what does it arise? Into what does it get? And he finds the answer: "In freedom it rises, in freedom it rests and into freedom it melts away." The sages of yore were passionately attached to the idea of freedom and wanted to see everything in terms of it. This urge for freedom developed democratic ways of living and thinking in society. Within each social group, caste, joint family or village, people shared a sense of equality and democratic freedom. Behind this was the philosophical ideal of Indian culture, the integration of man and the stress on goodness, beauty and truth rather than on acquisitiveness and material possessions. A nation with a long tradition of democratic liberalism and decentralised administration would shun regimentation, 'democratic centralism' and party dictatorship which are the core of communism.

The distinction between the totalitarian and the Hindu views of life and of politics corresponds to deeply seated differences in ethical outlook, particularly in regard to notions of human rights. The very nature of the Hindu state is conceived in terms of how far it promotes the individual life and protects the personalities of its members whereas in communist states in their most thorough-going form the personality of the individual becomes merged in that of the collective to the greater glory of the state which represents a class. While the human being is treated by Hinduism as a sacred entity, the unit of life, for Marx he is only "the ensemble of social relations." The communist ideology would appear to empty man of his destiny and his dignity.

The philosophical background of Indian civilization is the deeply ingrained belief in the connection between the individual and the universal soul—between Jivatma (personality) and Paramatma (all-pervading personality). This is the meaning of the Vedic expression 'Tat tvam asi' (That thou art). The fundamental belief of Hinduism is that every human being has in him a spark

of the divine. We are all fragments of the divine, sons of immortality, *amrtasya putrah*. The doctrine of the divinity in man is the origin of the conception of the inalienable worth of the individual and its corollary, the limitation of external forces—state or party. The state is a *prajasevaka* (the servant of the people). This conception of the individual undermines the communist conception of state absolutism and denies the right of the state to demand the surrender of the human soul.

Marxism advocates the overthrow of imperialism and colonial rule by force of arms. This doctrine of force is anathema to the pacifist temper of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism which hold steadfastly to the doctrines of non-violence (*ahimsa*) and truth (*satya*). These were not mere metaphysical hypotheses but instruments of practical politics. Asoka made them the cornerstone of his administration, demonstrated their practicability and set an example for others to follow. He is remembered not for his empire but for his example.

The Gandhian revolution is based on *ahimsa* (non-violence). The national movement was moral and ethical; the end was freedom from foreign rule; the means was *satyagraha* (soul force). A non-violent revolution was necessarily peaceful and Gandhi tried to identify non-violence with truth and goodness. The doctrine of non-violence became the key to revolution. Non-violence was not "a kind of pious and static pacifism" but a "forceful method of enforcing the mass will." Albert Einstein has said that Gandhi provided "an entirely new technique for the liberation of an oppressed people."

In social spheres also there was emphasis on working with the same revolutionary spirit conditioned by peace. The Indian conception of socialism is based on the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant. The basis of socialism in India is laid in gradual stages and without violence or terrorism. When the state is captured by the people social changes could be brought about peacefully through the will of the electorate. In Russia where the Tsarist regime was in possession of unlimited power and there was no democratic franchise, revolution was the only method by which people could capture power. But in India the capture of power through the electorate appeared to be more logical and

consonant with the national genius than through revolution. Since the Indian mind is permeated with the doctrine of *ahimsa* the Marxist-Leninist theory of the inevitability of class-war is repugnant to Indian sensibilities.

It has been observed by certain western critics that planning in India and the scope given to the public sector have a tendency to sovietize the economy and they sometimes accuse the government of giving planning an ideological twist and of shunting the economy, of India in the direction of communism. This observation is based on the assumption that planning is incompatible with democratic freedom. But planning, as Karl Mannheim says, "does not mean rule by arbitrary forces over the living body of society, nor the dictatorial attempt to supplant creative activity. Planning means a conscious attack on the sources of maladjustment in the social order on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the whole mechanism of society and the way in which it works." The purpose of planning is not the achievement of total control but the application of foresight and the perception of social and economic needs in order to reduce want and misery in society and to secure the efficient use of the resources of the country. The responsibility for the initiation and execution of economic development programmes must be borne by the state.

That the state must assume greater responsibility and exercise greater control over the national economy in the context of planning is not only an article of faith for many Indian intellectuals but also an argument strengthened by the independent analysis of western economists. Thus Alexander Eckstein argues that "a massive application of state power in the minimum spheres is one of the preconditions for averting total government operation of an underdeveloped economy in many countries such as India." Wilfred Malenbaum has maintained in a similar vein that what is needed to break India's economic bottle-neck is "a strengthening of the scope and intensity of government action" and that "the government's role in economic life has a far way to go before it attains in India the importance it has in the United States, to say nothing of Britain and China." Therefore state enterprise and state control which are necessary but which have not been, and which are

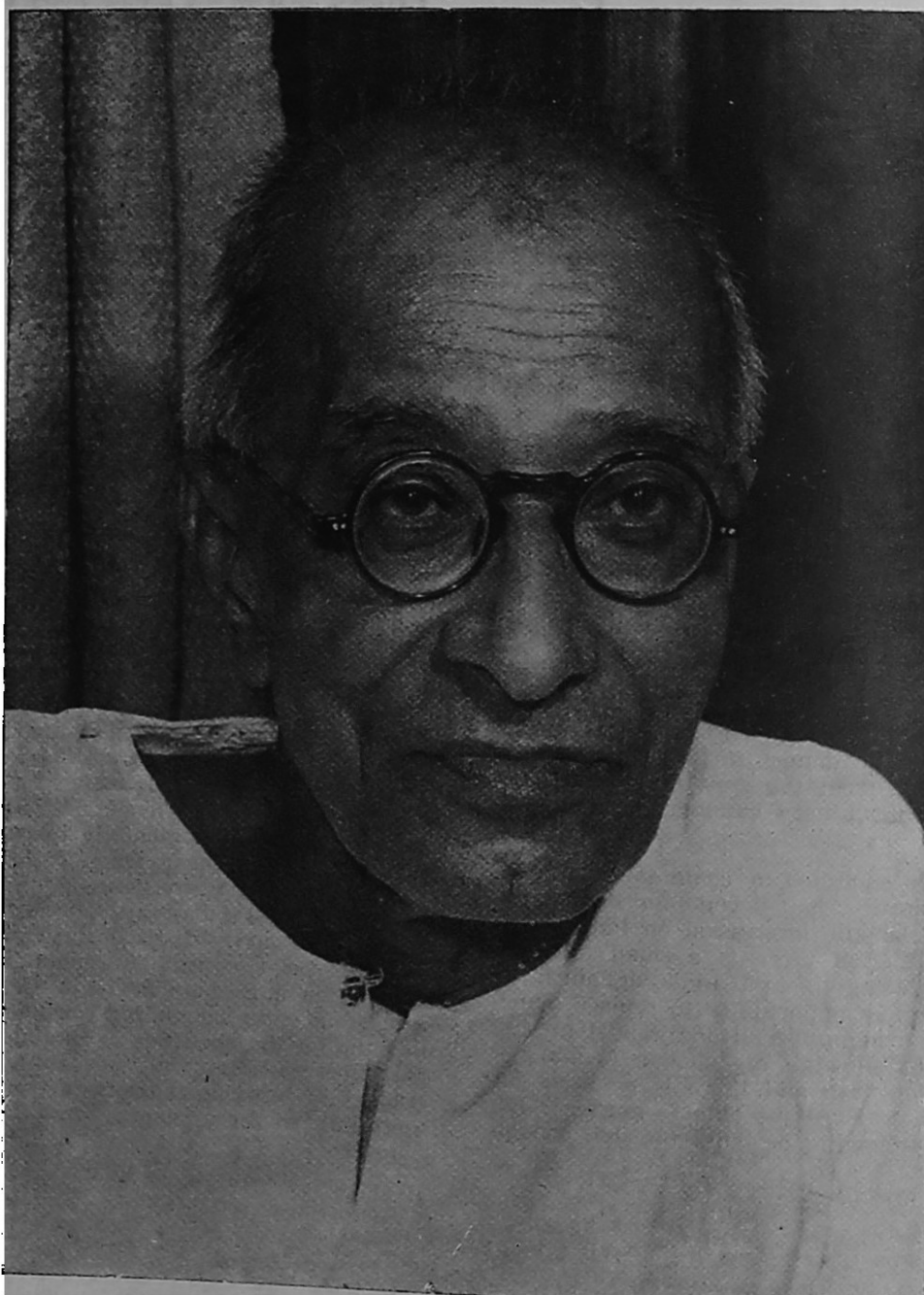
not likely to be, pushed with forthright authoritarian logic cannot be said to constitute a danger to Indian democracy.

It is true that planning is not possible without power and power is potential tyranny. All the old clichés are as true as ever. Power still corrupts and absolute power still corrupts absolutely and eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty. The need is to create conditions conducive to the rise to power of the wise and the public-spirited and the preservation of their wisdom and public spirit against the corruption of office. India has adopted certain safeguards to protect democratic freedom against the allegedly totalitarian impact of administrative bureaucracy. India has tried to solve this difficulty by bringing the administrative machinery under the control of parliamentary authority and parliamentary democracy has asserted its control over administrative bureaucracy in a decisive manner. Effective prevention of the 'new absolutism' has been ensured by transferring much of the active work of the government especially where it concerns economic and social development to the hands of non-officials and elected representatives who have to some extent replaced the civil servant in this role. Further, the 'Fundamental Rights' enshrined in the Constitution have enabled the individual to seek judicial redress of executive injustices. Therefore the danger to India's democratic institutions from the growth of bureaucratic state machinery cannot be said to be serious.

India is encircled by communist influence geographically though communism has failed to make any impression on India culturally. Though there is a small dissident group of communists in India vigilant in its watch for an opportunity to replace democracy by communism it does not at present have the following big enough to make it fit for the task and there is no basis for alarm that it will be able to muster a big enough following or build up able enough

leadership for the task in future. The pacifist temper of Hindu religion, the observance of the doctrines of dharma, which is the final touch-stone of human conduct, and of universal love, spirit of brotherhood, tolerance, charity and compassion—all these serve as a bulwark against the advance of communism. In the conduct of foreign policy and the execution of programmes of economic development and social reform India has been assiduously adhering to the principles of Panchsheela. The revolutionary changes we observe today were accomplished in gradual stages through democratic constitutional processes. The socialistic pattern of society which India has declared to be her goal is, in many essential respects, in conflict with communist doctrines. The essential difference so far as India is concerned is that socialism bases itself on individual liberty while emphasizing the necessity of economic equality and the control by the state of basic industries. The participation of the state in economic development should be seen as dictated by the circumstances of underdevelopment and not as motivated by the requirements of ideological fanaticism.

India's approach to her political, social and economic problems have been grounded in religion and morality. Hinduism has been undergoing a process of reformation at frequent intervals so as to accommodate the changes introduced into Hindu society under the impact of successive foreign influences but the basic tenets of the religion have remained fundamentally the same for though the rules change from age to age the truths of the spirit are permanent. Empires have risen and fallen but Hinduism as a religion has survived. Hinduism has accommodated social reforms but communism has no place in it. So long as Hinduism remains a vigorous entity communism has no chance in India for the doctrines of Hinduism have the effect of "strangling bolshevism in the cradle." There is no cause for alarm though there is need for vigilance.



**Sri C. Rajagopalacharya**

# ONE OF THE DUTIES OF THE CONGRESS PARTY

By SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

All political thinkers accept the truth of the oft repeated proposition that for the proper working of democracy an opposition party, whose responsibility is criticism and vigilant check on the party in power, and whose strength is adequate enough to keep the ruling party in fear of replacement, is essential, as also an efficient and honest non-partisan administrative machine to carry out the policies laid down by the Government without opening itself to partisan influences. The party that has by securing a majority taken over responsibility can enforce the policies for which it stood and on the basis of which it came to power, but it is bound in the enforcement of these policies to act in the interest of the whole nation irrespective of who supported its political advancement and who opposed it. The actual administration of policies must not be in the hands of the policy makers but must be in the hands of just and efficient persons who are pledged to be non-partisan in their work.

Two things are therefore essential for the proper working of the democratic system such as we approve of as distinguished from the pseudo-democracy of the one party totalitarian states. One: an adequate opposition functioning in the legislature as well as continuously in a free press and on the public platform. Two: an efficient non-partisan administrative machine, acting independently of party influence. If either of these things is absent or is inadequate, the regime soon becomes a self-perpetuating one-party rule, Communist, Socialist, Nazi, or Fascist, or whatever other name you may choose to give it according to its particular colour.

When a political party commanding certain adventitious advantages gets entrenched in power, it loses sight of these important principles and gets to look at opposition

as a kind of treason or foreign aggression, and asks them to win by such sheer strength as they can themselves gather in spite of all the resources issuing out of its position in Government. When the Government has successfully seized all economic power, when it controls the lives and properties of all the men engaged in national production and distribution, these resources are tremendous. Opposition becomes as difficult as an armed insurrection against a government commanding a standing army and an armed police force always on duty everywhere.

If the principles enunciated above as essential for the sustenance of a well-ordered parliamentary democracy are accepted, it follows that a government which is in position should take steps to make the Constitution a reality, by doing everything to help a sound and strong opposition to grow up. Certainly it should at least refrain from doing or maintaining what prevents such growth. A party in power is free to exercise its privileges, but its responsibility to sustain the Constitution remains intact. It cannot say, it is not my business to build up an opposition or to help one coming up.

All this may read like a college essay. But everything said herein has a practical bearing on current affairs, which those who are concerned in the politics of our country can realize without expatiation. Far from being an academical exordium, it is very topical and calls for current application.

The neglect of this primary duty of the ruling party—to see to the emergence and growth of a balancing opposition—has led not only to bad Government, but to a moral deterioration in the ruling party itself which has now come to a head and has started compelling the attention of good men in the party itself.



**Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar**



# GOKHALE:

## HIS WORK FOR EDUCATION

By DR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was veritably one of the pioneers and prime movers of the modern educational system in India and it was given to him to have brought into practical politics the idea of universal primary instruction. It was his ambition and his dream by this means to bridge the gulf between a small and highly educated class and the masses. Gokhale worked hard at many schemes of social reform including the improvement of the educational and economic status of women and the amelioration of the so-called backward communities or depressed classes. Gokhale's life work can best be viewed from a perspective of his life which was lamentably short, though eventful. Born in a Chitpavan Brahmin family of humble circumstances in 1866 he displayed great academic brilliance as well as a consuming desire for public service. Graduating in 1884 he soon joined a devoted group of teachers who took a vow of poverty and along with them he joined the Ferguson College, Poona as Professor of History and Political Economy. He pledged himself to serve in that institution on a nominal salary. He was however, soon attracted by politics and became the Joint Secretary of the Indian National Congress and later presided over the Benaras Congress in 1905. He served in the Bombay Legislature for two years and thereafter was elected to the Central Legislature in 1902. He brought to bear on his task a keen grasp of financial and economic affairs and faculties of close

reasoning and an infinite capacity to take pains. To these qualities were added a disarming suavity of manner and a persuasive eloquence which made him the unquestioned leader of the Opposition arrayed against which were the highly trained Bureaucracy largely manned by the Indian Civil Service. Lord Morley, who consulted Gokhale, before embarking on the Minto-Morley Reforms described him as the most courteous of opponents whose main attributes were abounding common-sense as well as an appreciation of the other side's point of view and responsibilities. His willingness to negotiate was not a sign of weakness but exemplified his practical wisdom. *Festina Lente* (Hasten slowly) was his motto as it was of Augustus Caesar.

One of Gokhale's germinative ideas was the foundation of the Servants of India Society, designed to serve the country in a religious spirit and to work for the social, political, and economic regeneration of India. It was with this background that Gokhale introduced into the Central Legislature, his Elementary Education Bill, which sought to usher in a system of compulsory education on the basis of local option. The serried ranks of Governmental nominees would not allow the Bill to pass and Gokhale, who for several years before his death in 1915, was in delicate health did not survive to see the principles for which he fought, implemented. They were accepted

from 1918, in most of the States in India. It was in 1904 that Lord Curzon sought to create teaching in preference to examining Universities, but he imposed so many official controls that Gokhale and many of his contemporary politicians strenuously opposed Curzon's Universities Act. It must be remembered that the progress of universal education has been chequered and marked by many crises throughout the world. In the West, education was the province of the Church and the Public School system of to-day in Europe, bears traces of the impact of Latin and of Church discipline. In the 11th Century however the Trade Guilds began to organise Elementary Education. In England, the Public School system largely voluntary in character, became subject to great deterioration, and the picture drawn by Charles Dickens of Dotheboys Hall in *Nicholas Nickleby*, may be an exaggeration, but is basically founded on fact. From 1870 the principle of compulsory elementary education was accepted in England and School Boards came into existence. From 1891, University Education became free in England and Wales. In 1902 England and Wales inaugurated a comprehensive National system of Elementary Education which sought to combine voluntary and State Schools. It was then that responsibility was shifted from ad hoc school Boards and squarely placed on Municipal and City Councils. Education thus became part of civic policy and the school was recognised as a great centre of social influence. As time went on, new and fruitful ideas were grafted on the system. The feeding of under-nourished children as a part of the duty of the State, Health inspection of schools, special care of defective children, centres of physical training, juvenile

employment organisations and the idea of the continuity of the school and after-life, became recognised objectives. Successive Acts passed in 1908 and 1918 increased the age of compulsory attendance to fourteen, and regulated the extent of the floor space requisite for each child in school buildings. To-day the ideal of a Welfare State both in England and U.S.A. embodies a classless educational service for the whole community. Whereas, as late as 1876, the duty of the parent and of the State was only to impart efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, under the All Party Education Act of 1944, the parent's duties became enlarged and comprised the obligation to give his children efficient full-time education suitable to his or her age, ability, and aptitude. England has marched ahead even beyond this ideal and under the Beveridge Scheme, free Primary and Secondary education (together with free Transport for children beyond walking distance) is the immediate objective. Local educational authorities are expected to provide not only meals and medical service but also clothing when necessary, and further, to finance legitimate school activities, like Scouting and Girl Guides. All this progress has not been achieved without periodical setbacks and much short-sighted opposition. When the history of education in other countries is kept in view it will be perceived that Gokhale's formulation of educational ideals in 1911 was of a truly constructive and pioneering character. The account that has been given above, of the stride made in other countries, will serve to demonstrate how far we have to go before we approach the standards of progressive communities in the West.



## PRIVILEGES OF LEGISLATURES

By PRADHANASIROMANI  
SRI N. MADHAVA RAU

The opinion of the Supreme Court on the Privileges of Legislatures has drawn the attention of the public to a matter of vital importance to us as citizens of a democratic State. It will be readily conceded that Members of Legislatures should be protected against any action, civil or criminal, for anything said or vote given by them in the discharge of their duties. Such protection is rightly assured to them by the Constitution. It is also evident that a Legislative body should be able to expel from its precincts any person who behaves in a disorderly manner or interrupts its proceedings. But it does not follow that it should also be endowed with power to punish members or non-members alike for alleged contempts committed outside the House. "The right to remove for self-security is one thing and the right to inflict punishment is another."

The one argument put forward in support of such right is that it is one of the privileges of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom which has been deliberately conceded to Indian Legislatures by the Constitution and must therefore be kept intact.

This view seems to be based on a wishful misinterpretation of the relevant provision of the Constitution, which states that the powers and immunities of Parliament (or State Legislature) shall be such as may be defined by law and until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom at the commencement of the Constitution. The plain intent and object of this provision is to indicate a convenient frame of reference, valid only for the time being, that is to say, until the Legislature has had time to enact a law defining its privileges and immunities. Any law so enacted must necessarily come within the framework of the Constitution. *Inter alia*, it cannot over-ride the fundamental rights of the citizen. By adopting the second (manifestly temporary and less desirable) alternative, namely, the precedent of the British House of Commons, a legislative body in India cannot contract itself out of its basic constitutional limitations.

The power to inflict punishment is a judicial power exercisable by authorities appropriately constituted for that purpose. The judges of the High Courts and the

Supreme Court of India are lawyers who attained the top ranks of their profession after long years of practice at the bar and to whom the dispensing of justice is a matter of daily business. Moreover, on entering office they would have taken an oath (or made an affirmation) pledging themselves to perform their duties "without fear or favour, affection or ill-will." The composition of the Legislature is entirely different. By and large, its members are persons who had no opportunities to obtain legal training or acquire judicial experience. Most of them belong to a political party and neither their oath of office nor code of honour (as understood in practice) obligates them to place their personal opinions and individual judgment above party expedients and directives.

In contempt cases against outsiders, the House is the complainant. If it could also act as the judge, exercising punitive powers in its unfettered discretion, it would be in a position repugnant to the concept of the Rule of Law.

Disinterested neutrality is what gives judicial decisions a degree of moral authority.

To gratify the amour propre of a few thousand legislators is not so important as the preservation of the fundamental rights of many millions of citizens. Representative institutions are only a part (though an indispensable part) of a democratic organisation. "Democracy depends for its efficient working upon the readiness of every voter to take an interest in matters political." It is the right and equally the duty of every adult citizen to watch the administration of national affairs and take positive action by way of complaint, suggestion or criticism, when he finds excesses, errors or omissions in the work of persons or institutions entrusted with authority. He must be able to speak out his mind freely and frankly, and how can he do this, if, for, anything said or written about Parliamentary affairs which might displease some legislators, he runs the risk of being hauled up for "contempt" before one or more of a score of legislative bodies?

High level political discussions are not nowadays confined to Parliamentary institutions. The platform, the public press and associations of citizens are coming into

increasing prominence. There are a number of eminent publicists in the country whose opinions are valued by the public. These agencies of political education and media of public opinion can operate effectively only in an atmosphere of freedom.

The apprehension that Parliamentary privileges, if unchecked in time, might pose a threat to the citizens' right of free speech and expression cannot be dismissed as imaginary. The House of Commons in the United Kingdom, which is now held up as a model, was itself guilty, at times, of abusing its privileges. "These privileges had been asserted to protect the liberties of the House of Commons as against the Crown; they were rightly regarded as essential to its independence . . . When they were no longer needed as a defence against the Crown, they were utilised as ramparts against the intrusion of the people and at times, they were even employed as engines of oligarchical tyranny." These observations had reference to happenings in England in the Eighteenth Century. Since then, thanks to a strong and vigilant public opinion in that country, things have changed completely. The modern House of Commons is a chastened body, having lost or tacitly waived some of its ancient privileges and exercising the few that remain with great restraint.

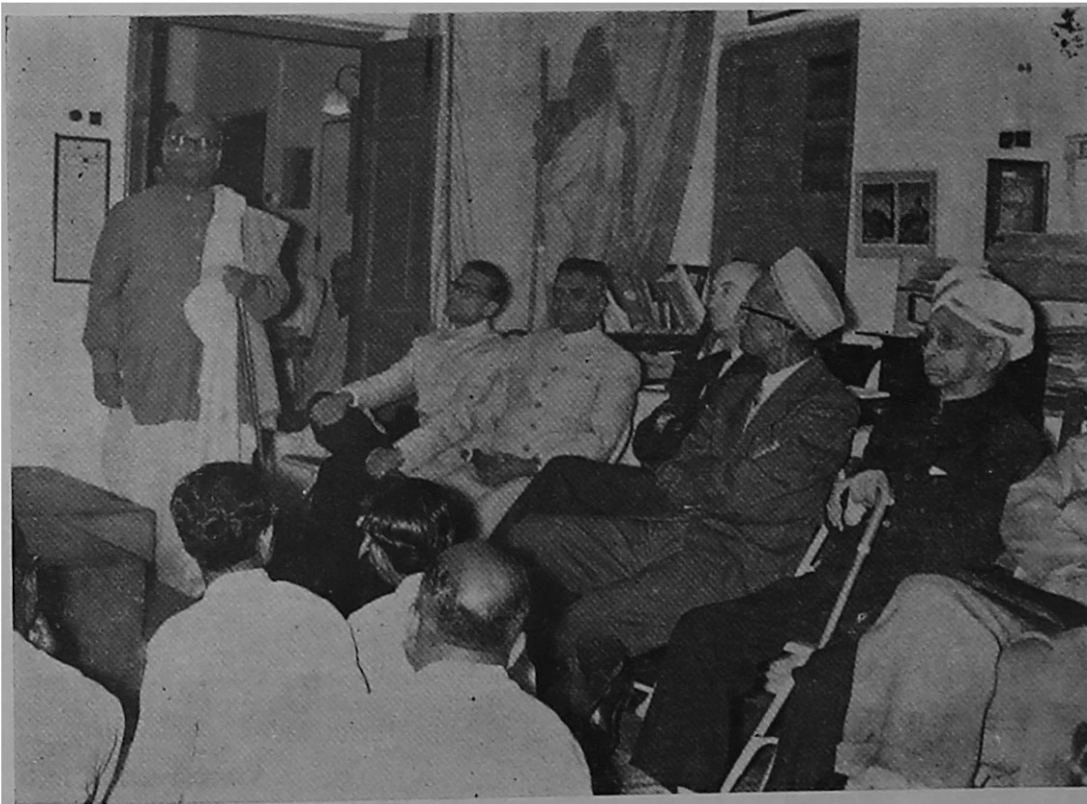
To us, however, the earlier history holds a warning. Having lived under the oligarchical rule of a powerful political party which has been controlling the national affairs for 17 years and might continue to do so for many years longer, we cannot afford to under-rate the mischief that is latent in "privileges".

In passing, it may be remarked that current political discussions have revealed the curious mentality of some of our political leaders. While seeming to take pride in copying English Parliamentary institutions in all details, they think it a national humiliation for our Parliamentary (or official) business to be transacted, even in part, in the English language.

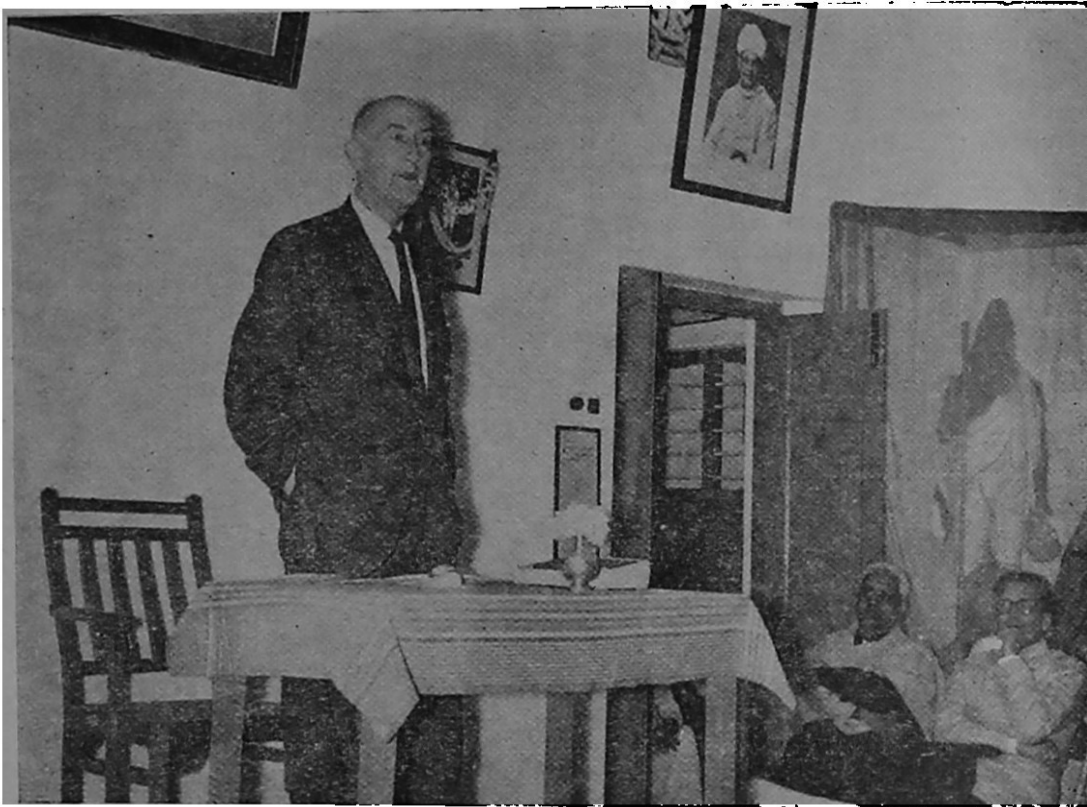
It is understood that the Constitution is likely to be amended with respect to Parliamentary privileges. This is undoubtedly necessary, but for a reason entirely different from the one put forward at the recent conference of the presiding officers of

Indian Legislatures. The confusion and misunderstandings caused by a blanket reference to the House of Commons in Articles: 105 and 194 have to be removed. The powers, privileges and immunities of Legislative bodies should be tailored to their actual business needs, dispensing with the embroideries that have been suggested on considerations of izzat or in snobbish imitation of the British House of Commons. What constitutes or does not constitute

“contempt of the House” should be elucidated with as much precision as possible for the guidance of the public as well as of the Legislature. Statutes dealing comprehensively with the subject on the lines just mentioned should be enacted within a prescribed short period. It goes without saying that such statutes have necessarily to conform to the provisions of the Constitution with respect to citizens' rights and all other matters.

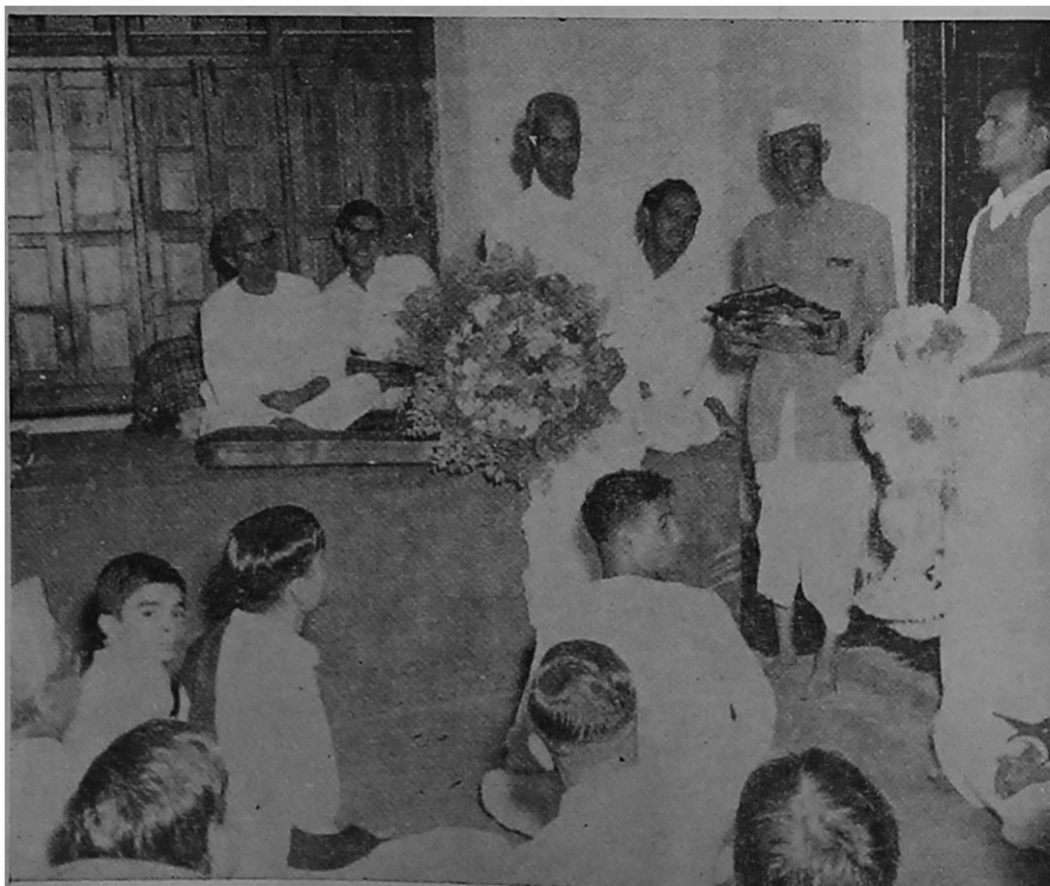


**Secretary G. I. P. A. Introducing a Speaker**



**Dr. Edward E. Younger, Professor of History, University of Virginia, U.S.A.  
—addressing a meeting on 23-7-1961**

**Felicitations to Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau, on his appointment as  
Judge, Mysore High Court — 20-8-1955**





## QUOTA SYSTEM IN THE SERVICES

By SRI V. P. MENON

At its meeting on the 23rd of February, the Congress Working Committee decided on a revised language policy. This consists of three main points: (1) English will continue as an associate official language so long as the non-Hindi States desire it, and the Official Language Act will be amended to that effect; (2) all States will proceed at once to implement the Three Language Formula; (3) candidates for the Central Services will be allowed to use their mother-tongues in the Union Public Service Commission examinations, and the numbers recruited from the States will be fixed by a quota system.

However, the Chief Ministers met immediately afterwards and decided, in the words of the Prime Minister, that "a study will be made in cooperation with the U.P.S.C. of all aspects relating to ensuring an equitable share for all States in all-India Services, the introduction of regional languages as media for all-India examinations, and evolving a sound system of moderation for examinations". "An equitable share for all States" is not necessarily the same thing as a quota, and if quotas were given, a system of moderation for the U.P.S.C. examinations

would not be necessary. The Chief Ministers' decision therefore departs from that of the Working Committee.

To this extent the Chief Ministers acted rightly. It would be a very grave error to establish State quotas for recruitment to the all-India Services. Two results would follow inevitably: (1) the standard of the recruits would fall, and since there are so many States, the fall would be considerable, (2) the all-India consciousness of the Services would be weakened, and men would begin to think of themselves as representatives of their States. I do not know which would be the more disastrous development.

Even the Chief Ministers' formula contains the same mischief though in a somewhat less virulent form. "An equitable share to the States" would carry some departure from the pure principle of merit, and therefore a lowering of the standard. It would probably also cultivate a State consciousness rather than an all-India consciousness in the Services. The use of the mother tongue or regional language, together with an acceptable system of moderation, in the U.P.S.C. examinations seems

to be quite impossible, but if it were attempted, the system of moderation would inevitably be suspect, and this would still more sharpen State-consciousness in the Services.

These unhealthy consequences appear to be unavoidable if one of the Indian languages is made the official language. That situation itself would create a feeling of difference between the States, and it must lead to a demand for some measure to offset the advantage conferred on the speakers of the favoured language. There would then be no way to avoid a quota system or some equivalent.

However, a quota system for recruitment would not be enough. In the Services the speakers of the favoured language would still get advantages in promotion. In fact discrimination in this matter is now being keenly felt in the Army, where Hindi is already in use. To recruit a man to one of the Services, and then deny him his due, or compel him to resign in mid-career, is more harmful to him than to deny him recruitment at the start.

The proposal to make one of the Indian languages the official language is also opposed on other grounds, which are quite strongly felt. Even if matters were so arranged that the career prospects and material interests of the speakers of the other languages were fully safeguarded, it is an

error to think that the protest against the choice of one of the languages as the official language would die down.

The objections are mainly two. Those from other States fear that their languages, in which they take great pride, would in the long run be stunted in development, and might even be replaced for technical and other higher purposes by the official language. The all-India learned journals, for example, would almost inevitably be published in the official language, which would therefore become the language for research work, and eventually the language of higher education. Secondly, they fear that having to devote much time to the cultivation of the official language, they would be compelled to neglect English, and thus would lose or weaken their present valuable contacts with the wider world. The Three Language Formula is a laudable attempt at a compromise satisfactory to all, but it would have the great disadvantage of lowering the standard of English. In any case, I cannot believe that it would ever be fully enforced.

However, these are hypothetical dangers. Immediately we are faced with disastrous developments in the Services, and there appears to be no way of avoiding these developments if one of the languages is chosen as the official language. The remedy is to rescind that decision and go back to the position before the 26th January, 1965.



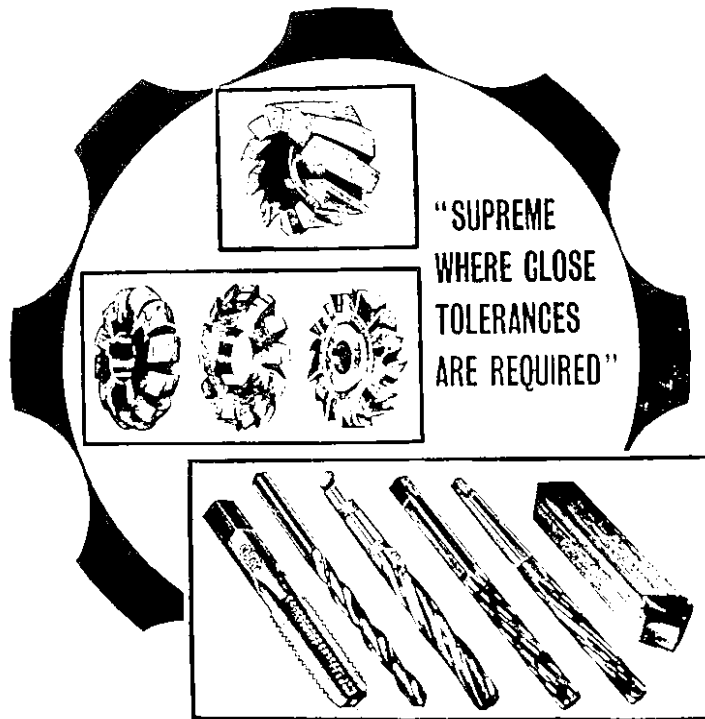
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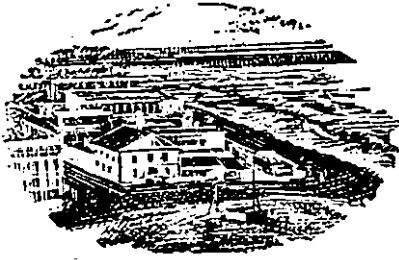
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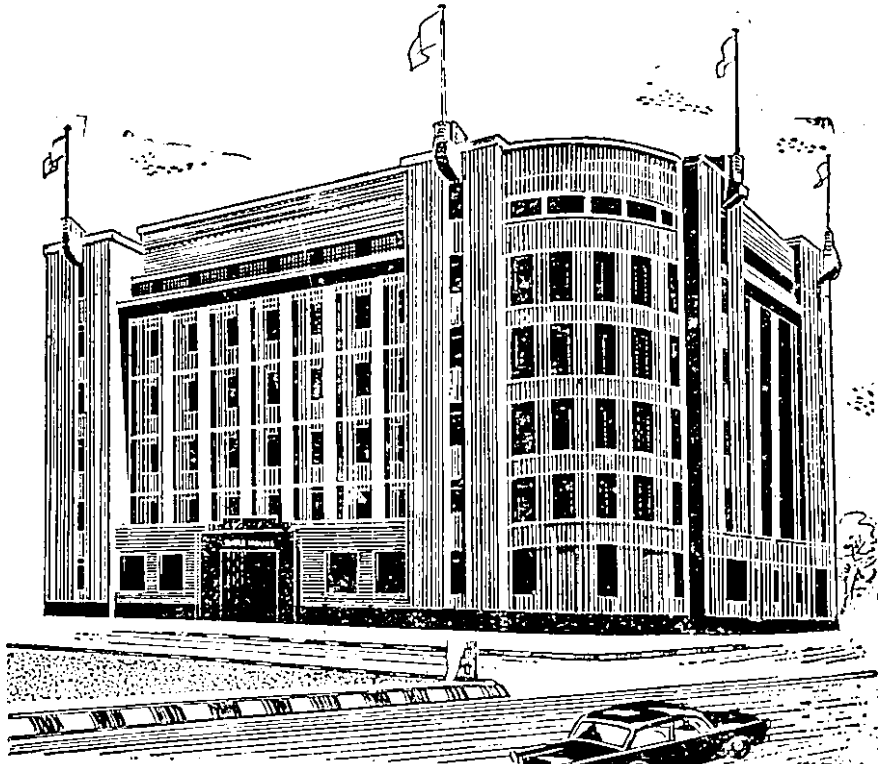
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# FOR BETTER AGRICULTURE

By MR. JUSTICE G. K. GOVINDA BHAT  
*Judge, High Court of Mysore*

President, Dr. Radhakrishnan in his broadcast to the nation on the eve of the last Republic Day, after pointing out that during the current plan period there has been stagnation in farm production, posed the question, whether we have done all that was necessary and possible to stimulate the agricultural sector into dynamic growth? That our agricultural policy requires a thorough re-appraisal in the light of past experience is quite clear. We have been importing large quantities of foodgrains from foreign countries, particularly from the U.S.A. under P.L. 480, in order to sustain our rapidly increasing population. Chronic food deficiency and dependence on foreign food supplies is a serious weakness of our national economy.

If our planners and administrators were to look to the achievements of the plantation sector of our agriculture since 1947, the right solution to the problem posed would have presented itself. In South India, our annual production of tea has increased from 98 million pounds in 1947 to 195 million pounds with an increase of only 11 per cent in the area under tea cultivation. In coffee we have increased production from 14,900 tonnes to over 67,000 tonnes; our Rubber crop has increased from 16,700 tonnes to 37,200 tonnes. This remarkable achievement of the three major plantation crops of South

India is the result of efficient management capable of translating into practice the results of scientific research and technological advances. If our entire agriculture is managed on plantation lines, it would revolutionise Indian agriculture and benefit the whole nation. The advantages of growing crops on plantation lines are quite obvious. Rubber is a native of Brazil but was grown there as a peasant crop. Brazil's rubber seeds were taken to Malaya, Indonesia, Ceylon and India and these countries growing rubber on plantation lines supply nearly 99 per cent of the world's rubber. China was the original home of tea but was grown there as a peasant crop. Subsequently India, Ceylon and Indonesia raised tea on plantation basis; the result was that India and Ceylon ousted China from its dominating position of the world's tea market. Almost any crop can be raised on plantation lines. What distinguishes the plantation system from peasant farming is the way the crop is raised, harvested, processed and marketed. It is not correct to assume that the plantation system is possible only if the holdings are very large; even medium sized holdings can be farmed on plantation lines.

One serious impediment to efficient farming in India is the large number of uneconomic small holdings where subsistence farm-

ing alone is practicable. The Second Five-Year Plan Report shows that in Travancore-Cochin, 94.9 per cent of the agricultural holdings are below 5 acres! The stress in our land policy all along has been on distribution of land rather than of ensuring efficient farming. Taxation and land ceiling laws have accelerated the pace of fragmentation. Hindu undivided families have divided their farms to minimise the burden of taxation or to defeat land ceilings.

In the United Kingdom, the British Parliament enacted the Agriculture Act, 1947, making provision for ensuring efficient farming. Under the said Act, the owner as well as the occupier have a duty to manage land in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. Provision has been made to make orders placing the owner or occupier, as the case may be, under Government's supervision and on such an order being made, the Government may issue directions to secure good estate management and good husbandry. The owner or occupier may be dispossessed on grounds of bad husbandry. Land Reform legislations should be suitably amended as to make efficient farming alone the determinative factor to qualify the owner or tenant to hold land.

Our average rate of yield per acre of almost all the crops, except the plantation crops, is very low. Increase of yield by 100 per cent is not incapable of achievement, provided agriculture is carried on like any other industry by efficient management. A

progressive agriculturist in Coorg farming on plantation lines obtains about 5,850 lbs. of paddy an acre on rain fed lands, while his neighbouring peasants are getting only about 1,300 to 3,000 lbs.

Men of initiative and education with the required capital are not inclined to take to farming under the existing conditions. Most of the young men from families traditionally wedded to agriculture, have left the farming profession, for want of the right economic environment. What is the right economic environment needed to accomplish agricultural miracles has been stated in a book entitled "The Farm Revolution" published by the United States Information Service. This is what it says:

"It is no secret, at this stage of history, that agriculture is the Achilles' heel of communism. Farmers, where they are mere instruments of the monolithic state, cannot, will not, or at any rate, do not produce food at the rate of which they are capable. Where farmers own their land, by contrast, where Governments support agriculture rather than dictate and interfere, where farmers are encouraged as the individuals they are, where the farmer's respect for his land is accompanied by incentives to produce, there agricultural miracles can be accomplished."

We should, therefore, create favourable conditions requisite for the improvement of our farm production.

#### FROM THE G. I. P. A. VISITOR'S BOOK

*"I congratulate these students for the way in which they are keeping the Sanskrit tradition in the same time where they try to promote the political culture of their country."*

22-12-1948

Prof. Louis Renou, Professor of Sanskrit,  
Sorbonne University, Paris.

*"I am glad to see that the Institute is doing useful service for the study of important public questions. The Institute is evidently working on the lines chalked out by the late Mr. Gokhale."—  
Letter of 2-3-1952.*

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Some time Finance Minister,  
Government of India.

# WANTED A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS

By SRI N. RAGHUNATHAN

We have been a little too hasty in congratulating ourselves on our success with democracy. We are yet to satisfy the elementary test of founding government in the active consent of the people. In these seventeen years we must have established an all-time record for law-making. If that has also meant the intensive education of the public in law-breaking, the Government of the day shows no sign of having learnt the lesson. It talks of plugging the loopholes, instead of setting an example of that orderly self-restraint on the part of authority which is the essence of the rule of law.

Take the current witch-hunt against tax-dodgers. In the name of fighting anti-social elements, practically every safeguard against intrusion into the private life of the citizen has been scrapped. But no one with anything like a political stake dares to protest against this wholesale subversion of Constitutional liberties, because he is afraid of being hounded out as an ally of the black marketeer. 'Catch the thief' is a subtle appeal to self-righteousness that the crowd can never resist. And the spectacular hauls reported every day seem to provide ample justification for these drastic methods.

But does anyone stop to consider that, judging by reported Government estimates, what black money has been unearthed so far is but a minute fraction of the total.

You may get a few big fish, but most of the small fry will get through the meshes; for the simple truth is that the tax structure and the planned economy have between them put a premium on tax evasion, the benefit of which has seeped deep into practically every stratum of the community. Besides, black money does not as a rule remain hoarded in lockers or buried underground. It undergoes so many transformations and covers up its traces so quickly that you might as well think of counting the sands of the sea as of bringing all malefactors to book.

Meanwhile look at the enormous damage done to the morale of the people! After the blatant inducement offered to informers, and the invitation held out to the tax-dodgers and the gold-smugglers to pay up part of their ill-gotten gains on the assurance that no questions will be asked, the Government can no longer afford to stalk about on lofty moral stilts. And why is it forgotten that the fundamental axiom of the jurisprudence we have adopted is that no man shall be presumed to be guilty till his offence has been proved? We are repeatedly assured that the innocent will not suffer. That was what those who employed the ordeal by fire and by water used to say. After all a tax is a civil claim in which the State is the plaintiff. And there is no more justification, to say the least, for asking those safeguards against injustice to be scrapped in this class

of cases, than there is in criminal cases where the State is prosecutor.

In no country where there was a Government of laws would double standards be tolerated. The politician, whether in office or just out of it, cannot ask to be judged by a different tribunal or by a different set of rules.

Officials are asked to submit property statements. And men have been dismissed merely on the ground that they could not have accumulated so much as they are seen to have, out of their known and legitimate sources of income. But why are ministers not asked similarly to render accounts to somebody that will bring a judicial mind to bear upon the matter? The law makes

public servants responsible for the acts of their wives and dependents. The Government of this country seems to be content with a less exalted code where ministers and their wives are concerned. In the dark days before the dawn of Swaraj, an auditor who was appointed to the Incometax Appellate Tribunal was asked not only to sever his connection with the firm but also to get the firm to change its name, to make it clear to all the world that he had nothing to do with it. Are our politicians in office or in limbo observing such exacting standards? Are they required by the party or the Government which inducts them into power to satisfy them? These questions must be asked and satisfactorily answered if we are going to do something more than play at democracy.

#### FROM THE G. I. P. A. VISITOR'S BOOK

*"It was a pleasure to visit this Institute even at a late hour. It revived my memories of Gokhale, Devadhar and Shastri. The proceedings began with a nice speech by Mr. Gundappa and I was pleased to hear of his efforts to revive the old tradition of culture by a critical study of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. I spoke of my experience of Pherozeshah Mehta, Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi in so far as they all illustrate the common feature of drawing young men together and improving them by personal contact and example. Love of young men was their common feature, whatever the political creed they proposed to follow. Liberalism as I understand it is an outlook on life, and love of young men and the desire to train them by personal contact was the true instinct of Liberalism as I understand it."*

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Dr. M. R. Jayakar, LL.D., Vice-Chancellor,  
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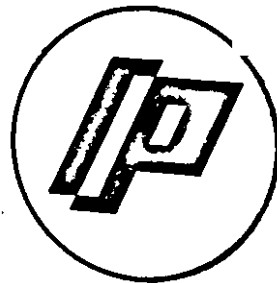


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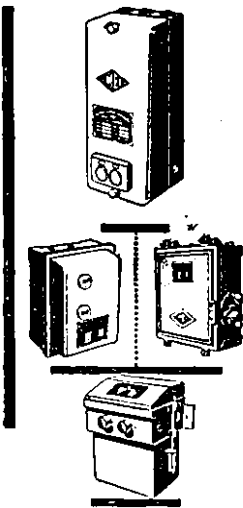
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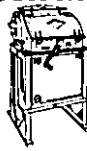


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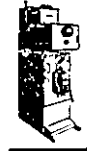
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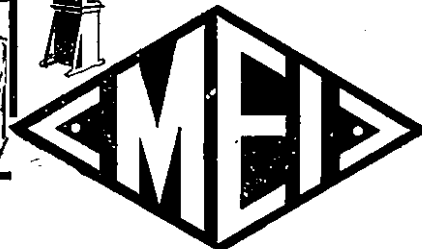
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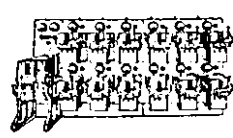
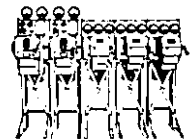
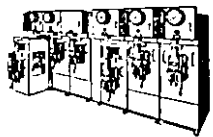
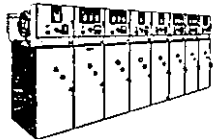
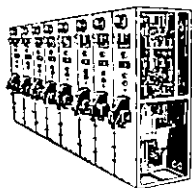
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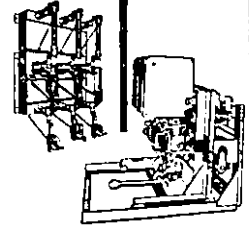
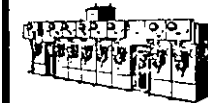
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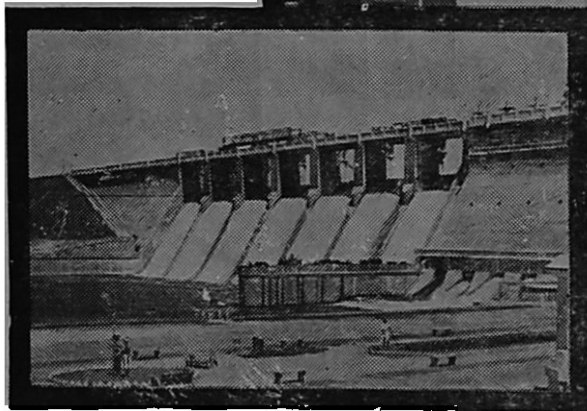
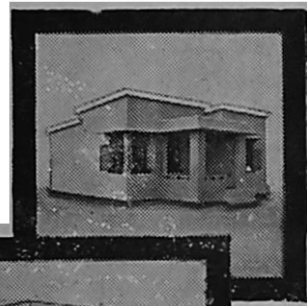
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# JINNAH

By SRI POTHAN JOSEPH

In *Opinion* (December 1964), A. G. Noorani contributes an article titled "Jinnah: An Appraisal". A shrewd observer himself, Noorani writes that "a true character sketch has still to be written of this remarkable man." K. M. Munshi in an appreciation affirmed not long ago that Gandhi and Jinnah could never have wrought their way together on the same level, but both were bound to be outstanding. Noorani in his turn puts it differently in the following observation:

"Jinnah will be judged as an astute, dedicated leader with a fine sense of realism, tremendous courage and great tactical skill but with little imagination. For long he was the frustrated bridge-builder. Now his bitterness was to be his undoing. Interestingly, we find him in March 1948 despite Kashmir and all the rest calling for joint defence of the sub-continent. Earlier in 1944 he had said "We will say 'Hands off India' to all outsiders. Pakistan will not tolerate any outside design or aggression on this sub-continent. We will observe something like a Monroe Doctrine."

I have no doubt that the study of Jinnah will call for a series of assessments until a fair portrait is drawn by several hands to get anywhere near a genuine picture. In my lifetime I have been close to Mohamed Ali Jinnah more than once and in this article I give a few scattered impressions, largely as the adversary of Mahatma

Gandhi. As the present publication comes from the Gokhale Institute I might as well remind readers that the Quaide Azam's ambition in his forties was to be known as the "Muslim Gokhale."

Actually he did not achieve that distinction, because he was at cross purposes with Mahatma Gandhi ending as the Founder of Pakistan. As a matter of policy Gandhiji befriended the Ali Brothers and supported the Khilafat movement. Jinnah was secular enough to keep aloof from such tactics.

Gandhiji wanted the boycott of law courts and appealed to students to leave Government schools. Jinnah said No. He continued his High Court practice and foretold at least two generations of ignorance and indiscipline in the future of Indian politics.

Very few people could recall how Jinnah led the Home Rule struggle in Bombay as President of the Home Rule League. Gandhiji after observing Gokhale's advice on return from South Africa that he should steer clear of politics for one year, took over the Home Rule League, dubbing it Swaraj Sabha. Jinnah parted company sensing something sinister in the change of name.

My own belief is that Jinnah tried his best in appeasing Gandhiji at testy moments. During the first War Gandhiji helped Britain by enlisting soldiers in Kaira

and Godhra. Jinnah wondered aloud why he should be a recruiting sergeant for the British army?

<sup>On</sup> In August 1916 there was a political conference at Godhra (Gujarat). Among the top leaders present were Gandhiji, Tilak, Jinnah, Khaparde, Vithalbai Patel, Jehangir Petit and Vallabhbhai Patel. Vallabhbhai Patel was not a leader then. Mahatma Gandhi was particular that the masses must understand the proceedings whereas Jinnah sought political results. The raw material for the troops were the villagers. The Mahatma insisted that Jinnah should speak in Gujarati. As Muslim leader, he obliged. He rose to speak and said in difficult Gujarati prose: "Gentlemen, I am speaking today in Gujarati as ordered by Gandhiji. Having now made this first part of my speech in Gujarati, Gentlemen, I shall complete my speech in English." This was followed by roars of laughter. Jinnah headed a revolt against the presenting of an address to Lord Willingdon as Governor of Bombay, but Gandhiji refused to associate himself with any such incivility. Again when it came to strikes and walk-outs, Jinnah warned Gandhiji against students practising such demonstrations.

When Gandhiji launched non-cooperation, Bombay politicians including Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, etc. formed the Anti-Non-Cooperation Committee. For Jinnah it was but bare precaution. Now to make a long story short about the N.C.O. Freedom Struggle under Gandhiji, Jinnah and Motilal Nehru sat through the major part of the period, side by side, on the Opposition Bench of the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

Skipping over the period of the Round Table Conference, we come to a more resolute battleground between Jinnah and Gandhiji. Conflict again. Jinnah regarded the fast-changing Congress as "the other side of the medal"—indeed the Hindu Mahasabha. In the eyes of the Mahatma the Muslim League amounted to clannish communalism, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

being the sound Muslim patriot of the land. The Quaide Azam won't hear of it and openly denounced the theologian as a play-boy of the "Hindu Congress."

The divergence went wider and wider during the war. In prestige, Jinnah feared he was losing ground. He decided there should be an English daily newspaper in New Delhi itself for even the American camp of observers to read every morning in addition to the Hindustan Times which I had once upon a time edited.

Emotionally I too felt that the Muslim cause required a hearing. I had personally great admiration for the basic gifts of the man who wanted to be the "Muslim Gokhale." He telegraphed for me and unconditionally offered the editorship of a paper named by Liaquat Ali Khan DAWN (As Congressman Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had edited an Urdu journal called Al Hilal).

I asked Jinnah about the policy of the paper. He told me that he left it to me, but he would like me on Saturday evenings to spend an hour with him to discuss Indian politics. The arrangement worked out very well and there was no diktat. I well remember his telling me one thing, namely, not to admit matrimonial advertisements in the columns of DAWN. He felt that such things are not proper.

I cannot remember any other restraint or instruction during my editorship of Dawn. The paper won readers and like the Deccan Herald earned profits from the first year.

When partition came he said I should be welcome in Karachi to continue editorship of DAWN, but all things considered not excluding my family attachments, it would be prudent if I opted to stay away in India that is Bharat.

I think I have written enough to supplement Mr. Noorani's opinion that a true biography of Mohamed Ali Jinnah still remains to be written.

# VILLAGE UPLIFT IN INDIA

By PROF. BODH RAJ SHARMA

During the last ten years and more there has been an enormous amount of turn out by the press and a still larger amount of verbal propaganda on the platform and through the legislatures of the centre and the states about village uplift. The ministers and legislators in the centre and the states and their devoted and loyal officers seem to have been working night and day to create a new heaven in the countryside. A few villages near Delhi and near the Capitals of the States have actually been provided with amenities generally associated with town life in India. These serve as the show pieces where dignitaries and V.I.P.'s from foreign lands are taken to bear witness to the great revolution that has been brought about by the Five-Year Plans financed partly by loans and grants from the developed countries of the West and the East. But he who goes about the countryside with eyes and ears open cannot fail to notice that the village is still the sink of the Indian Society. 82% of the population of India according to the 1961 census still lives in villages and most of these unfortunate people are still ill fed, ill clad, ill housed, ill educated and ill employed.

The total expenditure for the 12 years (1951 to 1963) under the Community Development Programme which aims at the individual and collective welfare of India's vast rural population living in 5 lakhs and 66

thousand and odd villages has been Rs. 341 crores. Of this 95 crores have been consumed by the buildings and equipment of the Block headquarters. 83 crores have been expended on Irrigation and Reclamation of land. Only 18.6 crores have been spent on housing, 14.95 crores on village industries, 26.57 crores on communications, 18.11 crores on social education, 21.34 crores on education and 30.84 crores on health and rural sanitation. This means that during all these 12 years each village got about Rs. 330 for housing, Rs. 265 for industries, Rs. 470 for communications, Rs. 340 for social education, Rs. 375 for education and Rs. 545 for health and rural sanitation. Still larger amounts must have been spent by the state governments for these services. But even if these amounts were twenty times as large as spent by the Central government, that would mean just a drop in the ocean for the pressing needs of the villages. The villages still lack good roads; the streets there are still not paved, and there are hardly any drains. Good houses provided with modern conveniences are still few and far between. The people still shit and spit anywhere and everywhere. They are still superstition-ridden and are ignorant and innocent even of the most elementary advances made by science and technology. The schools are ill equipped and are generally short of teachers. There are few hospitals for men or for animals and if there

are any they are without doctors or without medicines. Unemployment is rife and people are idle for a large part of the year. Where tractors have been introduced, unemployment has made further inroads. Literary and cultural life are still non-existent. People have a lot of leisure but do not know how to employ it in a gainsome manner. Village Panchayats have been established but the Panches have only helped to encourage factions and the villages have become the hunting ground of unscrupulous party bosses.

As against the deplorable condition of villages the towns are taking long strides on the road to progress. In Chandigarh alone, where the writer of this paper lives, the government and the people have sunk nearly 100 crores of rupees during the last 12 years. By 1985 when this town will be fully developed, the total expenditure on its build up will come up to about a thousand crores. The amenities made available to the people living here are not available in any other town in the whole of the Punjab. But other towns in the Punjab have also made great progress during the last 12 years in education, sanitation, medical relief, housing, industry and hundreds of crores have been sunk in them by the government as well as by the people.

One serious consequence of this disproportionate expenditure on urban areas as against the rural areas has been that the village folk are bidding good bye to their ancestral homes. The villages neither conduce to good life nor do they enable the people there to earn a decent living. To be a villager is not respectable. A stigma of inferiority has come to be attached to villages and villagers and so they rush in ever increasing numbers to the towns.

That the towns are better places for living is proved by the fact that no townsman takes to village life even on retirement from service or business. Even the village school master and the village doctor prefer to keep their families in nearby towns. Women teachers, lady doctors, nurses and

even women social workers refuse to accept jobs in villages. The chief reason for aversion to service in villages is the want of amenities of life. Hence the urgent necessity of real village uplift rather than mere paper uplift. The integration of Indian Society will be achieved only when the villagers will refuse to run to towns and when townsmen will be eager to make homes in villages.

This can happen only when the government gives a lead. In their budgets the state governments should allocate the lion's share to the needs of the villages. Good roads, paved streets, a reasonably good drainage system, good water supply, a well equipped school, a reading room, a library, an art museum, a good hospital, a post office, proper means of transport, good houses and provision of electricity both for lighting and cottage industries are the barest minimum requirements of every village. It should be the government's endeavour to provide every village with amenities which should prevent the village people from running to the towns.

Laws or decrees can make it obligatory for every married government official to reside with his family in a village for some part of his total service. These servicemen who run the administration will see to it that the villages become places where life can be livable and enjoyable. Then, as in the west, every industrialist, every banker, every legislator, every doctor, every educator and every one who counts in society will feel tempted to have a country home in a village where he will go to spend his week end away from the cares and worries of town life and recoup himself for the labours of the coming week.

Then the villager will be enabled to get the same opportunities for self realisation as the more fortunate town dweller gets now. Then only will he be able to make his full contribution to the progress of his Fatherland. Then only will India be a true Democracy proud of its material and moral advancement, proud of its people and proud of their culture.





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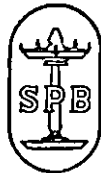
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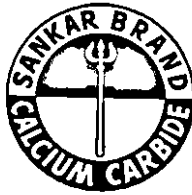
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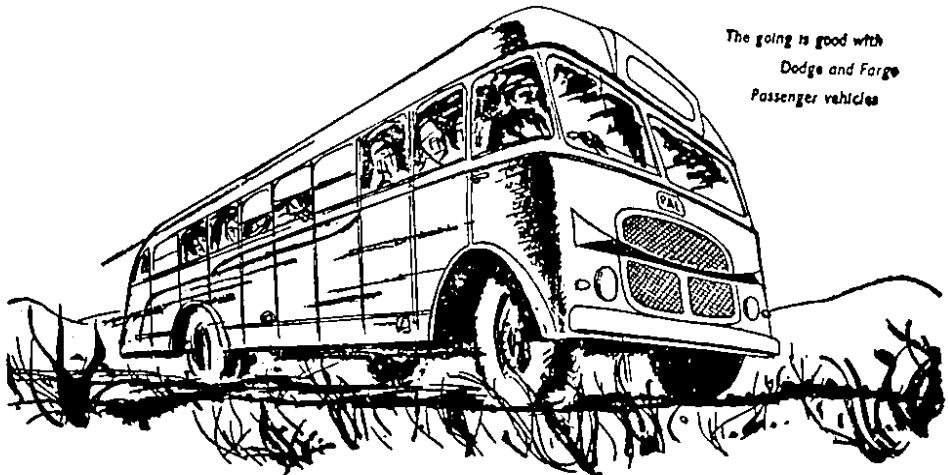
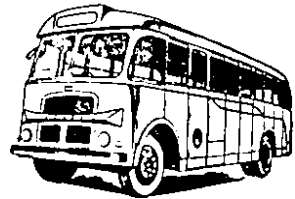
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# WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR HIGH SCHOOLS?

By SRIMATI VIDYA KRISHNAMURTI

*Based on a Seminar on the Problems of High School Education,  
conducted in September, 1964, by the Child Study Association, Bangalore*

A startling fact came to light in a report on examinations published a few months ago. Of the total number of candidates taking the Pre-University, B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com. examinations of the Mysore University in 1964, only 29% passed. It is sobering to think that the seeds for this colossal wastage at the college level, year after year, are being laid in our schools. The problem calls for honest investigation, imaginative planning and a courageous implementation of plans.

University education is the culmination of a long process starting from nursery and primary classes and going on through middle and high school. The school years are the most impressionable and formative ones of a child's life. By the time he is in his last year of school, the child should have learnt to think independently, to be aware of his duties and social obligations as a citizen; he should be ready for higher education; and with a little guidance, should know broadly what career he will choose. It is the duty of teachers and parents to help in this development of character and personality.

But what is happening in our high schools today?

Arrived in high school, the average child, far too immature to know his own mind, is literally pushed by his parents and well-wishers into studying subjects for which he may have no aptitude, simply because such subjects have a "future." He is compelled to make a sudden switch-over from the regional language to the English medium of instruction because clearly this will help him both in college, and in schools in places where his parents may be transferred. Apart from this however, his parents take hardly any interest in his progress at school. He has to study heavy, unattractive texts, which only too often contain mistakes of print, grammar and information. His classes are overcrowded; school hours are unreasonably long; study becomes an unending and meaningless routine. He has little leisure to enjoy the work of his own hands. The end of the year brings the dreaded examination, which however, is no real test of his ability.

The teacher's position is no better. In crowded class-rooms, the children appear to him, not as unique individuals each with his own potentiality, but as anonymous units to be stuffed with information. He is frustrated to find that it is not possible to use freely the large government grants

for libraries and laboratories. Over-worked and underpaid, very often he has the extra burdens of library work, excursions, scout activities, and mid-day meals. He would gratefully accept help from the parents in these matters, but it is seldom forthcoming. And all the time, he is aware of the spirit of indiscipline ready to break out at a moment's notice. Such conditions are calculated to repel, rather than attract people, even those with a genuine interest in teaching.

The two most important factors in a child's life are his parents and his teachers; between them they can mould, guide and help him to grow; their co-operative efforts can develop proper discipline in him. With government aid, utilized with freedom and imagination, there is no reason why our schools should not turn out sensitive, intelligent, well-informed and disciplined children, who will truly benefit from university education and be a credit to their institutions.

### *I BELIEVE...*

*I believe in the supreme worth of the individual and in his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

*I believe that every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity, an obligation; every possession, a duty.*

*I believe that the law was made for man and not man for the law; that government is the servant of the people and not their master.*

*I believe in the dignity of labour, whether with head or hand; that the world owes no man a living but that it owes every man an opportunity to make a living.*

*I believe that thrift is essential to well-ordered living and that economy is a prime requisite of a sound financial structure, whether in government, business or personal affairs.*

*I believe that truth and justice are fundamental to an enduring social order.*

*I believe in the sacredness of a promise, that a man's word should be as good as his bond; that character—not wealth or power or position—is of supreme worth.*

*I believe that the rendering of useful service is the common duty of mankind and that only in the purifying fire of sacrifice is the dross of selfishness consumed and the greatness of the human soul set free.*

*I believe in the all-wise and all-loving God, named by whatever name, and that the individual's highest fulfilment, greatest happiness, and widest usefulness are to be found in living in harmony with His will.*

*I believe that love is the greatest thing in the world; that it alone can overcome hate; that right can and will triumph over might.*

—Inscription on a memorial to John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
founder of New York's Rockefeller Centre.

# THE GOKHALE TRADITION

By SRI P. KODANDA RAO

Dr. D. V. Gundappa represents the political tradition of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, after whom he named the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs. Gokhale was a disciple of Mahadev Govind Ranade, and had the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as his disciple. Their common tradition may be described as Constitutional Liberalism. All the three statesmen strove for the political freedom of India, but none of them lived to see it. It is instructive to examine if their tradition was eventually adopted by their earlier critics.

One of the articles of the tradition related to India's relation with the British Empire, which later became the British Commonwealth, and later still, the Commonwealth. In the Preamble to the Constitution of the unique organisation, the Servants of India Society, Gokhale had claimed that the British connection had been ordained in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence for India's good, and that self-Government for India on the lines of the British Dominions was the political goal of India. In doing so, he had followed the line of thought promulgated and promoted earlier by Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mahadev Govind Ranade, and continued later by Sastri and the Liberals.

None of them was oblivious to the unwelcome aspects of British rule in India.

In fact, Dadabhai Naoroji condemned British rule in India as un-British, Gokhale resented the dwarfing and stunting of Indians under that rule; he was not happy that India was under foreign yoke. These sentiments were echoed by Sastri as well. But they realised and admitted that British rule had a better side as well, which was truly British. Dadabhai said that if British rule was substituted for un-British rule, "the result would be a blessing to India and glory to England, a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nation on the face of the earth." These leaders took a balanced view, and found that, notwithstanding short-term reverses and reactions, the long run trend was favourable to India's progress towards self-government.

The Gokhale tradition was criticised by some very eminent Indian patriots like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Jawaharlal Nehru who had been imprisoned by the British Government in India for advocating direct action against it. But in the event they too moved from rejection, to toleration and finally to adoption of the Gokhale tradition. In his Manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party in 1920, Tilak said:

We want the English people, English institutions, English liberty and Empire.  
\* \* \* You must not forget that it is the connection with England and the educa-

tion she gave that have given rise to the ambitions that fill your hearts.

All that he wanted was internal autonomy for India, which is none other than the Dominion Status of Gokhale and Sastri at the time. Tilak went on to say:

It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefit, not only by its civilised methods of administration, but also by bringing together the different nationalities and races in India, so that a United Nation may grow together out of it in course of time. I do not believe that if we had any other ruler, except the liberty-loving British, they could have conceived and assisted us in developing a national ideal.

Gokhale and Sastri distinguished British rule from the British connection. While they were rightly critical of some aspects of the former, they welcomed the latter. On the other hand, from 1929 onwards Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress declared for independence of India outside the British Commonwealth. While Sastri held the view that Dominion Status within the British Empire meant independence plus security, Nehru thought that Dominion Status was less than independence. When, however, India attained "independence" in 1947, Nehru committed India to full membership of the Commonwealth and has been more enthusiastic of it than even Gokhale and Sastri! Nehru went to the length of acknowledging the Sovereign of

Britain as the Head of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding the fact that the Head of any organisation has a status superior to that of a Member!

While politically India has as much independence as Canada or Australia, constitutionally it is as much of a Dominion as they. For, the "Indian Independence Act" was passed by the British Parliament, the only sovereign body in the Commonwealth, and the Act created the "Dominion of India," if only because no sovereign State can enact another sovereign State. The independence of the United States of America was not enacted by an Act of the British Parliament. If Rhodesia ventures to declare its "independence" without an Act of the British Parliament, it would be guilty of treason. India today is a Dominion, and enjoys both independence and security, as Gokhale and Sastri wished.

The critics of the Gokhale tradition denied the possibility of India, a Dependency, attaining Dominion Status by constitutional action. When Gokhale was asked to quote a precedent, he said that the last chapter of history had not yet been written, and India might provide the precedent. It did. For, she attained Dominion Status by an Act of the British Parliament and not independence by direct action. Its precedent has been followed in the case of several other erstwhile Dependencies of Britain.

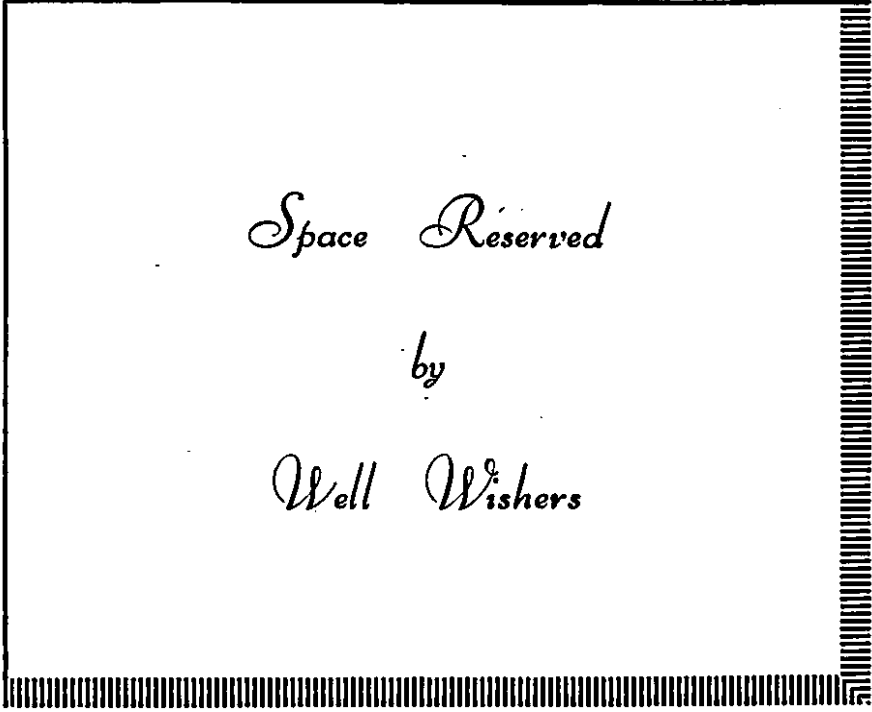
Gokhale is dead; the Gokhale tradition lives.

#### FROM THE G. I. P. A. VISITOR'S BOOK

*"Visited the Institute and was shown round by Mr. Gundappa. The reading room was well attended. The library is slowly developing. The work of the Institute is of great value and needs all the encouragement that can be given to it."*

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Sri D. V. Ambekar, Secretary,  
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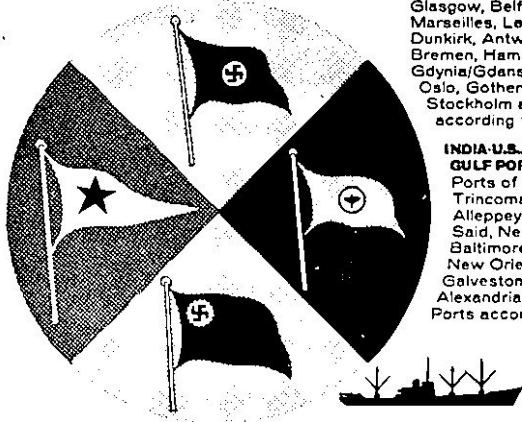
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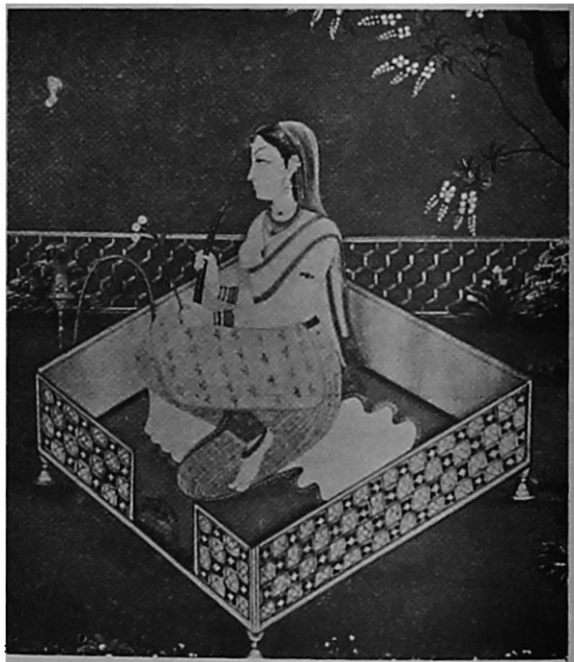
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# INDIA'S PUBLIC LIFE IN OUR TIMES

By SRI K. R. KARANTH

In writing on this topic I can only give expression to the result of my experiences gained in a period of about 50 or 55 years dividing it into three periods of time, (1) between 1910 and 1920, the decade before the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the Indian National Congress and taking charge of it, (2) 1920-1947, the period of the struggle for freedom under his guidance and (3) from 1947 till now, the post-freedom period. The term 'public life' means and includes political work in the legislatures and local bodies and such work outside also. I have not included in that term social public work, though strictly even this might come under it.

Taking up the first period I may state that whilst the country as a whole was waking up to the call of freedom for the nation and even though the period saw such stalwarts of freedom like the three Lals as they were commonly called, viz., Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, the period as a whole was one of liberals. The legislatures and the public institutions were largely filled by able members fashioned after the liberal school of thought as in England. The most famous amongst them were Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who founded the Servants of India Society which in turn produced many good public men and workers, Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa

Sastry, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and a host of others. The legislators were highly educated men who studied their brief, prepared their speeches and contributed much to the work of public administration of the time and above all were men of great integrity and character. It was my good fortune to have seen and heard speeches of some of them. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, though he came to public life in the second period, is a typical example of the public men of the first period and is probably the last of that tribe. What a contrast with the common politicians of the present day! But let me not anticipate. Regarding the first three of whom I mentioned above, viz., Lala Lajpat Rai, I met him in his house at Lahore in 1921. What a great man he was! After having lived long in the U.S.A. he was a dominant figure in the Arya Samaj and in the politics of the Punjab and ultimately he died of the blows he received in one of the civil disobedience movements. Bal Gangadhar Tilak's is a name to conjure with. I was present, then a law student at Bombay, at a midnight conference held near the Sandhurst Bridge at Chowpatty in Bombay in May 1917 or 1918 when he spoke for the first time the words "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it". I did not see the third, Bepin Chandra Pal. He was said to be a great orator. But by and large the period was one of the school of liberals

mentioned above who rendered great public service in all walks of life to which, I regret to say, our country as a whole has not granted sufficient and proper recognition, and that is largely by reason of the great glare of publicity which the second period shed.

Coming to the second period, the period was one of intensive activity for the achievement of the country's freedom, which though it had its own outbursts of violence from time to time, may still be called one of peaceful revolution, unmatched in the history of any other country at any period of time. The public life of the country passed from the liberals to what I may call the extremists, though it would be wrong to call one an extremist if one's demand is only that of freedom for oneself and one's country. To apply the words of Tilak Maharaj (as he was popularly called) to claim one's birth right can hardly be called 'extremist'.

Any way, all public life of this period, from 1920 to 1947, i.e., over a quarter of a century, centred round the struggle for freedom launched from time to time by the Mahatma and the Congress, the two being inseparable. To begin with, was the Non-Cooperation Movement launched by him as resolved upon at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in December 1921. The British administration rested on the foundations of the educational institutions founded by them, the Law Courts wherefrom they dispensed Justice and the Legislatures through which they governed. So the movement was one of boycott of these institutions, coupled with the boycott of foreign cloth also through which it was argued that the wealth of Britain had been amassed and this country reduced to poverty. Thousands of young men and women, particularly the former, gave up their studies in the High Schools and Colleges and a few thousands the profession of law. National Schools and Colleges were started, but many of these young men did not complete their studies, but became either active Congressmen in political work or more often constructive workers of the Congress, for Khadi production and sales or the removal of untouchability or the propagation of Hindi. The number of lawyers who gave up practice was not large but it was high in quality; Shri Motilal Nehru in Uttar Pradesh, Shri C. R. Das in Bengal were some of the most distinguished who did so. Shri C. Rajagopalachari was

one such from Tamilnad. Many more like T. Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya and B. Sambamurthi came from Andhra. Karnataka too contributed some. But in February 1922 took place the tragedy of the killings in Chowri Chowra as a result of which the Mahatma immediately called off the movement. Then followed imprisonments of political leaders on a large scale. The boycott of legislatures was very successful. But following the saying that nature abhors a vacuum, some undesirable persons also got into the legislatures.

The reaction to the boycott of the legislatures by the Congress brought in 1925 and 1926 the legislature entry wing in the Congress. Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das were the leaders of this group and C. R. of the No Changers. In the December 1925 Congress session at Belgaum approval to this Council entry programme was given. In the general elections of 1926 the pro-Changers entered the Central Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in large numbers. The Congress members were by and large very able men and good speakers too. The Central Assembly with its illustrious President, Shri Vittalbhai Patel (brother of the Sardar) created a distinguished record. The British members of the Government in the Central Assembly had a dread of him and his rulings.

In the Provincial legislatures too the record was not undistinguished. The Provincial Governments had some departments transferred to Indians at that time and were working a system called Dyarchy. As one in the Madras Council of that period (1926-1929) I can speak well of the general capacity of the members, whether of the Congress or of the other parties like the Justice Party or the United Nationalist Party.

But the Mahatma and the Congress saw after 3 years' experience that making fiery and indignant speeches by the Congress legislators did not get the country anywhere near Swaraj. So in December 1929 there was again passed a resolution in the Gauhati Congress to give up the legislative programme. In 1930-32 Civil Disobedience was again launched and thousands upon thousands went to jails and many more faced Lathi charges, a process, hard even to witness, by which the Lathi was scientifically used to break the bones and loins of Congress volunteers who went to picket.

After the movement failed, in 1937 the legislative programme was again taken up by way of an alternative. It was then after an agreement with the British Government of full-fledged Provincial autonomy that Congress Governments were formed in all the Provinces. Prohibition was introduced and much legislation was passed to relieve agricultural indebtedness and bring in other reforms which the Congress had demanded in earlier years. The Government of Madras with C. R. as its Premier was the most distinguished among them.

In September 1939, World War II having come and the Congress and the Mahatma having refused to co-operate with the British, the Congress Governments were turned out and the Provincial legislatures abolished. In 1940 the Mahatma initiated the individual Civil Disobedience movement which took thousands of people again into jails. The peak, however, was reached in the Quit India Movement of August 1942. This was the last effort and it was a mighty one too. Detentions and imprisonments were the order of the day. Misunderstanding the true intent of the movement the Socialist Party under the leadership of Shri Jayaprakash Narain set in motion also a violent movement burning public buildings, removing rails and so on.

So then the War ended and Britain achieved victory, with the massive assistance of the U.S.A., it was but a pyrrhic one. A Labour Government under Major Atlee conducted negotiations in 1946 and 1947 when the legislatures began to function once again and Congress Ministries began to function in all the Provinces. Ultimately on 15th August 1947 India achieved freedom and the second period of which I am writing came to a close.

Speaking of this period as a whole it may be truly said that public life in India attained its highest pitch and quality. Men and women, high and low, rich and poor, sacrificed their all, or nearly all, for their country, and the Mahatma, the main moulder of our freedom, made men out of mere clay, as most of us were and are.

Now we come to the third period, the post-Swaraj period. Great were the expectations of the people. The Congress in its quarter century of struggle for freedom had held out high hopes that the coming of

Swaraj would be equivalent to the entry of the people into the promised heaven. So the first few years saw great work and good administration. Sardar Vallabhai made the hundreds of the ruling princes with their absolute powers and occupying nearly a third of the country sign on the dotted line and give up their States and their powers. The biggest of them who would not do so had also to yield. But for Sardar we would still have amongst us a second Pakistan in the South. All credit to him that he did not allow it. In other spheres too, much good work was done. Industrial plans were introduced and put into action. An elaborate Constitution, longer than anythnig like it anywhere else, was forged and fundamental rights were shown as secured. A Welfare State began to function. State Ministries introduced community projects. And everything seemed to go on well and people went to sleep under the impression that their homes, rights and freedom were secure and all doors for their loss barred and secured.

But even with the introduction of the New Constitution troubles had begun. The advice of the Mahatma, who foresaw the danger of power and group politics, to disband the Congress went unheeded. The great organisation which worked for achieving the Swaraj began to be exploited for selfish and caste and sub-caste aggrandisement. The worst elements in the country without the least ideology or spirit of sacrifice in them took hold of the great organisation. The fence that was raised to protect the crop itself began to eat it, as a Kannada saying goes.

This gradual and steady decline in public life which took hold of the bulk of Congressmen left its impress on the services and on other parties as well. If in 1950 anybody had said that the Congress in India would become the Kuomintang of China, his head would have been broken. But is there anybody in India today who will dare to refute this self-evident truth?

Our Chinese neighbour might have committed aggression upon us and occupied thousands of square miles of territory, killed our Jawans by the hundreds, and humiliated us before the entire world, and Pakistan might be shooting at us across the frontier all the time and committing aggression in Kashmir or Cutch or Berubari. Today in the whole world this country once deemed great and glorious for its unique

achievement of freedom by non-violence is the sorriest spectacle evoking contempt. Even for feeding our people we have to beg year by year for foodgrains from the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, France and even from Pakistan. We cannot feed our people. We cannot punish the hoarders. Prices have shot up even 5 times in these 10 years. The Government of the country talks fire but cannot control either the prices or the hoarders. Its greatest supporters are the hoarders. But the worst offenders are the large percentage of the Congress Ministers themselves and of them, some of the Chief Ministers. How many such have we not seen in these years?

And of the general kind of legislators the less said the better. In spite of a monthly salary of Rs. 500, free railway passage all the year round and not an insignificant daily allowance of Rs. 40 or so, the House of the People at New Delhi finds it difficult to keep a quorum every day. In the States, things are no better. The chief business of a legislator is not to be studying the problems or the papers supplied to him by the Secretariat but to get his clientele to the

State Capitals, take them to the officials and ministers to get things done for them at the cost of somebody else, and in the legislative assembly itself, they behave in a manner for which it is difficult to find a parallel in any other country.

To cut short an otherwise long story, the level of public life in our country is just now so low and the rot has gone so far and so deep that one can only hope that the worst is over.

For any sensitive people in this country, the result of the latest election in Kerala defeating and humiliating the Congress Party (the Chief Minister of which was charged with corruption but for which no enquiry would be held) and electing as many as 40 Leftists of the China wing of the Communist Party, and the senseless fighting over the language issue of the South versus the North should be ample eyeopeners. But will the people of this country, particularly its rulers, learn their lesson, not they! And so we have this third period of our public life. Have we not had enough of it?

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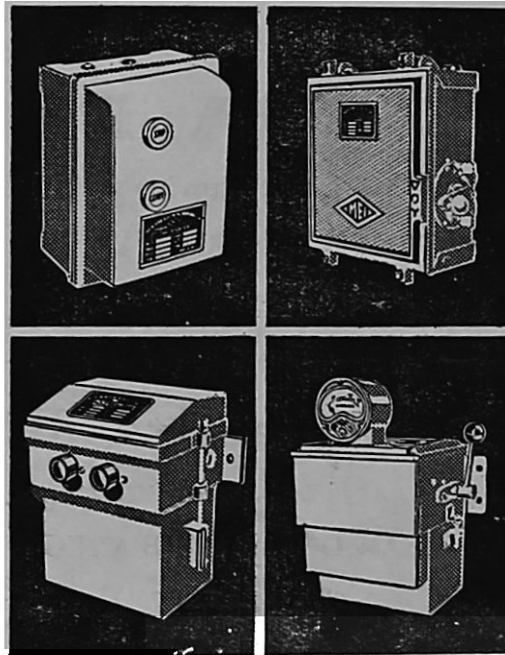
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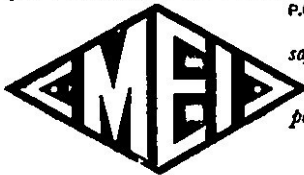
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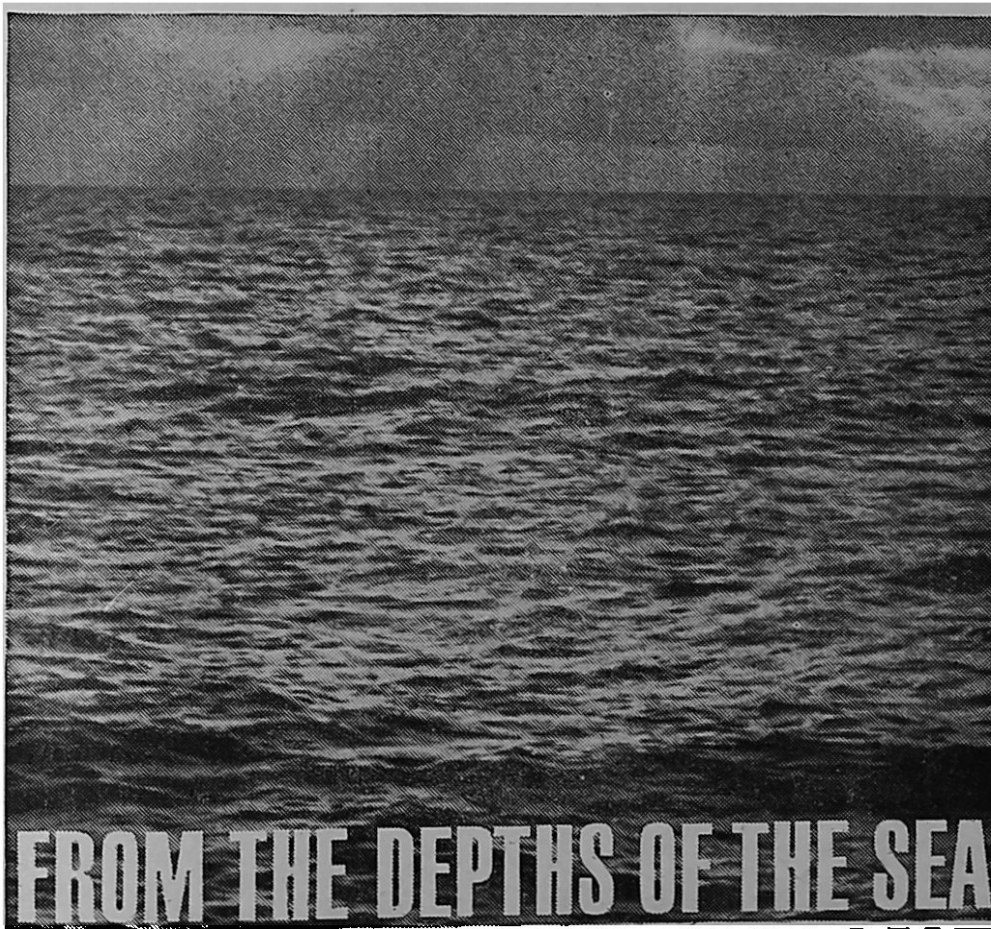
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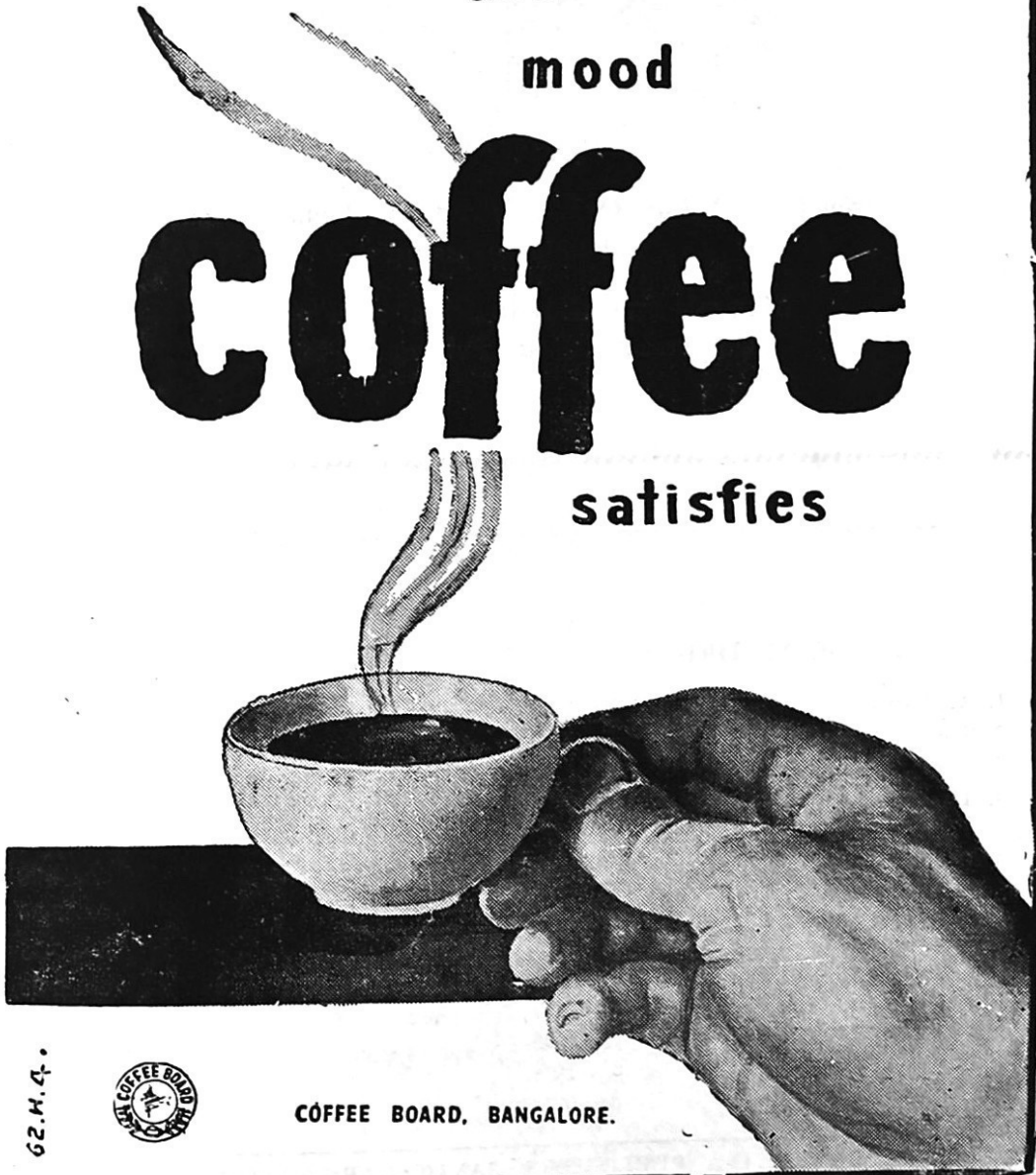
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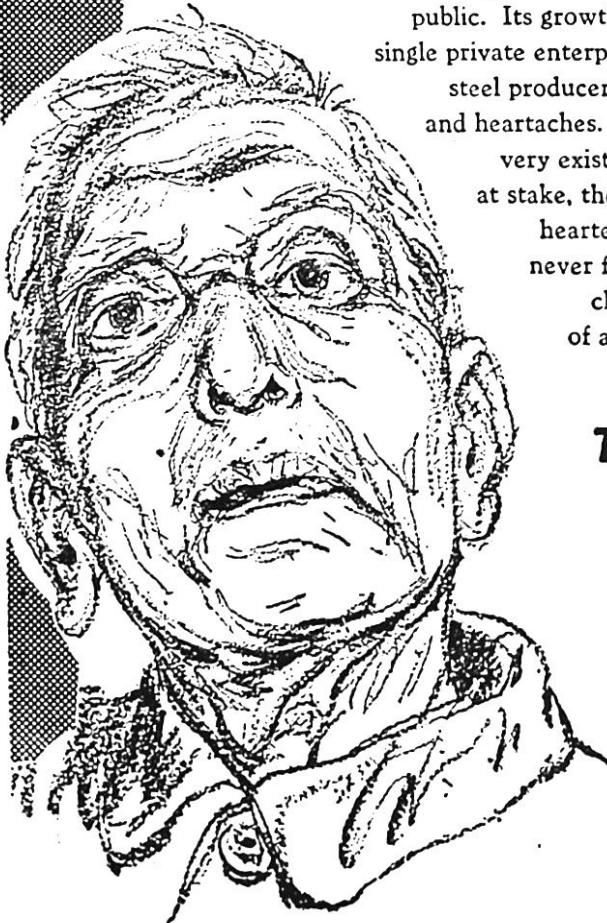
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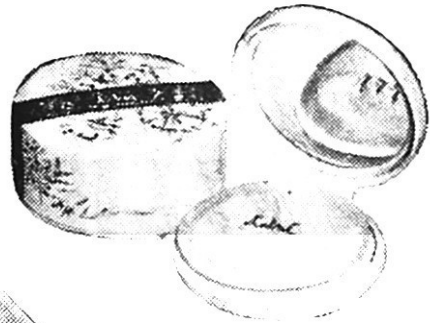
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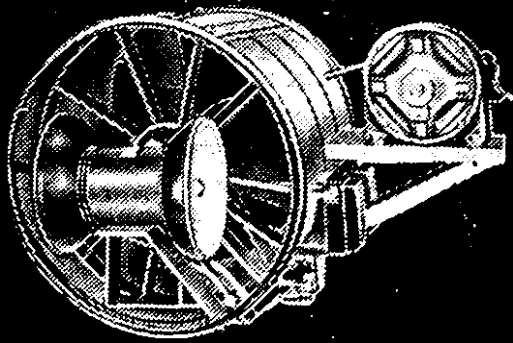
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*Advocate, Madras*

Years back, in 1939, when Rajaji was enjoying a brief respite from active participation in politics, a friend asked him, 'why not you write your autobiography now, when you are having some leisure?' His reply was: 'It is only when one's mind has nothing else to do that it looks back upon the past.' Cynical as might seem this observation for the moment, it is not totally bereft of an iota of truth. For anyone to pause to reflect upon his own past, he must be free from obsessions of the present. Rather his pre-occupations with things happening around him may have such a grip on him that he cannot easily disengage himself from their coils.

But instances are not lacking where men of immense vigour and activity have been as much deliberately prone to seek the solace of re-collections as they have been eager to pursue present plans and projects for the uplift of their brethren. Thus a public worker may not show any disinclination to acquaint others with all the trials he has passed through and all the gains of experience he has gathered in his work. Maybe, not unoften, a touch of vanity or pride will be traceable in such accounts especially when later success has crowned a life dedicated to service. But there may be also useful lessons to learn from the failures and fatuous commonplaces, sometimes, in such reminiscences.

Mahatma Gandhi cannot be said to have merely lent himself to the satisfaction of publicity in narrating the 'Story of his Experiments with Truth.' None reading the pages of his autobiography will be led to the conclusion that the Mahatma cared for any such rewards as what generally writers are expected to reap from writing. Pandit Jawahar Lal did not yield to any self-deception by revealing his struggles during the freedom-fight for his country as a special plea for his own benefit. On the other hand, his rich mind, stocked with much of the wealth of knowledge and achievements of the history of the world, tried only to lay bare a heart that pulsed in every throb for the rest of humanity. When Lord Morley's two sumptuous volumes of 'My Recollections' appeared about the first decades of this century, an earlier generation of publicists and politicians here, devoured every page of it, because Lord Morley was an ardent liberal politician with an outlook that received much sympathy and acceptance from many of the early pioneers in public life. The great Churchill, who practically spanned a very memorable period in the history of the world, owing to the two global wars, has given more than twice his reminiscences in the shape of volumes bearing the titles 'My Early Life' and 'Thoughts and Adventures,' both of which, apart from interesting reading, provide us with the sen-

sitive reactions of an acute mind when brought among the tasks of real life. He was a great speaker, a full-fledged parliamentarian, a connoisseur of art, a sportsman and a delightful writer. Such a life when recounted by its owner cannot be deemed vainglorious or mere indulgence in self-satisfaction.

The case for reminiscences of public workers is thus strong enough to dissuade them from any false notion that by doing so they will be looked upon by posterity with a sly glance of having made more of themselves than need be. Little does the indifferent world know of the truth of the inner workings of a mind when faced with dilemmas and conflicts, not often easy to resolve. However much one may try to decry the habit of seeking strength and enthusiasm from others through words of praise, one cannot completely disown the benefits of a timely word of appreciation or encouragement, if bestowed with no ulterior motive. The episode, in the Ramayana, of Hanuman's self-confidence receiving adequate stimulation at the hands of Jambavan when the latter reminded him of all the great potentialities lying within him for accomplishing the task of leaping over the vast expanse of the waters of the ocean, it is proof enough of the fact that the human soul subsists upon higher strivings in order to surpass itself, for which a timely admonition or appreciation may be needed. The reminiscent mood equally fulfils the function of suggestion through one's own recollection of what exactly can deepen one's soul or what can make one prove of himself greater and purer, as more tempted.

No doubt the reminiscent mood may play false with one's memory, however accurately one may attempt to portray himself to others. Faithful records and unvarnished accounts are not also very easy of achievement. A Mahatma may have succeeded in it; but his account partakes of hagiology. Still one needs to have an ideal when writing of himself. Let us listen to the Mahatma: He wrote: 'If anything that I write in these pages should strike the reader as being touched with pride, then he must take it there is something wrong with my quest, and that my glimpses are no more than a mirage. Let hundreds like me perish, but let truth prevail.' Perhaps few can reach this ideal. Again there is the warning of Churchill: 'I have not only searched my memory, but have most carefully verified my facts from the records which I possess . . . If these opinions conflict with those now generally accepted, they must be taken merely as representing a phase in my early life, and not in any respect, except where the context warrants, as modern pronouncements.' Certainly these ought to be the guides for safety and self-poise in reminiscences.

Nowhere in a public worker has there been a desire to stand up to truth so ruthlessly as it was with Gandhiji. In no other country such an autobiography as his could have been written. Still, public life has not been chastened and the public worker requires constant reminders of what the great father of the Nation strove for day-in and day-out during his lifetime. Indeed, reminiscences of that kind hardly move us to the goal, for as Bacon said 'the stars are so high that they shed little light.'

# TAXES TAXES TAXES

By SRI P. H. SESHAGIRI RAO, M. A.  
*Retd. Deputy Auditor General of India*

In a short article like this, figures will have to speak for themselves. The policy of financing even Plan Investment from tax revenues is responsible for taxation to the tune of Rs. 175 and Rs. 1,041 crores during the first and second plans and an estimated Rs. 1,800 and 3,000 crores during the third and fourth plans. The tax revenue of the Centre has risen from Rs. 357 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 1,800 crores in the 1965-66 budget. Tax revenues of all the States put together totals slightly over this figure so that the tax payers in the country as a whole foot a tax bill of about **THREE THOUSAND CRORES OF RUPEES!**

Union Excise duties, Customs, Income-Tax and Corporation-tax together account for over 80 per cent of the tax revenue of the Centre; and sales tax is the main source of tax revenue for the States. It is significant that while receipts from Excise duties rose from Rs. 67.5 crores to Rs. 628.6 crores during the period 1950-51 to 1964-65, that from Income-tax rose from Rs. 85 crores to Rs. 141 crores only. The yield from Corporation-tax, however, rose more steeply from Rs. 41 crores per annum to Rs. 306 crores all of which proves that the burden of increases falls mainly on the common consumer of goods and organised business sector.

**EXCISE DUTIES:**— Union Excise duties now yield nearly 45% of the tax revenue

of the Centre. While in 1951 this duty was levied on only seven commodities, it is now levied on 65 commodities. Articles in common use like Motor spirit, Sugar, Tobacco, Cotton Cloth, Cement, Steel ingots, Tyres and tubes, refined oil and matches these NINE articles alone account for 75 per cent of the receipts from Central Excise. In one year the duties on these articles were drastically raised as below: Sugar: from Rs. 5.62 per cwt. to Rs. 11.25; Cement: Rs. 5 per ton to Rs. 20; Steel ingots: from Rs. 4 per ton to Rs. 40. (This has now been raised to Rs. 50 per ton!) Today excise duties are responsible for 33 per cent of the price of sugar, 45% of that of kerosene oil, 53% of that of matches and 18 to 35 per cent of the price of cloth.

**DIRECT TAXES:**— When Mr. Krishnamachari adopted what has since come to be known as the Kaldorian system of taxation and introduced, for the first time, the Wealth-tax and Expenditure-tax, he ignored the most important part of Prof. Kaldor's scheme, viz. that the total tax on a person should not exceed 45% of his total income. Even after the 'concessions' included in the 1965-66 budget are taken into account, an individual in this country is assessed at the rate of 81.25 per cent on unearned income of Rs. 70,000 or more per annum and at 74.75% on earned income of Rs. One Lakh or more. No other country in the world

imposes personal taxation at such confiscatory rates at such low slabs of income. Even for small incomes the rates prevailing in this country compare with those in advanced countries as below: (In percentages)

Income	India		UK	USA	Canada	Japan
Rs. 10,000	7.5	6.9	0.4	nil	nil	12.9
„ 20,000	12.5	16.8	12.3	8.6	5.3	20.0
„ 30,000	20.5	26.1	18.2	12.4	9.6	24.6
„ 40,000	27.5	33.3	21.2	14.8	12.9	27.7
	(65-66)					

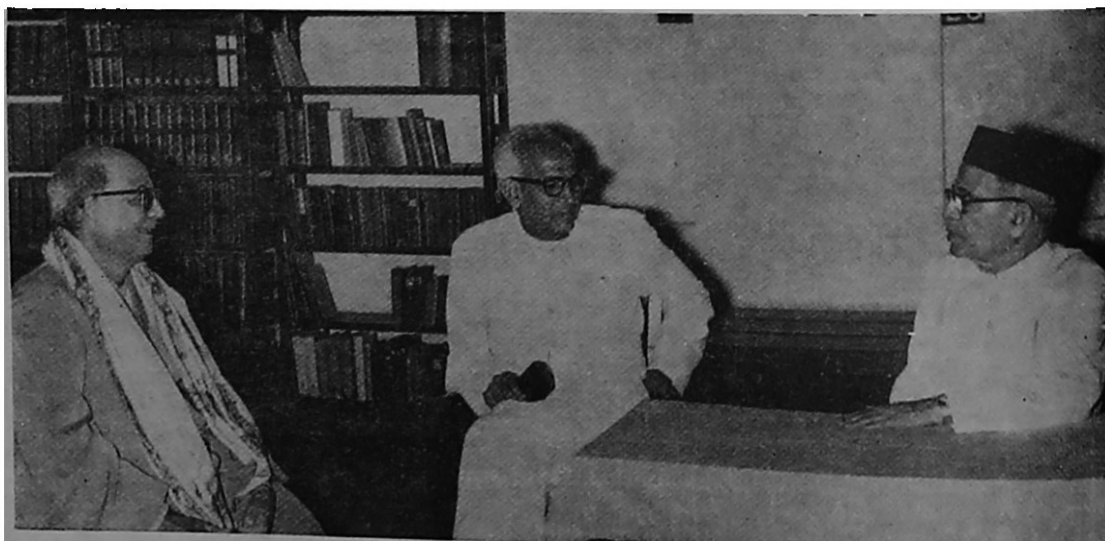
The rates of corporate taxation in India are, again, the highest in the world. The 1965-66 budget has placed a ceiling of 70% while in no other country is it higher than 54 per cent.

**HIDDEN TAXES:—** The Planning Commission has decided that public undertakings should provide resources for the plans through their "Profits." As most of the public undertakings function as monopolies, their so-called 'Profits' are really a concealed form of taxation. A contribution of Rs. 450 crores is expected from this source during the Third Plan and Rs. 900 crores have been provided for in the Fourth Plan.

The State Trading Corporation has a monopoly of the import and distribution of fertilisers. The Audit Report points out that its profits from this source rose from Rs. 1.54 crores in 1957-58 to Rs. 7.44 crores in 1960-61! Other 'Profits' in the public sector are: Indian Telephones: 16.7 per cent; Hindustan Machine Tools: 19.8%; Hindustan Antibiotics: 25.5%; and 51 per cent on the State Trading Corporation. The prices charged by all these public sector undertakings have a hidden element of tax in them.

**STATE AND LOCAL TAXES:—** Above have been listed only the taxes levied by the Centre. In addition, the States levy Sales-tax and other taxes and Local bodies Octroi and other taxes and all these taxes add up to inflate the final price to the consumer. The economy of the country is in the position of the poor cow that dries up and dies when it is milked by many but fed by few. Let us heed Parkinson's warning:—

"Countries strangled by their own Revenue Departments do not necessarily collapse at once; the process may take time and is not at first perceptible."



L. to R.: Sri D. V. Gundappa, Sri K. L. Shrimali, Sri H. N. Kunzru

By courtesy of 'Deccan Herald'

Dr. H. N. Kunzru presided at the house-entry of the GIPA: 2-7-1946

"I was glad to have a hurried visit to the Institute along with Dr. H. N. Kunzru. The Institute has a fine collection of books and I hope the Institute will soon become a centre of Research."

3-7-1965

Sd. K. L. Srimali

Sd. H. N. Kunzru



# GOKHALE

By DR. H. N. KUNZRU

*President, Servants of India Society, Poona*

It is a matter of common knowledge that Mahatma Gandhi called Gopal Krishna Gokhale his political guru. He said on more than one occasion that he was Gokhale's disciple in politics. In 1921 he received an anonymous letter accusing him of "imposture in claiming to be politically a disciple of Gokhale." Replying to this unworthy accusation he wrote in the *Young India* in July 1921 that while he respected the other great Indian leaders he followed only Gokhale in politics and added, "He seemed to me all I wanted as a political worker . . . pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault . . . He was and remained for me the most perfect man on the political field . . . . It were blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive today. I know that I would have been working under him."

What were the qualities that won Gokhale the exceptionally high regard of Gandhi? Some of them, to be sure, were self-sacrifice and passionate devotion to the service of the country. His life of self-sacrifice began soon after he graduated at the age of 18, in 1884. It was a time of intellectual ferment in the country. In Maharashtra a band of public-spirited young men established educational institutions with the object of spreading modern knowledge or, as they said, of 'cheapening and facilitating education.' The New English School was established by Messrs. Vishnu Shastri Chip-lunkar and B. G. Tilak in 1880. The

Deccan Education Society was founded in October 1884 by Mr. Chip-lunkar, Mr. G. G. Agarkar, a great social reformer, Mr. M. B. Namjoshi and Mr. B. G. Tilak, all young men fired with the enthusiasm to serve the cause of education on a basis of self-sacrifice. The Society which set an example of self-sacrifice to the rest of the country established the Fergusson College which started functioning on the 2nd January 1885. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in December the same year; and that of the National Social Conference at Madras two years later — in December 1887. The intelligentsia was astir with new ideas of political and social reform and was throbbing with a new emotion. In the atmosphere thus created Gokhale joined the New English School as a teacher in 1885. He became a life-member of the Deccan Education Society in June, 1886, and started teaching in the Fergusson College.

During the sixteen years he was connected with the Fergusson College he worked unceasingly and under high pressure. He had to discharge his duties not merely as professor of history and economics in the College but also as a public worker. In 1888 he was elected secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference and began to edit the English columns of the *Sudharak*, a weekly started by Mr. Agarkar to promote the cause of social reform. In 1890 he became the Secretary of the Sarva-janik Sabha, Poona, and editor of its

quarterly. Almost every year added to his public responsibilities. The strain on him was tremendous. When a friend of his from Bombay wrote to him in July 1895, expressing his dissatisfaction with some articles that appeared in the *Sudharak*, Gokhale replied that he had to do 'such a crushing amount of work that I really don't find the least leisure for anything else. You will see this for yourself when I tell you that since the 10th of June I have been doing 24 hours' teaching a week. . . . Now this work also requires from 9 to 10 hours home work and naturally all this leaves me little or no energy for anything else.' It should be noted that the Fergusson College imposed not merely academic but also administrative duties on him. He had also to tour considerably in order to collect funds for the College. He told me once that he collected no less than Rs. 2 lakhs for it.

Soon after joining the Deccan Education Society he had the inestimable privilege of coming into touch with Mr. Ranade whose erudition, wisdom, breadth of mind and love of country were a source of inspiration to the whole country. Gokhale sat at the feet of Mr. Ranade for more than twelve years. By his unusual industry, careful study of public questions and devotion to the public good during this period he laid the foundation of his future greatness. He not merely acquired a firm grasp of India's political and financial problems but developed those moral and spiritual qualities which gave him a distinctive place in public life and made earnest-minded young men look up to him for guidance.

Gokhale occupied a large space in the public life of the country, but I can refer here only to the principles which underlay all his work and some of his important activities. He wanted Indians to enjoy full self-government, and complete equality with the British. He wanted them to develop their country in all respects so that it might occupy an honourable position among the advanced countries of the world. He said at Allahabad in 1907: "I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs." In all his activities he was inspired by the idea of promoting the future greatness of India. All his public work was a loving offering to the motherland.

Though he was intensely desirous of hastening India's freedom he was convinced that constitutional agitation alone should be

our weapon for winning our rights. He defined constitutional agitation as extending from the submission of representations and appeals to Government to passive resistance which included the non-payment of taxes, but excluded violence in all its forms. He firmly believed that our aspirations could be realised within the Commonwealth and that it was in the best interest of India that the Commonwealth connection should be maintained. That he was right is shown by the fact that even free and republican India has decided not to cut itself aloof from the Commonwealth. He believed like Gandhiji that if we worked steadily and strenuously to improve the moral and material condition of the people constitutional agitation would lead us to the desired goal.

He had no illusions regarding the early achievement of self-government. He realised the difficulty of making the Government adopt progressive policies. He knew from his own experience as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and as a public worker that it was far from easy to persuade the bureaucracy which virtually controlled both policy and administration to part with power but he had faith in the moral efficacy of honest effort and its educative value. He expressed this belief in a speech at Allahabad which concluded with the words: "It will, no doubt, be given to our countrymen of future generations to serve India by their successes; we, of the present generation, must be content to serve her mainly by our failures. For, hard though it be, out of these failures will come the strength which in the end will accomplish great tasks." These words apply as much to the present as they did to the past. Though we are free now, we can succeed in bringing about reforms only if we work in the spirit inculcated by Gokhale.

His experience as a member of the Deccan Education Society had impressed on him the importance of organised and devoted work. He realized how much could be achieved even by a few men imbued with enthusiasm and the spirit of self-sacrifice and fired with the idea of promoting the national interest. Speaking on the then political situation, in July 1904, in Madras, he said: ". . . there must be a greater realization on the part of the leaders of the responsibilities that devolve upon them. The day has gone by when politics could afford to be amateurish in this land. It

has been amateurish in the past; but the struggle is growing keener and keener and it is necessary that men should take up the duties and responsibilities of public life in the same manner as they choose their profession and devote their energies to it." These ideas of his found expression in an institution which he started on a basis of self-sacrifice in June 1905, viz. the Servants of India Society. The constitution drafted by him referred to the aims and objects of the Society and the conditions which must be fulfilled before India could become fully self-governing. "One essential condition of success in this work," he said, "is that a sufficient number of our countrymen must now come forward to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken. Public life must be spiritualized." The Society, he said, "will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit." In other words its purpose was 'to train national missionaries for the service of India.'

Another fundamental question in which Gokhale was profoundly interested and which he forcefully pressed on the attention of the Government and the public was that of the diffusion of primary education in the country. Both humanism and patriotism urged him to bring it to the fore. He regarded it as the foundation of national progress. He moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910, proposing that Government should make a move in the direction of making primary education free and compulsory. Next year he introduced a Bill for the same purpose. The Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion. It became the most important topic of discussion in the country and received the enthusiastic support of the public. In 1912, however, when the Bill came up before the Council again it was found that while non-official opinion was strongly in favour of it the provincial governments were strongly opposed to it. It was clear from the debate on the Bill that the real reason for the official opposition to it was political. As was clear from the start, the Bill was eventually thrown out. The British Government was averse to taking any step which would result in creating a new consciousness among the masses.

There were many other important questions taken up by Gokhale like political

reforms, the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured labour in India, the employment of Indians in the public services, what is popularly but wrongly called his "last testament," which I cannot deal with here. It is however necessary to draw attention to the manner in which he approached a question and his method of work. Whenever he had to consider a question of policy he went deeply into it. He looked at it from all points of view and knew no rest till he had understood its full import and its bearing on other questions. Again when he took up a subject he looked at it primarily from the point of view of the progress and well-being of the people. His method of work demonstrated his infinite capacity for taking pains. It was a lesson to the younger men whose good fortune it was to help him in his work, which they can never forget. They were almost ashamed of themselves when they felt tired, and, whatever the strain on them, after a little rest they went back to their work with renewed enthusiasm. I can speak from personal knowledge of the thoroughness and comprehensiveness with which Gokhale prepared himself for the discharge of his legislative duties. He ignored no aspect of any question on which he was to speak and his ability to infuse life into the dry bones of statistics was a striking testimony to his capacity for taking a large view of things and relating them to the actual facts of life.

He thought deeply and worked unremittingly for the good of the country. A few days before his death, when he knew that he was dying, he jotted down, at the request of Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay, his ideas regarding the reforms that the British Government might introduce of its own accord to satisfy new Indian aspirations roused by the Indian participation in the Great War. He realised that what he had noted down was only a draft and that the matter needed more thought than he, in his state of health, had been able to give it, and consultation with some eminent political leaders but the effort he made to deal with it is a proof of the passionate love of the country which filled his heart. He thought of nothing but the country throughout his life and gave himself no rest till the night came when no man can work.



**Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri**

# How Conflicts Can be Resolved — Rt. Hon. Sastri's Views Recalled

By SRI K. S. RAMASWAMI

These days one hears of crisis here, there and everywhere, conflicts between nations and conflicts between groups in the same organisation and conflicts at home and abroad. How to resolve such conflicts? While all talk of the need for maintaining peace and of avoiding war, what really happens day to day do not seem to indicate that conflicts can ever end and all talk of peaceful co-existence and one-world would appear to be mere pious hopes only.

"Conflicts cannot end except by one party showing complete forbearance." This was the view expressed by the late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Twentytwo years ago, when the world war II was on, I was deputed by THE HINDU, which great institution I had the privilege to serve for nearly 33 years, to report a speech which Mr. Sastri delivered under the auspices of the Madras Rotary Club at the Connemara Hotel, Madras. Mr. Sastri spoke on general Indian politics of the day. He touched upon many points, in the course of his speech, including a fast by Prof. Bhansali undertaken by him at Wardha. At that time, the Government of the Central Provinces had, under the Defence of the Realm Act, issued an order

prohibiting any reference to Bhansali's fast in public and in the Press. The Government fiat also included within its ambit certain matters which necessitated Prof. Bhansali undertaking the fast.

A report of Mr. Sastri's speech appeared in THE HINDU and Mr. Sastri rewarded me with a letter, which besides showing his affection for me, also contained a reference to conflicts between political parties and the repercussion these had in the country.

The letter of Mr. Sastri shows very vividly the mind and manner of Mr. Sastri and I reproduce the letter below, in the hope that the present day politicians will take note of what this illustrious son of India had said

Madras,  
10-1-43

My dear Ramaswami,

Except the absence of all reference to the C. P. Government's order about Bhansali's fast and the forbiddal of reference to that order, your report is all right. You say you omitted this two-fold reference as it

was against the Govt's order. I presume you are right.

The goat-story might be a little more clear. I brought it in to show that conflicts cannot end except by one party showing complete forbearance. You remember I referred to the Mahatma's non-violence theory and to my own observation on the same line at the R.T.C. at Cape Town.

My lecture was academic in tone and intention. Practical politics, contemporary politics and in fact current events came in only to illustrate my general position — that when parties collided and fought with each other, the general public suffered and

the country's interests were apt to be lost sight of. Political philosophers agree that there is this risk in all controversies and power politics. It may not be wholly prevented. But people must be on the alert and reduce this evil to a minimum.

This was what I meant to say. My illustrations were chosen from current affairs. Otherwise point would not have been given. I wish finally to say that my object was academic rather than practical. I am 74; when I reminisce I naturally look deep down into my own heart.

Yours affectionately  
(sd) V. S. Srinivasan."

*"Liberalism and moderation will be the watchwords of our association (Deccan Sabha). The spirit of liberalism implies a freedom from race and creed prejudices and a steady devotion to all that seeks to do justice between man and man, giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law that they are bound to administer, but securing at the same time to the people the equality which is their right under the law. Moderation implies the conditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness."*

Mahadev Govind Ranade, in his prospectus  
of the Deccan Sabha.



## M. Venkatakrishtnaya

### G.O.M. OF MYSORE

By SRI M. P. SOMASEKHARA RAO

Mr. M. Venkatakrishtnaya was one of the foremost public men in Mysore for over half a century. He was throughout in the front rank of public leaders and was held in great esteem by the public and was popularly called "Thathiah" (Grandfather) and Grand Old Man of Mysore.

Mr. Venkatakrishtnaya came from a poor family which was living in a village called Mogge in a remote corner of Mysore District. He was born in 1844. His father died during his infancy leaving the children destitute. The surviving members of the family left the village and settled down in Mysore where his elder sister Pedda Ammannamma was maintaining the family by rendering odd domestic services to neighbours. Thanks to the kind help of a well-known philanthropist of the day, Venkatakrishtnaya was able to undergo education till he passed the Matriculation Examination. Thereafter, he was able to maintain his sisters and himself by undertaking tuition in Kannada to European Missionaries in Mysore.

In 1878, when Marimallappa's school was started, he was engaged as the Assistant Master on a very small pay. A few years later, he became the Headmaster of the school which at that time was very small. Though it grew into a big institution and

his salary was gradually increased, he was never out of want.

His first wife died a few years after her marriage, leaving two sons, Subbiah and Narayana Rao and a daughter Bhagirathamma. The daughter was married to a promising young man who died in 1896 at an early age, leaving his widow and two sons. The widowed daughter and her two sons had to be cared for by Mr. Venkatakrishtnaya. The daughter herself died after a protracted illness in spite of the best medical treatment which her father procured at a cost far beyond his means. His second wife Puttalakshamma had died a few years before leaving a son. In 1907, his youngest son and his two grandsons died of plague within a week. At the same time, his eldest son Subbiah was afflicted by an ailment which disabled him practically throughout his life. His second son Narayana Rao who was an officer in the Secretariat died as a result of an accident while returning from office. In 1908, Mr. Venkatakrishtnaya was obliged to sell his big house, "Padmalaya" in order to discharge the liabilities which he had incurred for the maintenance of the family and medical treatment of his wife and daughter. For nearly two decades, that house had been the common meeting place of public men from all over the State. It is a testi-

mony to Venkatakrishnayya's greatness and the strength of his character that in spite of the above series of calamities, he never gave up his public work.

Venkatakrishnayya's public life began in the seventies of the last century. He came into contact with C. Rangacharlu, who later became the first Dewan of Mysore after the Rendition. Rangacharlu was a patriotic statesman of advanced political views. He was Venkatakrishnayya's political guru and inspired him with a zeal for serving the public.

The Mysore Representative Assembly owed its origin to Dewan Rangacharlu. The first session of the Assembly was held in 1881. Mr. Venkatakrishnayya was one of its members and continued to be a member of the Assembly till 1930.

Rangacharlu died in 1883, and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer succeeded him in the office of Dewan. He was not imbued with the same liberal principles as his predecessor. Though a statesman of outstanding ability, Seshadri Iyer was autocratic in his ways. He often treated the Assembly with contempt. The result was that a large section of the members of that body formed what was styled "The Standing Committee of the Representative Assembly" which was virtually the Opposition Party. Venkatakrishnayya was the foremost among the members of that party.

Venkatakrishnayya attacked the Dewan not only on the floor of the Assembly but also in the press and on public platform.

In 1884, he took over the editorship of a monthly journal called "Hitabodhini" which had been started the previous year by two of his friends. Later on, as the necessity for a newspaper to voice the views of public was felt, a number of his friends provided funds for purchasing a printing press, and two newspapers "Mysore Herald" in English and "Vrittanta-Chintamani" in Kannada were started. Venkatakrishnayya was the de facto editor of these two papers. The papers were noted for fearless criticism of the administration.

In those days a number of public men including some of the leading lawyers in Mysore used to gather at his residence every morning and, over coffee, discuss important topics of the day; and the leading articles in the newspapers would be the result of such discussions. Many a time Venkatakrishnayya would sit up till after midnight dictating articles to his amanuensis and again get up before sunrise and resume the dictation.

In 1908, the Newspaper Regulation was enacted. As a protest all newspapers in the State stopped publication, and the publication of the "Mysore Herald" and "Vrittanta-Chintamani" also ceased publication.

A few years later, however, Venkatakrishnayya began to publish "The Mysore Patriot", "Sadhvi" and "Sampadabhyudaya." These journals served as a training ground for several younger journalists.

There is still another unpopular action of the Government in 1908 which directly concerns Venkatakrishnayya. In that year, His Highness conferred on the Representative Assembly the right to elect two members to the Legislative Council. Venkatakrishnayya and D. Venkataramiah, a leading advocate of Bangalore, were elected by the Assembly. As they were among the most severe critics of the administration, the Government vetoed the election.

Some years later, Venkatakrishnayya was elected to the Legislative Council and was its member for a number of years.

Among other public bodies in which he served may be mentioned the Mysore City Municipal Council, the Economic Conference, the Civic and Social Progress Association & Pinjrapole in Mysore.

Venkatakrishnayya was a great educationist. He was responsible for starting Sadvidya Shala and Sarada Vilasa High School.

Anathalaya in Mysore owes its existence to him and is a monument to his memory.

Venkatakrishnayya died in 1933, honoured and loved by every one.





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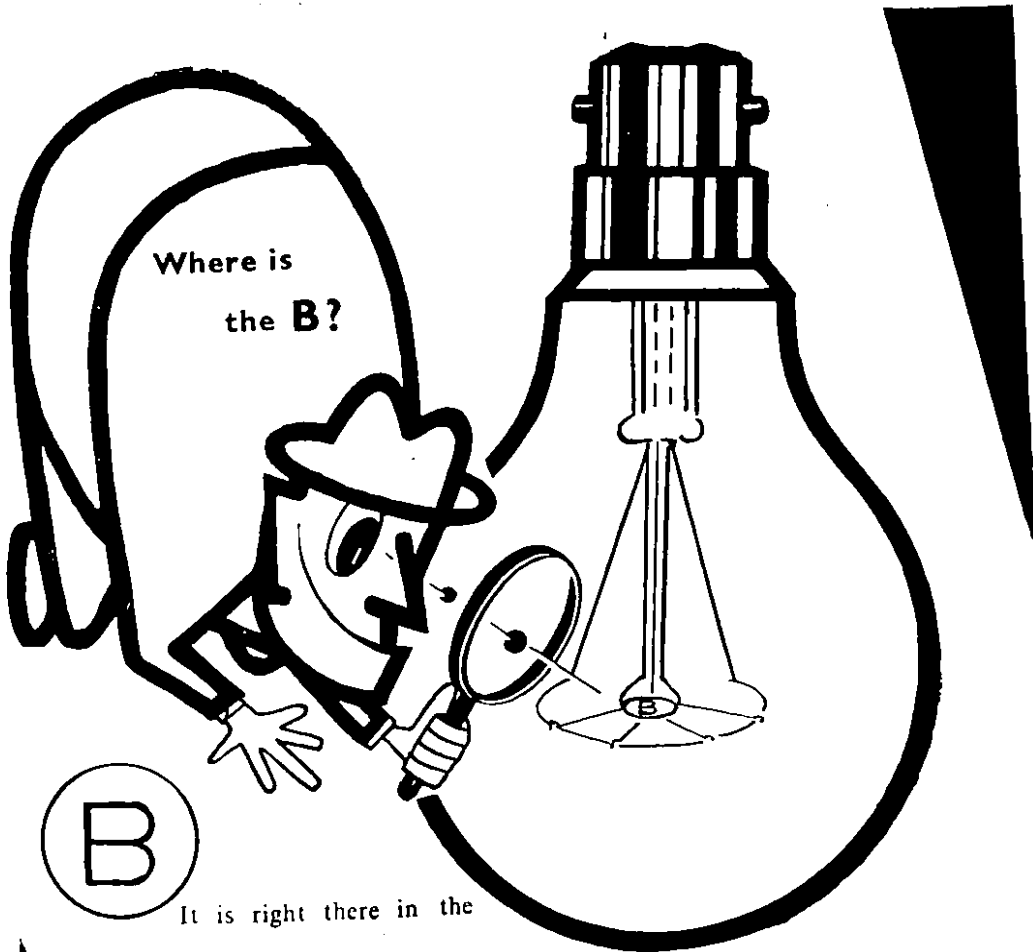
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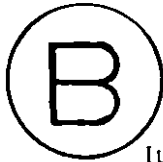
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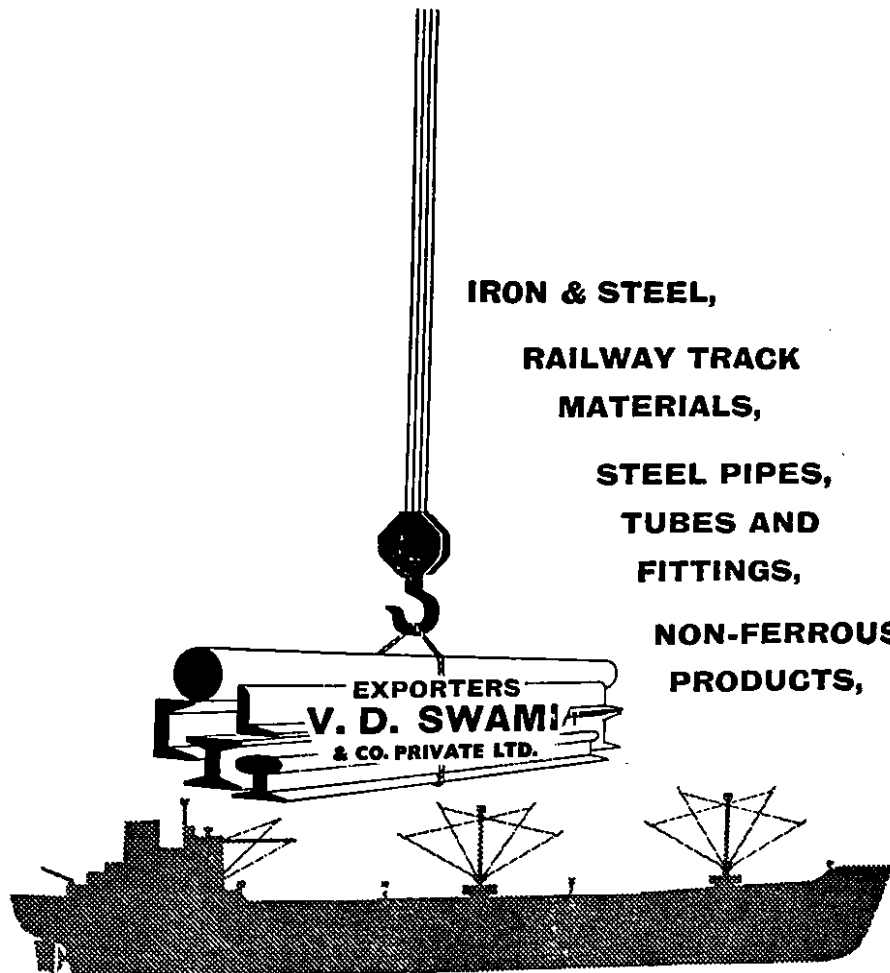


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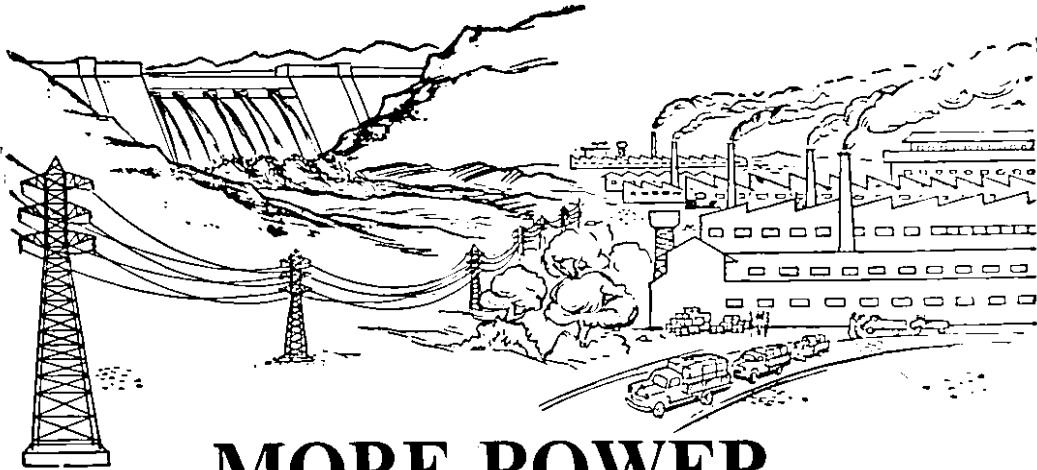
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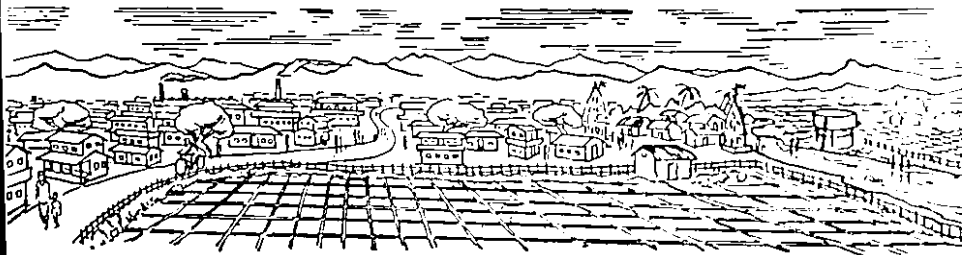
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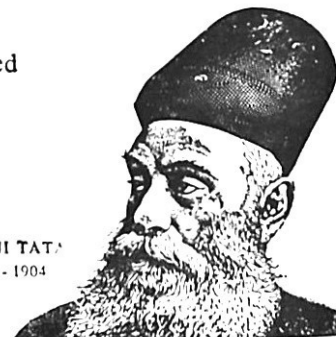
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**Framed Photographic Portrait of  
GOPALA KRISHNA GOKHALE  
Unveiled by Mahatma Gandhi on 8th May 1915, in Bangalore**

# THE G.I.P.A.

## ITS BIRTH, GROWTH, PROSPECTS & IDEALS

By SRI D. V. GUNDAPPA  
*Hon. Secretary, G.I.P.A.*

### Part—I CHRONICLE

The year 1965 brings a double Jubilee to the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore. It marks the completion of fifty years since the birth of the idea and twenty years since the translation of that idea into permanent fact. We shall trace that history in brief outline here.

#### The Idea

The photographic portrait of Gopal Krishna Gokhale which now holds the central place in the Library Hall of the Institute forms the nucleus of the Institute. It was unveiled at a public meeting in Bangalore, by Mahatma Gandhi on Sunday, 8th May 1915. On that occasion he made a memorable speech (Appendix 1) in the course of which he said:

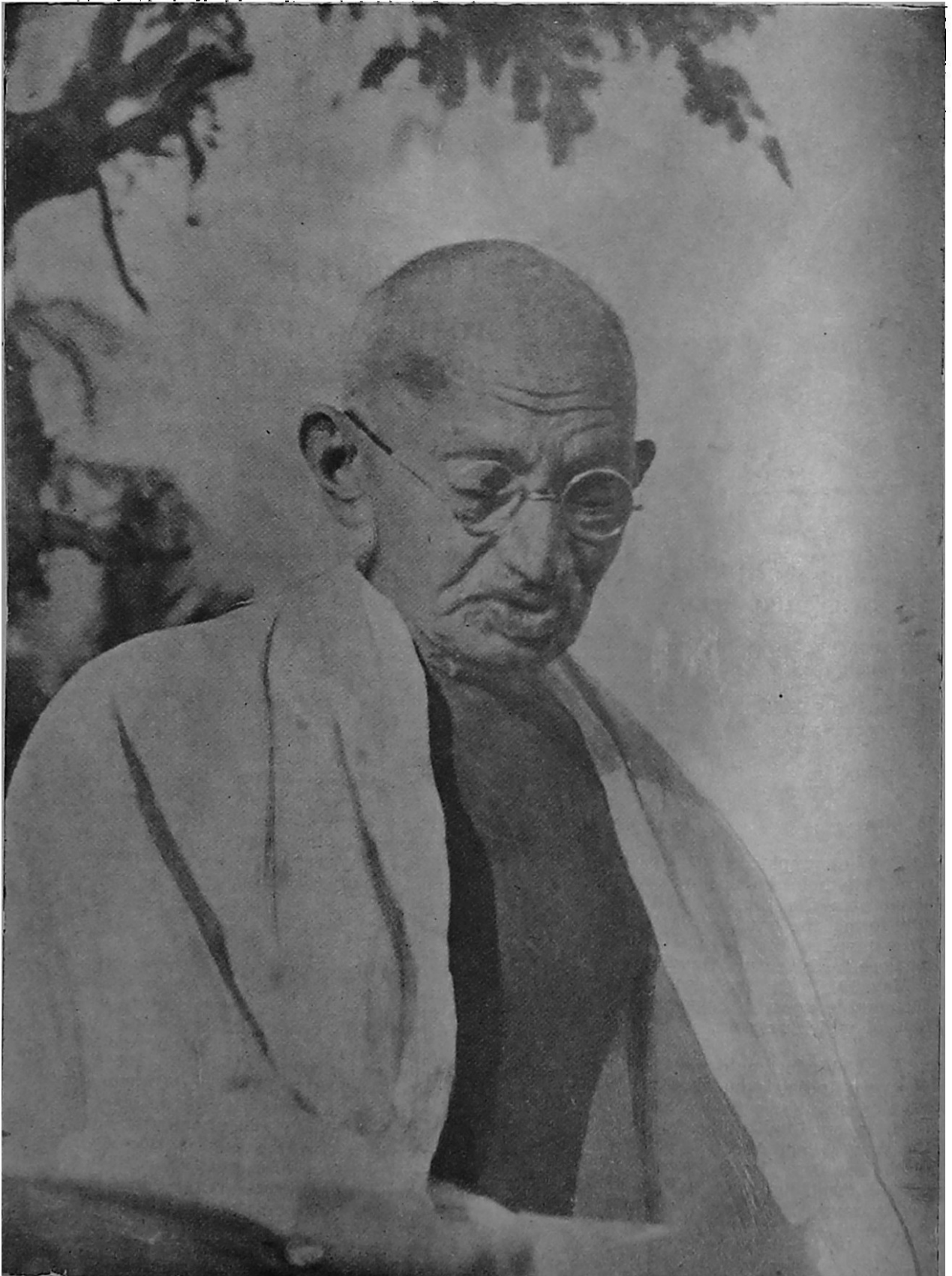
"Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country should be to act in the political field, to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring; and in that I wish to purify myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal."

These unforgettable words, together with Gokhale's own words in the *Conspectus of the Servants of India Society* have been adopted by the GIPA as mottoes and guiding principles in all its work. Gokhale's words were these:

"The claims of public life are every day receiving wider recognition.... Much of the work must (now) be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present.... Our countrymen must now come forward to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken. Public life must be spiritualized."

#### Before 1915

Not that there were no efforts to organize public spirit in Bangalore before 1915. The first decade of the present century was a period of keen political awakening throughout India with its key words of *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj*. Bangalore did not remain untouched by it. Several attempts were made in this period to set up institutions to study public causes and carry on work on behalf of the public. One such attempt was to organize a *Mahajana Sabha* and with it were associated men like the late Sri M. S. Puttanna and the late Sri C.



**Mahatma Gandhi**



Krishnamurthi and many others. But, for one reason or another, those institutions were short-lived.

### The First Step

The death of Gokhale on February 19, 1915, evoked an outburst of grief and sense of loss throughout the country; and the tributes paid to him and his work by national leaders like Sri Balagangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi served as a fillip to the patriotism of the young and everywhere there was a desire to make an organized effort to serve the country after the example of Gokhale. In Bangalore, a largely-attended public meeting was held on February 25, 1915 at which Sir M. Visvesvaraya, then Dewan of Mysore, spoke in appreciation of Gokhale's personality and work. He said:

"Mr. Gokhale had a magnetic personality and by the thoroughness of his work and his great grasp of the subjects he handled, he inspired faith and confidence in his judgment and had acquired a remarkable hold over the affections of his countrymen....He always thought that his great work was the example he set to the student population many of whom from all parts of India frequently wrote and applied to him for advice and help."

Inspired by such words from men so eminent, a group of young men decided to form themselves into an association called the Mysore Social Service League. Among them may be mentioned Sri K. S. Krishna Iyer, Sri A. R. Nagesvara Iyer, Sri N. Narasimha Murthi, Sri M. G. Varadachar, Sri C. S. Ananthapadmanabha Iyer, Sri S. Surya Prakash, Sri Mokshagundam Krishnamurthi, Sri Belur Srinivasa Iyengar, Sri B. V. Subba Rao, Sri K. Bhima Rao and the present writer. As some of them happened to be Government officials, the social and educational aspects of the effort were emphasised rather than the political side. It is this group that invited Mahatma Gandhi to Bangalore in May 1915.

We felt that our dream of a Gokhale Institute would have a very good chance of eliciting public support if we could get Mahatma Gandhi to come and bless the idea. Gandhiji was touring in South India at that time and had proposed a visit to Madras. We sent our invitation to him, I think, by wire, and received his acceptance.

A Madras firm of photographers (Carnatic Studio, Madras) had advertised photographs of Gokhale and we got one — I think for Rs. 40. We set about preparing for the planned event.

### An Interesting Episode

One incident is worth recalling and I do so from memory having no records before me. We needed money and put together what we could. A friend suggested that we may approach a few businessmen, and he in particular recommended our going to Sri V. Shanmugam Mudaliar. On our going to him and explaining the purpose, he asked:

"How much money have you?"

"Some 150/ or 200/ rupees."

He smiled and asked: "What do you want from me?"

"A Hundred rupees."

Mr. Shanmugam Mudaliar laughed and said: "Gentlemen, you don't know what you are about. Receiving so great a man and arranging properly for his stay will cost much. Take this from me (Rs. 1,000). I will ask my friend, Mr. Hashim Sait, to give you as much. You will want more. You must get a spacious building to put him up and furnish it well. Get your addresses to be presented to him printed in the best style and have a nice casket in which to present the address. Have the places of meetings decorated impressively. Don't stint. Go with a glad heart and do things well. We will place our cars and carriages at your disposal. Mind, the reception we give should be worthy of so great a man and should do no discredit to Bangalore."

The visit of Mahatma Gandhi—his first to Bangalore—was a great success, marked by unprecedented scenes of popular enthusiasm. Sri M. Venkatakrishtnainya, popularly known as the G.O.M. (Grand Old Man) of Mysore specially came to take part in the proceedings. We had a splendid corps of volunteers under the leadership of Sri A. R. Nagesvara Iyer to assist in our labours. An interesting incident is referred to in Mahatma Gandhi's speech of that evening printed separately (Appendix 2) in this Souvenir.

Another word about Mr. Shanmugam Mudaliar will not be out of place. When-

ever he chanced to see me after the above interview, he would address me jocularly as 'pitche' (alms!) in Tamil and tell me: "You should not be apologetic when asking for help for a public cause. You must demand. It is your right to demand and our duty to give what we can. Why should you bow your head as though you were begging?"

I have yet to meet another man who would speak that way. Mr. Shanmugam died on May 19, 1924 greatly to the grief of all who knew him. His friend Mr. Hashim Sait was a golden-hearted man utterly sincere and most gentle and liberal.

### 1915 - 1919: Early Work

The evidence, thus forthcoming, of general public approval was a great strength to us. So encouraged, the League drew up a programme of work and arranged for some occasional public lectures. It organized two night schools and a day school in the Railway Goods Shed area. It employed a teacher of the name of Sri Hanumanthaiya, and conducted the school in a temple in that area. It also arranged, on Deepavali and Ugadi festival occasions, for the distribution of sweets and fruits and clothing among the inmates of the Epidemic Diseases Hospital and the Sanatorium on the Magadi Road and also among the needy and the poor in certain areas of the City.

It applied for a building site in the old city and the Municipality offered a site in the neighbourhood of the Sri Kasi Visvesvara Temple by the side of the road which connects Chickpet and Sultanpet.

But the activities suffered interruption. The group felt they were not able to take advantage of the offer of a site made by the Municipality. The League was in a state of suspended animation for some time.

In 1918-1919, the epidemic of influenza swept over Bangalore and the City Municipality, then under the Presidentship of Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty and the Vice-Presidentship of Dr. R. Subba Rao, organized relief measures in association with the Gokhale Social Service League, the Amateur Dramatic Association, and other bodies. A prominent worker then was Sri P. Kodanda Rao and among the younger workers were Dr. B. K. Rama Prasad and Sri H. V. R. Iyengar, I.C.S. The relief mea-

asures were greatly appreciated by the public.

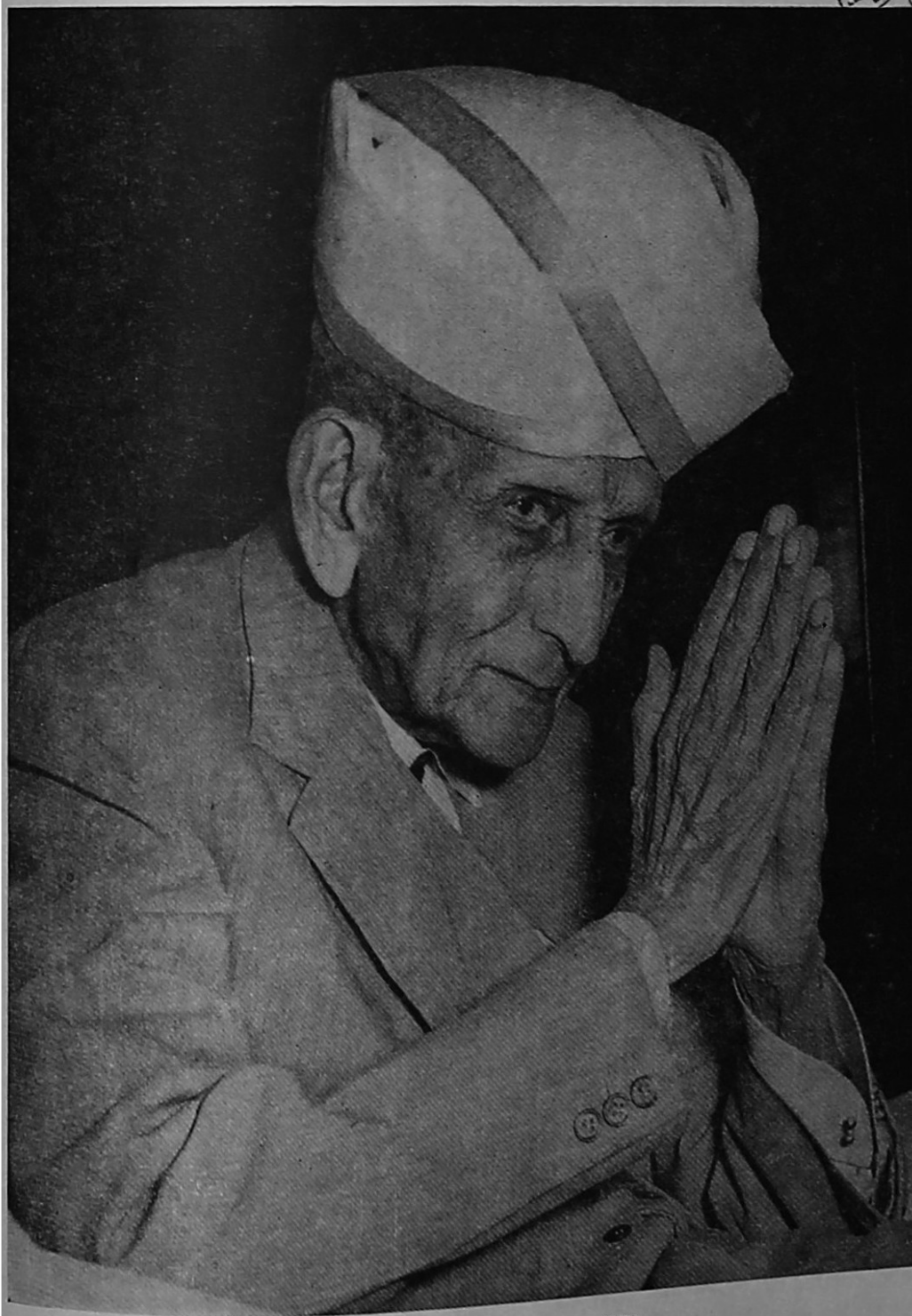
The influenza epidemic snatched away some enthusiastic members like M. G. Varadachar and V. Venkatachar or personally affected other members. The personal circumstances of certain other members turned unfavourable to their engaging in public life. With earnest workers thus taken away or disabled, the League ceased to be active about 1920 and faded out of public memory. Towards the close of 1919 and for the next 4 or 5 years, the members of the Gokhale Group engaged themselves in cognate public activities connected with institutions like the Mysore People's Convention, the Sarvajanika Sabha, the Progressive Party etc. Those institutions lived each only for a year or two and disappeared. Their names are recorded here to show that the stream of public spirit has flowed on continuously through the years, though thinly and obscurely and often without any great consequence.

### 1920 - 1930

For some 10 years afterwards, the dream stayed within the heart-chamber of some of the group glowing and as though hibernating.

The urge to revive the idea recurred now and again. About 1930 was one such occasion. Here may be recalled the following passage extracted from the circular letter addressed to friends likely to be interested by the present writer in 1930.

"At a time like the present, when power is passing into the hands of the people, one safeguard against error and confusion in public policy is in the influence of a body of independent-minded citizens who, untrammelled by party attachments and class loyalties, would keep a critical watch over the country's affairs and inform the public from time to time of the possible results of measures carried out or contemplated by the State or other institutions. It is evident that India, along with the rest of the world, is now passing through an epoch of change many-sided and unparalleled in magnitude. Vast and deep-reaching forces which have become liberated in the course of our recent history are affecting our traditional, social and political institutions and radically altering our outlook in every province of life. All over India, the system



**Sri Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya**

of Government is tending clearly in the direction of democracy. Our economic organization is approximating to international standards, growing in complexity and reacting profoundly on conditions of individual as well as collective life. The course of legislation and administration is sure to become more and more complicated with the march of years. Parties will grow and partisanship will be all but universal. New interests will emerge into view and challenge the strength of claims founded upon the past. In every sphere of life,—educational, social, economic, civic, national, international,—the new is likely to come up against the old order of things; and great will be the resulting excitements and perplexities of the public mind. Natural and almost inevitable as such developments are, there need be no reason for alarm if there are agencies in the country working for the diffusion of verified knowledge and the preservation of practical good sense among the people. The path of democracy will be safe and smooth only if there be a body of non-partisan and well-informed citizens in the country, constantly engaged in the objective study of its problems and in counteracting the voices of division and confusion incidental to a great popular upheaval and in restoring the public mind to a sober sense of values and balanced judgment. To organize such an agency is the purpose of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs."

The friends so addressed replied giving approval in general terms to the proposal, but the ways and means side of it presented a formidable difficulty and I was advised to wait.

1939

In 1939 I submitted my draft *Conspectus* to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri for correction. He went through it and made several alterations. He heartily approved of the idea but was sceptical as to my getting the necessary support from the public. The kind of material requisite in the form of talent and public spirit was not abundant. People were keen about their careers. I should therefore think many times before launching out. Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's suggestions were incorporated in the scheme and copies of it were circulated in confidence among friends together with a letter of appeal for funds, having estimated the initial require-

ment at Rs. 5,000/. This was in 1939. I had also taken occasion to place the scheme before the then Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza M. Ismail. He expressed general approval and promised help offering the grant of a suitable building site. Of the friends whom I had addressed, in the matter, many replied agreeing, one of the most enthusiastic being Sri Mokshagundam Krishnamurthi in whose letter (dated December 12, 1939) occurs the following:

"We may take it that the heart of the average educated Mysorean naturally responds to a call of the kind in view."

Action was however deferred as it was felt that some more consultations should be made and conditions studied.

#### Public Education — 1941

Another effort was made in 1941—about the time of the introduction of a new Constitution in Mysore. It was the arranging of a course of lectures intended mainly for those aspiring to come into the new legislature and others interested in the working of political institutions. On receiving an invitation to this activity, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was pleased to write as follows (May 27, 1941).

"My dear Mr. Gundappa,

I thank you for your letter dated 13th May 1941 and the papers kindly sent therewith. I have perused them with much interest.

Although I am not able to participate, I dearly love to see the views on politics and philosophy of life of that great man widely preached and accepted in the country."

The course of lectures took place as programmed. An account of it in some detail is given in the following report:

#### POLITICAL STUDY GROUP

The Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore City began work with the first meeting of its Political Study Group on Thursday, May 22, 1941, at 8-30 a.m. in the National High School Building, Basavanugudi, Bangalore City.

The hall was filled with audience among whom were noted journalists, political workers including members of the Houses

of Legislature, and other prominent citizens. The number was 85-90. Some were from mofussil places.

Mr. K. S. Krishna Iyer, as convenor, opened the proceedings with a short speech welcoming the members and outlining the object of the Gokhale Institute and the scope of the Study Group. He then read the following letter written by Amin-ul-Mulk, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore

"Glenview,  
Fernhill,  
(Nilgiris)

17th May, 1941.

Dear Mr. Gundappa,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th and the literature relating to your proposal to organize in Bangalore a Political Study Group to be called the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs.

I have read the details of the scheme with much interest and should like to commend your enthusiasm and initiative in attempting to bring into being an institution which could be of great use in stimulating independent and honest discussion and thought in regard to questions affecting the public weal in Mysore.

At a time when representatives of the people will be called upon to shoulder increasing public responsibilities, the need for a non-party organization, such as you are planning to establish, which feels free to examine public questions strictly on their merits, is indeed great. I am sure, therefore, that your idea will be generally welcomed and that the response to your appeal will be both large and hearty. I wish your efforts all possible success.

Yours sincerely,  
(sd.) Mirza M. Ismail."

Mr. D. V. Gundappa then spoke in Kannada on Parliamentary Institutions, dealing with the subject historically and descriptively. He stopped at 9-30 a.m. proposing to resume when the Group re-assembled in the evening at 6 O'clock. The audience was larger in the evening. Mr. D. V. Gundappa resumed the discourse treating of the British House of Commons, the House of Lords, the Opposition, the Cabinet, the Anti-Cabinet, the Crown, the Judiciary and the Civil Services. The lecture was follow-

ed by questions and answers and the meeting closed at 8-30 p.m.

## II

The second meeting was held on Friday, May 23, 1941, at 6 p.m. at the same place. The gathering was large. Mr. M. A. Gopalswami Iyengar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, spoke on the State and its Functions. He traced in brief the history of the various schools of thought on the subject from very early times down to the present, giving Kannada equivalents for the technical terms that had to be used. After some discussion, the meeting closed at 8-30 p.m.

## III

The third meeting was held on Saturday, May 24, 1941 at 3 p.m. at the same place. The audience was as good as on previous days. Mr. M. P. Somasekhara Rau, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, spoke on the Mysore Constitutions. He traced the history of progress since 1881 and gave a sketch of the main provisions of the Act of 1940 explaining their scope and significance. After the questions put were answered the meeting closed at 5-30 p.m.

## IV

The fourth and last meeting of the Group was held on Sunday, May 25, 1941 at 3 p.m. at the same place. The audience was large as on previous occasions. Mr. V. Sitaramiah, M.A., of the Intermediate College (who had kindly been permitted by the University) spoke on Public Finance. He first dwelt on the general principles of the revenue and expenditure systems of a modern State and its devices for check and audit and he illustrated them from the Mysore Budget of some recent years. A good number of members took part in the questions and answers that followed. Mr. M. P. Somasekhara Rau who was in the Chair, in concluding the proceedings, thanked the members of the Group for having evinced so much interest in the proceedings of the four days. He also thanked those who participated in the debates. He expressed the gratitude of the Institute to the authorities of the National High School for their kindness in having given the use of their hall to the Group and for valuable co-operation in other ways.

Mr. M. Sitarama Sastri (Veerakesari) then rose prompted by the gathering and expressed appreciation of the lectures and



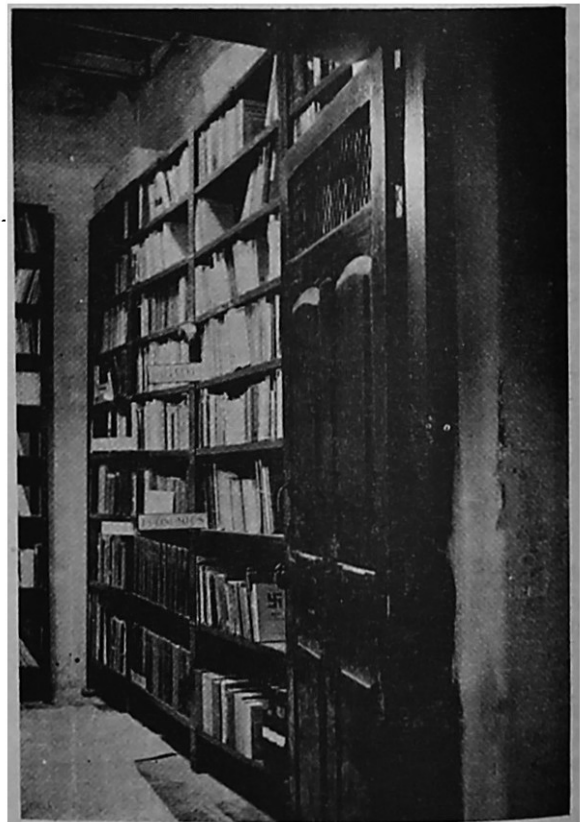
**Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail**



**G.I.P.A. Old Premises**



**G.I.P.A. New Premises**



**G.I.P.A. Library**

discussions of the four days. He said that everyone felt that the Institute had done a service of much value in organizing the Political Study Group.

Mr. K. S. Krishna Iyer finally thanked the lecturers and said the Institute had under contemplation other plans to promote the study and discussion of public questions and appealed to the public for co-operation and support.

### People's Self-Protection League

Nothing however could be done for four more years to give a concrete and permanent shape to the Institute idea. They were years of the Second World War and the public mind was distracted in many ways. There was threat of an attack by Japan and Bangalore was considered to be within the danger zone. Some of the members of the Gokhale Group organized a People's Self-Protection League for the purpose of protecting life and property in the City against rowdies and anti-social elements likely to become encouraged and active at such times. Batches of members of that League carried on night patrol in various parts of the City and reassured the public mind against fear.

### The Decisive Effort—1945

A final effort—now for the fourth time—at founding the Gokhale Institute was made in 1944. Letters of appeal were once again addressed to some 25 or 30 friends about whose interest in public affairs and personal goodwill for me I felt quite certain. I had not the courage to approach a larger number before making up my own mind finally whether to launch out the scheme at all. On the basis of money needed roughly for a year's working, I fixed minimum requirement for starting at Rs. 2,000/. As the response was hearty and encouraging, a meeting was fixed for Sunday, February 18, 1945. This meeting was held in a private house in the Nagasandra Road, Basavangudi. About 30 friends were present. Among those who sent messages of support were Sir N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar and Sir Mirza M. Ismail. The latter wrote from Jaipur as follows:

"Many thanks for your kind letter of the 9th instant and the notice of the inaugural meeting of the GIPA.

I am much interested in the progress of the Institute which bears the honoured

name of Mr. Gokhale, and I strongly hope that the Institute will be so run as to revive in our public affairs the imperishable tradition of responsible opinion and reasoned criticism associated with Mr. Gokhale's memory. It is in the nature of things impossible for me to be of effective assistance to you from this distance; but you can always rely on my sympathy and goodwill in your praiseworthy endeavours to build up an institution of this character."

The meeting adopted the draft rules and appointed a Council of Management thereunder. The objects of the GIPA as then defined were as follows:

"The objects of the Institute shall be to work as a non-partisan, non-communal and independent association of citizens (i) for promoting the systematic and scientific study of all questions pertaining to the well-being and progress of the people of the Mysore State, of the Karnataka territory and of India as a whole, from the point of view of All-Indian Nationalism and world-wide Internationalism, and (ii) for facilitating the free, well-informed and conscientious exercise of democratic citizenship, so as to secure the best results possible from the political and social institutions of the country; and thus to help in India's advance in freedom and independence, with democratic responsible government for every component unit of it."

We may here record the names of members of the first batch of founder members who were also either donor-members or life-members.

I Donor Members: 1. Sri G. Krishna-swamy, 2. Srimat Rajasaheb of Phaltan State, Bombay, 3. Sri S. G. Sastry (who first joined as Life-Member).

II Life-Members: 4. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, 5. Sir N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, 6. Sri B. K. Garudachar, 7. Sri V. Venkatappa, 8. Sri M. S. Ramachandra Rao, 9. Rajasevasakta Dr. B. K. Narayana Rao, 10. Sri P. R. Ramaiya, 11. Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau, 12. Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, 13. Sri A. Seshagiri Rao, 14. Rajasevasakta H. Venkatramia, 15. Sri T. Venkatasubba Sastri, 16. Sri D. V. Gundappa, 17. Sri Kudli Chidambaram, 18. Sri B. V. Ramiengar, 19. Sri Sampige Venkatapathaiya, 20. Sri S. A. Srinivasan, 21. Sri B.

Rudra, 22. Sri K. R. Gopivallabha Iyengar, 23. Sri G. Sreenivasa Aingar, 24. Sri K. V. Iyer, 25. Sri N. N. Iyengar, 26. Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau, 27. Rajasevasakta Pamadi Subbarama Chetty, 28. Sri M. V. Krishnamurthy, 29. Sri C. Krishna Rao, 30. Sri M. Srinivasa Charlu, 31. Sri P. Srinivasa Row, 32. Sri M. V. Rama Rao, 33. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, 34. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, 35. Sri M. G. Lakshminarasu, 36. Rajadhar-maprasakta Sri A. R. Nagesvara Iyer, 37. Sri K. Narahari Rao, 38. Rajakaryaprasakta Sri N. S. Gubbi.

The Institute was got registered under the Mysore Societies Registration Act, 1904, on April 6, 1945, the Certificate of the Registrar bearing No. Misc/4/45-46.

Though started on 18-2-1945 the Institute was not able to begin work immediately owing to the difficulty of finding a building to house it in. There was great housing shortage at the time in Bangalore on account of after-war conditions. It was not till July 1946 that we could get a building. By the courtesy of Rajasevasakta Sri Pamadi Subbarama Chetty, we were able to secure the premises in Basavangudi, till then occupied by the People's Self-Protection League named above. Our occupation of that building was signalised by the visit paid and the address delivered there by Dr. H. N. Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, on 2-7-1946.

### Independence Day

One of the important events in the early days of the Institute was the great public meeting it held to greet the declaration of independence on the night of August the 14th 1947. The large audience listened to the report of the historic proceedings in Delhi and pledged itself to a pledge of dedication from which the following may be quoted:

"On this most memorable occasion, we declare our heartfelt resolve to dedicate ourselves and our all to the service of our motherland to the best of our ability, —to the promotion of unity and fellow-feeling among her children, to the building up of her strength and prosperity, to the conscientious performance of the duties of democratic citizenship and to the advancement of her name and greatness as a ministrant of justice and peace throughout the world... May it be given to us to bear our new responsibilities

faithfully and well; and may India be granted wisdom and power to help the progress of mankind towards a large righteousness and a purer felicity."

### Study Circle

A Study Circle to serve as an auxiliary, offering opportunities to students and young men in particular to prepare themselves for active citizenship and public life, was started on December 15, 1947, and it began a Study Class in January 1948. The book taken up for study was John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*.

The Study Circle has since then been carrying on this work regularly till now. The attendance has varied generally between 10 and 25. But a large part of the number has been regular and steady.

We believe that the essence of good citizenship consists in understanding and upholding the law of the Good or Dharma in all matters and that the way to the meaning of the Good is in the study of the great in literature and history and in the records of thought and inquiry into the purpose of life. It is in this belief that the Sunday classes of our Study Circle have been pursuing their studies. Books for study have been selected on the above principle and they include standard works on Politics, Economics, and Social Philosophy, History and Biography and the great Sanskrit classics.

### Books Studied

Two items of special interest should be recorded. Members of the Study Class having gone through the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (abridged), selections from the *Manu Smriti* and the *Shanti Parva*, the ten principal Upanishads and works of drama and poetry like the *Shakuntala* and *Bhartrihari* in Sanskrit formed a desire to go through the famous book *Bhagavadgita*. The study of it stanza by stanza was begun on 5-6-1960 and closed on 19-8-1962.

Members having desired to have a revision, a course of weekly lectures on the *Gita* chapter by chapter was begun on 26-8-1962, and came to a close on 8-5-1963. The audience for these lectures included ladies. The lectures were tape-recorded and were later on published serially in the Kannada weekly paper '*Prajamata*.'



The study of Srimadvalmiki Ramayana in Sanskrit was then taken up on 12-6-1963 and it was also very popular. Ayodhya Kanda and part of the Aranya Kanda have been finished.

About 24 books in English, 6 in Kannada, and 21 in Sanskrit have been studied. Each day's study of the book is followed by a brief discussion. A list of the books studied will be found in Appendix 3.

On August 15, 1948, Sri B. P. Wadia, Director of the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, declared the Library of the Institute open for public use.

A set of bound volumes of the Aryan Path and some other books were added to the Library as gifts from Sri Wadia.

### A Course in Journalism

In 1948 the Institute planned to organize classes in Journalism. A questionnaire was sent round to likely employers and others interested and a scheme of studies was drawn up on the basis of replies received. But as no newspaper employers were forthcoming to guarantee employment to those obtaining diplomas or certificates from the Institute, the matter was kept by. In the meantime, the Mysore University started its own course. Details are contained at page 6 of the Institute's Report for the period 18-2-1945 to 31-12-1949.

### Sri C. Rajagopalacharya's Approbation

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was held in Bangalore on 16-5-1949. It was declared open by the Governor-General Sri C. Rajagopalacharya. Sri D. V. Gundappa was Chairman of the Reception Committee. At a personal interview Sri C. Rajagopalacharya was pleased to make enquiries about the working of the Institute and expressed his keen interest and sympathy. He was pleased to follow it up with a donation of Rs. 500/, in forwarding which he wrote as follows under date 24-5-1949 from New Delhi.

"I promised to send you a little money. Here it is, to be used as you like for your Study Circle. I hope you will raise a number of bold publicists, bold but with humility and commonsense. Am I very exacting?"

In a subsequent letter His Excellency said:

"I do hope you will encourage close and reverent study of classical literature, both political and other."

### Why Gokhale?

People have often asked the present writer and his friends why in particular it is that we took the name of Gokhale, out of the names of so many patriots and leaders, for this Institute. It would not be out of place to record our answer here.

Gokhale conceived of public work as a tapasya or spiritual self-dedication made efficient by conscientious study and constant preparation and discipline and the utter renunciation of all the narrowing impulses of self in all its forms.

What is of great significance to us in the teaching of Gokhale is the missionary spirit in which he entered upon public work, the conscientious way in which he equipped himself for the task, his scientific method of approach and investigation, and his realistic outlook. Our hope is that the association of his name with this Institute will serve to keep two principles constantly before our minds: first, that in considering all questions we should remember to regard the whole of India as our basis and our background; second, that in all our critical and constructive endeavours, we should be actuated by his example of conscientious study, scientific impartiality, rationalistic outlook and scrupulous sense of responsibility.

The characteristics of the Gokhale way in political work may be summarized under three heads:

(1) Scrupulous study of fact—not only physical fact accessible to statistical measurement but also the fact of psychology, the fact of the influence of tradition and education and the fact of long-established habit;

(2) A fair-minded consideration of views and ideas not one's own and even opposed to one's own;

(3) Constructiveness of attitude—the attitude that cares more for positive practical good than for theoretical perfection in any concept of reform.

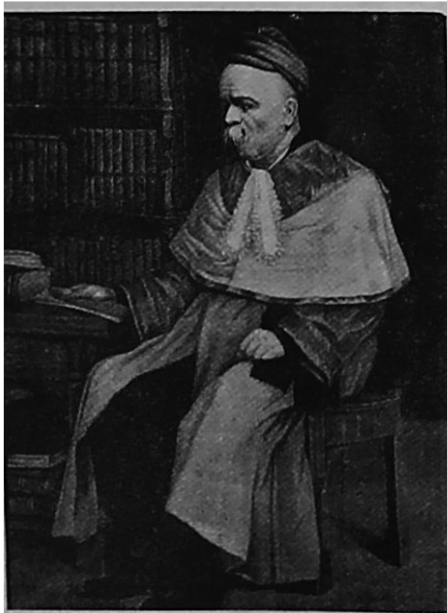
These have been the guiding principles for the work of this Institute.



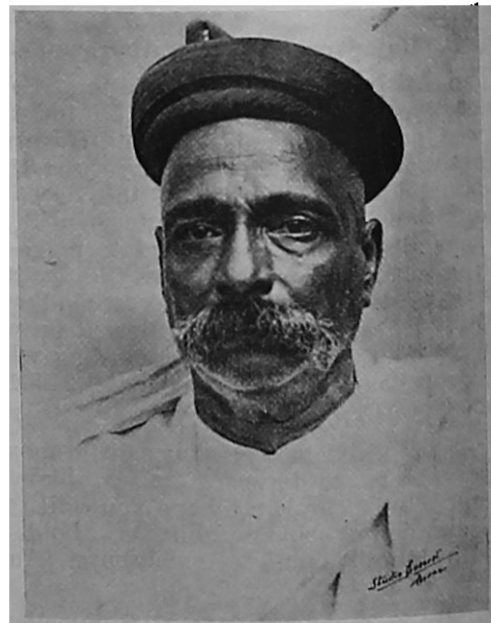
**Dadabhai Naoroji**

I have received your kind letter of  
 9<sup>th</sup> September - Please excuse delay -  
 Both the letters are enclosed - Copy of  
 the Proceedings of the meeting of the  
 League, Copy of the Articles which  
 appeared in the Karnataka <sup>and a kind poem</sup> ~~Journal~~  
 I send as I tell you how grateful and  
 gratified I am at all this Very kind  
 expressions of good wishes and words  
 on the occasion of my 91<sup>st</sup> Birth day  
 may ever manifest my most sincere  
 thanks to all kind friends who  
 have taken part in all these  
 kind matters  
 With best wishes  
 your sincerely  
 Dadabhai Naoroji

**Dadabhai Naoroji's Autograph**



**Mahadev Govind Ranade**



**Bal Gangadhar Tilak**

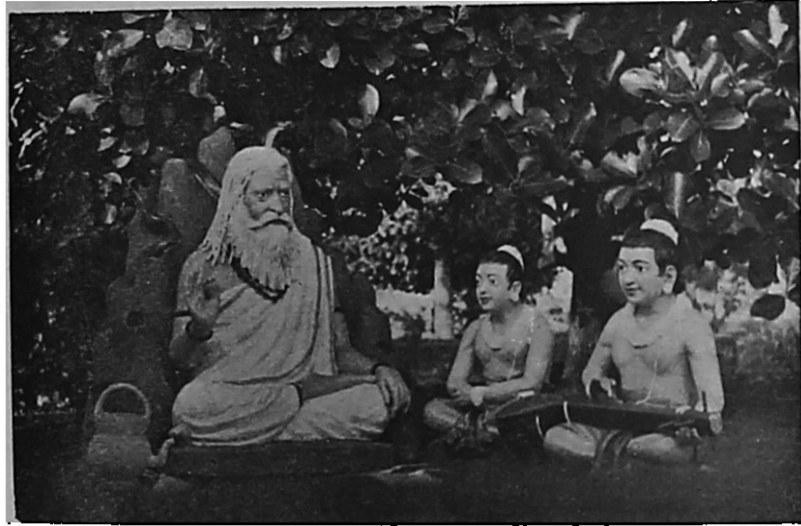


**Rt. Hon. Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., President, Servants of India Society  
Portrait presented by Prof. V. Gopalswami Aiyangar  
Unveiled on 9-5-1959 by Sri Mangal Das Pakwasa, Acting Governor of Mysore**

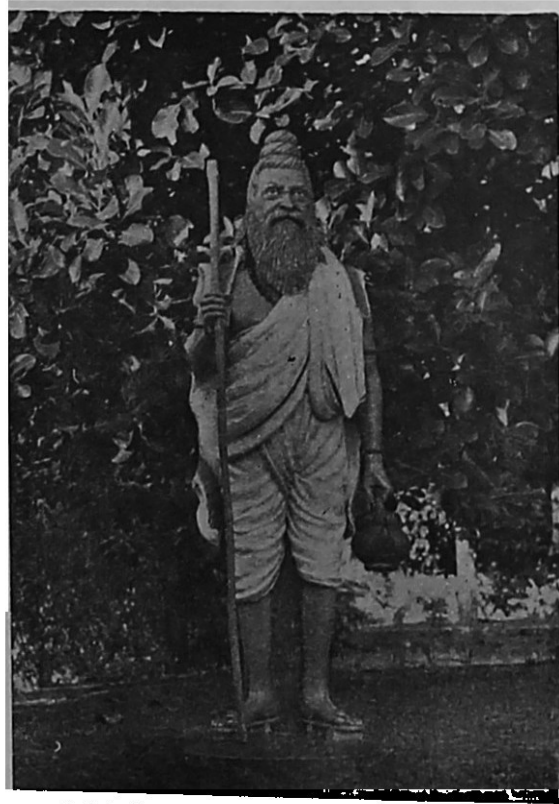
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**G. I. P. A. Building with Upstair Hall**



**Images of Valmiki, Lava and Kusha at Gokhale Institute, Bangalore**



**Image of Sri Vedavyasa at Gokhale Institute, Bangalore**

## The Building

The Institute continued in the rented building, where it started, for about ten years—till July 1956. Its membership grew and its Study Circle attracted serious-minded young men. The weekly lectures, the Sunday study classes and other activities such as Civic Survey went on regularly. The Library also grew. The need for larger space was keenly felt; and it was suggested by many well-wishers that the Institute should try to get a building site and raise premises of its own. The Council of the Institute accepted the idea and applied to the Corporation for a suitable site. The Corporation passed a resolution (on 6-12-1949) making a free gift of the grounds on which the Institute's main building now stands. The Institute appointed a Building Committee with Sri V. Venkatappa as Chairman, and including Sri P. R. Ramaiya, Sri G. A. Acharya, Sri M. V. Krishna Murthi, Sri E. S. Venkata Ramiah, and members of the GIPA Council as members, to collect funds and take action towards the raising of a building. When the Institute Council was casting about for means for a building site, Sir M. N. Krishna Rao gave a generous donation of Rs. 500/ (29-11-1953). Sri G. A. Acharya gave a donation of Rs. 1,441-94. At the request of the Building Committee Vinodaratnakara, Natakaratna Sri G. H. Veeranna, sometime M.L.C., gave a benefit performance of his popular drama, **DASAVATARA** on 7-10-1955. This fetched a sum of Rs. 1,900-00. Sri S. Srinivasa Iyer of M/s. B. V. Narayanaswamy & Co. gave more than 20 bags of cement as a gift. Sri V. Lakshmiopathy of M/s. Jubilee Saw Mills donated part of the wood work. Sri C. Varadhan, M.Sc., gave the necessary paint material for wood work. Contributions came in from other donors and the Building Committee was able to have the ground consecration ceremony performed on 26-10-1955. The construction was entrusted to Sri D. C. Anantharamaiah, B.E. who gave honorary service as Architect and Engineer. Sri H. C. K. Bhatta helped in the work both as technical adviser and as collector of donations. The construction nearly completed, the building was occupied on 29-7-1956. The house-entry ceremony was attended by a large number of members and sympathisers, some of them coming from outside places.

## Belfry Tower of Civics

In the course of his remarks on that occasion, the present writer said:

"The Institute welcomes everybody to this platform, everybody bringing useful knowledge or worthwhile ideas. It would avoid none as it would idolize none. The Institute holds that it is both possible and proper for one to respect another's opinion without necessarily subscribing to it. It believes that the road to the best of wisdom accessible to man is in the free exchange of information and views among those who have a common interest or share a common ideal, and in the independent exercise of reason by every one in forming judgments on public issues. We must welcome light from every quarter both to correct and to supplement our vision of truth and duty. The Institute therefore asks for integrity from every one while conceding infallibility to no one. If wamocracy would keep its intelligence clear and its morals pure, such a belfry-tower of civic conscience and exchange house of knowledge and thought is an indispensable adjunct to it. When the community in general has been brought to see the fundamental importance to democracy of an agency to foster independent-minded and beneficent, well-informed and conscientious citizenship, —to restore health to the limbs of the State and infuse reality into its activity, the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs need not have to wait for very long to find the material means for its programmes of service. Meanwhile, let us pray that it may be granted to this hall to serve as a centre and a symbol of the ideals of active and enlightened democratic citizenship."

## Statues and Portraits

The Hall is decorated with portraits of great Indian leaders. The portraits of Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta and D. E. Wacha came as gifts from Sri B. P. Wadia. A portrait of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the father of Indian Renaissance, was presented and unveiled by Sri W. H. Hanumanthappa, on 21-10-1956. A little later, the British Council presented the Institute with 14 portraits of great political thinkers and statesmen from Socrates to T. H. Green.

A matter for very special appreciation is the gift given by Srimati Anandibai Dhavale, daughter of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and wife of Sri S. B. Dhavale, I.C.S. (Retd. Judge of the Patna High Court). At the request of the Institute Mrs. Dhavale was so good as to give us the plaster bust which she put in a glass case which she

had been keeping in her home. This is a valuable possession of the Institute satisfying to a heart-felt sentiment.

#### **Valmiki and Vyasa**

Images of Valmiki as teaching the Ramayana to Lava and Kusha and of Veda Vyasa, compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahabharatha, were installed in the Institute on May 13, 1957. They have been objects of reverent interest to the large number of visitors coming to the Institute.

As part of its cultural activities the Study Circle has been celebrating the Sri Ramnavami every year by means of puja, reading of select passages from the Srimad-valmiki Ramayana and distribution of prasad. The function is very largely attended. Occasionally discourses are also held on the Ramayana for popular education. Vyasapuja and Vedaparayana are held twice in a year on or about the Vyasa-purnima Day.

#### **Valmiki Vyasa Fund**

To provide for the expenses of the three annual cultural functions above named, the Study Circle has formed a fund called the Valmiki Vyasa Fund and invites donations. The fund stood at Rs. 915-17 on 30-6-1965. Among the contributors to the Fund may be mentioned the late Dr. M. V. Govindaswamy, Dr. S. K. Lakshmana Rao, Sri G. P. Rajarathnam, Vidwan Sri Hemmige Desikachar, Sri I. Chandrasekhar, Sri R. V. Prabhakara Rao and Dr. Y. N. Krishnamurthy.

#### **Sanskrit Classes**

Classes are being held twice a week since July 1959 for learners of Sanskrit. The classes are being taken by a learned vidwan, Sri N. Ranganatha Sharma, professor of Vyakarana in the Chamarajendra Sanskrit College. Both kavya and vyakarana are being taught.

A notable item of work for record here was the series of 10 learned and interesting lectures on the history and development of Sanskrit Grammar (Vyakarana) delivered by Vidwan Sri N. Ranganatha Sharma in the course of 1964-65. They drew large audiences.

#### **In Debt**

The Hall and the furnishing cost more money than was estimated and certain

bills remained to be met. In raising additional funds to meet the deficit, many members including those of the Study Circle were of much help. The help rendered in this connection by Sri M. V. Krishna Murthi should be specially acknowledged. He was assiduous in going about for donations among businessmen and others having a liberal disposition; and his influence fetched sizable contributions.

#### **Help from Sri and Srimati T. Sadasivam**

Sri T. Sadasivam (of Kalki, Madras) and Srimati Sadasivam (Srimati M. S. Subbulakshmi) were approached for help and they readily agreed to let the Institute have for itself the entire proceeds of a musical recital by that singer of international fame. The recital took place on Sunday, April 13, 1958. Sri S. Nijalingappa (Chief Minister), presided and the elite of Bangalore were among the audience. It was a glorious recital greatly appreciated by the audience of nearly 4,000. The performance brought the Institute an income of about 20,000/-. Part of it was used to meet the deficit above mentioned and of the balance Rs. 8,000/- was deposited in the bank as a Fixed Deposit. That money has since been used towards the construction of the GIPA Hostel rooms.

#### **Building Site**

While the construction of the main building was in progress, correspondence was being carried on for some more building site. The ground already occupied was in two parts, one part given as an outright gift (6-12-1949) and the other part on lease (8-9-1952). The lease land was triangular in shape. In response to the Institute's request to the Corporation the lease was converted to a gift and the triangular ground made rectangular by the addition of another triangular bit (23-5-1959). The grounds were still insufficient for the programme which the Institute had in view. Its main item was the construction of a hostel building. A request was again made to the Corporation and on 10-5-1962 the Corporation was pleased to grant the request for grounds for structures subsidiary to the Hostel. All well-wishers of the Institute will be deeply grateful to the Corporation of Bangalore for its practical appreciation of the usefulness of the Institute to the public.



**Srimati M. S. Subbulakshmi (Mrs. T. Sadasivam) and Sri T. Sadasivam**

*From the G. I. P. A. Visitors' book*

*"We feel blessed over our visit to this place"*

*T. Sadasivam  
M. S. Subbulakshmi*

22-9-1959

The Government of Mysore should be thanked for having approved of the several recommendations of the Corporation.

### The GIPA Hostel

The idea of a lodging hostel partly as a way of service to the student public and partly as a source of regular monthly income for the day-to-day maintenance of the Institute remained to be taken up. The Institute approached Sri V. P. Menon (Retd. Governor of Orissa) for recommending the Institute to the H.E.H. the Nizam's Charitable Trust. By the good offices of Sri V. P. Menon, the Institute received a donation of Rs. 10,000/- from H.E.H. the Nizam's Trust, on 21-11-1958, to be used for the construction of a hostel. Together with this should be counted the sum of Rs. 8,000/ left over out of the collections from the benefit performance given by Srimati M. S. Subbulakshmi (Mrs. T. Sadasivam) on 13-4-1958 (noted above). Among other donors to the Hostel Building Fund are Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde, Sri M. V. Krishna Murthi, Sri Pobbathi Sampangi Rama Setty and others. Our Life-Member Sri G. Sreenivasa Aingar (Advocate, Shimoga) has helped greatly towards this object by securing a large number of donors and members to the Institute.

The Hostel Rooms (8) have been made available to applicants as from June 15, 1965 under rules made for the purpose.

### Upstairs Hall

In the course of 1963-64 Library and furniture had come to occupy so much of the floor space of the Institute building that it was not possible to carry on the normal work of the Institute in the rooms. Full and proper use of the books in the Library was impossible because of lack of moving space and there was not room enough for meetings. On the day of the Annual Social Gathering in December 1963, Sri V. S. Natarajan, a leading industrialist of Bangalore who was among the guests saw the need of the Institute for additional working space and when the Secretary explained to him the Institute's position, he was so generous as to offer the cost of an upstairs hall. Accordingly, they both sought the help of Mr. M. S. Srouty, Retd. Superintending Engineer for preparing a plan and an estimate of costs. The plan was finalised within a few weeks and work was started in April 1964. Sri M. S. Srouty supervised the work as Honorary adviser to the Institute. The

upstairs hall was occupied on 22-11-1964 on the occasion of Sri Vedavyasa Puja. It had been consecrated previously, together with the Hostel rooms, on 16-10-1964 the Vijayadasami Day of the year. Towards the cost of the Hall Sri V. S. Natarajan gave a donation of Rs. 11,600/ therein earning the hearty gratitude not only of the Institute but also of the public making use of the Institute. It is a neat, spacious and airy hall which has helped the Institute in a most material way.

### Revision of Constitution and Rules

The general body of members of the Institute at their meeting on 24-12-1961 appointed a Committee for the purpose of revising the Constitution and Rules of the Institute in the light of the experience of its past working, and in conformity with the latest law relating to Registered Societies. The Committee consisted of:

- (1) Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau  
(Chairman)
- (2) Sri D. Ramaswamy Iyengar
- (3) Sri K. S. Ramaswami
- (4) Sri E. S. Venkata Ramiah
- (5) Sri D. V. Gundappa (Secretary)

The recommendations of that Committee were received by the general body at a special meeting on 16-9-1962. The Constitution and Rules as formally adopted there have been in force since June 14, 1963.

### Board of Trustees

Seeing that the Institute has been gathering properties and feeling that the future of the Institute should be put on a secure and permanent footing, the general body of the Institute, on the motion of Sri E. S. Venkata Ramiah, seconded by Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau, adopted on 29-11-1964 a resolution recommending that the Institute's Council should consider the desirability of constituting a Board of Trustees to be in charge of the properties of the Institute and to co-operate with the Council in regard to the finances of the Institute. The Council has the matter under its consideration.

### Exemption from Income-Tax

The Institute requested the Commissioner of Income-Tax (Bangalore) in letter GIPA No. 2847/65 dated 20-2-1965 for exemption of donations given it from the operation of Income-Tax Rules. The Commissioner was



pleased to accede to the request in his communication (Asst. No. 718/81/64 dated 5-3-1965) worded as follows:

"Donations made to THE GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, Bangalore, will be exempt from tax u/s 88(1) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 in the hands of the donors subject to the limits prescribed therein under sub-sections (2) & (3) of the said section."

## Part II ACTIVITIES

An account of the early activities of the Institute is contained in its annual reports. Chief among those activities were weekly public lectures on both political and general subjects of public interest, civic surveys, and study classes. The Institute also issued public statements on current topics. When the Indian Constituent Assembly was in session, the Institute published the following pamphlets on connected topics:

1. All India Union (March 1945)
2. All-Indian Federal Union  
(February 1946)
3. The Constituent Assembly and the States (December 1946)
4. Some Suggestions for the Modification of the Draft Constitution of India  
—By Prof. M. Ramaswamy  
(March 1948)
5. Two Precautions about the Indian States (Resolutions of the GIPA Council of 26-9-1948 and 15-10-1948)
6. The United States of America: A Secular State — By Prof. M. Ramaswamy  
(July 1949)

Among the statements issued was one on the topic of world peace and U.N. Organisation in support of an appeal issued by prominent Indian leaders including Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (May 1945). The Institute also expressed views at the time of the Wavell negotiations and the Cripps missions on the Indian Constitution.

After coming into its own building in July 1956, the Institute has continued its activities in an expanded form in two sections as follows:

- (1) Memoranda and Representations to Government and public authorities, directly by the GIPA

- (2) Public Education and cultural programmes, and Civic and Social Service by the Study Circle.

The Institute's work of studying public policies and measures and suggesting improvements is carried on largely by means of the activities of the following committees:

- (1) The Legislative Measures Committee
- (2) The Public Utilities Committee
- (3) The Education Committee
- (4) The Science Committee
- (5) Ad hoc Committees

- (1) The Legislative Measures Committee

The Legislative Measures Committee has been working in continuation of the Constitutional Questions Committee which functioned from the beginning till 1957 and expressed considered opinions on public measures. An important item of its work was the note on precious metals and non-ferrous metals furnished to Sri M. V. Rama Rao, M.L.A., when the Kolar Gold Mining Undertaking Bill was under discussion.

The L.M. Committee was constituted on 21st April 1957, with Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau as Chairman, to arrange for the study of legislative bills and drafts of subsidiary rules etc. published to elicit public opinion and to offer the results of such study for the consideration of the public as well as of the authorities concerned. Among members of the Committee are leading lawyers and businessmen. 28 Memoranda and Notes have been submitted as upto the end of June 1965.

- (2) The Public Utilities Committee

This Committee was constituted with Sri C. N. Shama Rao as Chairman, as Water Supply Committee on 21st April 1957 and was re-constituted as the Public Utilities Committee on 13th November 1957 to include within its purview not only water supply but also electricity, roads, buildings, sanitation and other amenities. It has submitted several memoranda and representations to Government, and to the Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board, on questions of water supply, water rates, meters etc.

- (3) Education Committee

An Education Committee was formed on 26-3-1962 for the purpose of studying the problems of education at all levels and under all heads and focussing attention of the Government and the public on reforms

and improvements needed. The Committee has met several times and has reviewed education books.

#### (4) Science Committee

This Committee was constituted on 4-12-1957, with Dr. M. Sivaram as Chairman, to study developments in science and educate the public thereon. It has organized a number of lectures and lantern shows by some well-known scientists.

#### Ad hoc Committees

Special Committees are appointed as occasions arise to deal with topics of special importance, such as memoranda to the Sanskrit Commission, to the Finance Commission and similar bodies. A few instances are given below:

#### Sanskrit Commission

The Institute submitted a memorandum to the Sanskrit Commission presided over by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, on 10-1-1957. The memorandum was prepared by a Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau, then judge of the Mysore High Court. Members of the Committee also tendered oral evidence before the Commission. The members of the Commission visited the Institute on 21-2-1957 and addressed a public meeting there.

#### Food Prices Committee

A Committee was constituted on 30-6-1959 with Sri B. V. Narayana Reddy as Chairman to investigate the causes of the rise of prices of foodstuffs in India and to suggest measures of relief to the public. The Committee presented its report based on information and opinions collected from the public by means of a questionnaire. The Report is in two parts:

- (1) Part I Basic Material; Analysis & Comment .. Rs. 2/-
- (2) Part II Recommendations 50 P

They are published as Public Affairs Pamphlets 3 and 1 respectively.

#### Finance Commission

The Institute has submitted memoranda to three statutory Finance Commissions as follows:

- 22-1-1957 to the II Finance Commission
- 27-4-1961 to the III Finance Commission
- 10-10-1964 to the IV Finance Commission

The memoranda were prepared by a Committee in each case and the Committee was presided over by Pradhanasiramani Sri N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E. (Retd. Dewan of Mysore). Members of the Committee included Sri P. H. Seshagiri Rao, Sri B. V. Narayana Reddy, Prof. B. R. Subba Rao, Sri M. V. Krishna Murthi, Sri V. S. Natarajan and the Hon. Secretary of the GIPA.

Oral evidence was also tendered before the II Finance Commission. The memorandum presented in 1961 has been published under the title *Some Aspects of India's Public Finance as Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 2* and the memorandum presented in 1964 has been published under the title *Some Points of Equity and Economy as Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 6*. In the preparation of these memoranda some members of the Study Circle gave valuable co-operation.

We may also mention in this context another pamphlet on the subject of public finance published as *Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 5*, under the title *Some Aspects of the Central Budget, 1964-65*. This consists of a lecture delivered at the Institute by Sri T. V. Visvanatha Iyer, Senior Advocate of Madras, on 26-5-1964, and which was highly appreciated by the audience.

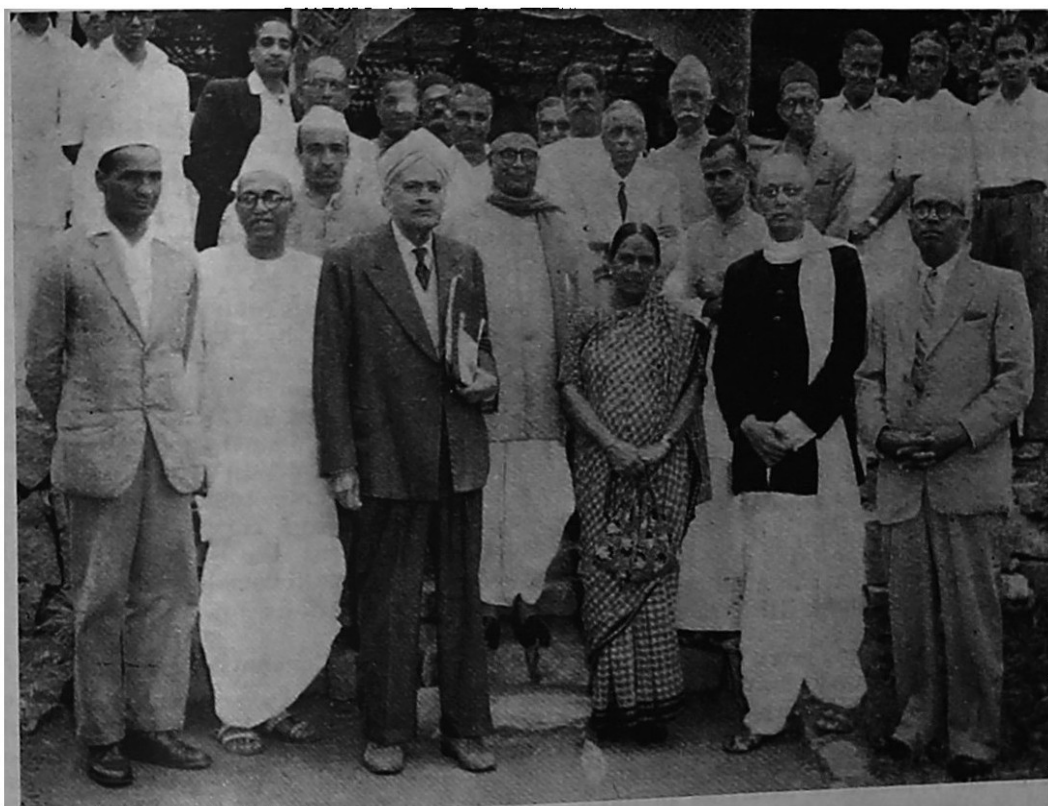
#### Register of Public Grievances

The Institute has been carrying on correspondence with appropriate authorities on matters of general interest, either on its own initiative or on receipt of complaints from members of the public. Some of the matters may be mentioned as illustrative:

- (1) Bus facilities—Routes and Timings
- (2) Postal Service—Delays and Irregularities
- (3) Street Lighting
- (4) Noise nuisance from Loudspeakers
- (5) Police Station
- (6) Voting rights of citizens
- (7) Public Parks
- (8) Road Repairs
- (9) Decency of behaviour in public
- (10) Dust and Smell Nuisance from trading and manufacturing places.

#### Civic Survey

A highly valued line of activity of the Study Circle is that of Civic Survey. Members of the Study Circle form themselves into batches and visit particular localities in the City and make



**The Bangalore Civic Workers' Convention—G.I.P.A.**



**The G.I.P.A. Hostel**

a comprehensive survey of the sanitary conditions, public amenities, roads, light and water supply etc. in the locality and ascertain public grievances. Grievances considered genuine and defects noticed are recorded in reports and forwarded to several Governmental and Corporation authorities for remedial action. The reports are also published in the press. In a number of cases the authorities have taken action in matters brought to their notice and given relief to the public. This work was started in June 1948 by Sri S. V. Seshadri and has been continued by Sri A. R. Subbanarasimhaiya. The number of the latest report is 75. All parts of the City have been covered. The value of this work was pointed out by Pradhanasiromani Sri N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E. (Retd. Dewan of Mysore) in his Report as Chairman of the Bangalore Development Committee (Par. 174).

Sri N. Madhava Rau in a letter dated 5-4-1954 to the Secretary, GIPA, says:

"In the course of my work as Chairman of the Bangalore Development Committee, I came across, and felt much interested in, some of the Civic Survey Reports prepared by the members of the Gokhale Institute. A brief, but appreciative, reference to this aspect of the Institute's activities will be found in paragraph 174 of the Committee's Report."

The paragraph is as follows:

"While strict administration is a *sine qua non* of successful Town Planning co-operation is also essential. Democratic institutions function at their best only against the background of strong and well-informed public opinion. It is a matter for gratification that Rate Payers' Associations in different parts of the City are taking a keen interest in the municipal administration of the City and voluntary organizations such as the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs are from time to time making detailed studies of local requirements and bringing them to the notice of the concerned authorities. Efforts of this kind should be encouraged."

#### Symposia and Conferences

Symposia have been held on important questions such as:

- (1) The Suez Crisis (4-10-1956)
- (2) The Indian Budget (1-6-1957)

- (3) Trends in Public Finance (17-5-1958)
- (4) West Asian Crisis (27-8-1958)
- (5) Land Reforms (12-4-1959)
- (6) Tibet (25-7-1959)
- (7) South African Apartheid Policy (9-4-1960)
- (8) Civic Affairs (26-6-1960)

#### Land Tenure Reforms

The symposium on Land Reforms and Agricultural Improvements on 12-4-1959 was presided over by Pradhanasiromani Sri N. Madhava Rau. The symposium was largely attended and many distinguished citizens participated. A Committee appointed by the meeting issued a comprehensive statement on 22-4-1959 covering various points such as owner-tenant relations, ceilings, acquisition and compensation, agricultural co-operation, the State's responsibilities, etc. It was published in the Institute's journal **Public Affairs**.

#### Civic Workers' Convention

A Civic Workers' Convention was held on 26-6-1960. It was organized by the Institute and its Study Circle with the co-operation of 24 civic, social service and rate payers' associations working in various parts of Bangalore including the civil station. It was presided over by Pradhanasiromani Sri N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E., (Retd. Dewan of Mysore) and was largely attended, several prominent citizens participating. Sri Subbanarasimhaiya, member of the Study Circle was the Secretary of the Convention. The Convention adopted five resolutions urging upon the Government and the City Corporation: (1) the decentralization of the work of the administrative agencies of the Corporation; (2) appointment of a committee to consider the working details of the decentralization suggested and to examine the organization and existing system of working and procedure in the Corporation offices; (3) the reviewing of the existing relations between the Corporation and the City Improvement Trust Board; (4) the considering of ways of improving co-operation between the Corporation and the Government departments like the Police, the Transport, Electricity, etc; and (5) calling upon the public to set up and support rate payers' or citizens' associations to look after the civic needs of their localities. The usefulness of the Convention was greatly appreciated by all and the Institute has the desire to persist in that effort and is looking forward for the

required facilities particularly in the form of finances and workers. The proceedings of the Convention were published under the title, **Our Civic Problems as Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 4**, priced Rs. 2/- a copy.

### Special Lectures

In connection with the Gokhale Memorial Day of 1960 Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya the well-known scholar and publicist delivered a series of 3 lectures on the origin and progress of Local Self-Government in India. They were full of valuable observations on the working of municipal and allied institutions and were published in summary form in the Institute's Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 4 entitled **Our Civic Problems**. They were published in fuller form in the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay.

### The Library

The Library containing about 20,000 volumes as on 1-7-1965 has grown gradually receiving gifts from various public institutions and private persons. Among the former should be counted the Library of Congress, U.S.A., the Carnegie Endowment, the Mysore University, The Hindu and Asian Foundation, through Students Aid Society sponsored by Ramnarayan Chellaram and Sons Charitable Trust. The British Council gave us some valuable publications of current interest. The local centre of the United States Information Service has been constantly helpful. The late Sri Beldoni Bhima Rao, Advocate, and M.L.C., a well-known public man of Bellary, gave 294 very valuable books as gifts to the Library. From the Library of the late Sri Hayavadana Rao, Sri C. Tirumala Rao and Sri C. V. Rao donated 2,688 volumes relating in particular to ancient history, religion and philosophy and general politics. From the library of the late Sir M. Visvesvaraya, his nephew, Sri M. R. Krishnamurthi, gave about 1,500 volumes on subjects of economics, politics and education including a set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (35 volumes) of the 1903 edition and also two book-racks. Sri Mokshagundam Venkatasubbaiya, son of the late Sri M. Krishnamurthi, gave the Institute a set of Halsbury's Laws of England belonging to his father. Sri K. R. Karanth, Advocate, has given 422 volumes relating to general politics and sociology. Sri K. S. Krishnaswamy, Retd. Chief Engineer, gave 208 volumes relating to politics, and a set of the Indian Annual Registers from the Library of his

father, the late Rajasabhabhushana, Diwan Bahadur Sri K. R. Srinivasiengar, Retd. Member of the Mysore Executive Council. He has also given an almirah for the books. The latest gifts are a set of the **Sacred Books of the East** series and a set of volumes of the India Code, both by Sri E. S. Venkata Ramaiah, Advocate, and member of the GIPA Council.

Valuable Sanskrit books came from the Library of the late Vidwan Sri Chhappalli Visvesvara Sastri as gifts given by Mr. & Mrs. Sadasivaiya.

To perpetuate the memory of the renowned Sanskrit scholar and savant, the late Prof. M. Hirianna of the University of Mysore, his nephew, Prof. M. Ramaswamy, Retd. Dean of Faculty of Law, Delhi University, donated Rs. 500 for the dedication of a bookshelf containing a complete collection of the writings of Prof. Hirianna and allied books.

The Sanskrit-Kannada publications on **vedic, vedantic and puranic** subjects published under the auspices of H.H. Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar have been presented by the University of Mysore—117 volumes.

The Library has 583 registered borrowers who take books home against a deposit placed with the Institute. The rate of borrowing is about 520 a month on an average. The total number of book borrowings from the beginning to end of June 1965 is 70,809.

### Research Facilities

An item of special interest in the Library is the collection of volumes of the Hindu newspaper of some 40 years and of certain standard technical and general periodicals of special importance.

Researchers in History have found valuable material in this Library. Among them may be mentioned the officials of the office of the History of the Freedom Movement, post-graduate students of the Mysore University, scholars like Sri N. Raghunathan and officials of the Department of Literary & Cultural Development. We quote a few extracts below:

Two Research Assistants, deputed by the Officer-in-Charge, Mysore State Committee of the History of Freedom Movement in India, in their Report dated 11-3-1957 to the Officer-in-Charge (Sri T. T. Sharman) said:

"We studied the available material from 14-2-1957 to 25-2-1957. . . . In particular books on the problem of Indian States and Pamphlets of the proceedings of the All-India States People's Conference were available at the Institute's Library. Apart from Books, we were able to study the old issues of *The Hindu* (1928, 1930 and 1931) and the Annual numbers of *Mitra's Registers*. . . . We have been permitted to make use of some rare publications: "*The Press Gag in Mysore*" (1908) compiled by Sri P. Tirumalachar and "*An open letter to Sri V. P. Madhava Rau*" and "*Representative Assembly, its History and Proceedings*" . . . Sri D. V. Gundappa evinced keen interest in our work and guided us." (Ref: Sri T. T. Sharman's letter No. FM 497/56-57 dated 13-3-1957).

Srimati Leela Subramanyam (grand-daughter of Prof. A. R. Krishna Sastri) a post-graduate student, in her letter of 19-5-1963 said:

" . . . I discovered a rare treasure of invaluable and out-of-print classics on History and made good use of them in preparing myself for the M. A. Examination. . . . The GIPA Library possesses rare books on humanities and is really a centre for disseminating knowledge and culture."

The Special Officer, Literary & Cultural Development, Government of Mysore, in his letter (No. 1545/L & CD/64-65 dated 26-9-1964) said: It is a matter for gratification that there are institutions like yours in Bangalore with good libraries stocked with books pertaining to ancient history and culture . . . made available to students and research workers; and I am thankful that these are available to Prof. K. Sampathgiri Rao. Your Library is being availed of by those who are compiling and editing our publication *Karnataka through the Ages*."

### Reading Room

The Reading Room was formally opened on March 8, 1948. We are now providing some 220 periodicals to readers. Towards the cost of the Reading Room, the Bangalore City Corporation have been giving a monthly grant since July 1, 1948. At first it was Rs. 10/-. It was raised to Rs. 20/- from 1-11-1951 and to Rs. 30/- from 1-4-1961. The average daily attendance is 90. The total number of visitors from the beginning is 3,35,844.

Among the contributors to the Reading Room Table are proprietors and editors of periodicals and Secretaries of learned societies both Indian and foreign. Many of the periodicals are being received in exchange for the Institute's journal *Public Affairs*.

### Public Affairs

The Institute started the publication of a monthly journal in English and Kannada in January 1949—the English section being called *Public Affairs* and the Kannada part *Sarvajanika*. Its object was to serve as a forum for the serious study and discussion of all questions of public welfare,—especially the country's political, economic and social problems—from an independent point of view and in a scientific attitude.

Besides independent articles and editorial notes, the journal was to contain reports of speeches, etc. delivered at the GIPA, extracts from important public documents, and pronouncements and a monthly diary of events. The publication had to be suspended in March 1950 after the 14th issue owing mainly to the inadequacy of funds. But as many members and well-wishers expressed keen regret at the disappearance of the journal, the publication was revived, in cyclostyle form, in 1952 and continued in that form till the end of that year. But even this was found difficult and the publication had to be suspended. The English section of the journal was revived in printed form in January 1954, this time as a bi-monthly, and continued till the end of 1956 with a short gap from January to June 1956. In 1957 and 1958 there was no issue and the journal was hopefully revived in 1959 as an English bi-monthly. Only five issues were published and there was no publication in 1960, 1961 and 1962. From the beginning of 1963 it has been published regularly as an English monthly journal. In the first issue of the new series the editor wrote as follows:

"The G.I.P.A. is thankful that it has now become possible for it to revive its journal *Public Affairs*, though in a somewhat thinner form. The journal has many friends in far-off countries as well as in ours; and during the many months of its suspension, we have received numerous inquiries about the prospects of its revival. Resumption of this activity has been facilitated largely by the generous action of a few members of the GIPA Study Circle who, by doing some economic and social investigation work for a

a Public Opinion Poll institution, earned a sizable honorarium and handed it over to the GIPA, a part of it for the specific purpose of reviving the journal."

Many scholars and publicists have contributed articles to the journal as also some members of the Institute and the Study Circle. The journal has been serving (i) to make the objects and activities of the Institute well known and to build up its prestige; (ii) as a means of communication between the Institute and its members; (iii) as a means of exchange with foreign institutions and periodicals; and (iv) as a cross-section specimen of contemporary Indian mind.

The journal has been issued regularly since January 1963 and has been well-received all round. Advertisers have enabled it to become self-supporting and there is reason to feel assured that hereafter its publication will not present any material difficulty. It is a matter for gratification that readers and the contemporary press speak favourably of the journal as may be seen from the opinions given in Appendix 4.

The Institute would like to bring out a Kannada edition and also editions in other Indian languages; but that again is a matter of resources. The publication work of the Institute has continued; and a list of publications is given in Appendix 5.

### Public Opinion Poll

By the courtesy of Mr. E. P. W. da Costa, Director, Indian Institute of Public Opinion, Ltd., New Delhi, the Study Circle of the Institute carried out, since March 1959, a number of Public Opinion Polls in selected areas of the Mysore State, on behalf of the Institute. The enquiries covered subjects such as India's Political and Economic problems (Rural and Urban), Citizen's Economic Welfare (Rural and Urban), Radio Listeners' Preferences, India's Reaction to the U. S. Presidential Elections, the Commonwealth, Co-operation, and General Social Conditions.

The honoraria paid by the Institute of Public Opinion to the members of the Study Circle were not taken by them for themselves, but were handed over to the Institute towards its funds. It is out of such contributions that a sum of about Rs. 1,000/- was given by the Study Circle to the Insti-

tute for reviving the journal *Public Affairs* in 1963 (as noted above).

These investigations provided members of the Study Circle with opportunities of coming into contact with their fellow-citizens in various parts of the State, and in knowing their mind on certain definite issues of importance. The members regard this as a valuable experience for themselves in civic and social studies.

### Public Lectures

From the very beginning, Public Lectures on topics of general interest by scholars and specialists have been a main line of the Institute's activity. Not only subjects of politics and civics, and economics and international affairs, but also subjects of humanistic culture like Literature and History and Travelogue and of social importance like general science and education have taken a large place in our lecture programme. These lectures are held generally on Saturdays, but sometimes on other days to suit the circumstances. The attendance is always good, members of the audience sometimes asking questions to supplement the lecture. Till the end of June 1965 627 lectures have been held, 493 in English 134 in Kannada.

- (i) 334 General Politics, Economics, etc.
- (ii) 79 Science
- (iii) 214 Literary and Cultural

### Political Education Lectures

A special series of lectures designed for the political education of the people is that on well-known Political Thinkers and Statesmen, begun in January 1964. The series was inaugurated by Pradhanasiromani Sri N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E., on 11-1-1964 and till the end of June 1965 19 lectures have taken place. The topics include Hegel, Montesquieu, Woodrow Wilson, Abraham Lincoln, Voltaire, Edmund Burke, Blackstone, Justice Marshall, Milton, Alexander Hamilton, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Diderot, Gladstone, Coke, Dicey, etc. Among the lecturers are judges of the High Court, leading lawyers and jurists and college professors. The lectures are being published in the Institute's journal *Public Affairs* and they have elicited much appreciation. This series will continue. Supplementarily to the series on Political Thinkers and men of action, lectures on current public questions are being continued. In the

years 1959 to 1963 surveys of Indian and International affairs were being made on non-party lines in lectures delivered every quarter by publicists of distinction in administrative experience and public life like Sri N. Madhava Rau, Sri V. P. Menon, Sri V. Narahari Rao, Sri B. V. Narayana Reddy and the late (ex-judge) Sri B. Vasudevamurthy. In subsequent years that activity is being continued as individual lectures delivered as often as possible every month. Recently (1964-65) we have had 6 lectures on important public topics by Sri K. R. Karanth, Sri P. H. Seshagiri Rao, Sri P. Kodanda Rao, Sri M. K. Nambiar, Sri B. Vaikunta Baliga and Prof. D. G. Karve.

### Social Gatherings

As a means of promoting friendship among members and well-wishers and providing opportunities for mutual contact and understanding the Study Circle has been arranging Social Gatherings and Excursion parties whenever possible. The expenses are met generally by ad hoc subscriptions from members.

The following occasions may be mentioned:

- (1) When Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau was appointed Advocate General. (23-8-1953).
- (2) When Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau was appointed a Judge of the High Court (20-8-1955).
- (3) Trip to Sondekoppa (2-10-1960).
- (4) Trip to Deverayanadurga (8-4-1962).
- (5) Trip to Nandi Hills (27-5-1962).
- (6) Annual Social Gatherings have been held regularly in December each year for 16 years. The dates and names of the Presidents are given in Appendix 6.

It has been usual to have a musical entertainment as part of the Annual Social Gathering.

On other occasions also musical entertainments have been provided by distinguished vidwans both vocalist and instrumentalist. On some occasions the musicians were members of the Study Circle. There are a good many among members of the Study Circle who are keen appreciators of music.

Full particulars of the progress and work of both the Institute and its Study Circle

are furnished in their Annual Reports. The Study Circle places its Annual Report and audited statement of accounts before its Annual General Meeting of Members and forwards them afterwards to the Council of the Institute. The Institute submits its Annual Report and audited statement of accounts to its general body of members at a meeting convened for the purpose and the Reports and accounts therein adopted are forwarded to the Registrar of Societies according to law.

### Part III — GENERAL ENDOWMENT

The Institute and the Study Circle have received some endowments for the institution of annual lectures and prizes:

(1) Sri Narasamma Prize for Devaranama Singing—Rs. 500/- endowed to the Study Circle by Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao (Retd. Principal, National College, and member of the GIPA Council) on 20-12-1960 for an annual prize in memory of his mother to the best singer of Kannada Devaranamas. The prize has been awarded annually from 1960 at the time of the Annual Social Gathering of the Study Circle.

(2) Sri Vajapeyam Venkatasubbaiya Prize—Rs. 500/- (24-3-1962) plus Rs. 100/- (12-5-1962) (Total Rs. 600/-) endowed by Srimati H. Y. Saraswathamma and Sri V. Gopal respectively for an annual prize in memory of their father to the writer of the best essay in Kannada on a prescribed subject. Prizes have been awarded at the time of the Annual Socials since 1962.

(3) Sri Sampige Venkatapathaiya Lectureship—Rs. 2,000/- endowed by Sri D. Narasimha Murthy and his brother on 16-6-1963 in memory of their granduncle for an annual lectureship. The first lecture was delivered by Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau on **The Growth of Local Self-Government in Bangalore City** on July 26, 1964.

(4) Sri Ramachandra Memorial Prize—Rs. 100/- endowed to the Study Circle by Sri R. K. Jayathirthachar, Advocate, Shimoga for an annual prize for recitation from the Gita.

The Institute welcomes such endowments as a help towards one of its important lines of activity, namely promotion of general culture by means of lectures, essays, recitations etc.



## Helpers

The Institute and the Study Circle have from the very beginning received help from many quarters. Many have given money and many have given useful articles such as furniture, carpets, fans, books and pictures. We give a few names below:

The Corporation of the City of Bangalore  
His Excellency Sri C. Rajagopalachari,  
Governor-General of India  
Sir M. N. Krishna Rao  
Sri G. A. Acharya  
Sri Gubbi H. Veeranna  
Mr. and Mrs. T. Sadasivam  
H. E. H. The Nizam's Charities, through  
Sri V. P. Menon  
Sri V. S. Natarajan  
Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde  
Sri M. V. Krishnamurthy  
Sri Sampangi Rama Setty  
Sri C. B. Srinivasa Rao  
Sri G. S. Subbarathnam  
Contributors to the Maintenance Fund  
(names given in another section)

The above list is not to be taken as exhaustive. Some names have been mentioned in other sections of this account of the Institute. Owing to considerations of space, only a few recent names are given.

## Maintenance Fund

In 1962 the Institute found itself in difficulties for its day-to-day upkeep. A special letter of appeal for help was therefore addressed to a few select friends and well-wishers by Sri D. V. Gundappa requesting from each Rs. 60/- a year for three years in which period the Hostel Building was expected to get completed and earn an income. We are grateful and happy to report that the response was hearty and generous. The following are the names of the donors:

### Rs. 100/- a year:

1. Sri G. M. Manjanathaya, 2. Dr. M. S. Mehkri, 3. Sri K. H. Srinivasan, 4. M/s Lokashikshana Trust.

### Rs. 60/- a year:

5. Sri R. Chandrasekhariah, 6. Sri K. Chidambaram, 7. Sri K. R. Gopivallabha Iyengar, 8. Sri K. R. Karanth, 9. Sri V. P. Menon, 10. Dr. B. K. Narayana Rao, 11. Dr. T. M. A.

Pai (Syndicate Bank), 12. Sri M. V. Rama Rao, 13. Sri N. Madhava Rau, 14. Sri T. Sadasivam, 15. Sri D. C. Subbarayappa, 16. Sri T. G. Shamanna, 17. Sri K. Seetharama Rao, 18. Sri R. Venkataramaiya,

## Smaller sums:

19. Sri C. P. Appanna, 20. Sri H. C. K. Bhatta, 21. Sri R. Balasundaram, 22. Dr. B. G. Deshpande, 23. Sri D. K. Dwarakanath (Devatha Silks House), 24. Sri S. D. Ganesha Rao and Sri S. G. Sundaraswamy, 25. Sri V. Gopalswami Aiengar, 26. Sri Yadalam N. Gangadhara Setty, 27. Sri S. Gundappa, 28. Dr. N. Jayaraman, 29. Sri A. Krishna Murthi, 30. Sri B. V. Narayana Reddy, 31. Sri V. Narahari Rao, 32. Sri Pamadi Subbarama Chetty, 33. Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer, 34. Sri B. Rudra, 35. Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, 36. Sri H. B. Sreekantiah, 37. Sri G. S. Sreekantiah, 38. Sri T. Srinivasan, 39. Sri A. N. Somiah, 40. Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau, 41. Sri H. Venkatramia, 42. Sri E. S. Venkata Ramiah, 43. Sri B. Vasudeva Murthy, 44. Sri T. Venkata Rama Sastry, 45. Sri K. S. Venkatasubbaiya, and 46. Sri S. K. Venkatarangiar.

The total sum received from July 1962 to end of June 1965 was Rs. 5,710/-. This help was given at a time of urgent need and our very special thanks are due to the donors.

## Part IV — LOOKING FORWARD

The position of the Institute after 20 years' working is shown in some detail in the Conspectus given as Appendix 7. In general terms, the position may be summarized as one of gradually gathering strength and expanding usefulness. Beginning in a very small way, with practically no resources, it has grown to take a permanent place of potential influence though not of power in the public life of the country. The audited balance sheet for 1963 shows the assets as valued at Rs. 1,75,600/- and sizable additions have been made to this in 1964 and 1965. This itself is no negligible evidence of public appreciation because almost all of it has come from the public. The Institute has from the very beginning made it a point to rely upon the general public and not to look to any Government or any political party or to any class or communal organization for assistance in any measure. The question was raised at the inaugural meeting on 18-2-1945 whether Government should be approached for help; and it was unanimously decided that there was no necessity for such a move.

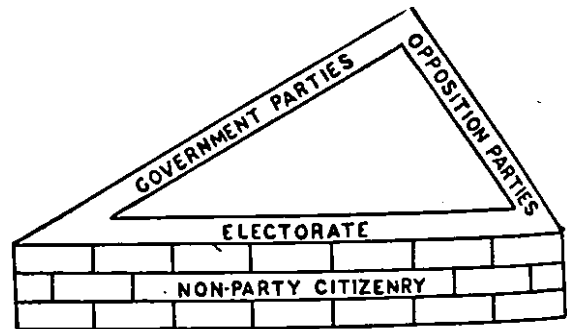
In addition to donations and gifts in kind, there are other evidences—attendance at our lecture meetings, the use of the Reading Room and the Library, the reception given to the journal *Public Affairs*, the response made on other occasions to the Institute's appeals, and to cultural functions like the Valmiki-Vyasa festivals of the Study Circle, the way generally in which the Institute is regarded in circles in which its members have occasion to refer to it—all these show that the public recognize the importance of there being such an institution to inform public opinion and help it in its search for the true and the right and the good in public policy.

### Need for workers

Experience has made it clear that public support may be counted upon when good work is being done. No worthwhile measure of service need be abandoned on the ground merely of lack of material resources. The real difficulty of the Institute has been in finding workers—workers both able and loyal, both enthusiastic and prepared for discipline. And it is essential that they should be honorary workers. Herein lies the capital difficulty of such an institution. That supply of funds would have to be unlimited if work should be paid for is a secondary point. The primary point is that mercenary work cannot claim the moral authority which would belong to the work of voluntary public spirit.

It is by its work that the Institute lives. That work should not only be disinterested but should also have every title to be received as disinterested and pure-motived. This vital condition can be fulfilled only by honorary workers. But how is the Institute to get such workers? Living is becoming costly for all and work to be done at the Institute cannot be haphazard or casual. The Institute's hope lies in the public spirit of young men of education and character who earning a living elsewhere as workers in an office or a profession or business or having other means, would sacrifice leisure and comfort in order to be of service to the motherland. The Institute can at best provide them with working facilities, but the work will be done in the spirit of honorary service. This in fact has been the tradition with us these 20 years and it rests with our educated young men to make the continuance of this tradition possible and profitable to the country.

The highest service that the Institute has to render is in providing material for study and discussion on the various practical problems which press so heavily upon the public mind, in fields of the country's Constitution, its economy and its social fabric. Work of this kind has been begun in our pamphlets on prices of foodstuffs, etc. But the work must be continued. The Institute must have a team of competent research scholars working continuously upon prescribed problems and produce at least two or three monographs every year. In such research and study on current problems will be the crowning part of the usefulness of the Institute.



Parliamentary Democracy

### Parliamentary Democracy: a scalene triangle

The G.I.P.A. is an altogether new type of institution in India. While the concept of democracy is itself new to this country, the concept of a non-party organization as an instrument of it is a more unfamiliar one to the general public. Yet it is a concept on the implementing of which depends the realization of our dreams for our country under democracy.

The type of worker needed for an institution of this kind is one who, being a man of conscience and character, would come into it in a spirit of utter self-dedication; for this is work that promises no repayment or reward in office or power or even in fame or popular applause. It is moreover work of an unexciting slow-fructifying kind, like the schoolmaster's or the raiyat's. The worker should therefore be one endowed with an infinite fund of patience and faith, one who will not be discouraged by difficulty or defeated by failure. He may have to face apathy and even opposition from those he goes to for help. And he should be one who will take care to restrain his speech and so conduct himself as not to provoke ill-

will or prejudice anywhere. He should never over-emphasize his own views and never step into lines of action that may divide fellow-members into camps and coteries. His gifts should take the direction of reconciliation and synthesis rather than of cold analysis and uncompromising logic. He should suppress himself so as to induce others to express themselves. The unity and integrity of the Institute should be sacred to him in all matters and be counted above all.

The future of this Institute depends upon our being able to find a body of men of such disinterested public spirit and active concern for the duties and felicities of good citizenship. I therefore appeal most earnestly to young men of education who can at all spare any little time for the country's work; I appeal equally to men with leisure like retired officials and men successful in professions like law and in the world of business, for collaboration in building up this Institute and extending its usefulness. I trust there are many in our society whose sense of duty to country is so keen as not to let them stay waiting for individual invitations from this Institute and who, on the other hand, will of their own accord offer it help and collaboration. If the Institute is fortunate enough to find at least fifty such voluntary workers, each pledged to give at least a couple of hours' work a day on three days in the week regularly and systematically, we may well feel assured about the future of this Institute. It is necessary for all of us to remember that the task of winning good government yet remains to be accomplished and that it is a task that will ever remain to be accomplished day after day. When workers who remember this and are prepared for the necessary sacrifice and exertion in the service of the public come in abundant numbers into this Institute, we may feel assured that this Institute is well on its way towards fulfilling the dreams of its founders.

India has once for all chosen democracy for her mode and means of Government, and it is the responsibility of her citizens to ensure the success of the new form of political organization. For healthy and efficient functioning, Parliamentary democracy calls for the configuration of the political community in the form of a scalene triangle—the base made up of the citizen electorates and being longer than either of the other two sides which represent party organiza-

tions; and of the two sides one taking office being longer than the other side constituting the opposition.

### Complexity of modern politics

Parties spring into being naturally—out of conflicts of class interest, out of diversities of ideology, out of varieties of intelligence and character in the community, out of the class of powerful rival personalities. While party is of use in focussing public attention on particular issues and their select aspects, in organizing citizen elements, in bringing public opinion to a point of action, and while party is in any case inevitable, it should also be admitted that party clamours often confuse issues and throw opinion out of balance.

Apart from the complication of party there is another difficulty in modern politics that puzzles the average citizen. Politics today is three-quarters economics, manufacture, trade, capital, labour costs, profit margins and so on; and three-quarters of economics is science and technology—engineering and chemistry and statistics. Almost all important public issues are thus a complex of science and statistics in their multifarious ramifications. In such specialist matters, can the lay public form sound opinions without competent instruction?

The one safeguard conceivable against the evils of the unavoidable activity of party is in the existence of a strong non-partisan body of citizens alert and vigilant and effective in keeping the member of parliament on the right road. A great British Statesman, at the time of extension of franchise in his country is said to have declared that in that event "we must educate our masters." He clearly referred to the general voters in the phrase "Our masters". That contains a truth for India. We must address ourselves to the general body of citizens. The work of the GIPA is thus at the very foundations of our democratic polity. Strengthening the foundations is our concern—strengthening it in knowledge and in ideas and strengthening it in steadfastness of conscience and loyalty to ideals and principles as well. Hence the scheme of cultural studies in the programme of the GIPA and its Study Circle.

### The Function of the GIPA

It is evident from the above that the Institute is no rival to any political or civic ins-

titution. On the other hand, it seeks to be of help to every institution and citizen. Its aspiration is not to take the place of any political party or class organization, but to serve everyone—organization or individual—in coming to a sound understanding of the needs of the country and in forming a sound judgment of public policies. It may be that in some one matter the findings of the Institute happen to be agreeable to one party and that in some other its findings are acceptable to another party. But such agreement would be a coincidence and not the outcome of any deliberate design to agree with anyone or disagree with anyone either. The Institute believes that study and discussion should proceed objectively and with every care to understand the different views and to be of service to every school of thought and every group of interest in forming opinion and judgment. Helping public intelligence, in one word, is the central purpose of the Institute and towards that end it invites co-operation from every class and section of the public.

Independence has been won for the country. But we are far, very far, from having reached the peak of felicity which the people looked for as the gift of independence. India has still a very long and arduous road to travel before attaining the best that her history and her resources entitle her to. And it is a road beset with hurdles and pitfalls and risks. There is therefore as much need today for patriotic workers, sincere and disciplined, as there was in the days of the struggle for independence.

The story has been brought upto the

beginning of 1965; and it is a continuing story. Everyone would pray that it may continue as the story of success which it has so far been.

We may now recapitulate the contents of this Institute's working faith. They were stated in the *Conspectus* of 1930 and the passage may be reproduced:

"Our aim is not to be captious or finical about other people's work. Nor is our attitude simply that of the cross-bench mind, which itself brings no positive contribution to the solution of a problem. To be non-partisan is not to be merely neutral and barren. The Institute would like to be constructive and seminal. It is admitted that there can be a type of criticism which is creative and regenerative and not simply corrosive. In all our work of criticism and examination, our motive should be to help positive improvement. While the Institute will attach itself to no group or section or party, it will be glad to consider the schemes and ideas of all groups and parties with an open mind and with every desire to understand and sympathize and to find points for collaboration. The Institute will also endeavour to investigate and consider problems independently and submit to the public the results of its own researches and deliberations for being reviewed and revised by it later on in the light of criticisms elicited. In one word, its service is in stimulating and testing and refining thought-processes in the country on public matters."

*Vande Mataram*

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## APPENDIX I

### Gandhiji's speech in unveiling Gokhale's portrait, Inter-College Hall—8-5-1915, morning

My dear countrymen,—Before I perform this ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you that you have given me a great opportunity or rather a privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation (a poem from Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali*),—the beautiful recitation that was given to me,—that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to

the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions too I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this thought well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning.

I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have him as my "Raja Guru"; and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country, should be to act in the political field, should be not to glorify in language, but to spiritualise the political life of the country, and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail, and to what extent I may fail, I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my master.

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising myself? That question has come before me often and often; and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing; it may mean different things to the different members of the Servants of India Society itself. It shows much difficulty; it shows my difficulties, and it shows the difficulties of all those who love their country, who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think the political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two.

(Here Mr. Gandhi referred to the beautiful hymn "Lead, Kindly Light!" of Cardinal Newman which, he said, Mr. Gokhale used

to repeat to himself often, and quoted the lines

. . . I do not ask to see;

The distant scene, one step enough for me.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that progress has to be made step by step. One has to pass through the great Gangetic plains patiently and climb step by step in order to reach the top of Kanchanganga, and other highest peaks of the world.

I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of his life, and I found no ego in him. I ask you members of the Social Service League, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine,—he wanted to shine in the political field of his country,—he did so not in order that he might gain public applause, but in order that his country may gain. He developed every particular faculty in him not in order to win the praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country may gain. He did not seek public applause, but they were showered upon him, they were thrust upon him; he wanted that his country may gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed, very rightly, and if you should add one more to our failures, the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in today's functions. But I have great faith in my countrymen.

You ask me to unveil this portrait today, and I will do so in all sincerity, and sincerity should be the end of your life. (Loud and continued applause).

—Extract from the "Karnataka", 8-5-1915.

## APPENDIX 2

### Gandhiji's Bangalore Lalbagh speech—8-5-1915, evening

Mr. Chairman and My Friends,

I think it is simply impertinent to tell you that I thank you most sincerely on behalf of my wife and on my own behalf for the signal honour you have shown me. Words fail me; and one thought oppresses me all the more: Am I or are we worthy of the honour? (Voices of "You are".) Are we worthy of your oriental generosity. For this love, the Chairman has furnished the ground and quoted Mr. Gokhale. Let me not bask in that reputation. See me please in the nakedness of my working and in my limi-

tations. You will then know me. I have to tread on most delicate ground; and my path is destined to be through jungles. After I come into closer contact with you and the glamour produced by that saintly politician has fallen off your eyes, may it be possible for me to deserve the honour which so many have assembled here to do. This morning you did great honour by respecting my wish not to be dragged, so that we may collect our thoughts and not forget ourselves. Greater honour was shown by the Reception Committee in arranging for

the conversazione in order to open my heart to you and understand the innermost thoughts in you by a quiet conversation. I did not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. Let them work silently. We should not encourage the thought that one has to work, because one will be honoured similarly. Let public men feel that they will be stoned, they will be neglected and let them still love the country; for service is its own reward. A charge has been brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. Are we to copy modern activities or are we to copy the ancient civilisation which has survived so many shocks? You and I have to act on the political platform from a spiritual side, and if this is done, we should then conquer the conquerors; The

day will dawn then, we can consider an Englishman as a fellow-citizen. (Cheers). That day will shortly come; but it may be difficult to conceive when. I have had signal opportunities of associating myself with Englishmen of character, devotion, nobility and influence. I can assure you that the present wave of activity is passing away, and a new civilisation is coming shortly which will be a nobler one. India is a great Dependency and Mysore is a great Native State. It must be possible for you to transmit this message to British Governors, and to British statesmen,—the message is: "Establish a Rama Rajya in Mysore and have as your minister a Vasishta who will command obedience."—(Prolonged cheers). My fellow-countrymen,—then you can dictate terms to the conqueror. — (Prolonged cheers.)

—Extract from the "Karnataka", 8-5-1915

### APPENDIX 3

#### Books Studied at the Sunday Classes of the G. I. P. A. Study Circle

##### I ENGLISH

1. On Liberty	...	John Stuart Mill
2. Representative Government	...	John Stuart Mill
3. Plato and his Dialogues	...	C. Lowes Dickinson
4. Plato's Republic (Selections)	...	Trans: Jowett
5. Indian Citizen—His Rights and Duties	...	V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
6. Lectures on Political Science	...	Dr. Annie Besant
7. A Government by the People—Constitution of the U.S.A.		
8. Man, the Unknown	...	Dr. Alexis Carrel
9. Saint Joan	...	George Bernard Shaw
10. Meaning and Purpose	...	Dr. Kenneth Walker
11. House of Commons at Work	...	Eric Taylor
12. Sesame and Lilies	...	John Ruskin
13. On Compromise	...	John Morley
14. Ancient Law	...	Sir Henry Maine
15. Selections from Edmund Burke	...	Edmund Burke
16. Queen's Government	...	Sir Ivor Jennings
17. Mahadev Govind Ranade	...	James Kellock
18. Duties of Man	...	Joseph Mazzini
19. Unto This Last	...	John Ruskin
20. Abraham Lincoln	...	Lord Charnwood
21. Adventures of Ideas	...	A. N. Whitehead
22. Principles of Social & Political Theory	...	Ernest Barker
23. Politics	...	Aristotle
24. History of Europe	...	H. A. L. Fisher

##### II SANSKRIT & KANNADA

1. The Ramayana	...	Valmiki
2. The Mahabharata	...	Vyasa
3. "Shantiparva"	...	Vyasa
4. Shakuntala	...	Kalidasa
5. Do (Kannada)	...	Basavappa Sastri
6. Nitishataka	...	Bhartrihari
7. Do (Kannada)	...	Basavappa Sastri

8. Vairagya Shataka	...	Bhartrihari
9. Do (Kannada)	...	Basavappa Sastri
10. Manu Dharma Sastra	...	Manu
11. Do (Kannada)	...	
12 to 21 Upanishads		
(12) Isa (13) Kena (14) Katha (15) Prashna (16) Mundaka (17) Mandukya (18) Taittiriya (19) Aitareya (20) Chhandogya (21) Brihadaranyaka		
22. Uttararamacharita	...	Bhavabhuti
23. Do (Kannada)	...	Basavappa Sastri
24. Shakuntala (Second Time)	...	Kalidasa
25. Do (Kannada)	...	Basavappa Sastri
26. Bhagavad Gita	...	Vyasa
27. Ramayana	...	Valmiki

#### APPENDIX 4

##### PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Independent - Non-Party - Monthly

Annual Rs. 4

##### OPINIONS

*From Swarajya, 1-6-1963:*

This Journal is the organ of that energetic body, the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs of Bangalore.....and we have great pleasure in offering it a very warm welcome.

The state of public opinion in this country is one of those topics the study of which will fill all thoughtful men with anxiety and sorrow. There is a section of the public, intelligent, thoughtful, interested in public questions and fully aware of its responsibility in a democratic society. There is a large section of the public, enjoying the privilege of voting in general elections whenever they are held, and of thus determining which of the parties contending for its favours shall take up political office and power and run the Government of the country. This section is, today, almost completely uninstructed in the principles and issues involved in major and minor questions of public welfare and in questions of policy and actual administration. It has not the desire or the means today of learning about these matters at all.

There is, besides, a large and powerful section of the newspaper press, well subsidized by the Government, amazingly well-provided with newsprint, printing machinery and other facilities, which is engaged in the process of mind-destruction and moral corruption of this section of the public on a systematic, planned and thorough-going basis..... The law is presumably a passive accessory to this process. Other sections of the newspaper press are vast engines for making profits and in all but name flourishing sectors of big business, without much justification for calling themselves organs of public opinion. They seldom make "a stand" on any issue of importance. Their "leading articles" are examples of woolly thinking when they are not examples of monumental detachment from concerns of this world which may affect circulation or advertisement revenue.

In this situation, "Public Affairs" is something like the firm, still, small voice of the conscience of the country. But amid the massive axe-grinding of the politics of today it may not be heard or listened to in time.

*From Mysindia, 30-6-1963:*

*Public Affairs*.....gives its readers glimpses of the state of the nation and the world.....In January it had some wise words about the emergency and the impropriety of fighting a war on a party basis. In February it had a brief but admirable note on Vivekananda.....In March it made an attack on Gold Control; not as a failure, for then nobody knew it would fail; nor as a bad means to a good end; but as aiming at a wrong end...In May it discussed the Official Languages Bill and the Constitutional implications of the Prime Minister's failure to keep his word.....Shorter Notes on several other subjects.....The public look to it for political and moral principles.....cogent arguments .....and the temperate but often deadly phrases in which (opinions are) set forth.

*From The Hindu, 30-6-1963:*

*Public Affairs* will be welcomed by all interested in education for citizenship. It serves as a forum of exchange of knowledge and ideas on public affairs.....Very handy and neatly printed.

Contains a review of the various activities of the Institute and gives a round-up of the outstanding political events of the previous month. A few informative articles by eminent persons are the highlights. Articles are highly interesting and thought-provoking.

*From The Sunday Standard, 8-12-1963:*

The Gokhale Institute came into being 18 years ago. It has as its objects "education for good citizenship—citizenship without partisanship." The means for achieving this are "spreading knowledge useful to citizenship; promoting inquiry and thought on the country's problems; practical civic and social service".....The Institution, whose Library of 17,000 books is widely used by the public, reports success for its weekly study classes in Sanskrit, English and

.Kannada, civic surveys and public opinion polls which is a valuable aspect of its work—publications, symposia, and conferences. It owes no allegiance to any particular political party, community or shade of thinking.

ಪಾಠವಾಣಿ, 26-5-1963 :

“ಪಬ್ಲಿಕ್ ಅಫೇರ್ಸ್”—ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯು ಬೆಳಕು ಕಾಣುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ನಾಡಿನ ಭಾಗ್ಯೋದಯ. ಇದನ್ನು ದೇಶ ಅದರದಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾಗತಿಸಬೇಕು, ಮತ್ತು ಔದಾರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಬೆಳಸಬೇಕು.

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### APPENDIX 5

#### Publications of G.I.P.A. and the Study Circle

1. All-India Union (Out of Print)—(March 1945)	...	
2. All-India Federal Union (O.o.P.)—(Feb. 1946)	...	
3. The Constituent Assembly and the States—(Dec. 1946)	...	Re. 0 50
4. Some Suggestions for the Modification of the Draft Constitution of India— (March 1948)—M. Ramaswamy	...	Re. 1 00
5. Two Precautions about the Indian States—Resolutions of the Council of G.I.P.A. of 26-8-1948 and 15-10-1948	...	Re. 0 25
6. The United States of America—A Secular State—(July 1949)—M. Ramaswamy	...	Re. 1 00
7. Law and Morality—(Feb. 1950)—M. P. Somasekhara Rau	...	Re. 0 50
8. ಬಾಳಿಗೊಂದು ನಂದಿಕೆ (A Statement of Faith for the Common Man)—(Aug. 1950)—D.V.G.	...	Re. 1 50
9. ರಾಜ್ಯ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ (Elements of Politics)—(O.o.P.)—(December 1951)—D.V.G.	...	
10. ಮಹಾತ್ಮ ಗಾಂಧಿ (ಜ್ಞಾಪಕ ಪದ್ಯ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ) Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Verses— (Feb. 1949)—D.V.G.	...	Re. 0 25
11. ದಾದಾಭಾಯಿ ನವರೋಜಿ (Short Life-sketch of Dadabhai Naoroji)—(Aug. 1951)—D.V.G.	...	Re. 0 25
12. ಶ್ರೀ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ ವಿಜಯ ಮತ್ತು ಗೊಮ್ಮಟ ಶಿಲ್ಪ (Drama)—(Dec. 1953)—G. P. Rajarathnam	...	Re. 1 50
13. ಇಂಡಿಯದ ಭಾಷಾಸ್ಥಳ (The Place of English in India)—(Aug. 1958)—D. V. Gundappa	...	Re. 0 25
14. Prices of Foodstuffs—Part II—Recommendations (PAP-1)	...	Re. 0 50
15. Some Aspects of India's Public Finance (O.o.P.) (PAP-2)	...	
16. Prices of Foodstuffs—Part I—Basic Facts and Considerations (PAP-3)	...	Rs. 2 00
17. Our Civic Problems (PAP-4)	...	Rs. 2 00
18. Some Aspects of Indian Central Budget, 1964-65 (PAP-5)—T. V. Viswanatha Aiyar, Supreme Court Advocate & President, Revenue Bar Association, Madras	...	Re. 0 50
19. Some Points of Equity & Economy—G.I.P.A. Memorandum to the Fourth Finance Commission—1964 (PAP-6)	...	Re. 1 00

(25% Concession to Members on all Publications)

### APPENDIX 6

#### Annual Socials of the Study Circle, G.I.P.A.

No.	Date	President	Secretary	Place
1.	2-1-1949	Rajadharmaprasakta Sri A. R. Nageswara Iyer	Sri R. Vijayarangam	Sri Siddaramanna Choultry
2.	15-1-1950	Rajasevasakta Dr. B. K. Narayana Rao	Sri R. Vijayarangam	Vasavi Dharmashala
3.	27-1-1951	Sri V. Venkatappa	Sri M. K. Sri Ram	Vasavi Dharmashala
4.	16-12-1951	M. R. Sreenivasa Murthy	Sri T. G. Shamanna	Vasavi Dharmashala
5.	14-12-1952	Sri M. V. Rama Rao	Sri B. S. Ananthakrishna	Vasavi Dharmashala
6.	20-12-1953	Sri M. V. Krishna Murthy	Sri S. Shamanna	New Ashakta Poshaka Sabha Girls' Orphanage Hall
7.	19-12-1954	Rajadharmoprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar	{Sri B. Srinivasa Murthy {Sri K. Ramaswamy	Bhagya Bhavan (Sri V. Venkatappa's House)
8.	16-9-1956	Prof. K. Anantha Ramiah	Sri Subbanarasimhaiya	G.I.P.A. Hall, N. R. Colony
9.	7-12-1957	Mr. Justice H. Hombe Gowda		
10.	17-1-1959	Sri Jeenabhai Devidoss	Sri D. R. Venkataramanan	" "
11.	25-12-1959	Dr. M. V. Govindaswamy		" "
12.	24-12-1960	Srimathi B. Indiramma	{Sri T. G. Nagaraja Rao {Sri M. V. Ramachaitanya	" "
13.	9-12-1961	Dr. Mohamed Shafi Mehkri	Sri H. S. Subbaraya	" "
14.	15-12-1962	Sri B. V. Narayana Reddy	{Sri R. Kuppuswamy {Sri J. Srinivasamurthy	" "
15.	14-12-1963	Mr. Justice K. R. Gopivallabha Iyengar		" "
16.	12-12-1964	Sri K. R. Karanth	Sri M. V. Ramachaitanya	" "



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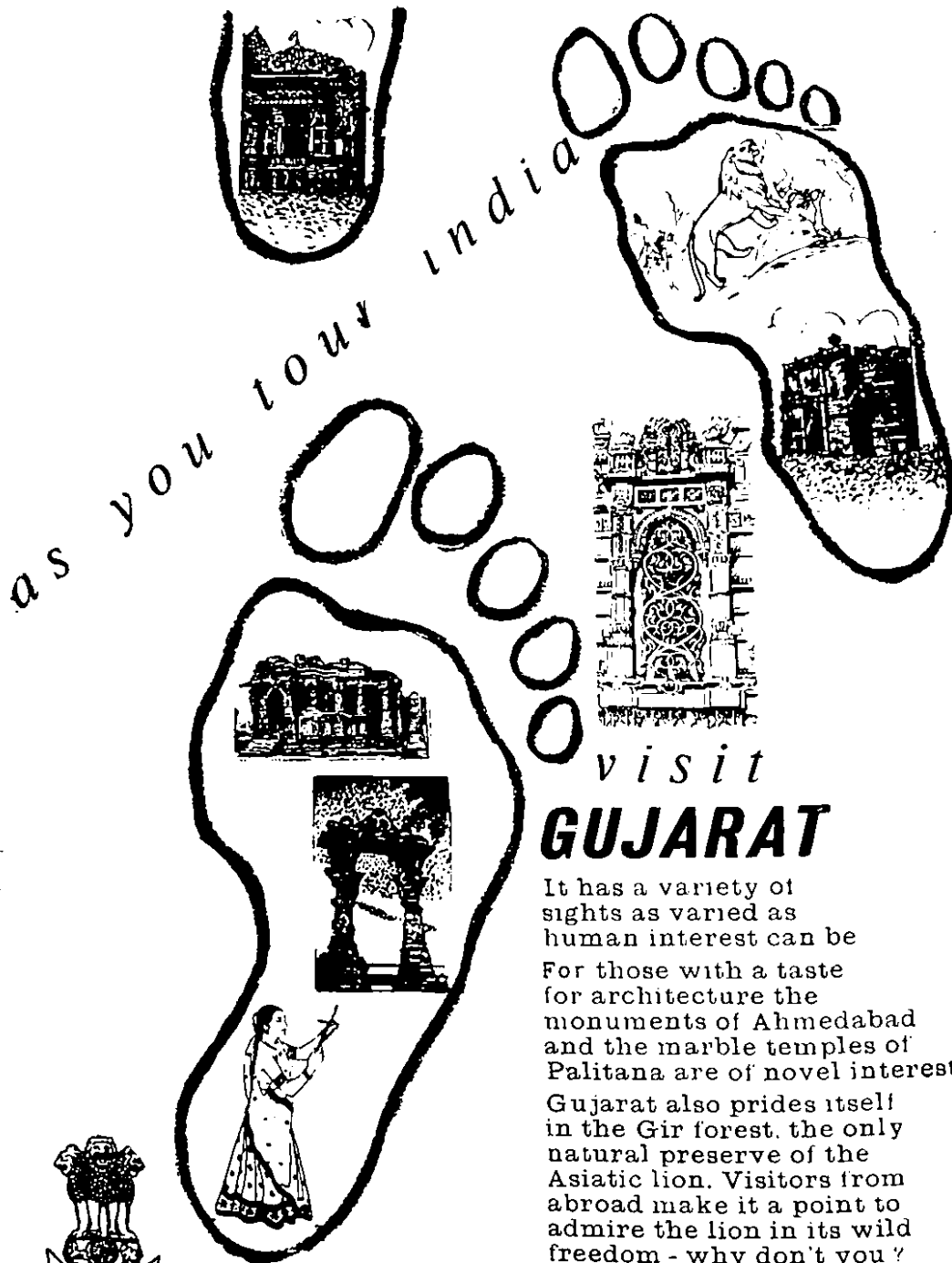
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## APPENDIX 8

### Council of the GIPA

#### I From 18-2-1945 to 16-9-1962

(a) Elected :

- (1) Sri D. V. Gundappa (*Hon. Secretary*)
- (2) Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao
- (3) Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau (*Hon. Treasurer*)

(b) Co-opted on 21-2-1945 :

- (4) Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau

#### II From 16-9-1962 to 29-9-1963

Elected :

- (1) Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau (*Hon. Treasurer*)
- (2) Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau
- (2) Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao
- (4) Sri D. V. Gundappa (*Hon. Secretary*)

#### III From 29-9-1963 to 29-11-1964

Elected :

- (1) Sri D. Ramaswamy Iyengar (*Hon. Secretary*)
- (2) Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao
- (3) Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau (*Hon. Treasurer*)

Co-opted on 7-11-1963 :

- (4) Sri Nittoor Sreenivasa Rau
- (5) Sri D. V. Gundappa (*Hon. Secretary*)

#### IV From 29-11-1964 :

(a) Elected :

- (1) Sri E. S. Venkata Ramiah
- (2) Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao
- (3) Sri M. P. Somasekhara Rau (*Hon. Treasurer*)

(b) Co-opted on 11-12-1964 :

- (4) Sri D. V. Gundappa (*Hon. Secretary*)



## APPENDIX 9

### Important Events

Inauguration of the G. I. P. A.	... 18— 2—1945
Registered under the Law	... 6— 4—1945
Rooms secured and Work started	... 2— 7—1946
India's declaration of Independence Day Celebrated	... 14/15— 8—1947
Study Circle formed	... 15—12—1947
Reading Room opened	... 9— 3—1948
Library opened	... 15— 8—1948
Civic Vigilance Work started	... 16— 6—1948
<b>Grant of Building Site by the Bangalore City Corporation :</b>	
(i) Gift-Land	... 6—12—1949
(ii) Lease-Land (Triangular)	... 8— 9—1952
(iii) Lease-Land converted to Gift and made rectangular by adding another triangular bit of land	... 23— 5—1959
(iv) Additional Grounds for Hostel etc.	... 10— 5—1962
Appointment of Building Committee	... 26—11—1950
Ground Consecration	... 26—10—1955
Building Consecration	... 28— 6—1956
Tilak Centenary Celebrations	... 23— 7—1956
House Entry Celebration	... 29— 7—1956
Images of Valmiki with Lava and Kusha and Vedavyasa installed	... 13— 5—1957
Sri C. Rajagopalacharya visited the GIPA	... 24— 5—1958
Bangalore Civic Workers' Convention	... 26— 6—1960
Bangalore Civic Workers' Convention's Souvenir released	... 3— 6—1961
GIPA collections to the National Defence Fund	... { 8—11—1962 30—12—1962
Birth Centenary of Sri V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, illustrious patriot and friend of Gokhale, celebrated	... 15— 6—1963
Ground Consecration for the GIPA Hostel	... 30— 1—1964
Punyaha Consecration ceremony for the Upstair Hall and Hostel	... 16—10—1964
GIPA Jubilee committee formed	... 10— 1—1965
Lala Lajpat Rai Centenary celebrated	... 28— 1—1965
Two Veeragals (Memorial Stones of Heroism) from the Sharavati Valley area	... 10— 5—1965
Three pieces of sculpture Chamundeswari, Veerabhadra, big and small, from the Sharavati Valley area	... 3— 6—1965
GIPA Hostel Rooms let out for occupation	... 15— 6—1965
Jubilee Celebrations	... ..



I



II

### MEMORIALS OF HEROISM

*The two inscriptions, of which photographs are given on this page, commemorate the patriotic bravery and loyalty of two ancient warriors of the 14th Century. The Institute is indebted to the Government of Mysore and the personal kindness of Sri S. Nijalingappa, the Chief Minister, and Sri M. V. Rama Rao, Minister for Home, of the Government of Mysore for the gift of these inscriptions and certain pieces of sculpture given at the request of the Institute, to be installed on its premises. They come from the temples (now submerged) in the Sharavati area. Sri M. Seshadri, Director of Archaeology in Mysore has favoured us with the following notes on the inscriptions (his letter of 13-7-1965):*

*The two inscription slabs are Veeragals, Memorials Stones of Heroism, collected from the Sharavati Valley area. The larger one (I) which is about 6 feet by 3 feet, belongs to the Hoysala King Ballala III and is dated in Saka 1226 (A.D. 1304). It seems to refer to a battle between the Hoysalas and the Savanas i.e., the Yadavas; but the details are lost. Evidently it refers to the death of a hero whose name and other details are lost. His exploits are described in detail. The stone is stated to have been carved by Yadoja, son of Maroja. The four panels respectively depict, commencing from the bottom, the battle scene; a hero in viraswarga attended by musicians; a hero carried in a vimana; celestial nymphs on either side holding chamara and finally he has been depicted as seated in the devotional pose before a linga in Kailasa.*

*The other veeragal (II) which is of the same height, but of lesser breadth, belongs to the reign of Vijayanagar King Immadi Devaraya dated in Saka year 1363 (A.D.1441). A hero by name Bayichana of Satalalu is said to have been slain while performing duties assigned to him by the king. The reason for killing him is not clear. It also contains the usual four sculptured panels and from the sculpture it may be gathered that his wife performed Sati and went to Kailasa along with him though this has not been mentioned in the inscription.*

## G. I. P. A. JUBILEE APPEAL

In February 1965, the G. I. P. A., Bangalore, will have completed 20 years of service to the public; and it is proposed to celebrate the occasion in a befitting manner in May 1965, the month of Gokhale's birth. A special committee called the G. I. P. A. Jubilee Committee has been formed for the purpose. The celebration may take the form of—(1) the publication of an illustrated Souvenir, (2) a Social Gathering, (3) a Public Assembly at which speeches may be made on the objects and working of the Institute and its future, and (4) the Presentation of a Jubilee Purse for the furtherance of the Institute's programmes.

The Institute was formed on February 18, 1945 as a centre for the systematic and dispassionate study of the country's affairs and the promotion of well-informed and conscientious citizenship.

It is not affiliated to any political party or communal or class organization, and is independent in its attitude, scientific in its approach and constructive in its aims.

By means of its weekly lectures, its classes for the study of well-known classics in Politics and Economics, its cultural and educational efforts like the annual commemoration days of Valmiki and Vyasa, its symposia on important public questions like the Land Tenure Reform, Local Self-Government and States' Budgets, its Memoranda on Legislative Bills and public measures from time to time, its Memoranda to several Public Inquiry Commissions, its representations to appropriate authorities on public grievances, its periodical civic surveys, and its publication work,—the G.I.P.A. has endeared itself to the public.

In appreciation of the usefulness of the Institute's work, the Corporation of Bangalore has given it a free gift of grounds, and public-spirited citizens and institutions have helped it to construct buildings of its own.

The Institute houses a Library of some 18,000 volumes in English, Sanskrit, Kannada and other languages, on subjects of Politics, Legislation and Law, Taxation, Economic Development, History, Sociology and Education as well as general literature. Its Reading Room provides nearly 200 periodicals to readers.

Recently the Institute has organized a series of lectures on Political Thinkers and Statesmen. The lectures are well attended and have elicited much appreciation.

Statues of Valmiki and Vyasa, and portraits of great Indian leaders from Raja Rammohan Roy to Mahatma Gandhi and of great political thinkers and statesmen of the West from Socrates to Green adorn its Hall.

The Institute has been publishing a monthly journal in English called *Public Affairs* and has the intention of bringing out a similar publication in Kannada when resources become available. The Institute has also published a series of pamphlets on current problems such as Food Prices. The latest of the series contains the Memorandum presented to the Fourth Statutory Finance Commission, 1964; and it is entitled *Equity and Economy in Public Finance*. It was prepared by a committee presided over by Pradhanasriromani Sri N. Madhava Rau.

The Study Circle of the Institute, made up largely of young men and students who wish to study public questions and prepare themselves for public life, has been organizing the study of relevant literature, including Sanskrit and other cultural pursuits, as well as the investigation of civic and social problems. Its periodical Civic Survey Reports are widely appreciated.

The Institute is looking forward to increasing its usefulness to the public by enlarging its programmes and it is for the public to facilitate its work by providing the necessary funds.

We believe such an institution is vital to the healthy and successful functioning of democracy. Amid confusing ideologies and distracting party slogans, and amid clashes of class interest and sectional fanaticisms, a centre like the G.I.P.A. of disinterested inquiry and unbiassed examination

of public problems is the one haven of safety for the truest and largest public interest. To preserve and strengthen such an institution is therefore a task of national importance to all true-hearted citizens and well-wishers of democracy.

Among the urgent needs of the Institute are: (1) an extension of the Hostel Building which it has recently added as a source of income for its maintenance, (2) a new staircase to its upstairs hall, (3) quarters for a caretaker and other structures and (4) a compound wall.

The Library and furnishings are also in need of additions.

The Journal and Publication Fund of the Institute also needs to be augmented and the Institute desires to have two or three research scholarships endowed for the investigation of political, economic and social problems selected from time to time.

To meet these requirements at least partially, a purse of Rs. 50,000/- would be a minimum amount. We consider that the present will be a fit occasion to the public to provide this much-needed assistance as a token of appreciation of the Institute's work of 20 years and as aid towards the realization of its programmes.

The celebrations are planned to take place in May 1965.

Contributions are to be sent to the Secretary, G.I.P.A. Jubilee Committee.

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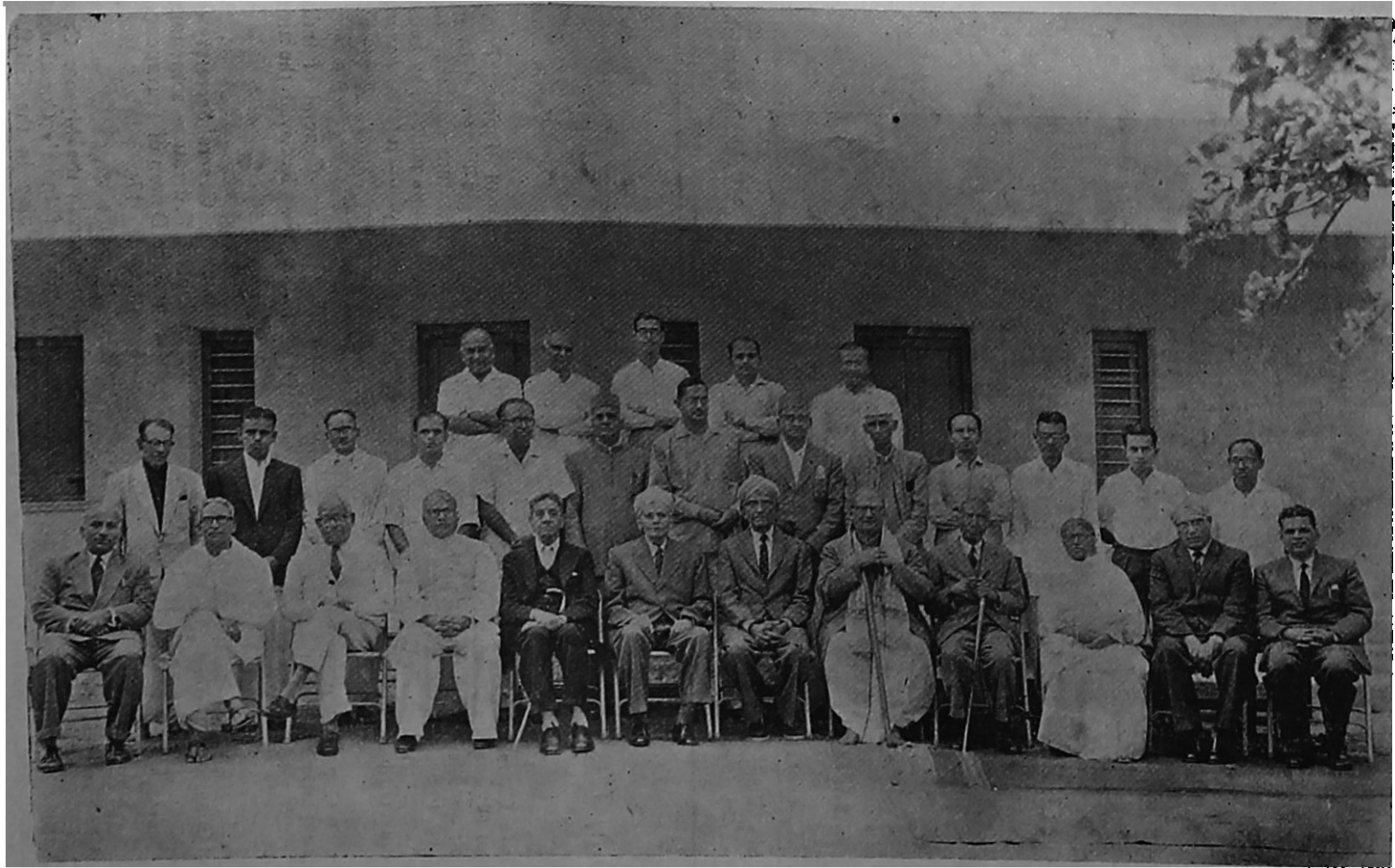
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**K. S. Ramaswami :** B.A., B.L. Journalist. Represented *The Hindu* in Bangalore for many years. Was President of the Mysore Shorthand Writers' Association and the Mysore Journalists' Association. Writes frequently on public topics. An active worker of the G.I.P.A. and Hon. Secretary of the Jubilee Committee. (P. 49).

**M. P. Somasekhara Rau :** B.A., LL.B. A leading Advocate. The Bangalore Bar celebrated the 50 years' jubilee of his practice, on 30—6—1965. Was a member of the Mysore Legislature and the Bangalore Corporation and other public institutions for several years. A Founder-Member of G.I.P.A. and has been in its Council of Management from the beginning and its Hon. Treasurer. (P. 51).

**D. V. Gundappa :** Journalist and publicist. Has been in public life for over 50 years. Edited the Karnataka and other journals. A writer in Kannada. The University of Mysore made him a D. Litt. in 1961. A founder-member of the G.I.P.A., a member of the Council of Management and its Hon. Secretary. Editor of Public Affairs. (P. 55).

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Information and Public Relations Department have pleasure to announce to provide accommodation for tourists in the following rest houses from January, 1965

Rest House at	Name	Reservation Authority
1. Osman Sagar	<b>SAGAR MAHAL</b> (Big Rest House)	Director of Information and Public Relations, Hyderabad.
2. — „ —	<b>VISRANTHI</b> (Small Rest House)	— „ —
3. Srisaïlam	<b>SAILAVIHAR</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Kurnool.
4. Mahanandi	<b>SAMBHUPRIYA</b>	— „ —
5. Ahobilam	<b>LAKSHMINILAYA</b>	— „ —
6. Horslay Hills	<b>MOUNT PLEASANT</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Chittoor.
7. Lepakshi	<b>ABHAYAGRIHA</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Anantapur.
8. Ettipothala	<b>CHANDRAVANKA</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Nalgonda.
9. Ramappa	<b>VANAVIHAR</b>	Regional Tourist Information Officer, Warangal.
10. Pakhal	<b>SAROVIHAR</b>	— „ —
11. Amaravathi	<b>SANTHIVIHAR</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Guntur.
12. Simhachalam	<b>CHANDANA</b>	Regional Tourist Information Officer, Visakhapatnam.
13. Bhadrachalam	<b>PARNASALA</b> (Big Rest House)	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Khammam.
14. — „ —	<b>PANCHAVATI</b> (Small Rest House)	— „ —
15. Alampur	<b>VANDANA</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Mahaboobnagar.
16. Dharmapuri	<b>SOMAVIHAR</b>	Dist. Public Relations Officer, Karimnagar.

**T. RAMACHANDRA RAO,**  
Director of Information & Public Relations.

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and give them ungrudging credit for it.*

— JOHN RUSKIN.

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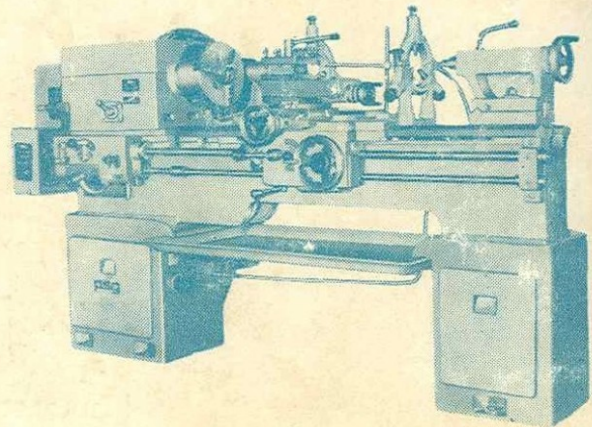
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