

Betrayal of Gandhi: who envisioned true democracy

A study by
SK Sharma, Managing Trustee, People First

Empowering the smallest person,
Reuniting India, Pakistan & Bangladesh
as envisioned by Gandhi.

About the Book

This book is based on studies spread over several years by People First, a trust in India dedicated to instituting good governance. Its managing trustees are Dr Ashok Khosla, a scientist & Chairman Development Alternatives, a prominent NGO in sustainable development, and the Author, Santosh K. Sharma, a former IAS officer of MP-56 batch.

Unlike other books on Gandhi, this book is not a mere documentation of Gandhi's historic role in liberating India from the shackles of British imperialism, but to highlight what went wrong at the time of independence that led to the partition of India and is now fostering endemic political and bureaucratic corruption, environmental degradation and ongoing abuse of the common people living in villages and urban slums, and to propose a legitimate non violent process for instituting truly egalitarian democracy as advocated by Gandhi. The book dwells on the spiritual values that Dharma of Indian origin described in the Oxford English Dictionary as "The Eternal Law of the Universe" stood for. It also offers a pragmatic process for reunification of India, Pakistan & Bangladesh. Once India institutes such democratisation reforms, all nations of the world will come under the pressure of their people to institute similar reforms through the same process. The world will then become a confederation of self-reliant local governments guiding the emergence of a just world order based on social justice and equity



Gandhi :

The inspiration for true democracy betrayed

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Preamble

The Author has, based on original research, conceptualised and proposed in this book a legitimate, non violent process for instituting true egalitarian democracy as advocated by Gandhi and currently practised in the best western democracies such as in Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries and but for unbridled capitalism in USA. It is hoped that this book will facilitate establishment of true democracy symbolised in Ram Raj, rule of the ancient Indian monarch Ram, articulated by Gandhi as village republics.

Gandhi was voted Man of the Millennium in inter state polls conducted by the Time Magazine USA. Dileep Padgaonkar, then Editor Times of India, in an article titled 'Lead Thou Us On' wrote on January 7, 2000, "He is a natural choice. As natural as naming the tallest peak, the longest river, the brightest star in the heavens. And yet there is something odd about how, in Indian eyes, Mahatma Gandhi figures way ahead of other leaders who shaped India in the twentieth century.

India has effectively turned its back on the man it reveres as the Father of the Nation. The reverence finds expression in ritualistic gestures. His birthday and the day of martyrdom are observed with prayers, visits to his Samadhi, lectures and seminars, messages from the President and the Prime Minister, and the singing of his favourite hymns. But otherwise there is scarcely a thought given to the ideals he cherished, the battles he fought, the techniques of mass mobilisation he evolved and the example he set through his words and deeds. For official India, the Mahatma is a mere icon who deserves obeisance, twice or thrice a year, with a garland of marigolds, a dash of vermilion, an oil lamp and a bundle of homilies. Outside the political fold Mahatma Gandhi's name evokes a doleful indifference. Now and again someone might poke fun at his eccentricities and contradictions. But on the whole, there is little serious attention paid to what he achieved in his own lifetime, to what he has come to symbolise for peoples and nations across the world. *Indeed, India at this start of a new century is set on a course that the Mahatma would be horrified to witness.* The apostle of non-violence would have to contend with a nation engaged in the heady pursuit of nuclear arms. The votary of harmony between faiths and castes would have been appalled by the incidence of strife in society. The advocate of self-reliance would choke with embarrassment as he sees India embracing globalisation with gusto. The champion of austerity and self-denial would not know where to look in a country gone berserk in its quest for a consumerist life style.

What then accounts for the Mahatma's commanding popularity as revealed in this poll? *The answer surely lies in the Mahatma's appeal as a quintessential moral force.* India may have rejected the path of *ahimsa*, non-violence, *satyagraha*, peaceful non cooperation, *swadeshi* and self reliance. It may sneer at his "experiments with truth". It may short shrift to

his impassioned plea for religious and social harmony. **But all along India, somewhere in its inner recesses, is alive to the fact that what Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised was deeply rooted in values that stood the test of time in all cultures and civilisations.** India also acknowledges that few leaders in history strove as hard as he did to ensure that there was not the tiniest gap between his beliefs and his actions. That is why he will continue to haunt India's conscience as long as violence, injustice, poverty, caste and communal animosity, greed and the mindless indulgence of the senses numb the creative and spiritual faculties of its people. Amongst every encircling gloom, he alone is the kindly light that leads."

**Gandhi is Christ crucified again.
He is truly the Apostle of the Third Millennium.**

A Superior Soul

"A leader of the people, unsupported by any outward authority; a politician whose success rests not upon craft nor mastery of technical devices; but simply on the convincing power of his personality; a victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force; a man of wisdom and humility, armed with resolve and inflexible consistency, who has devoted all his strength to the uplifting of his people and the betterment of their lot; a man who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of a simple human being, and thus at all times risen superior. Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as him walked the earth in flesh and blood".

A. Einstein

Albert Einstein

The Christ Spirit

“He is unique in the nobility. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He is sacrifice itself. He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India, he will refuse to sit on it but will sell the jewels and distribute the money amongst the needy. Give him all the money America possesses, and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity. His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he accepts absolutely nothing in return — not even thanks.

His power of sacrifice becomes all the more irresistible because it is wedded with his paramount fearlessness. Emperors and maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and fortunes, insults and injuries, even death itself can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.

He is a liberated soul. He has what is known as the Christ spirit.
Insert signature



Rabindranath Tagore

Max Muller on Hindu Dharma

“If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most deeply pondered over the greatest problems of life and I found solutions to some of them, which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks, and Romans, and of one of the Semitic race the Jews, may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly humane a life, **again I should point to India.**”

Max Muller

A German philosopher who did in-depth research on India's value system
Source: “The World's Religion” by Huston Smith Harper San Francisco,
A Division of Harper Collins Publishers

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bf.M; k dks Hkkjr cukvks

India be made Bharat

— सन्तोष कुमार शर्मा —

1. भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ, जनता नहीं। सत्ता केन्द्रीकृत रही, ग्राम रहा वहीं।
2. नौकरशाही मालिक बनी रही। जनता प्रजा रही, नागरिक न बनी।
3. अनेकों पंचवर्षीय योजनायें गुजर गईं। गरीबी भुखबरी आबादी बढ़ती रही।
4. नगरों में कुछ प्रगति आई। साथ में झोपडपट्टी लाई।
5. भारत कंगाल हुआ। वैश्वीकरण करने को मजबूर हुआ।
6. वैश्वीकरण अश्लील अमीरी साथ अत्यंत गरीबी लाया। व्यापार भ्रष्टाचार व जल संकट भी छाया।
7. यह कैसा विकास है? जिसकी बुनियाद शोषण और भ्रष्टाचार है।
8. यह फिरंगी भूत दुषित लोकतंत्र का कमाल है। वह विदेशी राज से भी बेईमान है।
9. आओं हम मिलकर संकल्प करें :
राक्षस राज समाप्त करें।
गांधी जी को याद करें।
ग्राम स्वराज हमारा अधिकार।
जनमत संग्रह उसका द्वार।
10. यह कैसा धर्मसंकट है? जागों भारतवासियों जागों, भारत माता को नग्न होने से बचाओ। उसके वस्त्र जंगल, जल व मिट्टी उसे पुनः पहनाओं।
11. आओ आज हम बीड़ा उठाए
इण्डिया को भारत बनाए। भारत में खुशहाली, विश्व में प्रेम फैलाए।



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Hkxoku , d] uke vud God One, Name Many

सन्तोष कुमार शर्मा –

1. तू ही राम ।
तू ही कृष्ण । तू ही बुद्ध ।
तू ही महावीर ।।
2. तू ही मोजिज ।
तू ही ईसा । तू ही मोहम्मद ।
तू ही जोहराष्ट्र ।।
3. तू ही सूफीयों के साईं ।
तू ही सिक्खों के गुरु । तू ही बहाईउल्ला ।
तू ही गांधी ।।



4. तेरा संदेश है प्रेम ।
तू है भारत का ओम, मुसलमान का आमीन, ईसाई का अमीन
जब जब अधर्म बढ़ता है, तू आता है ।।



5. तू ही मंदिर में, मस्जिद में, गिरजा में ।
तू ही सब के दिलों में ।।
6. तू ही पशुपक्षी में, मिट्टी, जल वन में ।
तू ही सब के दिलों में ।।



7. जब भगवान है एक, तो काहे करे मतभेद ।
जागों धर्म के रक्षकों, जागों, सब धर्मों का करो सम्मान ।
राम राज ही है ग्राम स्वराज । जब राज करेगा ग्राम, भारत बनेगा महान ।

People first T
instituting good governance

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Hkkjr jgs l nš d'f'k ç/kku nš k

& l r'ikš d'pkj 'kel &

1. भारत के हरे भरे खेत देते थे संदेश ।
सदियों से रहा भारत कृषि प्रधान देश ।।
2. जब खलिहान में आता था अन्न ।
उज्जवल होता था सब का मन ।।
3. जब बादल गरजते थे चिड़ियाएँ चहकती थीं ।
युव-युवती प्रेम जलाते थे ।।
4. फिरंगी राज आया कलेक्टर को मालिक बनाया ।
ग्राम पंचायतों का हनन किया ।।
5. शिक्षा लेने गए गाँधीजी इंग्लैंड ।
भारत के ग्रामों में रहा उनका मन ।।
6. वापस आए पहनी धोती, उठाई लाठी ।
प्रारम्भ की यात्रा ग्रामों की ।।
7. दुःखी हुए गाँधी देख दुर्दशा ग्रामों की ।
फिरंगी राज को दी चुनौती ।।
8. जब आजादी का समय आया ।
हिंसा ने अहिंसा को निशाना बनाया ।
9. भारत तो आजाद हुआ ।
ग्राम गुलाम रहा ।
10. आबादी और नगर बढ़ते गए ।
ग्रामों की भूमि हड़पते गए ।।
11. ग्रामों को बाँधा लाल डोरे में ।
प्राचीन इमारतों को जकड़ा गंदगी में ।।
12. आओ आज हम बीड़ा उठाएँ ।
ग्रामों को स्वराज दिलाएँ

Hkkjr ea [k'kgkyh] fo'o ea çe QSyk, AA



Enemies of Peace

Mohan Singh in his book “Enemies of peace”

observes:

“Religion blacks out the spiritual man and nationality blacks out the social man.

So down with religion and down with nationality!
This is he observes going to be the slogan of every man – sooner than later.

Nationality, he protested, was a base, mean glorification of geographical factors – a matter of climate, dress, diet and language. Such thought processes torpedo the essential unity of man and rockets the possessive instincts behind the national patriotic emotion.

Publishers: Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmiri Gate
Delhi, 1947

Foreword

Prof. Shriman Narayan, a devotee of Gandhi, approached him and sought his permission to write a book based on Gandhi's vision of democracy. Titled "Gandhian Constitution for Free India" the book was published by Kitabistan Allahabad in 1946. People First has edited, annotated and republished it on its website. Gandhi in his foreword to the book wrote on November 30, 1945, "Perhaps the expression Gandhian Constitution is not a befitting title but may be accepted as a convenient one. All I am able to say is that the book contains nothing inconsistent with what I would like to stand for. However if I were to commit myself to every word appearing in these pages, I might as well write it myself but I do not have the time". Social philosophers have since ages been debating on what is the objective of the State. The citations below are from Prof. Shriman Narayan's book.

Aristotle was one of the early thinkers to emphasise that the State existed to enable the individual to realise the highest life of which he is capable. **Plato** regarded the state as a macrocosm in which the individual could find his proper space and perform the duties he was best befitted for. **Hobbes** said that the purpose of the State was to maintain order and protect the right of property. To **Locke**, the end of the State was the preservation of lives, liberties and estates. **Rousseau** regarded the State as a social contract to fulfil the general will. **Hegel** revived the Greek theory that the State was the greatest reality. He wrote, "The existence of the State is the movement of God in the world". **Bentham** maintained that the State existed to secure the greatest good to the largest number. To **Herbert Spencer** the state was a joint stock company for mutual assurance. **John Stuart Mill** passionately advocated the liberty of the individual as the sacred duty of the state. **Abraham Lincoln** defined democracy as 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'. To **Bernard Shaw** the aim of the state ought to be the greatest available welfare for the whole population and not for a class. He observed "There are no democracies in the West. They are only rank plutocracies, now fascist to the tip". He quipped, "Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy is a good cliché but conveys nothing". **John Stuart Mill** passionately advocated the liberty of the individual as the sacred duty of the state. **Karl Marx** expected the state to wither away after establishing a classless society.

Thomas Jefferson the author of the US Constitution observed, "I know of no safe repository of the ultimate authority of society but the people themselves", indeed a powerful statement. **Prof. Toynbee** lamented, "The present acquisitive society is the root cause of all our economic and political malice. Capitalism can afford to be liberal, suave and sweet so long as its pockets are not touched.

It offers social reforms and political freedom to the masses but upon the tacit understanding that political power shall not be utilised to cut at the very root of the capitalist system. The privileged classes continue to play the piper so long as the common people agree to call their tunes. As soon as its existence is jeopardised, capitalism at once throws off the velvet glove that conceals the iron fist and does not hesitate to employ the forces of leonine violence to preserve its past glory and present luxuries". **Prof. Laski** wrote "Fascism is the epitaph upon those forces of privileges which seek to imprison the future by defending an obsolete past with violence — it is capitalist democracy turned at bay. There is indeed an inherent contradiction, he observes, between capitalism and democracy. In a capitalist society the motive to production is profit to owner of the instruments of production. In democracy, the citizen seeks by the use of his political power, to increase the material wellbeing at his disposal".

Indian political thought is contained mainly in *Ramayana, Mahabharat, Smiritis, Kautalaya's Arthashastra, and Shukracharya's Nitisara*. These scriptures essentially highlight that the Dharma of the State is to allow every local entity that is village and city coordinated by the *janpad* (district) to govern itself and demand not more than one sixth of local revenues for higher level functions and coordination. Such true democracy symbolised in Ram Raj, rule of the epic monarch Ram, was articulated by Gandhi as village republics. The Raj Guru oversees that the monarch does not violate his Dharma. Citing these sources, **Prof. Shriman Narayan** observes, "India may be regarded as the ancient laboratory of democratic governance".

According to the Author, democracy can be best defined as "how the sovereign people would like a nation to be governed". Given the choice, the vast majority common people will retain resources at the local level to handle all local matters such as administration of justice, police, education, healthcare, land, water systems and forests, and devolve a fraction of their revenues, one sixth according to Hindu scriptures, to the state for higher level functions and coordination, but not to interfere in local matters. Gandhi advocated such truly egalitarian democracy. He was totally opposed to unbridled capitalism.



Santosh K. Sharma

Managing Trustee, People First

Gandhi : All men are brothers

- 1. Religion & Truth:** By religion I do not mean formal religion but that which underlies all religions - that which brings us face to face with our maker.
- 2. Means & Ends:** The creator has given us control over means, none over ends. Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of means.
- 3. Ways of Non-violence:** Ahimsa and truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like two sides of a coin.
- 4. Self Discipline:** Civilisation in real sense consists not in multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary restriction of wants.
- 5. Internal Peace:** I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer. I believe in *advaita* – the essential unity of man.
- 6. Man and nature:** I do not draw any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral well being of all individuals or a nation, is immoral.
- 7. Poverty in the midst of plenty:** Economics that ignores or disregards moral values is untrue.
- 8. Democracy & the People:** Democracy is that under which the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.
- 9. Education:** Real education consists in drawing the best out of ourselves. What better book can there be than the bonds of humanity.
- 10. Women:** I am firmly of the opinion that India's salvation depends on the enlightenment of its women.
- 11. Miscellaneous:** I do not want to foresee the future. I am concerned with taking care of the present. I have been known as a crank, faddist, a mad man. Evidently the reputation is well deserved. For wherever I go, I draw to myself cranks, faddists and mad men.

Source:

“All Men are brothers – Autobiographical reflections of Mahatma Gandhi”

Compiled and edited by Krishna Kripilani with introduction by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan;

First published by Continuum, First South Asia Edition 2007

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Author's remarks: The above analysis is excellent but the title is sexist.

If Gandhi were alive, he would apologize for it.

Contents

Preface

1. Homage
2. State of India and the World
3. **India's Spiritual Heritage**
4. The Muslim Rule
5. Rule of the East India Company
6. British Imperial Rule
7. Emergence of Gandhi
8. **Cabinet Mission Plan gets aborted**
9. Divided India attains Independence
10. China usurps Tibet
11. Independent India adopts a flawed Constitution
12. Indira Gandhi's Turbulent Period
13. **Rajiv Gandhi initiates vital Reforms**
14. Improving Urban & Rural Quality
15. Nurturing Social Harmony
16. **India's Imperial Judiciary**
17. Reforms suiting tropical Ecology and/or Productivity
18. One World Education & Temples of Dharma
19. India leaves Bharat behind
20. The fake Economic Boom
21. **Sovereign Rights Commission**, a unique innovation
22. Reunification of India, Pakistan & Bangladesh
23. Key provisions in the proposed Constitution.
24. Egalitarian Democracy alone can curb Global Warming.
25. Experiences of the Author as a Civil Servant

Website Links:

- (1) Good governance website of People First: www.peoplefirstindia.org.
- (2) Sustainable development & Global Warming website of Development Alternatives: www.devalt.org.

Preface

When the Author completed his term as an officer of the Indian Administrative Service in 1991, Dr Ashok Khosla a scientist, and Chairman Development Alternatives, a prominent civil society organization that addresses issues of sustainable development, invited him to join Development Alternatives as Senior Adviser. Both of us felt that good governance had become a critical need, and decided to institute People First, a trust dedicated to instituting good governance. The Author's inkling was that there was something fundamentally flawed in governance as structured in India. Dr Hari Sharan a person of Indian origin settled in Switzerland used to visit Development Alternatives as an energy consultant. During informal discussions, he told the Author that in Switzerland the villages and cities coordinated by cantons that is districts, controlled local resources to handle all local matters. It struck the Author that Gandhi was advocating such true democracy, based on Ram Raj, rule of the Indian epic monarch Ram, articulated by Gandhi as Gram Swaraj, that is, village republics. Ignoring Gandhi, desire of Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, to centralize power led to the partition of India, traumas of Kashmir and the all round degradation that followed. On top of it, Nehru imposed Soviet type centralized planning and a controlled economy thus instituting a mixed economy in a mixed up polity! Such flawed political and economic systems led to all round social, environmental, economic and political degradation. Facing bankruptcy in 1991, India opened its economy to the global market and all political parties are claiming credit for reforms when it was mere correction of a past blunder. They are however still wedded to the flawed polity, as it has become a vested interest of all political parties in self seeking coalition politics fostered by the faulty Westminster system.

2. Most books on Gandhi deal with the values that Gandhi stood for. **This book not only dwells in depth on Gandhi's various initiatives, his concept of true egalitarian democracy and how it got aborted, but also based on original research, proposes a legitimate, non violent process for instituting true egalitarian democracy in India and eventually in all nations of the world.** It is hoped that this book will create better awareness about the issues, and activate the global community such that it sincerely strives to ensure truly egalitarian democracy in all nation states thus heralding the emergence of a peace loving sustainable world order based on social justice and equity.

3. The Author has used citations from numerous sources that have been duly acknowledged but it has not been possible to seek permission. The

book is being e-published by People First, a not for profit trust, dedicated to instituting good governance, on its website: www.peoplefirstindia.org.



August 2008

Santosh K. Sharma,
Managing Trustee, People First

Chapter 1

Homage

1.1 Jawahar Lal Nehru: Nehru was a highly respected leader of India. He however failed to understand the true spirit of democracy. His desire to impose on the people a centralised polity based on exploitive colonial practises led to the partition of India, traumas of Kashmir and the all round social, environmental, and political degradation witnessed today. Nehru was an impetuous person who took and imposed decisions not realising their implications for the nation in the long term. To illustrate, when Indian forces were driving Pakistan sponsored infiltrators out of Kashmir, he ordered ceasefire and himself offered plebiscite that has left the Kashmir issue unresolved till today. As described in the next paragraph Nehru pressurised Dr BR Ambedkar to draft a constitution based on exploitative colonial laws. The criticism of Nehru is not personal but professional.

1.2 Dr BR Ambedkar: During debates in the Rajya Sabha on September 3, 1963, Dr Ambedkar on being hackled by followers of Gandhi for drafting a flawed constitution replied “People keep saying to me, so you are the author of the Constitution. My answer is that I was a hack. I did what I was told to do much against my will. If I have the opportunity, I will be the first person to burn it. It will not do good to any one”. One who does not commit any mistake is a great person. One who admits having committed a mistake is a greater person. Dr BR Ambedkar deserves praise for admitting that a blunder had been committed.

1.3 Rajiv Gandhi: In the context of conflicts over claims by the Muslim community that the site of the Ram Temple in Ayodha was a mosque, its *dwar* that is door had been sealed. Opening the *dwar*, Rajiv Gandhi announced that he will institute Ram Raj, and initiated the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments for local empowerment thus correcting the wrong inflicted by his grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru on the people of India. He deserves the gratitude of the nation for it. Assassination of Rajiv has been a great loss to the nation. After his demise, vested interests of self seeking politicians have not allowed this constitutional mandate to be properly enforced till today!

1.4 PA Sangma, then Speaker Lok Sabha, circulated a document of The Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial Foundation headed by Sunil Shastri, and People First demanding true democracy through the referendum process, in the Golden Jubilee special session of parliament held in 1997. Vested interests of politicians evaded discussion on it. Upset by this the Congress party marginalized PA Sangma and Sunil Shastri for initiating the proposal.

1.5 The citizens of Utah State USA once lowered the US national flag at half mast as protest against certain actions of the federal government, source website: <http://historytogo.utah.gov/hmearlymor.him>. We invite persons such as Actor Sanjay Dutt who created awareness in the nation about the values that Gandhi stood for through his movie "*Lage Raho Munnabhai*", to lead protest marches with the national flag at half mast, in mourning for (1) children dying of starvation and farmers committing suicide in villages, and (2) women being frequently raped in cities, reciting the Author's lyric "*India ko Bharat banao*", and demanding true democracy as advocated by Gandhi. Such movements will build pressure on the political system to agree to institute true democracy through the referendum process.

Santosh K. Sharma

Managing Trustee, People First

Chapter 2

State of India and the World

Section 1: State of India

According to government statistics the population of India has increased from 320 million at independence to over 1,100 million. Our forest cover has gone down from 75 to 32 million hectares while wasteland has increased from 65 to 130 million hectares. Over 400 million people in twenty two thousand villages do not have adequate safe drinking water. Illiteracy has increased from 240 million at independence to 400 million, unemployment from 40 million to 290 million. Malnutrition may make our children below the poverty line virtual morons. Poverty driven migration from rural areas into urban centres, often squatting on riverfronts, is exerting immense pressure on urban services. After the opening of the economy to the global market, the divide between the rich and the poor is further widening. While the high and mighty are above criminal justice, with over 30 million cases pending in various courts and tribunals, the common people hardly have any access to justice. The number of persons working in government organisations has grown to astronomical twenty one million, a huge drain on the state exchequer.

Section 2: State of the World

2.1 Foreign Policy, a journal of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, in a study published in The Times of India of August 9, 2005, ranked 60 states in the world being in danger of going over the edge. Except for Sri Lanka every one of India's neighbour is a failed or failing state. Bangladesh is in a critical 17th place, while Pakistan is at 34th along with Nepal at 35th. Myanmar and Bhutan are 23rd and 26th places respectively, with Afghanistan in the dangerous category at 11th place. The failed category index ranks countries on twelve economic, social and political parameters that include demographic parameters, refugee and displaced persons, group grievance, human flight, uneven development, economic decline, de-legitimisation of the state, public services, human rights, security apparatus, fractionalised elite and external interventions.

2.2 Pakistan is failing on economic, political and military parameters while Bangladesh remains well in danger levels on numerous criteria. The worry is not states amassing power but the absence of it! The study argues that the danger of failing or failed state is now at the centre of global peace. US's National Security Strategy of 2002 clearly lays down where the threat lay. America is threatened less by concurring states than failing ones. The same assessment is true for India, except its reticent assessments tend to gloss over the threats that these failing states pose to India's economy and security.

2.3 Failed states, the study observes, export many unsavoury products such as international terrorism, large-scale immigrants, drugs and weapons. In South Asia, one can see various scenarios of this problem such as Bangladesh sinking into Islamic fundamentalism will create the inevitable pressures in India's fragile North Eastern states. And Nepal sliding into chaos sends a large number of immigrants into India creating economic and social pressures in the border state of India.

2.4 Instability, the study points out, has many faces. While internal conflict can take virulent forms as in countries like Somalia, Ivory Coast or Afghanistan where fighting drugs, terrorism, and external intervention makes a deadly cocktail! In fact, it is only episodes like the blasts in Bangladesh or LTTE's killing of a Sri Lankan minister which put the spotlight on such countries, while the slide into instability in countries such as Saudi Arabia 45th, Egypt 38th, and even Russia 59th are rarely documented.

2.5 A UN Report published in The Times of India on August 25, 2005 observes that despite China and India witnessing considerable economic growth, the gap between the rich and poor remain wide, and in developed countries the income gap has been specially pronounced in Canada, Britain and the United States. To reduce the growing inequalities, the report calls for efforts to ensure that all benefit from an increasingly open global economy promote democracy, include the marginalised, expand employment opportunities especially for the youth, and improve social protection programmes. Reducing inequality is also crucial in preventing conflicts and violence. Despite unprecedented growth especially in Asia, 20 per cent of the world population controls 80 per cent of the global wealth, inequalities in income and opportunities persist, and in many cases are getting worse. The report laments that the commitment by world leaders at the 1995 UN Social Summit in Copenhagen to close the gap between the wealthy and the poor is fading. It warns that unless all people enjoy better living conditions and social justice, communities, countries and regions remain vulnerable to social, political and economic upheaval.

2.6 The UN Human Development Report 2005 published in The Times of India September 8, 2005 observes "If aid and trade are the two key elements in the global strategy aimed at meeting the UN millennium goals, there is much that ails both. The developed world is contributing too little of one, while distorting the other to its advantage and against the interests of the developing countries. The above issues, according to the Author, are generic and endemic and need immediate attention.

Chapter 3

India's Spiritual Heritage

3.1 Dharma, a fundamental life concept of Indian origin said to be wider than religion, is described in the Oxford English Dictionary as “**The Eternal law of the Universe**”. It has two components. The first is rituals and practices for self development as in all faiths but with the difference that while most tribal faiths were polytheistic in that they believe in many gods, and faiths such as Christianity and Islam are monotheistic in that they believe in one god and one prophet, **Dharma is henotheistic** in that it believes in various manifestations of the only super-conscious. As a consequence, Dharma respects all faiths, *sarva panth sambhaav*, and does not proselytise. This is often mischievously misconstrued as implying that a person can be Hindu only by birth, when it truly means that a person has merely to say that he or she is a Hindu to be one!

3.2 The other component of Dharma is rights and duties of various functionaries of society such as the state, business, husband, wife, teacher and the youth. **The Dharma of the state and business determine the ideology that is system of governance**. According to Hindu scriptures such as various *Smritis* repeated in the Mahabharata, the Dharma of the state is to allow every local entity that is village and city coordinated by the district (*janpad*), to govern itself and demand not more than one-sixth of local revenues for higher level functions and coordination. Controlling five-sixth of local revenues, local governments prosper, the one-sixth of the state shoots up and it too will become prosperous! This component of Dharma is truly an expression of spirituality. Spirituality is not sitting in meditation as is generally believed. Spirituality is truly the relationship of the individual to society, other life forms and the environment. Thus while religion is a personal matter, spirituality is a societal issue! When local communities allot land to business, they may not allow palatial houses, more than two cars, personal aircraft and ostentatious weddings to businesses thus leaving them no choice but to use the wealth generated for expansion and/or philanthropy. **This nurtures an egalitarian economic system, truly capitalism with a human face, in which all have equal social, environmental, economic and political rights and opportunities**. In such true democracy, every adult has the right to employment, every child opportunity for education.

3.3 Gandhi's devotee, leading industrialist Ghanshyam Das Birla followed such business ethics. The Author had the privilege of meeting Shri GD Birla when he was Divisional Commissioner, Ujjain during 1997-80. Shri Birla kept two dhotis and two kurtas, himself washed one and wore the other! He

built numerous temples of worship and temples of learning that is universities and colleges, and left behind a model for other industrialists to emulate. As stated earlier, such business ethics nurture an egalitarian economic system, currently practised in a few nations such as Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries.

3.4 In ancient India, *Chakravarti* that is omnipotent monarchs such as Ram monitored such true egalitarian democracy in neighbouring kingdoms through a religious horse ceremony “*Ashwa Medha Yajna*”. A decorated horse followed at some distance by Ram’s army traversed neighbouring kingdoms requesting their king to govern according to Dharma, that is, demand not more than one sixth of local revenues. If a king captured the horse conveying that he did not accept the proposal, Ram’s army would defeat him and Ram would crown another warrior of that kingdom as its king who agreed to demand not more than one-sixth! Such omnipotent monarchs emerged from time to time in different parts of India monitoring democracy in neighbouring kingdoms thus making *Bharat Akhand*, that is one nation whereas Europe was mostly divided during that period. **India, not Britain, is truly the mother of democracy.**

3.5 Over India’s long civilization some aberrations crept into its social fabric. The priesthood and warriors connived to make castes originally based on profession, such as Smiths and Carpenters in the West, as being based on birth and demeaned one as untouchable. Gandhi’s conviction was that once local communities are empowered, such social aberrations would gradually disappear. When India attained independence, desire of Jawahar Lal Nehru to centralize power led to the Partition of India, the traumas of Kashmir and the all round degradation witness today. The ICS designed by the British to rule over the people, renamed as IAS was perpetuated after independence, so were Indian Police and Forest Services. Thus while India became independent, its people remain subjects in an exploitative political system. We need to rebuild India on the foundation of its rich spiritual ethos.

Chapter 4

The Muslim Rule

4.1 India's tradition of empowered local communities made it very rich. Its wealth attracted invasions. As early as the eighth century, Arab explorers monopolized the seas from the Persian Gulf to the coast of China. From India's shores they took ivory, aromatic wood, gold and rare spices, but left a new religion. The concept of one supreme soul and Mohammed his prophet, gained a permanent foothold in India, particularly in the coastal regions. Muslims eventually became India's largest minority group, and their political influence has remained to the present times. The tough, sword-swinging Afghans were the first followers of Mohammed to rule India.

4.2 After some Muslim dynasties such as Tughlak and Lodhi, around 1000 AD Mughal king Babar from Central Asia invaded India and founded a dynasty that lasted for 700 years. The Mughal rulers did not dislodge India's tiny village republics since they found it convenient to collect the land tax through them. Extravagance such as the Taj Mahal and herds of bejeweled elephants cost money, so the greedy Kings of India showed keen interest in Portuguese, French, Dutch and British traders, who, in turn, cast hungry glances at Mughal treasures. All this resulted in the weakening of the Mughal Empire.

4.3 On the positive side, the interface of Hinduism and Islam led to the emergence of a composite culture of language, poetry, and Sufi mysticism, revered by both communities. The Hindus and Muslims participated in each other's religious festivals and helped one another in need. Mughal emperor Akbar married a Hindu princess thus winning the goodwill of Hindus. Later a bigoted Mughal emperor Aurangzeb indulged in state sponsored conversion of Hindus to Islam and desecrating Hindu places of worship. This invoked hatred in the Hindu community against him. The Hindu community in Punjab dedicated their eldest son to become Sikh warriors for resisting such conversions. Swami Dayanand challenged Aurangzeb to convert him, and to reverse conversions he instituted Aryasamaj, a wing of Hinduism, that offers a ceremony for re-conversion to Hinduism. Aurangzeb's bigotry divided the Hindus and Muslims. This led to revolts in various parts of the empire and weakened the Mughal rule. To crush such revolts Aurangzeb had to further enlarge his army. To meet its expenses he was forced to increase the land tax. This created further dissatisfaction in the people and after some weak kings, led to the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Chapter 5

Rule of the East India Company

5.1 With the weakening of the Mughal Rule, the Europeans got a foothold in India. British traders instituted the East India Company on December 31, 1600 with the objective of establishing trade with India. The British combined foresight with avarice. They planned their future as they watched the decline of the Mughal Empire. Its agents noted that the Hindus traditionally accepted fate, but Muslim zealots revolted often at the slightest provocation. Slowly but surely through manipulation of the warring kings and feudal lords the British established themselves on the Indian shores.

5.2 From the fateful moment when the British East India Company raised the Union Jack over India in 1757, the Raj viewed the Muslims as the naughty boys of India. The British assumed that any dissent would come from India's pockets of Islam, and like their Mughal predecessors, began a general policy of oppressing and alienating the Muslims. Like the Arabs who gave the Muslims their faith, Indian Muslims reacted with fanatical prejudice towards anything foreign including ethnically different Muslims. In 1863, British soldiers halted a vicious Islamic insurrection called the Wahabi Revolt. After they were crushed, the Muslims retreated into their private communities and avoided the British. As a consequence, they rarely participated in the British military or held government jobs. They never exposed their children to British schools, but sent them to study under the learned mullahs, or holy men.

5.3 On the same logic, the British and Hindus forged closer ties. The Hindus seemed open minded about their occidental rulers. This apparent passivity resulted from their previous exposure to foreign occupation. Before the Muslims arrived, the Hindus viewed themselves as totally unique and pure in relation to the barbarity of the outside world. This doctrine of elitism, relatively common amongst Asian people, could have been at the heart of a nationalist movement. As a result Hindus remained highly susceptible to British influence. As the Hindus watched the English build India into a mercantile political complex, they discovered how these western foreigners succeeded where the Mughals had blundered.

5.4 The East India Company negotiated the first trade agreement with the Mughal Empire in 1618 and established its offices in Fort Saint George in Madras in 1639. It became a permanent joint stock corporation in 1657 and established a new base in Calcutta in 1690. The British parliament awarded monopoly of Asia trade to it in 1698. It received comprehensive trade privileges in Mughal India in 1717. The Company's chief, Robert Clive won siege of Arcot in 1752. The

Nawab of Bengal captured Calcutta. The 'black hole' incident in which many people lost their lives took place in 1756. The East India Company recaptured Calcutta in 1757 by defeating the Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah at Plassey. It also defeated an alliance of Mughals, Bengal and Awadh in 1764. Robert Clive acquired the management of the Bengal treasury for the East India Company in 1765. East India Company's shares reached their peak in 1769. Famine hit Bengal in 1770 in which almost ten million people died of starvation. The East India Company appealed to British government for financial assistance in 1772. The British government promulgated a Regulating Act in 1773 to reform governance of the Company and made Warren Hastings the first Governor General of India. The British government also promulgated the Tea Act in 1773 to encourage sale of East India Company tea in Americas. American patriots dumped the tea of the East India Company in Boston harbour that came to be known as the Boston Tea Party.

5.5 Sir Charles Metcalfe, a Governor General of the East India Company, in his famous minute recorded in 1830 observed, "The village communities in India are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, each one forming a separate state in itself. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. They have contributed to the preservation of the people through all the revolutions and changes they have suffered, and to their happiness and enjoyment of independence. I wish therefore that the village communities may never be disturbed and dread everything that has a tendency to break them up". This shows that the Muslim rule did not dislodge India's village republics as it found it convenient to govern through them. **The greed of the East India Company led to the imposition of the District Collector for collecting land revenue, often exploitative. It thus gave a deathblow to India's tiny village republics. The abuse got perpetrated during the British rule, and ironically even in independent India.**

5.6 Warren Hastings then Governor General of the East India Company sent a shipment of opium to China in 1781. The British government passed the William Pitt's India Act in 1784 increasing state power over the East India Company. The British government started impeachment trial of Warren Hastings in 1788. He was acquitted in 1795. The Parliament ended the Company's commercial operations in 1833, but retained it as the territorial administrator of India. The First War of Independence, initiated through a mutiny in the army broke out in 1857 in northern India. The British parliament replaced the Company rule by direct British rule in India in 1858. The East India Company was wound up in 1861.

5.7 Lord Macaulay was sent by the British Parliament to advise on introducing English education in India. In his written address to the British

Parliament on February 2, 1835, he said, "I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think that we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her cultural and spiritual heritage, and therefore I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self esteem, their native self culture and will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation". His strategy worked! Most English educated Indians called "Macaulay's children" became elitist and regarded the Hindi speaking common people as inferior.

5.8 The Afghan War: In 1841, the then Governor General of the East India Company wanted to expand its rule in Afghanistan. The Indian soldiers in the British army refused to fight on the ground that attacking the tough Afghans would mean sure death. The Governor General nevertheless assisted by British soldiers attacked Afghanistan on January 13, 1842. The Afghans massacred the British soldiers in Kabul leaving one translator to go back and warn the East India Company not to dare attack again. The Afghan War cost the East India Company over 1500 billion pounds making it virtually bankrupt so much so that it decided to leave India for ever. At this juncture some lackeys of the Company drew attention of its executives to the statement of Sir Charles Metcalf and explained that India's real wealth was not with its rulers but with its village republics. Taking the cue, the East India Company appointed district collectors to collect land tax from the panchayats thus giving a deathblow to India's village republics. To optimise its profit, the East India Company was also abusing skilled craftsmen and unskilled labour by giving them exceptionally low wages. Such abuses led to widespread unrest and resentment amongst the people. It became the main provocation for the First War of Independence in 1857, called mutiny by the British. After the bloodshed in which many British officers and their families got killed, British imperialism established its rule.

Chapter 6

British Imperial Rule

6.1 The Europeans did not colonise India as they did South Africa, North and Latin America and Australia where they virtually destroyed local cultures, a permanent black spot in their history. The reason for not colonising India apparently is that their white skin could not bear India's tropical climate. The British ruled over India as an imperial power. Calling it colonial rule is technically incorrect, but since it is commonly in vogue, it is being used in this study. The Europeans colonised Goa and Pondicherry in India, Australia and Americas and parts of Africa where the climate suited their white skin.

6.2 Adopting the policy of "divide and rule", the British created rift between the Hindu and Muslim communities. They also manipulated the princely states by granting privileges under the British rule to them. As envisioned by Lord Macaulay, the British furthered English education through convents of Christian missionaries with the twin objective of (1) inculcating attitude in the English educated that they were superior to those speaking native languages, and (2) converting the poor to Christianity. The British gradually replaced the British ICS officers by Indian ICS officers often called 'brown sahibs' who as Lord Macaulay had prophesised started not only thinking and behaving like the British but also praising the British rule. The British perpetuated the practise introduced by the East India Company of usurping the land, water systems and forests from the panchayats and municipalities, and appointing district collectors to levy taxes thus further impoverishing them. The British got allegiance from the princely states, landowners, and businessmen by granting honours, privileges and titles such as Rai Sahib and Khan Bahadur. Thus fortified, British imperialism ruled over India for nearly a century. **Eminent British Writer Pearl Buck observed, "Britain is a democracy fighting for its empire. Nothing can be more complex than this phenomenon in history because democracy and imperialism are basically incompatible".**

6.3 The Second World War: The Second World War began in September 1939. It was a war of ambition and denials. Denied trade in the East, Hitler wanted Germany to dominate Europe and reduce Poland and the USSR to vassal states. Hirohito of Japan sought dominion over China, South Asia and South East Asia. The League of Nations primarily represented by Britain and France attempted to moderate conflicts but as demands increased appeasement was gradually replaced by denial. The result was a series of wars as Japan, Italy and Germany resorted to force to secure their national ambitions. Italy invaded Abyssinia in October 1935. Japan annexed Manchuria

in September 1931 followed by invasion of China in July 1937. The German invasion of Poland in September 1939 triggered a chain reaction of alliances that engulfed six of the seven continents of the world.

6.3 The ambitious were Germany, Japan and Italy called the Axis powers. The Allies were Britain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union. USA was later dragged into it by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour. Hitler's Germany wished to dominate central Europe and to reduce Poland and the Soviet Union to the status of vassal states. Japan sought dominance over China and South East Asia. Mussolini's Italy coveted the Balkans and the Mediterranean region to revive the glories of ancient Rome. Japan was the first nation to move beyond diplomacy to war with the annexation of Manchuria in September 1931, followed by invasion of China in July 1937. Italy also defied world opinion with the invasion of Abyssinia in October 1935. Both wars were major acts of aggression but remained isolated regional conflicts. The German invasion of Poland in September 1939 triggered a chain of actions and alliances that ultimately engulfed six of the World's seven continents. In October 1940 Germany, Japan and Italy signed a pact that became to be known as the Axis powers. Before the month was over Poland lay prostrate under German arms.

6.4 Britain assured the Indian leaders that when the war ended they would restore independence to India. Subhash Chandra Bose a dedicated freedom fighter from Bengal, doubting the assurances of the British, formed the Indian National Army and established a joint front in the Second World War with the Axis powers. France could not sustain German air strikes and surrendered. Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and almost captured Moscow but the Russian winter forced him to retreat. Japan attacked Pearl Harbour thereby dragging USA in the war. The Indian National Army fought bravely but lost for want of logistic support from its allies. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as he is usually called is believed to have died in the war. He left behind a wife and a child in Germany. Detonation of two atom bombs by USA on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan brought the Second World War to an end in August 1945. British and Indian leaders commenced consultations for independence to India.

Chapter 7

Emergence of Gandhi

7.1 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar Gujarat, the last offspring of Karamchand and Putlibai Gandhi. Like his father, Karamchand was chief administrator of the princely state of Porbandar. Like his father, Mohandas was married at the age of thirteen to Kasturba of his age. As was the practice then in well to do families, Mohandas left for England for studying law after he solemnly swore that while in England he would abjure meat, liquor and women. He became a father of a boy at the age of nineteen. Three years later he returned as a Barrister, speaking of 'dear London' and friends he had left behind. In his autobiography Gandhi writes of a spiritual interest that quickened in him while in London. Indian self-respect was tugging at him. On returning to India in the summer of 1891 he learnt of the demise of his mother. Lack of success in Bombay's courtrooms was a second shock. Some months later came the third shock. Gandhi was forcibly removed from the Rajkot office of the British political agent in Kathiawar.

7.2 Gandhi in South Africa: In the circumstances, Gandhi was only too glad to accept an offer of legal work in South Africa from an Indian firm in Porbandur doing business there. South Africa where he finally spent 21 years, 1893 to 1914, changed him spiritually. There he spoke out, in the court room and outside, against the discrimination faced by the multilingual, multi-religious Indian community of indentured workers, traders and clerks, organised the community, formed the Natal Indian congress, started a newsletter 'Indian Opinion', founded his earliest ashrams in Natal and Transvaal, introduced with the help

Leo Tolstoy and John Ruskin the idea of bread labour, and discovered a way of rebellion through "satyagraha" in which the freedom fighters preferred accepting suffering to inflicting it. A positive result of the maltreatment meted out to him and other Indians in South Africa, was that it sharpened his understanding of the misery of India's poor and low castes. In 1906, in the hills and valleys of the Zulu country, Gandhi resolved in favour of poverty and chastity, and also to widen almost indefinitely the meaning of family to include, if possible, all of India.



*Conscience keeper
of the Nation*

7.3 During visits to India in 1896, 1901 and 1902 he travelled extensively, acquainted leading personalities with the plight and struggles of their compatriots in South Africa, and in Calcutta attended a session of the Indian National Congress that had been founded in 1885. By 1909 he became well known in India. Gopal Krishna Gokhale speaks of Gandhi in extraordinary terms. In 1910 there was talk of making Gandhi the President of the Indian National Congress. He declined.

7.4 Gandhi's manifesto in defence of civilisation, unity and liberty, "Hind Swaraj", that advocated non-violent struggle as the way suited to India's genius and censured the Western civilisation as violent and materialistic, was published in 1909-10. The years between 1909 and 1914 saw *satyagraha* campaigns in South Africa in which virtually every section of the Indian community, women and men participated, and which resulted in prison terms for Gandhi and hundreds of his colleagues. They also saw encounters between Gandhi and the South African leader Jan Smuts, and significant partial victories for the Indian community. The India to which Gandhi returned in January 1915 was one from which Britain was seeking recruits for the First World War that was then raging. It was also an India resentful of the alien rule. But the greatest problem facing Gandhi was the distrust of fellow Indians, a sentiment equally strong and pervasive. India was crippled by a community treated as untouchable, religious, caste and class divide, each soliciting the Raj's intervention in its favour and against its rivals.

7.5 Bengal produced some highly committed leaders for the freedom struggle, notably Aurobindo Ghosh and much younger to him Subhash Chanda Bose, both not opposed to violence. Aurobindo first mobilised freedom fighters using violent methods. He later became a saint and established an ashram, in French Pondicherry in South India on India's eastern seacoast. Some of his supporters went to meet him and said, "Master, you have become a saint. The police keep hounding us, and we are separated from our families. Kindly advise us what we may do". Aurobindo replied, "A person named Gandhi is adopting peaceful methods. Go and meet him". It was a saintly advice.

7.6 Until 1919-20, Gandhi sought Indian freedom within the British Empire. In his autobiography he claimed that he hardly knew "anybody to cherish such loyalty as I did for the Empire". He learnt the tune of 'God save the Queen', always joined in its singing and taught it to his children. By summer of 1920 he became the Empire's most resolute enemy. Some researchers such as John Wright, author of the Book "Indian Summer", have observed that Gandhi was initially a firm supporter of the British rule. Not true. The truth is that it was a strategic initiative of the highly creative mind of Gandhi.

7.7 Rulers of princely states, landlords with large holdings, untouchables and Muslim leaders were mostly wary of Indian independence. They feared it would be rule by the classes, castes or communities inimical to their interests. If the groups susceptible to such fears combined their resources and numbers, they were capable of blocking a freedom movement. Gandhi prevented such a unity by allaying the fears of rulers and landlords, persuading the untouchables that Hindu society was changing, and convincing some Muslims for all time and most of them for a while that Indian freedom would not mean Hindu Raj. He was aided in his efforts by his Spartan and ascetic lifestyle, identification with all Indians, systemic condemnation of outdated notions such as untouchables, high and low castes, stress on non violence, and readiness to raise his voice against the British Raj. Also at work was Gandhi's conviction to demonstrate non-violence to the world, a self confidence revealed in the statement "We have problems that would baffle any statesman, we have problems that other nations have not to tackle. But they do not baffle me" made by him in London in 1931.

7.8 Satyagrahas: Gandhi's persistence in identifying and tackling Indian, and not just British weaknesses, and his campaigning for the underdog and his needs, won the attention of the world. Gandhi conducted *Satyagrahas* meaning "Humble request for Truth" initially in regard to (1) in defence of indigo growing peasants in north Bihar in 1917, (2) on behalf of textile workers of Bihar in 1918, (3) on behalf of textile workers of Khandwa district of Gujarat also in 1918, and (4) against all India curbs on expression embodied in the Rowlatt Act of that year in 1919. These events brought Gandhi to the centre stage of Indian politics. In 1920 Muslim resentment against what seemed to be betrayal of a British promise in relation to Turkey flared up just when, to the outrage of many, the Raj seemed to be whitewashing offences that were related to the Jalianwalla Bagh killing of the previous year. Gandhi took the opportunity to launch a nationwide struggle against the Raj in which unprecedented number of people of all backgrounds and regions took part.

7.9 From 1920 onwards Gandhi was in many ways the unquestioned leader of the Congress and of India. The salt march of 1930 was another milestone that resulted in a pact between the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and Gandhi. It underscored the right Gandhi had earned to speak for India. But objections to this right voiced by Muslim bodies and by Dr BR Ambedkar on behalf of untouchables revealed India's cracks and complexities. But prospects of a transfer of power to Congress seemed far in 1937 when following elections to provincial legislatures most provincial governments came under its control.

Chapter 8

Nehru Family comes in limelight

8.1 Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, was raised by his elder brother Nandlal and like his brother was trained as a lawyer. When Nandlal died Motilal assumed responsibility as head of the family and moved from Kashmir to Delhi and then to Allahabad in Central India where he developed a brilliant legal career and prospered both professionally and personally. He soon became one of the wealthiest and the most socially prominent citizen in the town. Fortune also smiled on him when his first child, a son named Jawaharlal was born on November 14, 1889. In 1900 Motilal moved his family to a huge English mansion in Civil Lines and named it Anand Bhawan. By the time Jawaharlal was sent in 1905 to a public school in Harrow, England, he had two sisters. All the children had British style upbringing. Jawaharlal obeyed his father's wishes and endured a near exile for seven years while he was educated in England. In London he was vaguely attracted to Fabians and socialistic ideas and to political movements of the day. He entered the legal profession without demur.

8.2 By the time he returned to India in 1912, England had transformed him. He received a letter from his father that a twelve-year old beautiful girl named Kamala Kaul would be his wife. On his return to India Kamala and he were married on February 8, 1916. Historical and political imperatives determined and shaped the lives of Jawaharlal and Kamala. On October 5, 1917 Annie Besant, founder of the Indian Home Rule League, was released from prison and made a visit to Allahabad. Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter Indira was born on November 19, 1917. On March 18, 1919, The British Rowlatt Act that provided for wartime powers of arrest and detention without trial was extended. That night Gandhi drew the plan of protesting against this unjust and repressive act through a countywide strike, fasting and prayer. A peaceful demonstration in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13 was met by ammunition fired by soldiers on unarmed protesters under orders of General Dyer. It converted Motilal Nehru to Gandhi's peaceful non-violent movement, *satyagraha*. The increasing involvement of the Nehru family in *satyagraha* did not go unnoticed by the British.

8.3 No part of Jawaharlal Nehru's political philosophy has evoked sharper controversies, than his avowed faith in socialism. In his presidential address to the Lahore Congress in December 1929 when he reaffirmed that he was a socialist, he was regarded a follower of communism. Though Jawaharlal as a student in Cambridge and London had sampled Fabian literature and attended Bernard Shaw's lectures, his enthusiasm for Marxism and the

Russian revolution was derived from reading and reflection in jail, and the visit to Europe in 1926-27 that included a four-day trip to Moscow. It is significant that one of the aims of the Independence of India League that Nehru and Subash Bose had founded in 1928, was an economic structure based on socialism.

8.4 When India attained independence the President of the Indian National Congress was likely to be elected its first chief executive. Vallabhbhai Patel was a strong administrator as demonstrated by him later as Union Home Minister in handling the merger of the princely states in the Indian union. Some Maharajas demanded privy purses larger than offered. Vallabhbhai Patel reacted, "I am talking to princes, not beggars". They relented. The Nizam of Hyderabad tried to stall the talks as he was considering whether to join India or Pakistan. Vallabhbhai Patel ordered police action. The Nizam surrendered. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is also credited for restoring the ancient Somnath Temple in Gujarat damaged during the Muslim rule.

8.5 According to Rajmohan Gandhi, Gandhi had been desired as president because a fight would need a general. Declining the office, Gandhi cited his lack of energy adding that the battle of the future had to be fought by younger men and women. Gandhi said, "In my opinion the crown must be worn by Jawaharlal Nehru. Older men had their innings. Responsibility will mellow and sober the youth, and prepare them for the burden they must discharge". Admitting his intellectual differences with Jawaharlal, Gandhi added "Those who know the relations that subsist between Jawaharlal and me know that his being in the chair is as good as my being in it". As Subash Chandra Bose would later recall "The general feeling in Congress circles was in favour of Vallabhbhai Patel. Five provincial committees had proposed Patel but on Gandhi's prompting, Patel withdrew in favour of Jawaharlal". A lawyer and a shrewd politician, Gandhi knew that Nehru had an inclination for centralised authority and Soviet type socialism. Then how is it that he favoured Nehru? A possible explanation is that for organising travel of freedom fighters by train and for their food and stay, funds were needed. The four annas (25 paise) membership of the Congress Party was not adequate to cover such expenses. Gandhi apparently approached Motilal Nehru to arrange funds for the freedom movement. It seems that Motilal Nehru through his contacts as a leading lawyer arranged financial support from his industrialist clients such as GD Birla and Jamuna Das Baij who later become Gandhi's devotees, and in exchange cunningly obtained promise from Gandhi that Jawaharlal would be the first chief executive of free India. **Gandhi behaved like *purushottam* Ram that is a perfect person, and kept his promise even though he was aware of Nehru's weakness for centralised authority. Gandhi ought to have followed Krishna's teachings**

and for the sake of *satya* that is truth favoured Vallabhbhai Patel. The author leaves it to social and political scholars to deliberate on this issue.

8.6 Jai Prakash Narayan's Sarvodaya or "Force of Service

Movement: According to MG Devasahayam, Jai Prakash Narayan commonly known as JP was amongst the world's top most revolutionary for freedom and liberty. He had the courage to see and say that forms such as independence, nationalism or socialism in themselves, do not offer adequate answers to man's basic needs. He pointed out that when through bureaucracy, over centralisation, distortion of purpose or otherwise, they make tyranny a handmaiden, thus discounting its worth. JP began with the individual, his yearning for liberty and his need to become equal to its demands. Through panchayati raj that is village based sovereignty, he aimed to restore to the rural communities of India meaningful control over decisions most intimately affecting their daily lives. Sarvodaya or "Force of Service Movement" was his instrument. As its President, he mobilised thousands of volunteers to carry this revolution as a campaign to the countryside where they energized, and integrated with efforts at *bhudaan* that is gifting land for fair distribution, and furthered his campaign for local self-governance. The route by which JP arrived at his stature largely parallels India's history over the last century since his birth in a tiny village in the state of Bihar. Returning from study in the United States as a radical revolutionary and Marxist, he was repeatedly imprisoned and several times escaped arrest during the struggle for independence. Quit India Movement, the most prominent agitation of India's Freedom struggle, launched by Mahatma Gandhi on August 8, 1942 was making only halting progress in the initial months despite Gandhi's mass following and the efforts of the Congress Party. On November 8, that year, a revolutionary called Jai Prakash Narayan made a daring escape from the high security Hazaribagh Jail. A massive manhunt was launched by the British regime to capture him 'dead or alive'. More than anything else this event inflamed the nation, leading eventually to the collapse of the British Raj and culminating in India's freedom in 1947.

8.7 Socialism versus Egalitarian:

Apparently there is some confusion in regard to what socialism implies, empowered local communities as advocated by Gandhi, or "Soviet type state controlled economic system". According to the Author, it will be appropriate to describe Gandhi's empowered local communities in which all have equal social, environmental, economic and political rights and opportunities as an "egalitarian (*samata*) economic system". Based on India's rich spiritual ethos, Gandhi and leaders such as Hegdewar and Deen Dayal Upadhaya of RSS, so also Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan of Socialist party, all were advocating an egalitarian economic system, not Soviet type socialism.

8.8 MG Devasahayam points out that Jai Prakash Narayan, although as organizer of the Socialist Party and heir apparent to major leadership in free India, renounced dialectical materialism and power politics and devoted himself to the lonely and unrewarding task of enlightening and guiding his country men and women on crucial problems that many were reluctant to face. He was a dreamer and an idealist to a fault. It was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's fiery oratory and his call to "Lift up to the skies like leaves before a storm", that drew JP to the freedom movement. For JP, freedom transcended beyond politics and included freedom from hunger, poverty, ignorance and corruption. This conviction was the hallmark of JP's struggle before and after Independence. Power and office did not appeal to him and he remained a revolutionary in thought and action. Appropriately called the 'Second Mahatma', JP was amongst India's tallest leaders who had worked and marched, fought and died for independence, that is self rule for the common people of India and for the triumph of freedom in a country wherein one-sixth of the human race lives. Devasahayam concludes, "JP did it not once but twice, first fighting for independence from the alien rule under Gandhi's leadership, and later trying to win freedom back from a native coterie, implying Nehru family that had cunningly centralised power".

Chapter 9

Cabinet Mission Plan Aborted

9.1 Gandhi requested the British government to give Lord Wavell, then Viceroy, an expert to help in legal matters. Prime Minister Attlee instead gave India a new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. Lord Mountbatten was tall and handsome, and known for his hard work, taking quick decisions and putting them into effect. Soon he was master of the situation. Nothing important was done in those days without his advice. He was also a master of publicity. According to Kripalani, Mountbatten soon earned the confidence of Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel who started consulting him on most important matters. Lady Mountbatten ably helped him. She engaged herself in social work and organised refugee relief camps. Gradually most government help was channelled through her. She was a kind of diplomat in her own right. She became friends with Jawaharlal and referred to Gandhi as Bapu. Kripalani highlights various initiatives by which Gandhi tried to avoid partition of India but for some reason or the other they got aborted. **If matters had been properly handled, partition of India, hardship of both Hindu and Muslim refugees, traumas of Kashmir, assassination of Gandhi, adoption of an anti people Constitution, on going conflicts with Pakistan, and all round social and environmental degradation witnessed today could have been avoided.**

9.2 According to Sashanka Banerjee author of “India’s Security Dilemmas: Pakistan and Bangladesh” the idea of Pakistan dates back to 1930 when Dr Mohammad Iqbal during his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League held in Allahabad in 1930 said that the Muslim demand for creation of a Muslim India within India was perfectly justified. It however did not find favour with large sections of Indian Muslims. At the Round Table Conference held in London soon thereafter, the Muslim delegates talked only in terms of safeguards and proportional representation in the provincial legislatures. In January 1933 a pamphlet “Now or Never” scripted by a student Chaudhury Rehmat Ali, a student in the University of Cambridge advocated a complete break away of the Muslims of north western zone of India. The Muslim League took on board the concept of a separate national status. The word Pakistan was formed out of the initial letters of the name of four provinces, **Punjab, Afghanistan** (NWFP), **Kashmir** and the last letters of **Baluchistan**, designed to compose the geographical entity of Pakistan. It was later revised to include Sindh, Assam, Bengal, Hyderabad and Malabar. Subsequently Rehmat Ali also included parts of UP, Bihar and Rajputana. He published a political manifesto in 1940 titled Millat of Islam. One can dismiss these as ravings of a madman but the truth is that his theories strongly influenced those who favoured a separate Muslim state. Jinnah

also toyed with the idea of transfer of population but with a 'step by step' approach.

9.3 The Pakistan resolution was adopted in Lahore on April 1940. Lord Linlithgow then Viceroy wrote in August 1940 a note stating "It goes without saying that the British government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities to any system of government whose authority is denied by large elements of India's national life. "Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister of Britain conveyed to Stafford Cripps on his historic mission to India that he should strive to procure the consent of minorities. This made it clear that the retreating colonial administration wanted to leave behind a warring and divided India. The Cripps Mission failed.

9.4 Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad in his book "India wins Freedom" released after his demise as per his wishes apparently to avoid retribution from vested interests, writes that on 17th February 1946, he heard on the radio that the British Government would send a Cabinet Mission to discuss with the representatives of India the question of Indian freedom. The Mission would consist of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of States for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the Board of Trade, and AV Alexandar, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Azad told the press that he was pleased that the mission included Sir Stafford Cripps who had come earlier and was an old friend. He added that the British government was not shirking the problem but facing it boldly.

9.5 On March 15, 1946 British Prime Minister Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons on the Indian situation. The statement had no precedence in the history of Indo-British relations. He frankly admitted that the situation had completely changed and demanded a new approach. His declaration that any attempt to persist with old methods would not lead to a solution but to a dead lock, created a great impression in India. Some points that Mr Atlee made in his speech deserve special mention. He admitted that there had been faults on both sides and added that they should now look to the future rather than harp on the past. He explained that it was no good applying the formulas of the past to the present situation, for the temper of 1946 was not the temper of 1920, 1930 or even 1942. He went on to say that he did not wish to stress on the differences between the Indians, for despite of all differences and divisions Indians were united in their desire for freedom. This was the underlying demand of all the people of India, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, Sikhs or Marathas, politicians or civil servants. Mr Atlee frankly admitted that the urge of nationalism had continuously grown stronger and permeated even the soldiers who had rendered splendid service in the war. Mr Atlee said that if there were social and economic difficulties in India, these could only be resolved by the Indians themselves. He concluded

by announcing that the Cabinet Mission was going in a positive mood with the resolve to succeed.

9.6 The Cabinet Mission arrived in India on 23rd March 1946. The Maulana felt that the most important issue was the communal discord. One thing nobody could deny. As a community, the Muslims were extremely anxious about their future. They were in a clear majority in some states but were a minority in India as a whole and were troubled by the fear that their position and status in India would not be secure. After giving considerable thought the Maulana says, he came to the conclusion that the Constitution of India must, from the nature of the case, be federal with complete autonomy to the provinces in as many subjects as possible". Some powers and functions could be essentially central, others essentially provincial and some could be either provincial or central to be exercised by consent. The first step was to devise a formula by which a minimum number of subjects should be declared as essentially central. There would be another list of subjects that could be dealt with centrally if the provinces so desired. This can be called the optional list. And a third list of subjects that would be with the provincial government. Since the Congress Working Committee had given the Maulana full power to negotiate with the Cabinet Mission, it was not necessary for him to discuss with it. He met the members of the Cabinet Mission for the first time on 4th April 1946. When the Mission asked him how he would tackle the communal problem, he indicated the solution he had framed. Lord Pethick Lawrence said, "You are in fact suggesting a solution for the communal problem". Sir Stafford Cripps took special interest and cross-examined him at great length. In the end he was also satisfied.

9.7 The Congress Working Committee met on April 12, 1946 when the Maulana reported his discussions with the Cabinet Mission in greater detail. The Maulana said that it was clear that defence, communication and foreign affairs were the subjects which could be dealt adequately only on an all India basis. Certain other subjects would obviously be a provincial responsibility but there would be a third list of subjects where the provincial legislature would decide whether to retain them as provincial subjects or delegate them to the Centre. He felt that if the Constitution were framed such that it embodied this principle, it would ensure that in Muslim majority provinces the Muslims would lead. This would eliminate from the mind of the Muslims all fears of domination by the Hindus. This was the best solution for a country such as India.

9.8 The Maulana says that this picture had gradually formed in his mind and had become quite clear by the time the Cabinet Mission came to India. He had however not discussed it with his colleagues till then. He did not consider it necessary since the Congress Working Committee had given him full powers to negotiate with the Cabinet Mission. He thought that he

should state his position in clear and unambiguous terms when the proper time came.

9.9 The working committee met on April 12 when the Maulana reported his discussions with the Cabinet Mission. The Working Committee was initially somewhat sceptical and raised difficulties and doubts. The Maulana was able to clarify the doubts of the members. The Working Committee was finally convinced about the soundness of the proposal. Sardar Patel asked the Maulana whether the Central Government would be restricted to the three subjects and pointed out that there were subjects such as currency and financial management that need to be in the central list. He added that trade and industry could be developed only on an all India basis. The Maulana said that the solution he had proposed was basically to meet the fears of the Muslim League.

9.10 The Muslim League had for the first time spoken of a possible division of India in its Lahore Resolution that later came to be known as the Pakistan Resolution. The Maulana felt that the time had come to place it before the country. Accordingly on 15th April 1946 he issued a statement dealing with the demands of Muslims and other minorities. The Muslim league had moved further along the path of separation since the Lahore Resolution of 1939. Known more as Pakistan Declaration, it was not clear what exactly the demand was but it was clear that Muslim majority states should have full autonomy. But now the League leaders talked loosely of partition and establishment of an independent state for Muslim majority areas. The Cabinet Mission was not prepared to concede the demand and favoured a solution on the lines suggested by the Maulana.

9.11 In May, the Mission took a recess, went to Kashmir and returned on April 24, 1946. After several discussions, the mission issued a statement that further informal discussions were desirable to find a basis for settlement between the main parties. It requested the Presidents of Congress and the Muslim League to nominate their representatives. The Working Committee authorised the Maulana to appoint its representatives. The Maulana nominated Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel as his colleagues to represent the Congress. Gandhi was not a member but was invited for informal discussions.

9.12 Now that the problems seemed resolved, the election of the President of the Congress needed attention. The Maulana was elected in 1939. The term according to the Constitution of the Congress Party being of one year, in normal times the election ought to have been held in 1940. The War intervened, soon after Satyagraha movements began, and normal activities suspended. The Congress was declared an illegal organisation and elections

could not be held. The situation had returned to normal but a general demand arose that the Maulana should continue for another year since he was involved in the negotiations at this critical time. He thought carefully over the matter and finally came to the conclusion that he must retire. After weighing pros and cons, he came to the conclusion that Sardar Patel would not be desirable in the then circumstances. Taking all factors into consideration, it seemed to him that Jawaharlal should be the new President. Accordingly on 26th April 1946, he issued a statement proposing Jawaharlal's name for election as President and made an appeal that he may be elected unanimously. The Maulana adds, he acted according to his best judgement but the way things shaped, it was perhaps the greatest blunder of his political life. He says that he has not regretted any action of his as the decision at this critical juncture to withdraw as President of the Congress. It was a mistake that can be described in Gandhi's words as one of Himalayan dimensions. His second mistake was that when he decided not to stand, he did not support Sardar Patel. He says that he is convinced that if Sardar Patel had succeeded him, he would have seen to it that the Cabinet Mission Plan was successfully implemented.

9.13 The Muslim League and the Congress Working Committee had approved the Cabinet Mission Plan. It however needed the approval of the All India Congress Committee, usually a formal matter. Accordingly a meeting of the AICC was called at Bombay on July 7, 1946. When the AICC met, the Maulana invited Jawaharlal to take over as President from him. He then briefly explained the main features of the Cabinet Mission Plan and moved the resolution for its acceptance. The leftists opposed it with great vehemence. The Congress socialists took the lead part in the opposition, a cheap device to win popularity. In his reply the Maulana explained the implications and said that it marked the achievement of independence without a violent and bloody uprising. He said that it was a great success of the Congress. His speech had a decisive influence on the audience. When the vote was taken, the resolution was passed with an overwhelming majority. Thus the seal of approval for the Cabinet Mission Plan was put on the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. After a few days the Maulana received telegrams of congratulations from Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps. They were happy that the Congress had accepted the resolution and congratulated the Maulana for his able presentation of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

9.14 The Muslim League had moved further along the path of a separate state since the Lahore Resolution of 1939 popularly called the Pakistan Resolution. It did not however make it clear what exactly the demand was. The wording was vague and capable of more than one interpretation but the

general purport was that Muslim majority states should have full autonomy. It also talked loosely of an independent State for the Muslim Majority areas. The Cabinet Mission, Maulana says, was not prepared to concede the demand. On the contrary the Mission was in favour of a solution on the lines proposed by the Maulana. Till almost the end of April, the negotiations continued. As it was getting hot, the Mission took a recess and went to Kashmir. The Maulana thought of going to Kashmir but apprehending that it may be misunderstood went to Mussoorie.

9.15 The Mission returned to Delhi on April 24 and reviewed the negotiations with the Viceroy. On April 27, the Mission issued a statement that further informal discussions were desirable and invited the President of the Congress and the Muslim League to nominate representatives of their Working Committees to meet the Commission in Shimla. The Congress Working Committee authorised the Maulana to nominate the representatives. He nominated Jawaharlal and Patel. Gandhi was not formally a member but was invited to assist. The members of the Mission held further discussions amongst themselves and framed their proposals that were announced on May 16 by Mr Atlee in the House of Commons.

9.16 In the midst of this activity an unusual headache cropped up in Kashmir. The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah had been fighting for political rights for the people of Kashmir. The Maharaja's government replied by arresting him and his colleagues. Jawaharlal being a Kashmiri had been taking keen interest in Kashmir's struggle and felt he ought to be in Kashmir. Irritated, the Maharaja issued a ban on their entry. When he reached the border he was stopped by the security. Jawaharlal refused to obey the ban and drove in. He was arrested and later released — - an unfortunate incident for the Prime Minister designate of India. Theroor, a former UN official, in his book "*Nehru, the Invention of India*", a provocative title, also relates this story.

9.17 At first, the Maulana says, Jinnah was totally opposed to the scheme. The Muslim League had gone too far in its demand for an independent state and found it difficult to retrace its steps. The Mission stated in unambiguous terms that it could not recommend partition of the country and the formation of an independent state. Its members observed that such a state would be unstable and unviable. They felt that the proposal gave the largest possible autonomy to the provinces and reserved only three subjects for the national government.

9.18 Election of Congress President: Now that the political and communal problems seemed to be solved, a new subject now demanded attention. The

Maulana had been elected President of the Congress in 1939. According to the Constitution of the Congress Party, his office was for only one year. In normal circumstances, a new President would have been elected in 1940. The War intervened and soon afterwards individual Satyagraha Movements began. Normal activities were suspended and members of the Congress were arrested in 1940 and again in 1942. Congress was also declared an illegal organisation. There could therefore be no question of holding election of the President and as a result the Maulana remained President through the entire period. The situation had now become normal. The question naturally came up that election for the President should be held. As soon as this was mooted in the press, there was a general demand that the Maulana may be elected for another term, the main reason being the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. He however sensed that there were some differences of opinion in the inner circles in that some wanted Sardar Patel elected. It became a delicate issue and he decided to quit. The next issue was who should be his successor. Taking all factors into consideration it seemed to him that Jawaharlal should be the new President, and on April 26 issued a statement appealing to the members of the Congress that Jawaharlal may be elected unanimously. The Maulana says that he acted according to his best judgement but the way things shaped since then made him realise that it was the biggest blunder of his life. He adds that he regretted no action of his as much as the decision to withdraw from being the President of the Congress at this critical juncture. It was a mistake that, he adds, can be described in Gandhi's words as one of Himalayan dimension.

9.19 Cabinet Mission Plan aborted: The Maulana says that one of those unfortunate events then happened that changed the course of history. On July 10, 1946 Jawaharlal held a press conference in Bombay in which he made an astonishing statement. Some press representatives asked him whether with the passing of the resolution by the AICC, the Congress had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan in totality including the composition of the interim government. In reply Jawaharlal said that the Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by agreements and will be free to meet all situations as may arise. The press representatives further asked if this meant that the Cabinet Mission Plan could be modified. Jawaharlal replied emphatically that the Congress had agreed only to participate in the Constituent Assembly and regarded itself free to change or modify the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought best.

9.20 The Muslim league had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan only under duress. Naturally Mr Jinnah was not very happy about it. In his speech to the League council he had clearly stated that he recommended acceptance only because nothing better could be obtained. His political adversaries started to criticise him by saying that he had failed to deliver the goods.

They accused him that he had given up the idea of an independent Islamic state. They also taunted him that if the League was willing to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan that denied Muslims to form a separate state, why had he made so much fuss about an independent Islamic State. He was thus not at all happy about the outcome of the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. Jawaharlal's statement came to him as a lifesaver. He immediately issued a statement that this declaration by the Congress President demanded a review of the whole situation. He asked Liaqat Ali Khan to call a meeting of the League Council and issued a statement that the Muslim League had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan as it was assured that the Congress also accepted the scheme implying that the Cabinet Mission Plan would be the basis of the future Constitution of India. Now that the Congress President had declared that Congress could change the scheme through its majority in the Constituent Assembly, this would mean that the minorities would be placed at the mercy of the majority. Jinnah concluded that Jawaharlal's declaration meant that the Congress had rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and as such the Viceroy should call upon the Muslim League, which accepted the Plan, to form the Government.

9.21 Perturbed by this development, the Maulana pressed Jawaharlal to convene a meeting of the Congress Working Committee. Jawaharlal was at first not willing but when the Maulana insisted, he agreed. In the meeting the Maulana proposed that to save the situation a statement be issued that the observations made by Jawaharlal were personal and did not conform to the decision of the AICC. He explained that a resolution passed by the AICC could not be changed by any member including the President. Jawaharlal argued that he had no objection if the Working Committee wanted to reiterate that the Cabinet Mission Plan had been accepted by the Congress, but felt that it would be embarrassing to the organisation and him personally if the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution that the statement made by the Congress President did not represent the policy of the Congress. The Working Committee was now in a dilemma. On the one side, the prestige of the Congress President was at stake. On the other, the settlement that had been so painfully achieved was in danger. To repudiate the President's statement would weaken the organisation but to give up the Cabinet Mission Plan would ruin the country. Finally it drafted a resolution that made no reference to Jawaharlal's statement but reaffirmed the decision of the AICC.

9.22 The interest of the nation is above any party or its leader. The Congress Party had promised the people that it would (1) get India liberated from the British rule and (2) ensure democracy to them. As explained earlier, in true democracy the national government handles only defence, external relations,

national level infrastructure and coordination. Rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan meant denial of democracy to the common people of India. The Author is of the view that Nehru being an impetuous person later committed numerous such blunders. A serious one was when Indian forces were driving the Pakistan sponsored infiltrators called *Razakars* out of Kashmir, overruling the pleas of the then military chief for a few days to get the whole of Kashmir liberated, Nehru ordered cease fire and offered plebiscite that has left the Kashmir issue unresolved till today! A Kashmiri himself, he thereby inflicted immense ongoing suffering on his own people. He was at his worst when he pressurised Dr BR Ambedkar to draft a Constitution based on the Government of India Act of 1935, a colonial law and no charter of independence. He capped it by imposing Soviet type centralised planning and a controlled economy that impoverished local communities and led to bankruptcy in 1991. If Nehru's supporters hold Ambedkar responsible, Nehru as the chief executive ought to have rejected the Constitution drafted by Ambedkar. The Author clarifies that his criticism of Nehru is not personal but professional.

9.23 Some analysts are critical of the claims made by the Maulana in his book "India attains Independence" that the Cabinet Mission Plan was the product of his genius. We all know that the plan was based on Gandhi's vision of true democracy. The Maulana adopted an excellent strategy in that he (1) kept Gandhi out of the negotiations thus avoiding confrontation between Jinnah and Gandhi, (2) did an excellent job of successfully negotiating it with the Cabinet Mission, and (3) obtained the approval of both the Cabinet Mission and Jinnah. All this is well documented in British records and cannot be questioned. Where the Maulana went wrong is that though the Cabinet Mission Plan had been accepted by all the parties, he ought to have continued as President of the Congress Party till the plan had been formally adopted, the members of the Cabinet Mission had departed, and its implementation had become a commitment that could not be retracted either by Jinnah or by Nehru.

9.24 Gandhi Solution for reuniting India: With the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan, partition of India became a foregone conclusion. Rajmohan Gandhi describes a last ditch effort made by Gandhi to avoid partition called "Gandhi Solution" mostly forgotten now. On March 19, 1947 Gandhi said, "I would know no peace till I have found a solution for preventing partition". Before the month ended he knew what he should ask for. As with all inspired solutions, his solution looks self evident in hindsight but at that time it was far from obvious. Weighing up the realities, Gandhi saw that a Jinnah-led Muslim League government in Delhi, if installed with the agreement of the Congress, could address all of them. Remedying polarisation across the subcontinent, it could preserve the unity not only of Punjab and Bengal but also of India as a whole. Half an hour after Gandhi left, Azad met the

Viceroy and told him of the Gandhi Solution. "Azad staggered me", Mountbatten said, "by saying that it was perfectly feasible of being carried out since Gandhi could unquestionably influence the whole of Congress to accept it and work it loyally". He added that such a plan would be the quickest way to stop bloodshed. Rajmohan Gandhi adds the Muslim league leaders in 1944 had indirectly shown interest in a role in India as a whole. Among those breathing freely would have been the border-states that are now in turmoil. Most Congress leaders favoured the proposal. This proposal also got aborted, as it was not acceptable to Nehru. The Author reiterates that in democracy no one, not even Gandhi, is above the people. It was the Dharma that is duty of the Congress Party to impeach Nehru and elect a leader such as Sardar Vallabhai Patel in his place to handle matters. By not doing so, it has inflicted immense harm on the nation and its common people.

Chapter 10

Divided India attains Independence

10.1 Jinnah was sworn in Lahore on August 14, 1947 as the President of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten Governor General of British India representing the British crown sworn in Nehru as the first Prime Minister of independent India on the midnight between August 14 & 15, as symbolism of transfer of power. Nehru then made his famous speech “When the world sleeps India wakes to keep its tryst with destiny”. He apparently overlooked that as we all know, half the world was then awake!

10.2 Earlier with the announcement of partition, communal violence spread like wildfire across northern, central and Eastern India. Innocent men, women and children were being killed or maimed. Hoards of Muslim families got into crowded trains from India to Pakistan and Hindu, Sindhi and Sikh families from Pakistan to India. The less fortunate trekked. Many of them were looted and/or butchered on the way. It turned out to be amongst the world’s worst disasters of human suffering in recent history. Lady Mountbatten played a major role in managing the refugee camps set up for the hordes of refugees who kept coming from Pakistan and relief camps for the Muslim families in India rendered homeless by the mobs and waiting for trains or buses to go to Pakistan.

10.3 Partition involved numerous problems such as division of civil services, armed forces, financial reserves, and such other matters. To handle it, the British government had indicated that the transfer of power would be near the end of the year. Mountbatten got it advanced to August 15, 1947 apparently because the Japanese had surrendered on August 15 to the Eastern Command of the Allies headed by him. The people of India now celebrate Lord Mountbatten’s greatest day in their independence day every year! Advancing the transfer of power created numerous problems such as of dividing assets, armed forces and the bureaucracy, and managing the influx of large number of refugees migrating out of and into the two nations. Britain had taken timber and other products from India to support the war on the understanding that the amount due would be kept as sterling reserves and given after the war ended. Since Nehru had agreed to partition, Pakistan rightly deserved a proportionate share in it. Gandhi said that Pakistan should be given its share — a just and fair advice. This was one of the erroneous allegations levelled by Nathu Ram Godse as justification for assassinating Gandhi.

10.4 Ignoring Gandhi’s pleas not to succumb to the efforts being made by Jinnah to create rifts between the Hindu and Muslim communities, the Hindu

Mahasabha of which Godse was a member, organised communal riots that strengthened Jinnah's demand for a separate Pakistan. Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and Nehru are thus jointly responsible for the partition of India. Following the assassination of Gandhi, the Hindu Mahasabha was banned. It later regrouped with a new name, Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Both RSS & VHP have scholars who respect Gandhi and his vision of true democracy symbolised in Ram Raj. They also have bigoted Hindus in larger numbers who use offensive language and resort to violent methods to provoke conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. Nathu Ram Godse of Hindu Mahasabha assassinated Gandhi for partitioning India – a crime that Gandhi did not commit, in fact was totally opposed to and with Gandhi, all hope of Swaraj that is, self rule for the people of India.

10.5 Chakravarti Rajagopalachari was sworn in as the Governor General of Independent India in 1948. A Constituent Assembly with Dr Rajendra Prasad as its Chairman and Dr BR Ambedkar as its convener was later constituted. It drafted a Constitution that was formally adopted on November 26, 1949. August 15 is now celebrated as the Independence Day and November 26 as the Republic Day of India. Later during debates in the Rajya Sabha on September 3, 1953, on being hackled by many followers of Gandhi for drafting a flawed Constitution, Dr Ambedkar reacted, "People keep saying to me, 'So you are the author of the Constitution'. My answer is I was a hack. I did what I was told to do much against my will. If I have the opportunity, I will be the first person to burn it. It will not do good to anyone". What is most surprising is that leaders such as Dr Rajendra Prasad and Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan both scholars of India's tradition of democracy did not oppose the proposal, nor initiated steps to rectify it. Apparently the lure of high office kept them mum.

10.6 On top of the flawed polity Nehru imposed Soviet type centralised planning and a controlled economy thus instituting a mixed economy in a mixed up polity! To meet the needs of centralised political and economic governance, the administrative structure had to be greatly enlarged. The All India and State services not only grew in size and authority, a large cadre of development and extension officials was also created. Lacking accountability to local communities, initially petty and later pervasive political and bureaucratic corruption took roots. All this greatly increased governance overheads and the sufferings of the common people. When some people complained about mounting corruption, Nehru is believed to have replied that the money remained in India while earlier it was being siphoned out by the foreign rule — a flippant response! Chester Bowles, Ambassador of USA in India during that period, is reported to have said, "India is a functioning anarchy". Some Russian consultants who came to advise India on setting up public sector enterprises are believed to have said that in the Soviet Union they did not believe in god but after seeing India, they accepted

that god existed for he alone can manage India! The truth is that while politicians, the state bureaucracy and the upper strata of society got independence, the vast majority common people living in the villages and urban slums remained and still are subjects in an exploitative political system. The people in the middle and high-income groups are now abusing the poor as cheap servants and petty labour to optimise their comforts and wealth. They do not realise that the day of reckoning is not far when nature will have its revenge in the form of water scarcity and eventually global warming, a concern recently voiced by Al Gore.

10.7 Afghans of North West India: An important issue is whether partition was fair to the various Afghan tribes in the border state of North Western India. According to Major General (Rtd) BN Raizada, Defence and Military Adviser in the High Commission of India in Pakistan, during the period 1988 to 1991, Muslim League a theocratic political organization was able to spread its influence only in the Eastern, Central and Northern parts of India but not in the Northern, North Western and Western parts including the areas now comprising Pakistan. Ironically, the areas predominantly under the influence of the Muslim League have after partition remained in India, and the areas opposed to it are now part of Pakistan!

10.8 Pakistan, a faulty creation, comprises of four distinct sub-nationalities namely (1) Punjabis, (2) Sindhis, (3) Baluchis and (4) Pashtuns living in the four major provinces of Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and North West Frontier Province. Pashtuns and Baluchis are essentially warrior tribes intensely loyal to their own tribe and its chief. During the British regime they were constantly engaged in internecine conflicts and battles for gaining control and supremacy over the other. The Baluchis are spread across both Pakistan and Iran and the Pashtun across Pakistan and Afghanistan. The British found it difficult to control this volatile region but managed to draw international borders with Iran and Afghanistan through a line called Durand Line that divided both these tribes and hence not recognized by either of them. In the North West, even Afghanistan has refused to recognize the Durand Line and to date open borders exist in the region with free movement across it and through the Khyber Pass.

10.9 Baluchis never considered themselves as part of India and have continued their struggle for independence till today. After partition, the Khan of Kalat, the most powerful princely head in Balochistan, refused to merge with Pakistan but was forced to do so through arms. Mengal and Bugti are the two dominant tribes of Balochistan. Both have risen in armed rebellion against Pakistan though unsuccessfully for lack of support from any international power. First it was the Mengals under Attaullah Khan whose

movement was crushed ruthlessly by the use of force and betrayal by the Bugtis under Nawab Akbar Khan who was won over by the Pakistani Government and in return made the governor of Balochistan. Attaullah Khan Mengal was forced to go into exile in the UK where he lives till now. Nawab Akbar Khan remained loyal to the Pakistani Government for over a decade holding important political positions in Balochistan either as Governor or Chief Minister until replaced by his rivals. He realized, though belatedly, that he had been used by the military regime to keep the Baluchis in check and that the Punjabi dominated Government and the army had not fulfilled any of the promises made for the development of the region. He therefore led a popular armed uprising against the present regime that is continuing unabated although Nawab Akbar Khan has been killed by the Pakistan armed forces. Understandably to protect their border areas from the spill over effect Iran has been supporting Pakistan while India has remained neutral for want of foresight.

10.10 Pashtuns under Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, founding leader of Khudai Khidmatgar known as 'Frontier Gandhi', never supported the partition of India or creation of a theocratic state. Ironically *Pashtuns* were never given any voice in determining their future. The choice given to them was to join either India or Pakistan. For reasons of both geography and religion they opted to join Pakistan but have been demanding a separate state or autonomous region named Pakhtunkhwa, and have remained friendly with India. Awami National Party, a political outfit founded by Khan Abdul Wali Khan a son of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, now headed by his son and widow have openly declared their close relations with India and forged links between each other. The area except Peshawar remains under tribal control and in turmoil even today without any visible federal authority. Drug barons fortified inside impenetrable forts mostly control these areas.

10.11 Ironically Punjabis, the originators of hate India propaganda war who now dominate the entire politico-military and socio-economic life of Pakistan, were firmly against partition or creation of a separate Muslim state. Led by Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, Governor of undivided Punjab, who had founded the Unionist Party of India, wanted a truly federal structure on the lines indicated by the Cabinet Mission Plan. However being the biggest beneficiaries of the Partition, today they vehemently oppose any idea of even a confederation let alone a federation. Strangely they now demand equality and parity with India in international affairs despite Pakistan being an almost failed state under the control of military dictators and the religious fanatical militants.

10.12 Sindh was initially neutral but became a supporter of partition and was the first provincial assembly to pass the Pakistan Resolution. Later Mohammad Ali Jinnah managed to also convince the Punjabis. Jinnah made the Pakistan Declaration in a public meeting in Lahore in 1939 where a National Monument has been built as a memorial of that declaration.

10.13 The above analysis clearly establishes that Pakistan comprising the present areas was imposed on an unwilling people who were neither fundamentalists nor supporters of the Muslim League. Pakistan is truly a creation of an inflexible, indecisive and insensitive Congress leadership. Paradoxically once the transfer of power was completed the friendly and moderate Punjabis became the greatest enemies letting loose a violent blood bath against the Hindus and Sikhs forcing them to leave Pakistan. This led to retaliation with matching carnage by the Hindus in India. The Punjabi Muslims who were in majority in West Pakistan usurped total control of West Pakistan supported by the loyal Pashtuns in the army. Gradually the Baluchis, Sindhis, Pashtuns and the Bengalis realised they were being exploited by Punjabi Muslims. Thus began an era of internal political struggle for freedom in all the provinces except Punjab. Significantly the Sindhi leader who moved the Pakistan Resolution in the Sindh Assembly turned completely hostile to the new government and founded the Jiye Sindh Party demanding complete autonomy and creation of Sindhu Desh. He expressed his repentance for his role in the creation of Pakistan and apologized to the Hindus who were consequently forced to leave Sindh. For his anti national activities allegedly in connivance with India, he was jailed where he ultimately died as a disillusioned person.

10.14 Major General BN Raizada concludes, Indian Foreign Policy never understood the importance of the ground realities in Pakistan and its implications on India's national security. It followed a weak policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of these peripheral regions and failed to take advantage of the then prevailing situation and allowed vested interests to gain influence and control over most of these vulnerable regions. As a result India now finds itself completely encircled by China directly or indirectly with a long common Himalayan border causing serious internal conflicts and militant activities. As analysed in the next Chapter, China took full advantage of India's aforesaid blunders to manipulate a blitzkrieg for usurping Tibet. Shaken by the multi pronged Chinese attack, Nehru made a public statement recognizing the sovereignty of China over Tibet thereby foreclosing any intervention in the future by the United Nations and the world community in favour of the rights of the Buddhist community of Tibet. This reaffirms that Nehru was an impetuous person who took and imposed decisions without

assessing their legitimacy and long-term implications for India. *(Based on interview of Major General BN Raizada by the Author)*

10.15 In East Pakistan the situation is even more complex. It is separated from West Pakistan by a vast track of India and though the Muslims are in the majority, their language is Bengali while the language of Muslims of East Pakistan is Urdu. As subsequent events have shown, the differences culminated in East Pakistan getting separated from West Pakistan to become Bangladesh. This reaffirms that that the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan was indeed a monumental disaster.

10.16 Sashanka Banerjee in his book “India’s Security Dilemmas” questions, “Was partition of India inevitable? Were the religious differences between the Hindus and the Muslims or the ideological disagreements between secular Congress and communal Muslim League so acute that the subcontinent lunged towards partition?” He adds, “Pakistan scholars have claimed that if the Congress had arrived in a power sharing arrangement both at the provincial and central levels with the Muslim League that accommodated the demands of the Muslim majority provinces, there was a fair chance that partition could have been avoided”. Sadly India is now surrounded by hostile states and is likely to face perpetual threat to its peace and security.

Chapter 11

China usurps Tibet

11.1 In 1954 Chinese leader Chou En Lai visited India followed by visits by Nehru and Indira Gandhi to China. It marked the beginning of the relationship of “*Hindi Chinee, bhai bhai*” meaning “Indians and Chinese are brothers”. A treaty based on “*Panch Sheel*”, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, was signed that became the focus of a Conference held in Bandung held in 1955.

11.2 According to Frank Katherine, there was a surprise twist in 1956. China had been clandestinely building a road through the remote Aksai Chin region of Ladakh in Kashmir. Tibet was since ancient times an autonomous region of people of Buddhist religion headed by a Dalai Lama elected by the people as its spiritual and political head. In 1959 China consolidated its domination of Tibet. The Dalai Lama and a large number of Tibetan families fled to India where they were given political asylum and settled mainly in Dalhousie and Dharmashala. Indira Gandhi helped in establishing a Central Relief Committee for thousands of Tibetan refugees who followed the Dalai Lama in exile. China condemned India for harbouring the Dalai Lama. Being an impetuous person and apparently to appease China, Nehru made a public statement that India recognised the sovereignty of China over Tibet when he had no authority to do so. **He thereby foreclosed any initiative by India in the future to get Tibet liberated from the clutches of China.**

11.3 In September 1962, when Indira and Nehru were in Europe, Chinese troops began to cross the British established MacMohan Line in the Northeast Frontier Agency now named Arunachal Pradesh at the tri-junction between India, Tibet and Bhutan. China made another penetration into the 16,000 square mile Aksai Chin region in Ladakh in the Kashmir region through which the Chinese had secretly constructed a 750 miles road in 1956-57 linking Sinkiang in Tibet with China. Far away in Paris, Nehru dismissed these intrusions as petty conflicts between patrols. Indira and Nehru returned leisurely to Delhi in October. Agreeing to send two divisions of soldiers to the North East, Nehru and Indira again left on a State visit to Ceylon. After they returned on October 20, the Chinese launched their first full-scale invasion into Indian territories using heavy mortar, mountain artillery and tanks. On October 22 a state of emergency was imposed and India requested United States and Britain for arms.

11.4 Up to the eve of the Chinese invasion in October 1962, India’s Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, had refused to take the Chinese threat seriously with the result that both, the country and the army, were woefully unprepared

for the assault. When the Chinese had been amassing their forces and building the Aksai Chin Road, Menon had set the Indian defence industry to produce pressure cookers and coffee percolators. When the Chinese invaded, voices rose in a chorus demanding Menon's head. Even before this episode, Menon was a far from popular person. As High Commissioner in London in the forties, he had become embroiled in a dubious contract for buying several thousand jeeps for India of which only a fraction had been delivered. Though Menon was an old friend and mentor of Indira, she called for his resignation as Defence Minister to deflect the blame for the Chinese debacle from her father. On November 19, Indira's forty-fifth birthday, news came that the Chinese had broken through the Se La Pass beyond which lay Assam and the rest of India. The Chinese, in fact, had come down the Himalayas in the North East in a human avalanche. They then besieged the under equipped and badly outnumbered Indian troops! Tezpur, a major town in Assam just thirty miles from the Chinese line, was threatened. By midday, Indira had decided that she would go there. She flew to Tezpur in a plane laden with Indian Red Cross supplies. The Chinese now occupied some 50,000 square miles of India's territory. Indira returned to Delhi for exactly eight hours displaying a flaming confidence because the tribal people had refused to leave Tezpur. The Chinese invasion of India came out of the blue and ended as abruptly as it began. On November 21, 1962, the Chinese unexpectedly announced a unilateral ceasefire and withdrew in the eastern sector to a position fifteen miles north of the McMahon Line, and to the line of actual control in the other sectors. Frank Katherine concludes, "*India had been completely humiliated, Nehru had been crushed. The war was over*".

11.5 China was a feudal state with Taoism and teachings of Confucius as its main spiritual yearnings. Impressed by the Soviet Union, it adopted Soviet type single party government, centralised planning and a controlled economy. When the Soviet Union collapsed, China retained the single party government controlled by the communist party and opened its economy to the global market. With a single party government and rightist economic model, China is now like Hitler's Germany a fascist nation and can one day be a major threat to global peace.

11.6 Independent India's leadership in its formative years: Nehru was an impetuous person. **Indira Gandhi** inherited Nehru's highhandedness; **Sanjay Gandhi** inherited his mother's brashness. **Rajiv Gandhi** inherited his father's sobriety and compassion; **Sonia Gandhi** has picked up Indian culture better than many Indians by birth. **BJP leaders** invoke Ram Temple to win votes but avoid demanding Ram Raj. **All political parties** are abusing the Westminster system that fosters self seeking, coalition politics. **India needs Gandhi's village republics**. The followers of Gandhi can call it Gram Swaraj. Those of Vishva Hindu Parishad can call it Ram Raj.

11.7 The Westminster system evolved in Britain through abuse by its feudal lords. They first beheaded a tyrannical king. They then instituted a parliament with a House of Commons and a House of Lords to protect their feudal interests. They then declared the parliament supreme, not the people. The Westminster system is functioning well in a small country such as Britain in which power is shared by two political parties. It has however led to instability in most nations that adopted it. Gandhi favoured directly elected chief executive so that he is directly accountable to the people. It is currently practised in good democracies such as in nations such as USA.

11.8 The President of USA is lodged in a magnificent residence called White House. There are no official lodges for his team of secretaries who are equivalent to our ministers. The legislators too are only given housing allowances. Most of them opt for long-term accommodations in private homes and condominiums. Only the very wealthy can afford staying in Washington DC's hotels. Legislators mostly return to their constituencies in between sessions of the parliament. As opposed to this, ministers and many legislators are lodged in big bungalows in Lutyen's Delhi built by India's erstwhile imperial rulers. This amounts to blatant abuse of political authority and needs to be phased out.

Chapter 12

Centralised Polity further divides India

12.1 The unemployed educated youth of India who have joined violent movements such as ULFA, NAXAL & PWG, are truly freedom fighters demanding their democratic right of local control over local resources. If granted they will join the mainstream of society for nation building. The problem has become more complex in the North East by influx of a large number of refugees from Bihar and Bangladesh. BG Verghese in his book “India’s Northeast Resurgent” projects a very complex scenario following the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946. It is natural, Verghese points out, for the tribal communities to assert their ethnic identity. What is worrying them most is the perceived threat to their identity and culture in which language plays a prominent part. It began with the import by the British of a whole class of functionaries from Bengal to administer and service the newly acquired territories, the natural corollary being the use of Bengali in the conduct of administration. Arguments such as Assamese was but a dialect of Bengali soon led to Bengali being declared the official vernacular of Assam with even primary education being taught in Bengali. This was a severe blow to Assamese pride and handicap for their children. To these were added concerns regarding political restructuring. Assam, earlier placed with Bengal, was recognised in 1874 as a chief commissioner’s province including neighbouring regions encompassing an area of 54,100 square miles with Shillong as capital and a population of 4.15 million. With the approach of independence the Muslim League began to press for inclusion of Assam in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh.

12.2 Had India, notwithstanding partition, democratically empowered its people and followed a pragmatic foreign policy to safeguard its interests, it could have effectively protected Jammu, Laddakh and Kashmir, spread its influence over all our small neighbouring states and engaged our enemies in Afghanistan, Balochistan and North West Frontier Province, instead of in Jammu, Laddakh and Kashmir. Similarly we could have engaged China at its border with Tibet and not on our border. Our policy of Panch Sheel and concept of the Non Alignment Movement were good but we should not have assumed that others will not violate them and ought to have strengthened and fully prepared ourselves for the worst. At the root of all our problems is the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Most third world nations that got independence after India did, adopted big brother India’s flawed model of centralised democracy with equally disastrous consequences.

Chapter 13

Indira Gandhi's Turbulent Period

13.1 During the period Nehru was Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi moved to the Prime Minister's official residence. She acted as hostess to visiting dignitaries and accompanied her father during official trips abroad. When Nehru died in June 1963, Lal Bahadur Shastri, a dedicated servant of the people was nominated Prime Minister by the Congress parliamentary party. He died of heart attack in Tashkent in 1964 where he had gone to resolve the discord of India with Pakistan over Kashmir.

13.2 The Congress Party then nominated Indira Gandhi as its Prime Minister candidate. She won the general election held in 1965 to become the third Prime Minister of India. The Congress Party split in 1967 and in the mid term general election that followed in the same year the Congress won. Since because of the split, the Congress Party did not have absolute majority, it formed a coalition government with Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister and Morarje Desai as Deputy Prime Minister. She abolished the privy purses of the Maharajas and nationalised the banks thus winning the good will of the people. While abolishing the privy purses of the Maharajas was proper, nationalising the banks gave a sellback to economic growth. She announced mid term elections in 1971 in which the Congress won majority votes and she strengthened her position as Prime Minister.

13.3 Veteran socialist leader Raj Narayan challenged her election in the Allahabad High Court. On June 24, 1975 the Court declared the election of 1971 invalid. On the advice of her younger son Sanjay, Indira Gandhi dissolved the parliament and on June 25, 1975 declared state of emergency under an undemocratic colonial provision in the Constitution. During the emergency she put the leaders of opposition parties under house arrest and adopted various measures for ostensibly cleansing politics and improving the condition of the people. Misguided by the reports of her sycophants, she withdrew the emergency in January 1977 and announced general elections. She lost the election and realised that the emergency had alienated her from the people. Jai Prakash Narayan who opposed emergency promoted a new party named Janata Party, a coalition of strange bedfellows. The Janata Party won the 1977 elections and elected Morarji Desai at India's prime minister. Because of its inherent contradictions, the Janata party did more to find faults with Indira Gandhi than do anything positive. It procured a warrant of arrest on various charges against Indira Gandhi and sent police to arrest her. She refused to seek bail, was put in prison, and later released without bail. She thereby won the bout and the sympathy of the people.

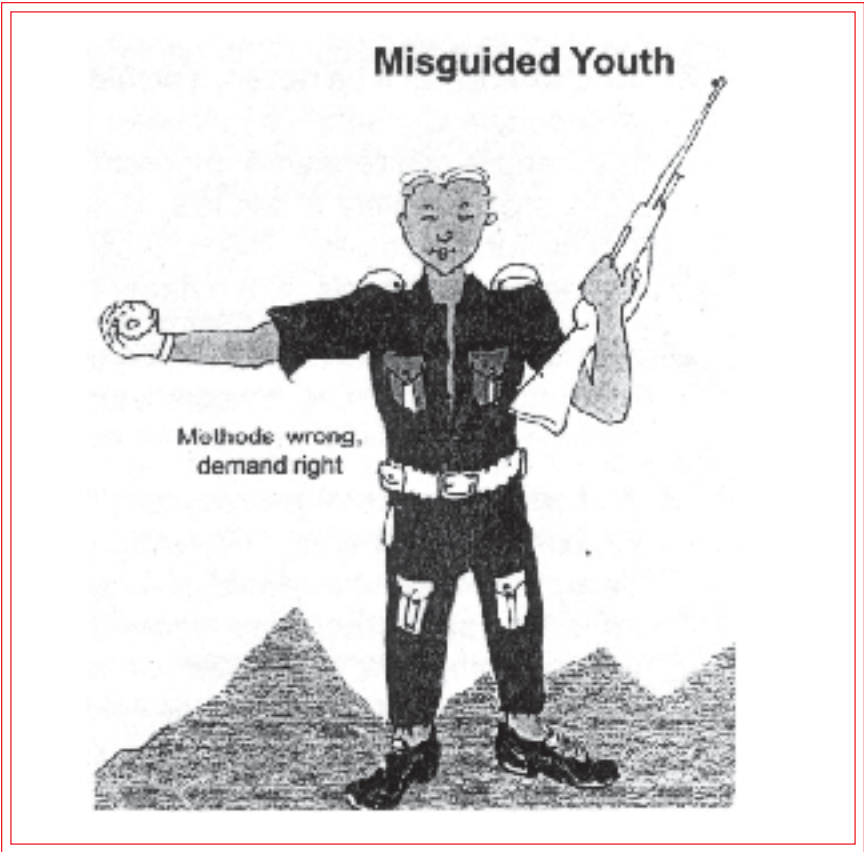
13.4 Largely because of the mistakes of the Janata Party and to the surprise of political observers in India and abroad, Indira Gandhi won the election held in 1980. That year her younger son Sanjay died when an aerobatic aircraft he was piloting crashed. Against this disturbed domestic background, Indira Gandhi inducted her elder son Rajiv then a pilot in Indian Airlines, inexperienced and hesitant in politics, as her aide. In June 1981, Rajiv Gandhi contested from Amethi, his late brother's constituency, and won the election as a Member of Parliament. With this she acquired an amazing new lease of power.

13.5 During the period Indira Gandhi was Prime Minister a major event took place in Pakistan. Mujeebur Rehman a leader of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, got elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mujeebur Rehman went to Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan for taking oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Then Military chief of Pakistan Yahiya Khan put both Mujeebur Rehman and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a former Prime Minister of Pakistan under house arrest and himself assumed authority as the dictator of Pakistan. The military started genocide of supporters of Mujeebur Rehman in East Pakistan. This led to a large number of refugee families of East Pakistan migrating into India in 1965. Indira Gandhi sought intervention from the world community. Upset by it, Yahiya Khan attacked India. Indira sent Indian forces to defend both western and eastern borders between India and Pakistan. India won the war and with the consent of the United Nations declared Bangladesh an independent state. Mujeebur Rehman became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

13.6 The Akali Dal of the Sikh community largely controlled the politics in Punjab. Mixing politics with religion, Indira Gandhi established contact with a Sikh youth Brindanwalle. When in 1984 he betrayed her and took refuge in the Golden Temple of the Sikh community in Amritsar, she sent the Indian army that bombarded the Temple to flush him out. Angered by the assault on their Temple, the Sikh community took to violence in India and abroad. The same year, a Sikh soldier on security duty at the residence of Indira Gandhi assassinated her. This culminated in riots all over the country inflicting damage to life and property of innocent Sikh families. It is ironic that the Sikh who came into existence to defend Hindus against conversion to Islam by bigoted Mughal Monarch Aurangzeb, were now being attacked by the Hindus! It took quite some time to heal the wounds.

13.7 According to recent reports, Bangladesh is again heading for a long military rule. Just as two former Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, have been in exile, it seems that two most popular leaders of Bangladesh's two parties, former Prime Ministers Khaleda Zia and Sheikh

Hasina may be placed under house arrest if they return from exile. On the other hand pressure is getting built up on Pervaz Mussaraff to give up his uniform. The unfortunate assassination of Benazir Bhutto has further complicated matters.



Chapter 14

Rajiv Gandhi initiates vital reforms

14.1 Rajiv Gandhi, a pilot with Indian Airlines, had no inclination to enter politics. The leaders of the Congress Party persuaded him to seek election as the Prime Minister candidate in the election in 1984 that followed Indira Gandhi's assassination. Rajiv Gandhi led the Congress to a major election victory amassing the largest majority in the Parliament. After assuming charge, his significant contributions have been (1) emphasis on modernisation of the economy, (2) economic liberalisation, and (3) empowering local communities. Modernisation of the economy opened avenues for economic development and created access to consumer goods that had been largely denied to the people in Nehru's socialist economic planning based on flawed Soviet practises. Once in the thick of things, Rajiv Gandhi began leading it in a direction significantly different to the earlier norms on socialism. He improved bilateral relations with the United States long strained owing to India's socialism. He established close relationship with the Soviet Union, enlarged scientific cooperation and expanded economic cooperation with it. He drew on his experience as a pilot by emphasising the value of technology and modern business methods. He increased government support for science and technology and associated industry in such initiatives. He removed quotas and reduced import taxes and tariffs on technology based industries especially computers, airlines, defence and telecommunications. He came down heavily on the licence regime and introduced measures significantly curtailing it. In 1986, Rajiv announced a national education policy to modernise and expand higher education programmes across India. He was the founder of Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya programme in the year 1986. What these measures collectively did was to create conducive environment for India's overall economic development. During Rajiv Gandhi's period serious thought was also given to the functioning of the public sector. He initiated discussions with public sector executives on wasteful practises. Public sector companies being owned by the people, he suggested offering their shares to the public especially the villagers.

14.2 Rajiv Gandhi's greatest initiative as Prime Minister was empowerment of local communities. Opening the *dwar* that is door of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya and highlighting that out of a rupee, only 16 paise reach the village, Rajiv Gandhi initiated the Panchayati Raj constitutional amendments. He was wrongly advised to send Indian forces to Sri Lanka to curb terrorist activities of Tamil Tigers. The Tamil Tigers like the ULFA, NAXAL and PWG of India, are truly freedom fighters demanding their democratic rights of local control over local resources. Angered, some Tamils in India, who were supporting the movement of the Tamil Tigers, assassinated Rajiv Gandhi on

May 21, 1991 when he was addressing a meeting in the Tamil state of India for the ensuing national elections. It is ironic that Rajiv Gandhi who initiated local empowerment in India was assassinated by supporters of the Tamil Tigers who are fighting in Sri Lanka for their democratic right of local empowerment!

14.3 The Congress Party nominated Narsimha Rao as its Prime Minister candidate in the ensuing national election. He won the election with a big majority as sympathy vote for the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The constitutional amendments for local empowerment were naturally on the agenda of the new government. Reluctant to let go power, the members of parliament dillydallied for sometime and finally promulgated the 73rd & 74th Panchayati Raj constitutional amendments in 1992 such that they retain effective power with the state and have only succeeded in decentralising corruption! None the less Articles 243ZD & 243ZE introduced through these amendments make a powerful statement in that they mandate that based on the available social, environmental and financial resources, and funds devolved through the objective processes of the central and state finance commissions, the panchayats and municipalities shall prepare local plans suiting local needs in analytical, quantitative and spatial form, coordinated by district and metropolitan planning committees as district and metropolitan plans. The district and city plans will logically be coordinated by state planning authorities with state level infrastructure as state plans, and the state plans by a national planning authority with national level infrastructure as a national plan, all in analytical, quantitative and spatial form. Such scientific regional planning practised in ancient India as Vastu Shastra, is an iterative ongoing process, not a Soviet type five-year exercise. It is currently practised in most western democracies. Vested political interests have however prevented enforcement of this constitutional mandate. Instead, through amendments in the Constitution, the legislators have cunningly made themselves ex-officio members of panchayats and municipalities and got large amounts sanctioned to themselves as constituency development funds. These provisions violate the scheme of the Constitution in that a legislator cannot (1) perform executive functions, and (2) hold two elective offices.

14.4 It is now the constitutional obligation of the government to discard the flawed Soviet type centralised planning, earlier supra constitutional now totally unconstitutional, and introduce scientific regional planning that will be an ongoing iterative process, not a five year exercise. The Soviet type Planning Commission and State Planning Boards need to be wound up, and their professional staff trained in regional planning absorbed in the National, State and Local Planning Authorities. All development authorities including the highly corrupt Delhi Development Authority need to be abolished being unconstitutional, and their unwanted staff laid-off. It is unfortunate that our imperial judiciary has neither enforced the Panchayati Raj amendments, nor

declared the anti-people provisions of the Constitution ultra-virus. We urge Sonia Gandhi to, as homage to late Rajiv Gandhi, organise a national debate on this issue and ensure that the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments initiated by Rajiv Gandhi are properly implemented without further delay.

14.5 When the Author completed his tenure with the government in 1991, Digvijay Singh, then Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, invited him as a member on the State Planning Board. Based on discussions in it, he issued orders that the Panchayats and Municipalities shall prepare local plans that shall be coordinated by District Governments. He also instituted directly elected Mayors as the chief executive in place of the IAS Municipal Commissioner as during the British rule. This significantly fortified accountability and led to improvement in revenues and the quality of civic services. Kerala too is practicing scientific regional planning while most states are not.

14.6 After the promulgation of the 73rd & 74th constitutional amendments, acquisition of village land for urban and/or industrial development such as in Delhi, Noida & Gurgaon in the National Capital Region, and in Nandigram in West Bengal, is a blatant violation of rural jurisdictions. The village Panchayats being the planning authority, alone can now zone rural land, lease land as zoned for housing, industry, etc, and collect lease money and other taxes from the users as in western democracies. The manner in which men, women and children protecting their legal right to agriculture land were brutally massacred in Nandigram, West Bengal, amounts to homicide. Prof. Laski said “fascism is capitalist democracy turned at bay”, implying that politicians and capitalists connive to abuse the common people. Neither the Human Rights Commissions nor the superior courts have taken cognisance of the above abuse. An important function of the superior courts is to monitor that the Constitution is not violated. Our imperial judiciary has miserably failed to perform this constitutional duty. The reason apparently is that most lawyers and judges still have the mindset of an imperial polity.

14.7 The Nithari mass killing of children in Noida is illustrative of the depravation in our social fabric. According to recent media reports, over 60 million children go hungry every day in India. Unless we correct our political system and faithfully enforce the laws, such abuse will keep increasing and India will eventually drift into anarchy, further balkanisation and total degeneration. It may then be too late to institute any reforms. A serious bottleneck is the mindset amongst even well meaning citizens that the governments at the national and state levels are governments while panchayats and municipalities are not. The truth is that the panchayats and municipalities, the latter assisted by urban neighbourhoods, where the sovereign people live are the real governments, while state and national

governments are mere representative governments handling state and national level functions but mandated not to interfere in local matters.

14.8 According to a report in The Times of India, since 2004 India has lost more lives to terrorism than any country other than Iraq. Cross border terrorism, blamed for most attack on India is not the only threat to India's internal security. Several militant and insurgent outfits such as ULFA, NAXAL and PWG are active in Northeast and other parts of India. The disputed territory of Kashmir remains a tinderbox of conflict sixty years after independence.

14.9 Let us assume that when the Allahabad High Court set aside Indira Gandhi's election, Rajeev and not Sanjay Gandhi was her advisor. On Rajiv's advice she may have advised the President of India to dissolve the parliament, and institute amendments in the Constitution for empowering local governments. She would then have won the election with thumping majority and set India on the path of rejuvenation with social justice and equity! Rajiv apparently inherited some of the values of his father Feroze Gandhi, a great parliamentarian sensitive to the aspirations of the common people. History can play hide and seek with nations. The "If it were so" in governance can be educative.

Chapter 15

Improving Urban and Rural Quality

15.1 Many villages and towns in India had heritage and civic quality in ancient times often superior to those in the West. The British rule neglected them. It is ironic that centralised rule in independent India is abusing the common people possibly more than even during the colonial rule. State politicians in connivance with the state bureaucracy and contractors are forcibly acquiring urban and rural land so also water systems and forests of villages as it was during the colonial rule when in democracy they should be under local control. An IAS officer is the chief executive of large municipalities while the elected mayor is merely the speaker of the assembly, a titular head.

15.2 Such exploitative colonial practises need to be discarded and directly elected mayors as the chief executive of the municipality should be introduced in all states as already done in Madhya Pradesh by Digvijay Singh former Chief Minister. The Indian Administrative Service, so also Indian Police Service and Indian Forest Services designed to rule over the people should be phased out, being incompatible with democracy. Elected heads of the districts, called *Janpads* in ancient India and counties in the West, should handle district level infrastructure and coordinate between the panchayats and municipalities. Departmental heads of municipalities such as for administration of justice, police, land, water systems, environment and healthcare may as in good democracies be nominated by the mayor and appointed with the approval of the civic assembly. If the opposition points out any impropriety of the officials thus nominated, he or she cannot be appointed. If the assembly approves the appointment, the mayor cannot remove the official without the approval of the assembly! The departmental heads thus become independent functionaries similar to an election commissioner and act in the interest of the community. If a locally appointed municipal official or judge is corrupt, he gets disgraced in the community and may find himself compelled to relocate with his family to another district. In villages, the Gram Sabha that is the village assembly shall take all decisions. **Villages thus virtually function as direct democracy. It is for this reason that Gandhi laid great stress on village republics.**

15.3 Delhi being the national capital has the privilege of large allocation of funds and an Urban Arts Commission overseeing civic design. As a result it has civic quality better than most other cities in India. However because of the prevailing Delhi centric attitude, it has become over crowded and insecure. Washington DC, the national capital, and state capitals such as Albany of New York State, USA, are predominantly governance towns. Delhi should be

solely a national capital while activities such as Trade Fair, industry and sporting facilities dispersed to other cities. This also applies to state capitals.

15.4 Centralisation of authority and abuse of local communities has led to many disastrous consequences. Poverty and inadequacy of healthcare facilities in villages has resulted in phenomenal increase in population and pervasive environmental degradation. To meet emerging demands, the state is now contemplating projects such as building large dams and diverting rivers. Such projects will be prohibitively expensive and ironically are likely to create more problems that solve them. India needs to first take corrective democratisation reforms and then examine the options.

15.5 Delhi not only has access to large central grants but is also the only city in India that has the privilege of an Urban Arts Commission. A Civic Arts Commission needs to be instituted in every city and clusters of small towns and villages, to oversee that their civic and heritage quality is not only restored but also further enriched. The author's lyric "*Bharat tha sadeev, krishi pradhan desh*", highlights that the soul of India has since ages been in its villages. We need to rejuvenate our villages if urban India is to survive.

Chapter 16

Nurturing Social Harmony

16.1 For nurturing inter faith social harmony, the discord over (1) Ram Janmabhumi in Ayodhya and (2) conversions by Christian missionaries to Christianity need to be resolved. An ancient temple can be restored but one demolished cannot be rebuilt, spiritually or archeologically. Just as Mahakal Temple of Ujjain and Vaishno Devi temple of Jammu & Kashmir have been brought under statutory trusts, Ram Janmabhumi in Ayodhya being a national heritage should also be brought under a statutory trust. A damaged temple can be renovated but one destroyed cannot be rebuilt, spiritually or archeologically. We propose that the remnants of the Ram Mandir may be restored, and a “Ram Darshan” developed in its precincts projecting through multimedia, visuals, dance performances, posters and books, values that Ram stood for, and the magnificence of Dharma that upholds respect for all faiths and offers a total approach to humanism. A ‘Dharma Mandir’ (Temple of Dharma) with symbols of all major faiths as expression of respect for all faiths that Dharma espouses may also be instituted.

16.2 Conversion of Hindus to Christianity is fostering social discord leading to assaults on Christian priests that give a bad name to Hindus. To curb religious conversions that in the name of god foster violence and social discord, the Author proposes that a law may be enacted that conversion of a person who is not a High School (10th class) graduate to another faith shall be deemed to be exploitation of poverty and while the person converted can pursue any faith, the priest who solemnises such conversions shall be prosecuted for exploiting poverty. We urge Christian and Muslim priesthood to follow the tenets of Dharma and for god’s sake, not proselytise, a major cause of social conflict. Gandhi’s holistic spirituality can be best called “Gandhitva”, a Sanskrit construct meaning values that Gandhi stood for. It alone can rejuvenate the spiritual values that Bharat stood for. Bharat that is India can then be declared a “Secular Gandhitva State”!

Chapter 17

India's Imperial Judiciary

17.1 During recent years, harassed citizens are frequently resorting to public interest litigation. This has created a false impression that the judiciary alone can now ensure good governance. With over forty million cases pending in various courts and tribunals, and endemic corruption in lower judiciary, the common people hardly have access to justice. The reason for this is that based on colonial practises local judges are appointed by the state and posted in and transferred to various districts. This fosters lack of accountability. We need to discard such colonial practices and adopt democratic practises as advocated by Gandhi and currently practised in the best western democracies wherein the village council, municipality and the district governments appoint local judges from amongst lawyers within their jurisdiction, High Courts appoint their judges from amongst lawyers within the state jurisdiction, and the Supreme Court selects and appoints its judges from anywhere in the nation.

17.2 Another highly undesirable practice in India is that after retirement judges are given assignments such as chairperson of various tribunals and commissions of enquiry. Worst is that they can even seek election in the parliament. Such practises make judges in service susceptible to compromising their objectivity. As in good western democracies, judges of the superior courts may be appointed for life and debarred from appointment to any office by the state if they choose to relinquish office earlier.

17.3 India is still wedded to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence introduced by the British. We need to revert to Indian jurisprudence that lays greater emphasis on rehabilitation than on retribution. The Supreme Court judges have recently dropped the prefix 'Your Lordship', a legacy of the colonial rule. The dress code of judges and lawyers also need to be reviewed and options based on Indian colour codes considered. Our jails are usually poorly maintained and often get highly congested by influx of under trial prisoners in large numbers. As in countries such as Australia, private jails may be introduced in which their promoters will charge the prisoners for lodging and catering and the state will provide security. Under trial prisoners other than those involved in heinous crimes who are willing to pay the tariff, can be lodged in such jails. Since the number of under trial prisoners is usually large, this will considerably relieve pressure on state jails, and make them liveable for convicts awarded long term punishments. It will also facilitate reform of convicts and curb homosexual and lesbian abuse.

17.4 Public Interest Litigation: PILs are mushrooming in India since

under our centralised polity the elected servants of the people frequently abuse authority. Such abuse will get drastically reduced once true democracy as advocated by Gandhi and practised in the best democracies is instituted.

17.5 Superior courts to initiate democratization reforms: It is the Dharma that is duty of the superior courts to oversee that rights of the sovereign people are not in any way violated. A Constitution is not a sacred scripture, but just a law — good or bad. The superior courts ought to have realised that an anti people Constitution based on exploitative colonial practises was imposed on the people and authenticated in their name in criminal breach of their trust. Realising this, they ought to have taken suo-moto cognizance of the abuse and taken steps to rectify it. They have not only failed to understand the true spirit of democracy, but have also been ignoring petitions on (1) illegitimacy of the Constitution authenticated in the name of the people in breach of their trust, and (2) non enforcement of the Panchayati Raj constitutional amendments initiated by Rajiv Gandhi. Instead, they have been behaving as super administrators issuing diktats on demolition of illegal buildings and removal of slum dwellers, many of them from Bangladesh, ignoring international protocols on refugee rights.



17.6 To save India from drifting into anarchy, further balkanisation and all round social and environmental degeneration, the Author urges the Superior Courts to dwell on these issues and as endorsed by Justice MN Venkatachaliah, a former revered Chief Justice of India, initiate the process of instituting true democracy through the referendum process.

Chapter 18

Reforms suiting tropical Ecology and/or Productivity

18.1 Flawed Academic Year: Suffering colonial mindset, we are still wedded to the academic year with vacation in summer months introduced by the British to enable them to visit Britain with their families during the festive summer months of Britain. To suit our tropical ecology, our academic year needs to be such that vacation is in the festive winter months from say November 15 to January 15 so that our youth may partake in active sports or travel to absorb nature and culture during our festive winter months while studying indoors under fans or work in air conditioned computer rooms during the hostile summer months. Our rural youth can then assist their parents in agriculture during the winter months. Hostels vacant during the festive winter months are likely to earn several hundred million rupees every year as tourist accommodation that can be utilised to support education, sports and scholarships to needy students. Presently hostels lie neglected during summer months and need extensive repairs when academic years commence!

18.2 Flawed Financial Year: The British introduced the financial year April 1 to March 31 in India to match with that in Britain. It is appropriate for Britain's temperate zone where the engineers get an uninterrupted working season from April 1 to the time when it starts snowing. Based on our tropical ecology, our financial year should be from say, October 2 to October 1, so that our engineers get an uninterrupted working season, make payments and design projects during the rainy months, and close accounts on October 2, after disbursing the salary for September on October 1. On the Author proposing such a financial year, Digvijay Singh the then Chief Minister Madhya Pradesh proposed it to the then Union Finance Minister. He got a bureaucratic reply that such a proposal had been considered by a committee of Secretaries and was not considered necessary! The Union minister apparently realised that such reforms may lead to bigger democratisation reforms and evaded the issue.

18.3 Adopting million-billion system: The world community should thank Hindus for inventing the zero and scale of ten. In the now globalising world we may replace our traditional lakh-crore system, by the now globally prevalent million, billion system, to standardise accounting and avoid delays and confusion.

18.4 Rationalising Government Holidays: As in the West, we have now adopted Saturdays as holidays. With one month leave earned every year, ten days casual leave, a large number of holidays of various faiths, birth and

death anniversaries of national leaders, and for all Saturdays and Sundays the nation now hardly works! The leave of one month should include casual leave. Moreover, whenever a weekday happens to be a holiday, the Saturday in that week may be made a working day.

18.5 Government Houses in Hill Stations: The white skin of the British could not sustain the hostile summer months in India. They built a Viceregal Lodge in Shimla for the Viceroy, Government Houses for the Governors and bungalows for ministers and civil servants in states with hill stations. After independence the Viceregal Lodge was made a research institute. It deteriorated for lack of adequate maintenance funds. Just as palaces in Rajasthan and other states have been leased as heritage hotels, the Vice-regal Lodge, Government Houses of State Governors and bungalows of ministers and bureaucrats in hill stations may be leased to hoteliers. The President and Vice President of India, Governors of States, ministers and bureaucrats as well as tourists can stay in these hotels that will not only earn revenue for the government but will also ensure that they are properly conserved and maintained.

18.7 State residence for Ministers, legislators & civil servants: As in USA, official residence may be provided only for the chief executive of the national and state governments. Ministers and legislators may as in USA be given appropriate lodging allowance for the period they are required to be in the capital. All government accommodation except for the chief executives should be disinvested. District Governors, City Mayors, Village counsellors and the local bureaucracy should naturally live in their personal homes as in western democracies.

Chapter 19

One World Education & Temples of Dharma

19.1 Contemporary education equips the youth in humanities and sciences but does not inculcate values — a vital component of education. Development Alternatives has launched an initiative to promote university campuses “One World Education” with numerous common facilities such as an auditorium, open air theatre, lecture halls, library, guest house and sporting facilities such as swimming pool, tennis and squash, in which various private trusts will book space for different academic programmes bound by the motto “Science with Spirituality for a Just World Order”. To articulate the motto there shall be three anchor institutions, namely, (1) Science Spirituality Experience, (2) School of Creative Arts, and (3) School of Traditional Science. Based on the writings of Vivekanand, Einstein and Gandhi, spirituality can be best defined as the relationship of the individual with the society, other life forms and the environment. Thus while religion inculcates personal ethics, spirituality nurtures secular societal ethics. A multimedia “Science Spirituality Experience” will be made to inculcate such values especially amongst our youth. Such value-based education is essential for nurturing responsible communities nurturing a sustainable world order based on social justice and equity. **The first campus of One World Education is likely to be instituted in Jattari village near Taj Airport and Aviation Hub on main road from Delhi to Aligarh at Jewar.**

19.2 Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts & Culture (IGNCA) was established with great fanfare at a prime location in New Delhi as a research institution focusing on Indian arts and culture. For want of a legitimate programme and heavily dependent on grants from the government, the institution has been languishing. There is now an emerging need for universities that impart quality interdisciplinary education in both humanities and modern sciences and also inculcates ethics amongst our youth. This has become a matter of great urgency because after the opening of our economy to the global market, our traditional value system is breaking down and our youth is indulging in vices such as drug abuse and unsafe sex. Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts may be upgraded as a university titled “Indira Gandhi One World Education” bound by the motto “Science with Spirituality for a Just World Order”. A great advantage will be that through the fees earned it will become self-sustaining and productive and the government will not be required to dole out taxpayers money to sustain it. A Dharma Mandir described in the next section can also be instituted in its precincts.

19.3 Dharma Mandir: For inculcating amongst our youth the values espoused by Dharma especially of respect for all faith, creatively designed posters titled “**Dharma Mandir**” with symbols of all faiths and a statement of the

values that Dharma stands for may be displayed in Town Halls, schools, colleges, cultural centres, hospitals, railway stations, airports and other public places for sensitizing the people especially the youth about the universal brotherhood that Dharma espouses. A poster “Seven Commandments of Dharma” that highlights the values that Dharma espouses can also be displayed.

Hkxoku , d] uke vusd

God One, Name Many

सन्तोष कुमार शर्मा –

<p>1. तू ही राम। तू ही कृष्ण। तू ही बुद्ध। तू ही महावीर।।</p>	<p>2. तू ही मोजिज। तू ही ईसा। तू ही मोहम्मद। तू ही जोहराष्ट्र।।</p>	<p>3. तू ही सूफीयों के साईं। तू ही सिक्खों के गुरु। तू ही बहाईउल्ला। तू ही गांधी।।</p>
<p>5. तू ही मंदिर में, मस्जिद में, गिरजा में। तू ही सब के दिलों में।।</p>	<p>4. तेरा संदेश है प्रेम। तू है भारत का ओम, मुसलमान का आमीन, ईसाइ का अमीन जब जब अधर्म बढ़ता है, तू आता है।।</p>	<p>6. तू ही पशुपक्षी में, मिट्टी, जल वन में। तू ही सब के दिलों में।।</p>
<p>7. जब भगवान है एक, तो काहे करे मतभेद। जागो धर्म के रक्षको, जागो, सब धर्मों का करो सम्मान। राम राज ही है ग्राम स्वराज। जब राज करेगा ग्राम, भारत बनेगा महान।</p>		

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19.4 For solving problems in democracy, politicians are using tools such as (1) treat communities as subjects, not citizens, (2) mix politics with religion to divide communities, (3) give false hopes to tribal and other backward communities through promises and reservations, (4) claim that they are servants of the people but behave as masters, (5) misuse state bureaucracy designed for colonial rule, (6) work for the rich and give empty promises to the poor, (7) allow the rich to abuse their wealth, and their youth to flout the law, (8) listen to middle income groups who criticise all but themselves, (9) abuse farmers so much so that when crops fail they commit suicide, (10) perpetuate abuse of urban slum dwellers and rural landless, (11) brand ULFA, NAXAL & PWG as militants when they are truly freedom fighters, and (12) keep the conflict with Pakistan brewing. It is obvious that such tools often used by our colonial rulers cannot solve problems in democracy. Only tools of democracy such as empowered local communities and accountability to the people can. We request all those who

mean well for India to ensure that the Dharma of the state and the Dharma of the business are enforced.

19.5 M.V. Gandhimohan was born during Gandhi's hundredth birth century. To commemorate it his parents named him Gandhimohan. He authored a book "Mahatma Gandhi and the Baha'is" with subtitle: "Striving towards a Non violent Civilisation". His association with Baha'i faith began when he was in his teens. He learnt from the Baha'i belief that the world religions are different parts of a single progressive process of divine revelation. This resonated well with Gandhi's vision that the truth is one. His background was statistical physics that deals with macroscopic phenomena that emerge from the interaction of many microscopic components. Near this critical point the fluctuation get correlated no matter how the distance. As this continues the correlation becomes weaker and eventually the entire system changes to a new ordered state. Such transformations also lead to a spiritual civilisation ordered and governed globally through independent institutions of planetary scope. Baha'is faith demonstrates that such perceptions unite people. On the other hand centralisation creates large income disparities, divides communities, leads to over consumption of the resources of the earth, and fosters aberrations such as global warming.



Chapter 20

India leaves Bharat behind

20.1 A recent report in Hindustan Times titled “India leaves Bharat behind”, observes “Wheels of progress grind on. While Indian cities shine, rural India is still in the dark”. As highlighted earlier, a centralised democracy is worse than dictatorship since the greed of the numerous big and small politicians can never get satiated. Events such as the bomb blasts in the peace train to Pakistan confirm that the only solution is to democratically empower the people. If we do not institute true democracy soon, Kashmir will get further destabilised, violent movements such as ULFA, NAXAL & PWG will become increasingly aggressive, and crime especially against women will become pervasive, culminating in anarchy like conditions. India presently surrounded by failing states, will itself become a failed state. It may then be too late to institute any political reforms.

20.2 During Mahabharat, Krishna said, “Whenever injustice becomes unbearable, I come again and again”. He came as Mahaveer, Buddha, Moses, Christ, Zoharashtra, Mohammad, Sikh gurus, as Bahaiullah in the nineteenth century, and as Gandhi in the twentieth century. **Vested interests ignored Gandhi. Bharat got destroyed again. Its spirit is still alive — but dormant.** Let us rejuvenate it.

20.3 As reaction to India’s exploitative polity, some of its unemployed educated youth have joined violent movements such as ULFA, NAXAL & PWG. Their methods are wrong but their demand, so also that of Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka and Maoists of Nepal, for their democratic right of local control over local resources, is right. If granted they will join the mainstream of society for nation building. They are truly freedom fighters!

20.4 Nepal, the only Hindu state in the world is in turmoil. Ignoring Nepal’s rich Hindu spiritual heritage, its politicians adopted the flawed Westminster system and centralised polity of big bad brother India, with the result that it is now on the brink of becoming a failed state. **On the other hand, Indonesia is a unique Muslim state in which Hindus from Bihar pursuing traditional Hindu values, rituals and lifestyle in Bali Islands coexist with Islam and respect each other!** India and Nepal need to learn from the Indonesian experience.

20.5 Lloyd & Susanne Rudolph, in their book “Post Modern Gandhi: Gandhi in the World & at Home” argue against equating Gandhi with traditionalism, and instead read him as post modern. They contend that Gandhi’s critique of modern civilisation in his book ‘Hind Swaraj’ published in 1909 was an opening salvo of

the post-modern era. His story of 'My experiments with truth' and his theory and practice of non-violent collective action 'satyagraha', articulate and exemplify such a post-modern situational understanding of truth.

Chapter 21

The Bogey of Economic Boom

21.1 US based Mira Kamdar in her book “Planet India” with subtitle “How the fastest growing Democracy is transforming the World” observes that until this century the Indo-US relations were almost exclusively a people to people affair. Business and political relationships were negligible. She says India now has attractively landscaped high rise apartment buildings and shopping malls mushrooming in major cities, massive subway networks, and automobiles of most global makes on roads with numerous flyovers. India now, she adds, has the best business schools, businesses are speedily expanding and the economy is booming. She also speaks of the plight of African Americans in USA and the positive impact Gandhiji’s methods had on their liberation.

21.2 Mira then dwells on her travel in rural India and the miserable plight of Indian villages. She laments that while India’s educated urban elite and large landowners are enjoying the country’s economic boom, **millions of Indian farming families are struggling. If rains fail they have to pay debts such as for seed and fertilizer loans with no food for their family.** This has made the future of Indian farmers so grim that they exert the only power they have left over their fate — they kill themselves. Since 1997, Mira says, more than twenty-five thousand Indian farmers have committed suicide! **As opposed to this, in USA and other western democracies the state provides support to farmers and if needed off farm jobs too.**

21.3 As reports of suicide by farmers in Vidharbha a region in East Maharashtra were hitting the Indian press, Mira got a call from a journalist friend Dilip D’souza in Mumbai who invited her to join a trip to rural India. They boarded a train in Mumbai, slept in it, and when she woke up she was back in the India that she saw before the economic boom. The vast landscape rolled past with dusty towns and villages. Seventy percent of India’s population lives in rural India. There are 120 million farming families living in six hundred thousand villages. The East India Company had ruthlessly exploited India’s farmers and weavers. The situation today is worse.

21.4 Mira then dwells on India’s water crisis. With its population increasing by 18 million every year and high economic growth, India already has a severe water crisis that threatens to become much worse. The World Bank is projecting that household water use in urban India will double by 2025. Urban, industrial and agriculture interests are locked in struggle with small farmers, resulting in violent confrontations across the country. Construction of large

water reservoirs through dams raise problems of rehabilitation of families who get displaced. Nirupa Bhanger, an ex microbiology teacher, told Mira that scores of villages in Gujarat were afflicted with acute poisoning from too much fluoride in their water. Though India claims self-sufficiency in food more people in India go hungry than any other single country. While politicians claim that India is shining, the truth is that it is decaying.

21.5 The Author requests Mira Kamdar and through her US based Indians, Hindu organisations and other well meaning citizens, to launch a internet and media campaign that India is a fake democracy abusing its common people, and that the UN, USA and other developed nations should impose sanctions and trade barriers against India and other third world nations that are abusing their people, until they institute true democracy as advocated by Gandhi through the referendum process.

21.6 **Economist Praful Bidwai** of Global Information Network website: www.globalinfo.org, in a study titled “**India’s Bubble Economy booms, as poverty grows**”, published in Asia Times of March 17, 2000, presents a grim picture of the Indian economy. The study observes that in 1990s India added more than a million individuals to the list of millionaires. One of them, Azim Premji, emerged as the world’s second wealthiest man for his share holdings in an information technology firm. But market capitalisation on the Bombay Stock Exchange has risen at an unbelievable 100 per cent a year. Bidwai then dwells on the various manners in which the economic parameters interact and laments that 56 million more Indians sank below the official poverty line defined in terms of pure animal level survival and consuming the minimum number of calories necessary to stay alive — **a shame in any democracy!**

21.7 Praful Bidwai rightly highlights that **macro-economically India is back to the critical situation of 1991**, which triggered severe neo-liberal restructuring. Former Congress finance minister Chidambaram, himself a committed neo-liberal, estimated the fiscal deficit at 8.3 percent. With the government going bankrupt, public services are collapsing, often hitting the poor. The government is cutting spending on rural development including agriculture programmes, as well as on healthcare, drinking water, basic education and sanitation. **According to Bidwai income growth in rural areas where 70 percent Indians live that averaged 3.1 percent in 1980, has sharply declined to 1.8 percent.** Infant mortality rates are rising even in states such as Kerala and Maharashtra that have relatively good social indicators. **But luxury consumption is booming within the upper crust. These contrasting economic features were further accentuated in the recent national budget. The finance minister failed to tax the rich and took the easy option of borrowing raising its target by almost 40 percent. He also raised the prices of wheat**

and rice sold through India's rickety public distribution system to the officially recognised poor by a cruel 68 percent at one go in the name of cutting subsidies, IMF style. But he doled out concessions to the thriving information technology, communications and entertainment sectors by exempting or cutting taxes on export profits, computer chips, cellular phones, satellite equipment, etc. He raised India's already bloated military expenditure by 28.2 percent, the highest such increase in a single year. **Today defence spending exceeds total public and private expenditure on primary education by 68 percent.** The mere increase in military spending, Bidwai concludes, exceeds the centre's investment in health, education and social welfare.

21.8 Since mid 1990's, Bidwai observes, a new class of upward mobile, high income, professionals has crystallised in a handful of cities that have aspirations of first world lifestyle. Today, young graduates from management schools command salaries as high as \$ 120,000 a year. Such huge disposable incomes are being spent on luxury items, consumer goods and cars. Following this class in its aspirations, the hundreds of thousands of middle-income people are on a spending spree lubricated by liberal credit. India's information technology sector has burgeoned into a six billion dollar business. Its exports roughly \$ 4.5 billion are small volume, just 1.5 percent of the global software market and in relation to India's 400 billion GDP. But the information technology hype is enormous, driven by wild speculation on the stock market, itself buoyed up by the government through numerous concessions. Such growth cannot last. Sooner or later, the bubble will burst. The reality will then dawn on, Bidwai concludes, widespread deprivation. **According to the Author, merely lamenting over the past will not take us anywhere.** We need to evolve a process by which course correction can be done.

Chapter 22

Sovereign Rights Commission: A unique initiative

22.1 Power having got centralised, the political system is now unwilling to revert it to the people. If some politicians express desire to do so, the majority over rule them. **The only legal method by which true egalitarian democracy can now be instituted is by the sovereign people themselves through referendum.** Referendum is the supreme sovereign right of the people intrinsic to democracy and exists even if not provided for in a constitution. Some years ago in Britain whose practises India follows, Tony Blair instituted through referendum the parliaments of Scotland, Wales and Ireland and reinstated the position of Mayor of London abolished by former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Tony Blair won the good will of the people and got re-elected. The citizens of many western nations enjoy the right to referendum since long.

22.2 Illiteracy in India poses difficulties in initiating referendums. **To overcome such problems, as described earlier, People First has conceptualised that apart from parliament and an independent judiciary, democracy needs another institution, an independent “Sovereign Rights Commission” with authority to direct referendums, except on issues fundamental to democracy or the integrity of the nation.** There can, for example, be no referendum on making the state theocratic or a region seceding. Superior to the royal priest of bygone days, more like Gandhi, such a commission will function as the non-corruptible conscience keeper of the state based on the values of the society as a whole. It is thus not a new but an age old institution with historical legitimacy, in a form suiting contemporary needs. To reduce governance overheads, the National & State Human Rights Commissions can be upgraded as Sovereign Rights Commissions, their functions being compatible.

22.3 Based on the wishes ascertained from the vast majority common people, the Commission at the national level assisted by those at the state level will, prepare a proposed Constitution that is likely to be very similar to that proposed by Gandhi, and refer the present versus proposed Constitution to the people through referendum. The people will evidently overwhelmingly vote in favour of the proposed Constitution. The Commission at the national level will thereupon authenticate it, this time truly in the name of the people, as the supreme law of India. Assisted by the Commissions at the state level, the Commission at the national level will then appropriately phase the reforms and monitor that they are properly instituted. **Bharat that is India will be on the path of rejuvenation with social justice and equity.** Once such true democracy is instituted, human rights violations will become minimal. The people of all nation states including

USA and Britain are likely to demand such reforms that nurture an egalitarian economic system, thus heralding the emergence of a sustainable world order based on social justice and equity.

22.4 A recent report in Hindustan Times, August 8, 2007, titled ‘A third of us Indians live on Rs 20 a day’ observes that government surveys throws up shocking statistics on poverty in India”. Rs 20/- a day, the study observes, can essentially buy the family its daily sustenance. Technically a large chunk of these 836 million Indians, 77 per cent of India’s population, are said to be above the poverty line! This is clearly based on manipulated statistics.

22.5 The people of Kashmir have been demanding autonomy within the Indian Union. **What they are demanding is their democratic right of local control over local resources.** Once thus empowered, they will repulse all overtures of Pakistan. And our youth who have joined violent movements such as ULFA, NAXAL & PWG will join the mainstream of society for nation building.

22.6 People’s Movement for Democracy: Once in Utah State in USA, its citizens lowered the national flag at half mast, as protest against certain decisions of the then President of USA that were not acceptable to them. Until some years ago, based on colonial practises only the state could fly the National Flag. Since through a constitutional amendment citizens now have the right to fly the national flag at their homes and places of work, **they also have the right to fly it at half-mast. The Author invites citizens who wish well for India to launch nationwide marches with the national flag at half mast** as protest against children dying of starvation and farmers committing suicide in villages, reciting the Author’s lyric “India ko Bharat banao” and demanding Sovereign Rights Commissions with authority to direct referendums to facilitate democratisation reforms.

Chapter 23

Reunification of India, Pakistan & Bangladesh

23.1 Revisiting Gandhi's Solution: To undo the harm inflicted by partition on the common people of both India and Pakistan, it is proposed that based on the "Gandhi Solution" described in Chapter 8, section 8.24, after we have instituted directly elected chief executives at local, state and national levels, we may invite the then President of Pakistan to be the first President and chief executive of reunited India for one term. He will equitably nominate from the various states of reunited India his team of ministers who are not members of the parliament or a state legislature. On completing his term, he can be offered appointment for one term as chairman of the upper house called Egalitarian Council (see section 24.4). Similarly the Prime Minister then of Bangladesh may be invited to be the first Governor and chief executive of the reunited state of Bengal. He too will equitably nominate from the various constituencies of the reunited state of Bengal his team of ministers. On completing his term, he can be offered appointment for one term as chairperson of the Egalitarian Council of the State of Bengal. After such initial reunification, all citizens of reunited India can seek elections every five years.

23.2 China & Tibet: After collapse of the Soviet Union, China then a socialist nation, opened its economy to the global market, but is still governed by the communist party. With a single party government and rightist economy, China is now a fascist nation and can like Hitler's Germany one day become a threat to global peace. People First requests the United Nations to pressurise China to democratize its polity and declare the Kashmir-Tibet region an autonomous state and spiritual capital of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Sikhism

and Sufism, similar to that Vatican is for Christianity. The Kashmir-Tibet region will then attract nature and spiritual tourism from all over the world, spreading the message of love and peace. Universal Peace Federation and Inter-religious and International Federation for World Peace have conferred the award "Ambassador of Peace" on the Author. The award will have meaning only if true egalitarian



democracy as advocated by Gandhi is instituted.

Chapter 24

Key features of the proposed Constitution

24.1 Based on the analysis in the earlier Chapters, the Author has prepared a proposed “Constitution for Free Bharat (India) 2000” and published it on its website: www.peopolefirstindia.org. Some of its key provisions are outlined below.

24.2 President, Mayors, District and Village heads: The candidates shall first seek nomination as President and Vice President as a team in an in-party election as in USA, and then in the national election. The President thus directly elected shall be the chief executive of India. After getting elected, the President shall nominate his team of ministers not exceeding a stipulated number. The Vice President shall as in USA be ex officio Chairperson of the lower house of parliament, and will keep the President briefed on its deliberations. Freed of meetings of the parliament, the President will have ample time to attend to his diverse executive functions. The district, city and village heads too will be directly elected. They will nominate their departmental heads whose appointment will be approved by their legislatures. The departmental heads will thus become directly accountable to their people.

24.3 Sovereign Rights Commission: As already discussed, the Constitution shall provide for independent Sovereign Rights Commissions at national and state levels with authority to direct referendums, except on issues fundamental to democracy or the integrity of the nation. **To reduce governance overheads, the Human Rights Commissions may be upgraded as Sovereign Right Commissions, their functions being compatible.**

24.4 Egalitarian Council: The Rio Conference on sustainable development held in 1991 recommended that to resolve conflicts between different interest groups, there is need of multi stakeholder councils composed of representatives of different interest groups such as the youth, women, farmers, farm labour, religions, small, medium & large industries and their labour, and nominee of selected disciplines such as architects, engineers, doctors, artists and military ex-servicemen. Such councils can be effective only if they are a part of mainstream governance. The upper houses of parliament, presently intended in India to accommodate politicians who cannot win elections to the lower house, may be upgraded as multi-stakeholder councils called Sarvodaya Parishad in Hindi and Egalitarian Council in English. Similar Egalitarian Councils shall be instituted as the upper house at the state level. The mandate of such Egalitarian Councils will be to resolve conflicts between different interest groups, and if a consensus could not be reached, refer the unresolved issues to the people for decision

through referendum. To prevent self seekers nominated in such councils using it as a stepping stone for politics, its members shall have to give an undertaking that they shall not join any political party as a member, seek election in any legislature or hold an office of profit under any government. Such Egalitarian Councils will facilitate an egalitarian economic system, truly capitalism with a human face, nurturing a sustainable world order founded on social justice and equity. **There will then, as Gandhi said, be enough for everyone's need, but not for their greed'!**

24.5 Rationalising the election process: Power having got aligned in two parties in USA, the party that secures majority votes governs. India has unity in its rich diversity and as such has a large number of regional political parties. As a consequence the winning candidate usually gets less than fifty percent votes. To deal with this, the Author proposes that the election laws may provide that voters can vote for a candidate as first option and another as second option. Most voters usually vote for a candidate of their region as first preference and a national level candidate as second preference. If no candidate with first option gets majority vote, the second vote will be counted and the one who then secures largest number of votes will be declared elected. The more complex process of single transferable vote can be adopted, if considered more appropriate.

24.6 Bonus Share for Charitable Purposes: To nurture a truly egalitarian society, the Constitution may provide that whenever the shares of any joint stock company increase by the face value of a share, a certain percentage, say twenty percent of the increase, shall have to be put in bonus shares for charitable purposes. Both the company and the shareholders will thus statutorily contribute to charity, thus nurturing a truly egalitarian society. It shall be mandatory for their chartered accountants to over see that this is not violated. Other methods to institutionalise charity can also be explored.

24.7 State Bureaucracy: All India services namely IAS, IPS and Indian Forest Service and state services such as Deputy Collector, State police officer and State forest officer are institutions of an imperial rule. Being inconsistent with democracy, they must be phased out. To ensure accountability to the people, every government, local, state and national, shall appoint its bureaucracy from amongst persons within its jurisdiction with the approval of the local assembly, as currently practised in good democracies such as USA. To illustrate, a person elected mayor will appoint a lands officer, head of police and other departmental heads from amongst persons within his/her jurisdiction whose appointment shall be approved by the local assembly. If the opposition points out some improprieties of the person nominated, he/she cannot be appointed. If the opposition approves the appointment, the mayor cannot remove him/her without the consent of

the opposition! The police and other departmental heads thus become independent functionaries directly accountable to the people, similar to an election commissioner.

24.8 Chief of Defence Staff: As in good Western democracies, there shall be a Chief of Defence consisting of heads of the chiefs of the army, navy and air force, headed by the Army Chief. It shall control the armed forces and advise the Defence Minister on key issues'. The Chief of Defence shall replace the IAS defence secretary who presently is advisor to the Defence Minister.

24.9 Imposing sanctions and trade barriers on flawed democracies: Nations such as India and Pakistan have instituted pseudo democracies with centralised authority and the flawed Westminster system that fosters self-seeking coalition politics. Subterfuges such as instituting directly elected president above the prime minister adopted in France, Germany and Sri Lanka do not legitimise the Westminster system. With a single party government and rightist economic model, China is now a fascist nation. **The Author requests the United Nations to analyse these issues, lay down norms and standards of democratic governance, and impose sanctions and trade barriers against those that do not adhere to such norms.**

Chapter 25

Global Warming

25.1 Global warming, and its threat to survival of all life forms on the earth, is being debated since long. Development Alternatives, an associate of



People First, has been doing intensive studies about its impact especially in South Asia. Al Gore, former Vice President of U S A has recently written a book “An Inconvenient Truth”. His main thrust is that industrial development fueled by scientific research is leading to release of increasing quantities of carbon dioxide that accumulates in the atmosphere. This

creates green house effect curbing carbon dioxide emissions from going out of the atmosphere thus fostering global warming and climate change. If this continues it will lead to melting of snow, recurring hurricanes and tsunamis and bring about major changes in climate that may make the earth hostile to all life forms. We need to take corrective measures before it is too late.



25.2 One of Gandhi’s famous statements is “There is enough in this world for everybody’s needs, but not for greed”. Drawing inspiration from this statement, the Author holds that we need to institute in all nation states true egalitarian democracy as practiced in ancient India symbolized in Ram Raj, articulated by Gandhi as village republics. Currently practiced in some democracies such as Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries, such egalitarian democracy can enforce standards of acceptable consumption of greenhouse effect creating industries. If instituted in all nation states, such egalitarian democracy will be an antidote to global warming and climate change. We request UNO to impose sanctions and trade barriers against nations that fail to institute such truly egalitarian democracy within a stipulated period.

26.4 As mentioned earlier, power having got centralised no political party wants to let go of it. According to the author the only method by which true egalitarian democracy with empowered local governments and directly elected chief executives at all levels as advocated by Gandhi and practised in the

best democracies of the world such as in Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavian countries and but for unbridled capitalism in USA, can now be instituted is by the sovereign people themselves through referendum. To facilitate referendums, People First has conceptualised that apart from parliament and an independent judiciary, democracy needs another institution, an independent Sovereign Rights Commission with authority to direct referendums except on issues fundamental to democracy or the integrity of the nation. There can, for example be no referendum on making the state theocratic or a region seceding. Superior to the Royal Priest of bygone days, more like Gandhi, such a commission will function as the non corruptible conscience keeper of the state based on the values of the society as a whole. It is thus not a new institution but an old one with historical legitimacy in a form suiting contemporary needs. On the basis of wishes expressed by the vast majority common people it will prepare a proposed constitution that will be very similar to that advocated by Gandhi and refer it to the people through referendum. The people will overwhelmingly vote in favour of the proposed constitution. It will then authenticate it, this time truly, in the name of the people as the supreme law of the nation. India will be on the path of rejuvenation with social justice and equity.

Chapter 26

Experiences of the Author as a Civil Servant

26.1 My parents hailed from Punjab. My father joined the State forest service in Madhya Pradesh and worked under British officers. My father's elder brother, an engineer from Roorkee Engineering College, got scholarship for higher studies in Britain. On his return trip, he felt ill on the ship and died. The responsibility of looking after his widow and two sons fell on my father. My mother was a charming lady. She did not know English but learnt enough to communicate with the British officers and their wives. I was born on September 13, 1933 in Alapalli a forest village in Chanda district in Madhya Pradesh, now in Maharashtra renamed Chandrapur. With every transfer, my father got me upgraded to a higher class with the result that I completed my High School at age of 13 in a small town Betul where my father was posted as District Forest Officer in 1947. We celebrated India's Independence that year.

26.2 I did Masters in Mathematics from College of Science, Nagpur, and stood first in the university. Since I could not take the IAS examination because of age, I joined as a lecturer in the same College. I taught for nearly three years. I was rated a good teacher so much so that the students went on strike when the Head of Department assigned me another class. My method was simple. **I explained the logic, not merely the solution, and kept the tempo such that the good students did not lose interest and the mediocre could understand it.**

26.3 I stood second in the All India Competitive Examination, opted for the Indian Foreign Service and on the request of my father, joined the Indian Administrative Service in 1956. My first assignment in the IAS was as trainee in the IAS Training Institute in Metcalfe House in Delhi. Gaylord was then the only good restaurant in Connaught Place. We frequently visited Gaylord in a rickety car hired from the canteen owner of the academy. We displayed a placard in our hostel rooms "What the good Lord giveth, the Gaylord taketh". One summer evening we returned from Gaylord late in the night. Seeing other probationers sleeping on beds in the lawns, I delicately removed half the moustaches of a probationer, Jamshed Kanga. We were having breakfast in the dining room when Kanga walked in after having removed the other half of his moustaches. We all had a good laugh. Pointing at me he said that one day he would remove my eyebrows. A sporting person, he never did. Ours was the last batch to be trained in the IAS Academy in Metcalfe House in Delhi after which it shifted to Mussorie, a hill station. Our batch was invited in 2006 for a retreat get together on completion of fifty years since joining IAS. My lyric "*India ko Bharat banao*" was appreciated by many of my colleagues, but not endorsed.

26.4 On completion of training, RP Kapoor, a good friend of mine, and I were posted as Trainee Officers in Jabalpur. RP Noronha ICS was the Commissioner of Jabalpur division and MS Chaudhary IAS the Collector of Jabalpur District. Noronha disliked cigarettes smoked *bidis*. He was a keen shekari earlier of tigers, in later days of ducks. MS Chaudhary treated us as his family. We were attached to various sections of the Collector's office to understand their functioning. The office superintendent of the collector gave me a big folder titled "Standing Orders" containing orders of a permanent nature issued by various Collectors from time to time since British days. It struck me as a good concept. Wherever I got posted, be it SDO, Collector, Transport Commissioner, Secretary to Government, Divisional Commissioner, and in public sector undertakings such as Delhi Transport Corporation and HUDCO, I introduced this practise. It standardised practises, facilitated good management and reduced corruption. Jabalpur had a military cantonment and a Narmada Club dominated by civil and military officers. We frequently visited it. Once Kapoor and I had gone on tour to some villages and were returning in my car. We stopped on the roadside to relax and lit cigarettes. Before we knew, a swarm of bees in hives on the trees above angered by the smoke attacked us. We ran on the road tarmac with our orderly beating the bees on us by the branch from a tree. The bees relished Kapoor more. He became unconscious and had to be rushed straight to a hospital in Jabalpur. Running on the hot tarmac without shoes, I got away with blisters on my feet. Moral of the story is "smoking is injurious for health". I have given up smoking — Kapoor has not. I got married in Agra where my father in law, KK Sharma, IAS, was Municipal Commissioner.

26.5 After the training in Jabalpur, I was posted as Sub Divisional officer Neemuch, a quaint cantonment town suited as a honeymoon posting. It had a cantonment club where I played tennis and bridge, and my wife played rummy. To augment the city water supply, acquisition of land of some farmers was required. They were upset. I gave them liberal compensation. The farmers were happy, so was the local MLA. Our eldest daughter was born on February 29, 1960 in Agra, a leap year child.

26.6 My next assignment was in Bhopal as Under Secretary, General Administration Department under Dr Kailas Nath Katju then Chief Minister Madhya Pradesh. A veteran leader, with age he had become forgetful. In a tea party in the Government House a person approached him and introduced himself as Dashrath Lal Jain. Dr Katju said, "This is strange. I have a minister by the same name". The person replied, "That is me, Sir"!

26.7 HR Kamath, ICS, was then the Chief Secretary. I was sharing a room close to Mr Kamath's office with Bajpai another Under Secretary from the

state service who typed his notes. One day Mr Kamath walked into our room and said “Mr Bajpai, you type your notes”. Bajpai proudly replied, “Yes sir, it keeps the file neat”. *“But must you type all day, Mr Bajpai”* he retorted and left. Next day, Bajpai shifted to another room. I had the room to myself!

26.8 I got posted in 1960 as Collector Dewas. The city derived its name from “Devi ka Nivas”, meaning “Home of the Goddess”. It had an ancient Devi temple on a magnificent hill. Muslim Mazzars too had come up on that hill. One day I saw a Hindu and a Muslim both paying homage to a deity in a temple and to a Mazzar. I asked them why they were paying homage to both. **They responded, “Both are incarnations of the same god”**. I felt ashamed asking the question. This shows that the common Hindus and Muslims of India respected each other’s faith and lived as one community. Gandhi’s conviction was that once true democracy with empowered local communities was instituted, Hindu Muslim conflicts would fade. God ordained otherwise. Centralization and higher-level politics has divided the two communities.

26.9 In 1962 I was posted Collector Vidisha near Sanchi, a national heritage. Our son Vikram was born there. I received an offer for appointment as Deputy Commissioner Andaman & Nicobar Islands. I accepted it. The islands had a Chief Commissioner and a Deputy Commissioner. The British Chief Commissioner had a luxurious Government House on Ross Island separated from Port Blair the capital by a strait. After independence, the Chief Commissioner moved to the Deputy Commissioner’s bungalow in Port Blair and the Deputy Commissioner moved to a smaller bungalow nearby. As in most state capitals, the British had made an Andaman Club primarily for officers. We met there for tennis, billiards, bridge, rummy and farewell parties. Most buildings in Andaman were made in paddock, a timber harder than teak found in the island.

A small territory with two senior officers meant conflict. A saying was “there are two currents, one CC current and the other DC current”. The Deputy Commissioner was then also the District Judge. A large number of mostly petty cases were pending in my court. I held day-to-day hearings, dictated the orders in the presence of the parties and their advocates and cleared all the cases within a few months. Thereafter it was easy handling. During my tenure, a District Judge was appointed and I was relieved of judicial work. I was also the Census Commissioner. My predecessor had not finalised the census report. I completed it and incorporated in it the history of the cellular jail and problems of the indigenous tribes. An island close to Port Blair named Little Andaman, had an Onge tribe. One official used to cover the

face of an Onge with Plaster of Paris, and when it dried, took out the mask and sold it. I issued strict orders stopping it as violation of human rights. On another island there was a hostile tribe Jarawa that attacked visitors by bows and arrows, apparently apprehending attack on them. There were strict orders not to disturb them. I was also the receiver of ships. The only post I did not hold was that of a lady doctor!

An old resident of the islands had a manuscript about the occupation during the Second World War of the Islands by the Japanese. Subhash Chandra Bose was a freedom fighter of India who had joined the Japanese against the Allies. The Japanese lodged him in the Government House on Ross Island as a sinecure head while the chief of the Japanese army lodged in Port Blair administered the Islands. The soldiers of the defeated Indian army were lodged in the cellular jail, a relic of British days in which many freedom fights were incarcerated. During the Japanese occupation there was acute food shortage. The people survived by eating tapioca.

My elder brother was an Air Force pilot stationed near Calcutta. He used to fly to Nicobar Islands to deliver supplies to the Air Force base stationed there. One day I got a wireless message that an Air Force plane had some engine trouble and wanted permission for forced landing in Port Blair. I said 'I hope it is not my brother and rushed to the airfield after intimating the police and the fire brigade. The plane landed safely and my brother walked out complaining that to reduce the load, his junior had thrown all the whiskey and kept the rum! That evening we celebrated his safe landing by hosting a rum party in my bungalow. His junior MM Shukla later got burns on his face and hands in one of the combats in the Bangladesh war. He participated in the Republic Day parade in 2008 as the oldest living war veteran!

26.10 On completing my term in the Andaman & Nicobar Islands, I returned to Madhya Pradesh and was posted as Special Secretary Agriculture. Before I learnt enough about agriculture, I was posted as Transport Commissioner with head quarters in Gwalior. An IAS officer is expected to be a 'Jack of all trades'. The office of the Transport Commissioner was in an old palace with beautiful murals on the roof that I got restored. I introduced standing orders specifying penalty for various types of violations by bus and truck operators and displayed them on the notice board. Interestingly these orders curbed practises such as collecting bribes and paying reduced penalty. They dramatically improved the revenues of the state and curbed corruption. Over the years, such orders acquired legitimacy of government orders.

26.11 I went for higher studies in Syracuse University, USA in 1969 and did my Masters in Public Administration. I impressed the senior faculty and

postgraduate student of economics by my mathematical analysis of some key economic issues. On return I was appointed Secretary Housing and Environment Department, Madhya Pradesh. For creating awareness about urban design and conservation of the environment, I promoted an Environment & Planning Coordination Organisation (EPCO). The Chief Minister got annoyed with me for something I was not responsible and posted me as Chairman College Entrance Board. It was operating from a clumsy rented building. I introduced computerised evaluation of candidates and got a good building built for it on the capital hill.

26.12 I received an offer in 1972 for appointment as General Manager, Delhi Transport Corporation. I accepted it. Dr Ashok Khosla who had just then returned from studies abroad and was working with the Department of Science and Technology, proposed some innovations in route management of bus. As advised by him, we introduced a central node behind the North Block of the Central Secretariat with nine nodes on the ring road and introduced ten-minute frequency shuttle services between the central terminal and the nine terminals on the Ring Road, and a service called “Mudrika” on the Ring Road in both directions. This enabled commuters to get in a shuttle at the Ring Road and catch another shuttle at the central node to the destination he or she chose. This facilitated speedy commutation and also improved the earning of DTC since the buses got good occupancy while travelling to or from the central terminal. The New Scientist, a journal published from London, carried an article “When Delhi made the buses run on time”.

Often the conductors could not reach passengers in crowded buses and were frequently suspended by inspectors for not issuing tickets. I introduced a simple innovation, a seat for the conductor near the entrance and an exit door in the front controlled by the driver. The passenger’s could, as a result, not evade buying tickets. The conductors felt deeply obliged. I documented all such innovations in a book “Productivity in Road Transport: A study in innovative management”. A transport manager from Guana wrote to me, “The Book is like a Bible to me”.

26.13 I returned to Madhya Pradesh where I was promoted as Commissioner Ujjain Division. The ancient famous Mahakal Temple of Ujjain was in a bad shape. I brought it under a statutory trust with Commissioner Ujjain as the chairperson. The trust resolved that the priests would get a stipulated share of the offerings. At first the priests were upset. When devotees learnt that the trust would retain a part of the offerings for improving the precincts of the temple and for charity, the offerings dramatically increased, and so did the share of the priests! Interestingly, the same principle applies for nurturing good democratic governance. With the funds generated, the Temple and its prescient were greatly improved and charity for children of

the poor initiated. The sanctum sanctorum' called *Garbha kaksh* in Hindi, had only one stair for entry and exit that led to traffic jams. On my request leading industrialist GD Birla extended support for make a separate stair for exit from the sanctum sanctorum. Extensive improvements were also made in the other temples and *Ghats* (river fronts) of Ujjain using the funds made available by the State Government for the preparations to be made in connection with the 1980 Simhastha called Kumbh in six other major religious cities of India.

When I was transferred, the priests of Mahakal Temple organised a special *bhasma arti* that is prayer session for me as gratitude for improving the temple — and their earnings. Dr Shivmangal Singh Suman a former Vice Chancellor of the Ujjain University was a classmate of Harivansh Rai Bachchan, a scholar, poet and father of eminent actor Amitabh Bachchan. I still remember Dr. Suman's poems, "*Ujjaine ke malino ko mera pranam*" — a homage to the flower women of Ujjain and one other poem, "*Jab Bachchan aur Suman soye thaa sath sath*". Don't get wrong ideas. They only shared a hostel room!

Dr Suman had raised some funds for building a Kalidas Academy, as homage to the famous poet Kalidas born in Ujjain in Ancient India. Kalidas, in his famous poem "Meghdoot", makes a reference to Ujjain in the words "*Jab tum Ujjaine ka Mahakal Mandir par jao, pujarino ka naach dekh apna man bahalao, parantu un ke rang dhang dekh atak na jana ...*". I managed to procure supportive funds from the State Department of Culture and got getting the Kalidas Academy built. In it young artists are groomed to enact plays of Kalidas and other eminent Indian play writes. On my transfer, Dr Shiv Mangal Singh said in his farewell speech, "*Sharmaji pagal hain, Ujjain ke vikas ka hee sochte rahate hain*". In my response I said "*Mai Sumanji ka abhari huun ke unho ne mujhe apni pagalon ke tolee mey sammilit kar lea hai*". The quip invited resounding laughter.

26.14 I was posted as Resident Commissioner Madhya Pradesh in Delhi in 1981. I engaged leading architect Sumit Ghosh to improve the reception area and VIP suite in Madhya Pradesh Bhawan. I invited veteran reputed Architect AP Kanvinde who creatively designed the second Madhya Pradesh Bhawan that later was allocated to Chhatisgarh state when it was carved out of Madhya Pradesh.

26.15 My last assignment in government was as Chairman & Managing Director HUDCO during 1984-91. The Delhi Urban Arts Commission insisted on urban design for want of which many projects were held up for decades. I constituted an architecture coordination committee of senior architects such as late JA Stein, late AP Kanvinde, JR Bhalla, Anil Laul, Sumit Ghosh, Ravindra Bhan, Jasbir Sahani and others, and through them had numerous

creative urban designs developed. A flawed practise followed in CPWD is that treating architects as contractors, it invites tenders from them. Based on the advice of the architecture coordination committee, I issued order that being professional services such as doctors and lawyers, fees shall be paid as laid by the Council of Architecture, a statutory body. A number of institutional areas were held up for urban design. I evolved a simple solution namely HUDCO with the assistance of its architecture advisory committee would commission eminent architects for preparing the urban design, and recover the proportional cost with interest from the institutions allocated space when they chose to build, and they would pay to their architect less the amount paid to HUDCO for the urban design. HUDCO commissioned senior architects Romi Khosla for Bhaiveer Singh Marg institutional area, Jasbir Sahwaney for Ansal Plaza, and Ravindra Bhan for the housing abutting it. The housing has been creatively landscaped. Architect Anil Laul commissioned for a housing complex in Vaishali Gaziabad did a highly creative design that would have opened new perceptions. After I left HUDCO it got aborted.

26.16 The Land and Development Office (L&DO) of the Ministry of Urban Development had divided land measuring nearly 10 acre on Lodi Road into plots and allotted one plot to HUDCO for its training institute named “Human Settlement Management Institute”. Delhi Urban Arts Commission insisted for an urban design for want of which the project was held up for several decades. In my capacity as CMD, HUDCO, I offered to get the urban design prepared and commissioned the firm of eminent Architects JA Stein & JR Bhalla to prepare it. This led to the evolution of the concept of India Habitat Centre as an integrated urban design in which a large number of institutions have been accommodated and in addition a unique cultural centre gifted to the city. An underground parking for cars below the nearly 10 acre land was provided for in the urban design. When the foundation was being dug JR Bhalla told me that they had to dig deep to get a firm foundation and that if so desired a second level underground parking could be provided. I immediately conveyed my approval. This has ensured that there is no dearth of parking in the IHC complex.

When the project was nearing completion Vinay Jha an IAS officer on deputation to HUDCO was appointed Director of India Habitat Centre. He without the approval of HUDCO leased all catering rights to a catering firm Old World Hospitality. This was violation of land zoned institutional in which commercial activities are not permitted. HUDCO cancelled the lease. The caterers filed an appeal in the Delhi High Court which held that since the lease had been granted by the Director it was binding on the society. The Caterers now control all catering rights in India Habitat Centre and have

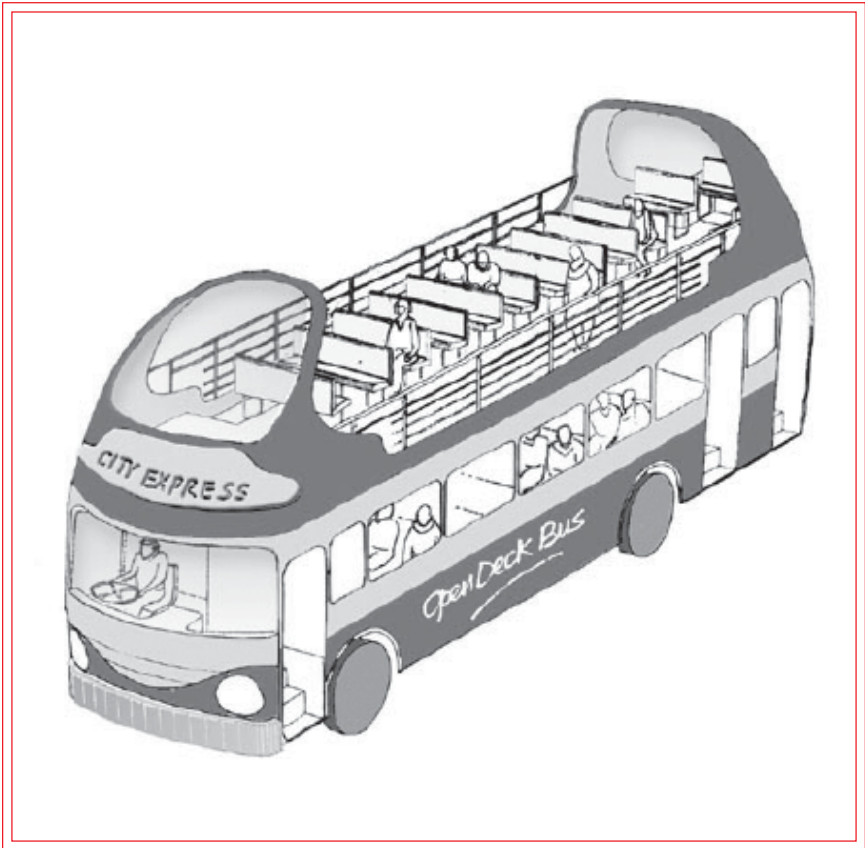
even converted a space zoned as a Coffee Lounge for Members only as a commercial restaurant American Diner open to all. When the lease of the caterers expires in the next few years, HUDCO should not extend the their lease and issue directions that catering shall thereafter be handled in house as in India International Centre, the main promoter of India Habitat Centre. I also suggest that hereafter a serving officer of HUDCO should be appointed as Director of India Habitat Centre so that he is accountable to HUDCO and through HUDCO to the India Habitat Centre society and the Ministry of Urban Development.

26.17 Democracy & Governance: When I completed my tenure in government in 1991, Dr Ashok Khosla, Chairman Development Alternatives who had advised me on restructuring the bus services in DTC, invited me to join Development Alternatives as Senior Advisor. Dr Hari Sharan, an energy consultant of Indian origin living in Switzerland used to visit Development Alternatives. During informal discussions, he told me that in Switzerland the villages coordinated by canton also called county or district, control local resources to handle all local matters. This resonates with Gandhi's village republics. Hari Sharan said that Berne, the capital of Switzerland did not have an airport that was proposed several times but was rejected by its citizens through referendum on the ground that it led to noise pollution. This convinced me that Gandhi advocated such true democracy with empowered local communities.

26.18 What bothered me is how it can now be reinstated. While returning from the Rio Conference on sustainable development held in 1992, a master solution dawned on me, **namely that apart for a parliament and an independent judiciary all nation states need an independent Sovereign Rights Commission with authority to direct referendums except on issues fundamental to democracy or the integrity of the nation.** There can for example be no referendum on making the state theocratic or a region seceding. Superior to the Royal Priest of bygone days, more like Gandhi, such a commission will function as the conscience kept of the state based on the values of the society as a whole. It is thus not a new but an age old institution with historically legitimacy.

27.19 When Shri Digvijay Singh became Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, he invited me after my retirement as Member of the State Planning Board. I had never worked under him but apparently my work especially in Ujjain had come to his notice. Taking cue from my observations, Digvijay Singh wrote to the then Union Finance Minister that suiting India's tropical ecology, October to September may be made our financial year. He got a bureaucratic reply that this had been considered by a committee of secretaries and was

not considered necessary. The reason for such a reply apparently is that if it were accepted, citizens may seek other more politically inconvenient governance reforms. Digvijay Singh introduced directly elected Mayors as chief executives, replacing the IAS municipal commissioner who called ICS has been the chief executive since the colonial rule. He instituted statutory neighbourhood committees in cities, and gave effective powers to the village panchayats. His greatest initiative was instituting District Governments that coordinate village and city needs and take all intra district decisions facilitating sound decision-making and reducing workload and delays in the state secretariat. He was Chief Minister for two terms but lost the election that followed since the BJP government at the national level had not released central grants badly needed for repairs to state roads. This highlights that in democracy local and state governments should control local and state resources so that they are not dependent on doles from the national government.



Chronology of important Events

Source: David Luddwn "India and South Asia – A Short History" &

One World Oxford Publications & other records -

Nationalism becomes a mass movement

1915 Home Rule League active. Gandhi returns from South Africa and tours cities gathering support.

1919 Massacre in Jallianwallah Bagh followed by All India Satyagraha.

1925 Rashtriya Sevak Sandh (RSS) & Shiromani Akali Dal founded

1927 MK Gandhi's book "My Experiments with Truth" published

1930 Round Table Conference 1930 & 1932. Gandhi launches Salt Satyagraha.

1935 Government of India Act of 1935 enacted.

1937 Congress provincial ministries elected in seven of the eleven Indian provinces.

1939 World War Two from 1939 to 45. Congress ministries resign.

1940 Muslim League adopts "Lahore Declaration for Pakistan".

1942 Congress launches Quit India Movement

1946 British Cabinet Mission visits India. Maulan Abul Kalam Azad proposes a federal structure. Jinnah and the Mission both approve the plan. An indiscrete statement made by Nehru during a press conference held in Bombay aborts the proposal. Partition becomes inevitable.

1947 On 14 August Jinnah takes oath as President of newly created state of Pakistan. On 15 August Lord Mountbatten takes oath of office as the first Governor General of India. Migration of Hordes of refugee families from India to Pakistan, and from Pakistan to India commences. Mountbatten constitutes a cabinet committee to deal with it. Relief camps constituted. Police and military deployed to curb rioting and looting.

1948 On the evening of 30 January 1948, Gandhi is assassinated by a Hindu youth, Nathu Ram Godse, for partitioning India, a crime that he did not commit, and was in fact was totally opposed to.

1950 India adopts its Constitution on January 16, 1950. Jawaharlal Nehru assumes office as its first Prime Minister.

1953 Bengali language movement in East Pakistan; many students massacred.

1956 India adopts "States Reorganisation Act", a good initiative that facilitates use of English (1) as national and international link language, (2) Hindi in Hindi speaking states, and (3) regional languages in other states.

1958 Ayub Khan becomes martial law administrator of Pakistan.

1962 Third Indian General Election. Indo-Chinese war on Tibetan frontier.

1963 Indian State of Nagaland created.

1964 Death of Jawaharlal Nehru

1965 India Pakistan War for Kashmir

1984 Indira Gandhi directs bombardment of the Golden Temple of the Sikh community in Amritsar to flush out a Sikh youth Brindanwalle. Angered, the Sikhs community took to violence in India and abroad. A Sikh soldier on security duty at the residence of Indira Gandhi assassinated her. This culminated in riots all over the country. It took quite some time to heal the wounds.

After the assassination of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi got elected as Prime Minister. His significant contributions have been (1) emphasis on modernisation of the economy, (2) economic liberalisation, and (3) empowering village communities. He improved bilateral relations with the United States and established close relationship with the Soviet Union, enlarged scientific cooperation with it and expanded economic cooperation. He increased government support for science and technology and associated industry in such initiatives. He removed quotas and reduced import taxes and tariffs on technology based industries especially computers. He came down heavily on the licence regime and introduced measures significantly curtailing it.

1986 Rajiv Gandhi announces a national education policy to modernise and expand higher education programmes across India and founded Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya programme in the same year. He gave serious thought to the functioning of the public sector. He suggested offering its shares to the public especially the villagers. He initiated Panchayati Raj constitutional amendments. Rajiv Gandhi was wrongly advised to send Indian forces to Sri Lanka to curb terrorist activities of Tamil Tigers.

1991 Rajiv Gandhi assassinated on May 21, 1991 by Tamils when addressing a meeting in Tamilnadu. Narsimha Rao gets elected as Prime Minister. Facing bankruptcy, the Nersimha Rao government opens the economy to the global market.

1992 The Parliament promulgates the 73rd & 74th constitutional amendments initiated by Rajiv Gandhi for local empowerment. 2001. Kripilani Krishna, "All Men are brothers – Autobiographical reflections of Mahatama Gandhi". Compiled and edited by with introduction by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan; First published by Continuum, First South Asia Edition 2007; Library of Congress number 79-56684; ISBN: 1-8468-4069-4

After 1991 an open economy in a centralised polity is creating an illusion of economic development through market forces that are promoting luxuries of the rich nations such as high rise apartment buildings, shopping malls and import of wide range of luxury cars while the poor living in the villages and urban slums suffer mounting abuse. This in turn is fostering mounting crime. Unless we institute true democracy with empowered local communities, India is likely to drift into anarchy and further balkanisation. It may then be too late to institute any reforms.

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**Citations from the Constitution for Free Bharat (India) 2000,
proposed by People First in website www.peoplefirstindia.org**

1. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor General of the East India Company praises 'self sustaining tiny republic of India'
2. Failure of movement for Chaukhamba Raj (four pillar rule), that is village, district, state and national governments launched by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan. It is similar to Gandhi's Gram Swaraj that is village republics.
3. Rajiv Gandhi makes public statements that out of a rupee only sixteen paise reach the villages and to facilitate good governance initiates the panchayati raj reforms.
4. In *Keshwanand Bharati v/s Union of India*, the Supreme Court of India declares that fundamental rights constitute the basic structure of the Constitution and restricts power of the parliament to make changes in them.
5. PA Sangma, then Speaker Lok Sabha circulates a document of Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial Foundation and People First with message of support by Justice MN Venkatachalaia, a revered former Chief Justice of India, in the Golden Jubilee special session of Parliament in 1997.
6. Congress leader Digvijay Singh, former Chief Minister Madhya Pradesh, expresses conviction that India needs Gandhian democracy. Interview on TVI by Malvika Singh, November 30, 1997.
7. KS Sudershan, Chief of RSS, commends democratic tradition of self governing villages since Vedic period as laid down in Dharmashastras. Interview on TV by Malvika Singh, November 1997.
8. Video film "Swiss and ancient India" produced by Nalani Singh for Doordarshan highlights that contemporary Swiss village governments have great similarity with those in ancient India.
9. Thomas Jefferson asserts that "no other than the people themselves should be the ultimate repository of all authority of society". ("American Sphinx" by JE Ellis).
10. In his address in the First Round Table Conference held in 1930, Lord Peel of Conservative Party of Britain, favours Swiss or American parliamentary model for India. *Struggle for Freedom* by RC Majumdar.

11. Brian Beedham prophesises “democracy will enter a new phase bordering on direct democracy through increasing use of referendums”. (Article “Full Democracy” in “The Economist, Dec. 21, 1996”)
12. Dr BR Ambedkar observes “If equity is denied for long, it will put our political democracy in peril” and during debates in the Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1949 recall Jefferson’s statement that “no generation can bind subsequent generations”.
13. Alvin Toffler in the Chapter titled “Gandhi and Satellite” in his famous book “The Third Wave” advocates “synthesis of Gandhi and frontier technologies”.
14. Charles de Gaulle gets re-elected after bringing constitutional reforms through referendum in France providing for directly elected President above the Prime Minister elected by the parliament; Talk by Prof. Ashwani Ray, JNU, in India Forum.
15. Jawaharlal Nehru first fails to understand Gandhi’s references to India’s democratic traditions and then concedes inappropriateness of a superimposed democracy without a proper base. Source: letters to Gandhi Volume III and Jawaharlal Nehru on building a New India” NIUA Journal November 1991.

About the Author

The Author Santosh K. Sharma is a former civil servant, IAS-MP-56. He is presently Managing Trustee, People First, a trust dedicated to instituting good governance, promoted by Development Alternatives, a prominent civil society organisation addressing issues of sustainable development. While in government the Author had a hunch that there was something seriously flawed in the manner in which governance was structured but could not comprehend what was wrong. Nonetheless, he tried to serve the people as best as he could and wherever he was posted local communities liked him. When he retired in 1991, Dr Ashok Khosla, Chairman Development Alternatives, with whom he had interacted as administrative head of Delhi Road Transport Corporation and later again as CMD, HUDCO, invited him to join Development Alternatives as Senior Advisor. We both felt that there was something fundamentally flawed with the way governance was structured in India and promoted People First, a trust dedicated to instituting good governance. Based on intense research and lateral thinking, the Author has not only identified what is wrong with governance in India, but has also conceptualised a legitimate, non violent process by which true egalitarian democracy as advocated by Gandhi and practised in ancient India symbolised in Ram Raj, rule of the epic monarch Ram, can be instituted and eventually in all nations in the world.