STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
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Babu Jagjivan Ram Commemoration Volume

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Foreword

Jagjivan Ram is a philosopher-statesman, a thinker as well as a practical politician. He is a Vedantin, a spiritual monist in philosophy. But although he recognises the distinction between noumena and phenomena, paramartha and vyavahara, he does not dismiss vyavahar, the practical world as just an illusion. On the other hand, he insists on the reality of unity underlying and immanent in the diversity of appearance. Unless the unity of spirit is realised and asserted in social life, there is no vindication of its reality. Nor can it become the basis of moral practice and the source of ethical values. The prevailing confusion in this matter, Jagjivan Ram feels, is the original sin, as it becomes a justification for a social system, which is the fundamental source of, and inheres in, all action, which on individual plane is moral, but necessarily partakes of exploitation and invidious contradicts which are in-built in the system. All moral action is thus bound to repudiate and come in conflict with the system which repudiates the unity of the spirit which underlies all phenomena and pervades all practice.

From this basic philosophic standpoint, Jagjivan Ram draws the practical corollary that the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes can not be solved without changing the caste structure of Hindu, or rather Indian Society which justifies, and perpetuates the exploitation of the dis-inherited sections of the people by the privileged ones in the economic, political and cultural fields. No doubt—political, economic and educational facilities and compensatory privileges are most necessary, but the problem of social status still remains, and the solution of this problem is synonymous with the abolition of ‘Varna Vyavastha’, which fixates status by
birth and consequently makes all social roles become irrelevant to the personality of the individual. To get round this dilemma, Jagjivan Ram suggests inter-caste marriages as one most important measure.

In education, Jagjivan Ram recommends free education at all levels for the developing sections of the people and, in general, suggests selection of talent, irrespective of the economic position of the guardians, to restrict admissions in conformity with the limited opportunities available at the moment. The poverty of the selected students should be countered by awarding with scholarships. Above all, Jagjivan Ram wants education to be job-oriented, particularly based on agriculture and agro-industries. At the same time all education should lead to National integration and should enable the students to rise above communal and caste-prejudices.

These are some of the corollaries of Jagjivan Ram's basic philosophy of life which inspired and attracted Shri S. C. Shukla to bring out a volume on ideas and his achievements as a leader and a senior Cabinet Minister. As per our original planning this volume was to be presented on December 16, 1972 to synchronise with the first anniversary of our victory in the 1971 war with Pakistan, but due to various difficulties in getting the volume ready, this wish could not materialise and we ultimately landed on his birth day, the most natural day for the presentation.

The credit of bringing out this volume goes primarily to Shri S.C. Shukla, who has worked on it in a spirit of complete dedication. To Shri A.C. Sinha, Principal of Dayanand Law College, Kanpur with his associates, Shri K.L. Chanchreek Dr. B.K. Tiwari, and Shri R.C. Shukla, goes the credit of editing this volume with competence and taste. The distinguished contributors, both Indian and foreign, deserve our greatest thanks, as it is basically their contributions, which forms the soul of the volume.

Kashi Vidyapith Prof. Raja Ram Shastri Varanasi M.P.
PREFACE

To write a preface to any commemoration volume is in itself a stupendous task, but more so when the book tries to commemorate the many facets of an illuminating life of an illustrious son of India, like Babu Jagjivan Ram. Babuji needs no introduction. To the people of the older generation, his name is synonymous with the uplift of the depressed and the down-trodden. His life has been a continuous struggle to usher in a new social order. Right from the time he was a student in 1923, Babuji started taking interest in social reforms. In 1928 he came in touch with many great leaders and social reformers of the time. It was his reformative zeal which inspired him to found the All India Depressed Classes League in 1934. The warm eulogies of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Babu speak enough of Babuji as a reformer. But to the young generation of the post-independent India, he appears in yet another role. Resurgent India knows him as the ‘triumphant’ and a strong Defence Minister. But very few people know about his greatest virtue, that he is a true and perfect gentleman. All these sterling qualities of his character, and many more, have been revealed by the scholarly contributions to this commemoration volume.

In our view he is one of the rare forces in the making of the post-independent India. He has been instrumental to the implementation of the Government’s social and economic policies. But for his farsightedness, wisdom and committed approach, the giant leap India has taken in socio-economic and political field could not have been so successful. Any
portfolio he holds in the Government of India bears the imprint of his genius. As the Union Minister for Labour, various legislations and Employees' Provident Fund Scheme were introduced by him. As the Minister for Communications, he initiated Nationalisation of Air Services. As Union Railway Minister, he was responsible for opening new Railway zones and lines, introducing sleeper coaches, constructing strategic Railway bridges etc. The Green Revolution in agriculture, to give another instance when he was Minister for Food and Agriculture, is a rare achievement of which the country is proud today. But Babuji's crowning achievement is his becoming the Union Minister for Defence in 1970. The event of December 1971, when the Indian forces fought against Pak aggression and liberated the oppressed people of Bangladesh, speaks of the quiet confidence, patience and immense courage which he displayed during those historic days. The same farsightedness and wisdom Babuji displayed in taking steps towards achieving peace in the sub-continent. In recognition of these achievements, to name only a few, this commemoration volume is brought out as a small tribute to a great son of the soil from his grateful countrymen. Since long I was nursing the ambition to idolize my dream to honour a genius of stature. At long last the opportunity came my way while presenting Shri Bhagwati Prasad Bajpai Commemoration Volume to all the leaders including Smt. Indira Gandhi and Babuji. When the idea of presenting a commemoration volume was put to him, he politely turned down the suggestion as he did not consider himself worthy of such signal honour. What a modesty! But I could not reconcile myself to his refusal, and contrary to Babuji’s disinclination, I took in hand the task of revealing a great personality to the people, and I sincerely hope to be forgiven by him for my audacity. This is my apology for writing this preface.

The magnitude of the task was no less difficult. Relevant information was sought from both published and unpublished materials. Men in diverse fields, like scholars, educationists, political leaders, etc., speaking different languages, had to be
consulted. It has, indeed, been a joyous experience to see the esteem in which Babuji is held by people of all rungs of the society. The response, too, has been a tremendous one. Friends, well-wishers and admirers, all rose as one man eagerly to contribute to this noble cause. This enthusiasm posed the problem of selection and how best to utilise the material available. As a result the size of the volume grew as it went into print and upset all my calculations. And this is the reason for delay in the presentation, the original date being December 16, 1972—the first anniversary of our victory over Pakistan. Although the Commemoration Committee was formed in January 1971, yet it took 15 months, through voluminous humble correspondence and a number of personal visits to different places to collect necessary information. This is my justification for the unwanted delay.

This volume has been divided into different sections. The first section comprises messages of good wishes from men of position and knowledge both within the country and abroad. All these messages are from men who have watched Babuji’s achievements during a long period of their association with him. A short biography, as a ready-reckoner of his life, finds its place after the messages. The next part of the book is occupied by a very laborious research work by Shri K. L. Chanchreek. This paper is in three parts—first is devoted to important chronological events of Babuji’s life; second to a select sum up of classified literature comprising of writings and speeches by and on Shri Jagjivan Ram; and third, mainly for the serious students and readers consisting of select source material in form of documents. This important paper is followed by two ‘Letters’ of Mahatma Gandhi to Babuji. This is followed by articles on various aspects of Babuji’s life and achievements by writers from different walks of life and profession, like diplomats, educationists, political leaders of diverse views, and Chief of States. Some of these scholarly papers are by Dr. Nau Nihal Singh, Shri Frank Moraes, Shri Prakashveer Shastri, Shri K.K. Shah, Shri A.K. Jain, Shri Tusharkanti Ghosh and Dr. Bimal Prasad to name only a few. All articles are either the product
of a personal association with Babuji or a very sound knowledge of his work and achievements. In this connection a special reference may be made to the article "Memories of Sweet and Hard days" by his wife, Smt. Indrani Devi, in which she has expressed the difficulties faced by the family during the period 1934-46 and how he could overcome those difficulties. Another charm of this volume is the collection of interviews given by Babuji on Indo-Pak War to the foreign Press and T.V. Units. The subsequent section describes his achievements in several fields of activities including assignments in various Ministries. This is followed by a very interesting and thought provoking interview by Shri A.C. Sinha on Babuji's social philosophy. In the section following we have given brief biographical sketches of our contributors without whose cooperation, help and guidance, my dream of bringing out this volume would not have been realised. For the convenience of the readers, sketches have been given in the same sequence in which the articles have been arranged in the volume. An exhaustive index has also been given in the end. The volume contains 120 rare photo-plates giving the readers a visual contact with Babuji, in his varied moods. These photo-plates very well give us his glimpses and achievements through the eyes of the camera. This section is, indeed, a very commendable one. Of course, it is not gain saying the fact that, in spite of our best efforts, some deficiencies might have remained. But I am sure the readers would find in this volume rare and valuable material about the life and works of Babuji which would not otherwise have been easily available.

I shall feel amply rewarded if the present volume creates in our people a better understanding and appreciation about the magnitude of the work that Babuji has accomplished in making the nation get rid of old stigmas and traditions and winning prestigious place for the country in the community of nations. There can be no better tribute to him than to follow in his footsteps and accomplish the tasks which he has undertaken for the nation. The youth of the country should receive inspiration from his life and dedicate themselves to his ideals
of self-less and dedicated work so that we have a better and prosperous India in the future, which may serves as a model for the other nations of the world.

My friends Shri M. R. Goel, C. M. Mehta, D. N. Bohra, K. L. Chanchreek, R. P. Shrivastava, M. C. Sinha, K. L. Misra, Dr. A.S. Pathak and Dr. Maheshwari were a constant source of inspiration and guidance who deserve thanks. I express heartfelt gratitude to them. Special thanks are due to Shri A.C. Sinha, the Chief Editor, not only for the pains that he undertook in editing this volume but also for the interview he had with Babuji in which his thoughts and philosophy are so well enunciated. I shall be failing in my duty, if I do not express my regard to Professor Raja Ram Shastri, M. P. who kindly agreed to become the President of the Advisory Board despite his multifarious engagements and has guided us through all the difficulties that were encountered in preparation and presentation of this volume. Mr. George Thomas my steno also deserves appreciation for the patience with which he has typed the manuscript. I shall also like to thank M/S India Printers who have printed this volume in a fine manner with speed despite their busy schedule. Last but not the least, I must thank Hon’ble G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha, who has very kindly accepted our invitation to present this commemoration volume to Babu Jagjivan Ram on the auspicious occasion of his 66th birthday.

ALKA PRAKASHAN,
59/51A, Birhana Road, Kanpur.

S. C. SHUKLA
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Introduction

“If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don’t deal in lies,
Or being hated, don’t give way to hating,
And yet don’t look too good, nor talk too wise;
If you can talk with crowd and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds’ worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth and everything that is in it,
And what is more you’ll be a man, My Son.”

—Rudyard Kipling

It is perhaps necessary to give, in short, the background in which this commemoration volume has been compiled to honour Babu Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of India. This introduction is perhaps more than justified simply to explain to the readers the purpose and the importance of this pen-picture of the life and the message of a great man by so many scholars, educationists, and even eminent contemporaries of Babu Jagjivan Ram. Some have watched him grow from the childhood, some have been seeing and admiring him in his manifold activities during the past three decades or more and some have meticulously been assessing the importance and
value of his intelligence and knowledge of men and matters, his firmness and faith and above all his sacrifices and the will to hold on, calmly and coolly in triumph and unperturbed in disaster, as factors which have contributed materially to the building of this nation at least ever since Independence. The fact is that appreciation and praise do dawn on a successful and shining man bringing with them, however, position and fame, but the truth remains that real and unbiased appreciation must arise and come to stay by an understanding of what the great man has actually done in his life in different situations and that how he has done it, e.g. whether the knowledge gained by deep and devoted study and experience has been used properly without pride and fear; the zeal to serve the fellowmen in his own well considered manner is imbued with that sincerity of purpose of service for the sake of service and as an ideal of human existence or mainly with the ulterior motive of gaining money, fame and power; whether there has been a persistent defiance of all suffering, pain and strain in pursuing this ideal of service without any time being ignoble or mean— not even when provoked or challenged in ideological skirmishes; and whether the well maintained record of selfless service through decades has more often than not left lasting impression on those to whom it has been rendered.

And if this is the record of a man, in and through long continued and breath-taking critical periods of political, social and economic regeneration of his country his actions of sacrifice and cool-headed devotion and hard work through thick and thin, become a message of guidance and solace to millions perhaps irrespective of the quantum of success actually gained such actions and thinking at a particular time महाजनों वेन गत: स पत्थ: (Path carved out by great men should be followed in moments of difficulty). Perhaps there is also no other easier and dependable method of testing the correctness or otherwise of one's own thinking and actions for any one entering the field of service and uplift of the human brotherhood than to make a reference to what some other great man has done in particular or peculiar circumstances and also in
general for this purpose. Suitable modification in thinking and actions can also be best made in changed or differing situations by such a reference.

There is yet another and perhaps more important angle too. A commemoration volume can hardly succeed in paying tribute fully or even adequately, it can also hardly succeed in recording an appreciation fully or even adequately but it does undoubtedly go a long way in enabling millions in this country and also abroad to know what great men are and what they teach by their acts and deeds and sacrifices. It is the privilege of very few to be close to in direct touch with any great man of any time so as to think, act and learn by what he does. The surest means to convey the message to the others must be to record all that thinking with relative acts and deeds and utterances together with an analytical study thereof by other thinkers and more discerning judges of men and matters whether in the form of a commemoration volume or otherwise. Such a record must remain as a cherished treasure for so many for knowledge, information and valuable guidance in times of need. And as such, it hardly makes any difference as to how many such volumes have been or are being compiled for each one must have a particular degree of attainment in so far as this object and this background is concerned.

It may appear to be rather presumptuous to say that it will undoubtedly go a long way in enabling the millions in this country and abroad to know what great men are ......., but it can be so said without there being anything like presumptions. Acts and deeds of sacrifice and service to humanity are always of universal appeal and there is no reason to think that nothing can be learnt by the community of the human beings born or living outside this country; as people here must also learn from such records of the acts, deeds and philosophy of life enunciated by great men in other geographical boundaries either presently or in the past. In fact, such an exchange of a proper and analytical study of the acts and thoughts of great men creates
better understanding of each other in this world and also a better and more reliable and secured co-existence and international brotherhood.

Furthermore, it is perhaps important to appreciate that there are always too many things to give inspiration and guidance in those cases where a person rises to abnormal heights by making a beginning almost from out of nothing. On this account Babu Jagjivan Ram's life is perhaps a perfect touch-stone.

Born in a poverty stricken family in a village in 1908, there was no occasion normally for an average man to start with lofty things and acts and to go on rising from one step to the other. The element of heredity being the son of a saintly father and mother was undoubtedly there, but the element of a congenial and helpful atmosphere for a sustained and undaunted activity was completely absent. Even the protection of the father was taken away when he was only six years of age. Married in the year 1916 at the age of 8 years there was hardly anything left for thinking and acting in a way that could lead to all that has happened in his life from 1908 till today. Amidst all adversities however, every opportunity was utilized with patience and sobriety to build and equip himself as best as possible, with education and study of all around him, and to come in contact with the builders of nation of that time, like Mahamana Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Mohd. Ali for better understanding of the real problems. Not only that, the problems of the uplift of the depressed classes in India were studied and understood in the proper perspective without any bias or prejudice and not with a view to building up his leadership but with the sole aim of doing real good to the depressed classes whose cause he had taken up. Having become a known leader of the depressed classes by 1935 there was perhaps ample opportunity for Babuji to become Nationalist Leader of his own rank and order, by submitting to the much cherished object of other religions and parties to get the entire lot of the scheduled
castes converted to some other religion than Hinduism. But Jagjivan Ram could not be a prey to this temptation even in these favourable circumstances, and instead called upon the depressed classes in 1936 to take a pledge not to leave Hindu religion. Instead of helping the Christian Missionaries in getting the depressed classes converted to christianity, he so arranged things in March, 1937 that the Conference organised by the Christian Missionaries for this purpose, was broken. Whereas he untiringly fought for the cause of the Harijans and so also the common man of India right from his tender age of 18 years, temptations of cheap popularity with personal aggrandizement could not win him. It could not have been the lot of any ordinary man to succumb to these temptations but is not inspiring to see how the great man appreciates in whatever circumstances and environments he is placed and whatever the temptations before him? It was not because of the all pervading influence of the Late Mahamana Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Mohd. Ali or even, later Mahatma Gandhi or with a view to gain personal advantages by submitting to their acknowledged leadership in those times that he stuck to the formula that conversion from Hinduism to christianity or any other religion was not proper and desirable; it was on account of his deep study of the Hindu philosophy and his firm faith in the oneness of the humanity. It is one of the many such aspects of his life that do convey a meaningful message of peace and order to any society; it is also a complete message of guidance to any individual seeking to serve a down-trodden and poor human mass. Examining in this context, so many other anecdotes of his acts, sacrifices and utterances must go a long way in giving much more guidance of this nature to all and any.

This is perhaps the biggest justification for bringing out this commemoration volume as the Abhinandan Samiti has, all along concentrated on making this volume a such suitable record; analysis and appreciation of the acts and deeds and messages of a great son of India.

Having so successfully carried out so many Ministerial
assignments right from 1946 to this day the stature and the commanding position gained by Babuji is something which can surround any man with pride, veiled arrogance and pretentious impurity. But a really great man always shuns these evils of ego and intolerance from the core of his heart. This is so aptly evidenced from the experience gained by the undersigned in seeking interviews during the past one year or so for recording his views first-hand on many burning problems and theories—both hypothetical as well as practical. It took sometime to convince Babuji that there was no attempt to trouble him unnecessarily just with a view to ask him questions, but that we humbly needed his advice and few points so as to properly fulfilling our object of giving a proper record of his views and understanding and in that way alone could the desired object be achieved fully and completely. Once he was convinced of this position, he calmly suffered all inconvenience and strain he was put to by sparing his valuable time.

The Abhinandan Samiti is grateful to all those who have cooperated with us in this uphill task by contributing their writing at our request of the Abhinandan Samiti and places on record its gratitude to the writers and whole-heartedly thanks them for their kind cooperation and contributions.

The Abhinandan Samiti also places on record its sense of gratitude towards so many high dignitaries both in India and abroad, who have been good enough to send their messages for the success of this effort and particularly for their having said so many meaningful things in their messages which will undoubtedly enable the reader to understand the whole background in a better way.

A word of thanks is also necessary for the Convener of the Abhinandan Samiti Shri S. C. Shukla, who has ever since the start of the project devoted all his time and energy and resources in ensuring successful completion of this effort. His son-in-law Dr. B. K. Tiwari and his son Shri R. C. Shukla also deserved thanks for their untiring cooperation. I also express
my gratitude for services rendered by Shri K. L. Chanchreek for his all round assistance in the compilation of this volume and particularly for his strenuous and devoted work in going through the manuscripts as also for production and editing etc., and so must I place on record my thanks to Shri Kundan Lal Mishra, for his assistance in recording the interviews, as also for his manifold activities in completing the task successfully.

The Abhinandan Samiti must also place on record its sense of gratitude and thankfulness to India Printers and their partner Shri H. L. Gupta as it is wholly on account of their cooperation and work that the printing has been successfully completed in record time. They have done the job by working long hours mainly because of their deep veneration and regards for Babuji.

The Abhinandan Samiti also places on record its sense of gratitude and thanks for the active and sincere advices of the Members of the Advisory Committee, irrespective of their pre-occupations.

Last but not the least, it is with a much deeper sense of gratitude and thanks to Prof. Raja Ram Shastri, M.P. for giving a foreword for this Volume, as the volume would have remained incomplete without this foreword.

Principal, Dayanand Law College and
Dean, Law Faculty, Kanpur University

A. C. Sinha
ॐकार-पंजर-शुक्रिसुपनिषदुद्ध्रयान-केलिकलकण्ठीम्।
आगम-विपिन-सूरीमार्गस्तविभाषे गोरीम्॥
सरिगमपधनिरतां तां दीणां-संकान्तकान्त-हस्तां-ताम्॥
शान्तो विमल-सवान्तां कुचभरतान्तां नमामि शिवानंताम्॥
दृष्मान-दीर्घं-नयनं दैशिकुपेण दशिताभ्युदयाम्॥
वाम-कुच-निहित-दीणां वरदां संगीत मालूकां कवे॥
Respected Leader

HON'BLE G. S. DHILLON
Speaker, Lok Sabha,
New Delhi.

I am glad a felicitation volume is being presented to Babu Jagjivan Ram on his next birthday. Babuji is one of our most popular and highly respected leaders. No one is alive to and understands the problems of the down trodden better than him and no office has taken him farther away from them or their difficulties. Endowed with abundant commonsense and a sense of dedication, he brings to bear on every office he occupies a pragmatic approach which perhaps is the key to his success.

Babuji has occupied the highest office that the great national movement, Indian National Congress, can confer on any one. And that at a time when serious polemic questions were being posed and hotly discussed. He never shirked from any responsibility that came to him however critical the time might have been and however onerous the burden and discharged it very ably and commendably. His life is one of dedicated service to his community and the country.

I join you all in wishing Babuji many more years of service to the country.
Acknowledged Leader

HON'BLE SIR KEITH HOLYOAKE
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Wellington,
New Zealand.

I am glad to know of your proposal to produce a commemorative publication in honour of your Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, on 16 December.

That date marks the anniversary of the ceasefire last December between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan forces on the eastern front. It was the termination of a long period of mounting hostility in which millions of people suffered and died or were driven to seek exile in India.

It is thus most appropriate for us all to reflect at this time on the causes of that tragedy, the communal bitterness and hostility that eventually tore apart the fabric of a nation. It is important that what influence we have is used to reduce those animosities in order that peace and stability might be secured for all people on the sub-continent.

Shri Jagjivan Ram I have known for many years, not only as a Cabinet Minister almost since India's independence and as a prominent Congress Worker, but also as the acknowledged leader of India's harijans. It is in that role that his contribution has been greatest. He has helped in untold ways to ensure that for India and for the subcontinent the former distinctions of caste and class are no longer allowed to divide communities and promote tensions and conflict between them. That is a lasting contribution to the cause of peace which has the admiration of us all.
Architect of Labour Policy

PROF. A. D. BOHRA
United Nations,
Turkey.

I am glad to know that you are bringing out a treatise on the life of Babu Jagjivan Ramji to be presented to him as a homage by the Nation for the contribution that he had made in liberating the oppressed and establishing their "Right to Live". Babuji's creative services towards the welfare of people and particularly the under-privileged sections of the humanity are well-known. The commemoration volume, I have no doubt, would be a fitting token gesture of the debt of gratitude the society owes to Babuji.

As India's first Labour Minister after independence, it was Babuji, who was the architect to lay the foundation and the basic structure of the Government's labour policy. Knowing, as he did, the pulse of the working masses and the aspirations and apprehensions of the employers, it was he who formulated a programme including legislative actions, that resulted in consolidating the strength of the labour not only in establishing their rightful place in the society but more so realising their social obligations without creating the undesirable tensions in the productive sectors of National economy. A new social order as we see today, has merged as a result of Babuji's continued concern and active participation in the welfare of the producers of goods and suppliers of services.

Babu Jagjivan Ramji's recent role in providing political leadership to the fighting forces of India for upholding the fundamental Human Rights has been of no small consequence. It has been unique in known history.

I hope and pray that the Almighty will bestow on Babuji his choicest blessings for a long life so as to enable us to have the privilege of his continued inspiring leadership and guidance.
Warm Felicitations

H. E. GALEN L. STONE
Embassy of the United States of America,
New Delhi.

I have been asked to reply to your letter to the Secretary of Defense concerning the commemorative volume for His Excellency Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Defence.

It gives me great pleasure to convey our warm felicitations to the Minister on this happy occasion.

Eminent Leader

PROF. DAVID G. MANDELBAUM
University of California,
Berkeley (U.S.A.)

You have my good wishes for your fine undertaking to produce a volume in honour of Shri Jagjivan Ram. His long and successful public service to India makes him eminently deserving of such a tribute. I wish that I could contribute to it but my present commitments will not permit me to join with you in this good enterprise. Please add my name to those who send their respects to Shri Jagjivan Ram on his illustrious accomplishments.
Best Wishes

H.E. PATRICK SHAW, C. B. E.
High Commissioner of Australia in India,
New Delhi.

I have just received your letter of 10th June, concerning your forthcoming volume in honour of the Honourable Babu Jagjivan Ramji. Please accept my best wishes for the success of this venture.

Cause of International Brotherhood

H. E. FERNANDO NAVAS DE BRIGARD
Ambassador of Colombia in India,
New Delhi.

I very much admire your efforts in the cause of peace and justice. As you are aware, our two countries are doing their best in the cause of international brotherhood.

I wish your function every success and I send my best wishes for the same.
Advocate Par Excellence

H. E. RABINDRAH GHURBURRUN
High Commissioner,
Mauritius High Commission in India,
New Delhi.

It gives me great pleasure to pay my humble tribute to Shri Jagjivan Ramji, the advocate par excellence of the common man.

Babuji has always stood for truth and justice. He has fought fearlessly for the rights of the masses. Today his name is a household word in India. He is loved and respected not only in this country but also abroad and especially in those countries where Indians have settled down. We in Mauritius are proud of him. Babuji hails from Bihar as very many of the Mauritians. Nothing gives a Mauritian greater pleasure than to meet Babuji and converse with him in Bhojpuri—the language which is still being spoken by many Mauritians.

He has most successfully discharged whatever responsibility entrusted to him by Her Excellency the Prime Minister, to whom he has always shown unflinching loyalty.

May Babuji continue to guide this country and be a source of inspiration to us for many more years.
Great National Leader

H.E.K.B. MALLA
Ambassador,
Royal Nepalese Embassy in India,
New Delhi.

I am glad to learn that a Commemorative Volume is being brought out on 16th December, 1972 to honour the Honourable Defence Minister of India, Shri Jagjivan Ram.

It is altogether fitting and proper that you plan to pay tributes to a great national leader of the stature of Shri Jagjivan Ram whose whole life and energy have been devoted to the cause of the people. He is one of the very few pre-Independence national leaders, who has stayed in the mainstream of national life of post-Independence India and helped make India what it is today—strong in character and moral will; proud of its cultural heritage and humanitarian traditions as well as of its past and present achievements; and secular, tolerant and progressive in outlook.

Shri Jagjivan Ram, whose life and work have become a shining example to the people of India, is held in high esteem by the people of Nepal, because of his outstanding qualities and achievements as a leader of his people.
Good Wishes

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM
Minister of Planning, Science and Technology,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

I am glad to know of your plans to felicitate Babu Jagjivan Ramji at a special function being arranged on the 16th December, 1972. I send my good wishes for the success of the function.

Source of Inspiration

SHRI F. A. AHMED
Minister of Agriculture,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Few leaders of the present generation have made such a rich contribution to the building of free India as Babu Jagjivan Ramji. He is a source of inspiration to all of us. His role as Congress President and successively as Minister of Labour, Railways, Civil Aviation, Comunications, Food & Agriculture and Defence has been very eminent. I have no doubt that the contribution made by him to the spread of social justice and equality in independent India will be written in golden letters. It is in the fitness of things that an Abhinandan Granth should be published in his honour on the occasion of the first anniversary of our victory over Pakistan in December last. I wish you every success in this venture.
Our Beloved Defence Minister

PROFESSOR SHRI S. NURUL HASAN
Education Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

I am very glad to know that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti proposes to bring out a Commemoration Volume on the first anniversary of the liberation of Bangla Desh and present it to our Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram. As a leader of India's endeavour to assist the cause of an emergent nation and human rights, Shri Jagjivan Ram has displayed remarkable ability and judgment. It is only proper that the Commemoration Volume should be dedicated to those who are intimately connected with the struggle for the freedom of Bangla Desh. I extend my hearty greetings to our beloved Defence Minister on this occasion.

Best Wishes

SHRI D. R. CHAVAN
Minister of Supply,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

I am glad to learn that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti will be presenting a Commemoration Volume to Shri Jagjivan Ram on the 16th December, 1972, on the occasion of the first anniversary of India's victory in the last War with Pakistan. I have great pleasure in sending my best wishes for the occasion.
जन-स्वप्न साकार

भी शेरसिंह
State Minister,
Krishi Mantralaya,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

प्रजातंत्र, धर्म-मार्गीकरण तथा मानव तंत्रों की स्थापना के साथ-साथ भारतीय संस्कृति की यह भी विशेषता है कि वह शासन विजय के स्थान पर सदृश ही सांस्कृतिक एवं सांस्कृतिक विजय का प्रतिक महत्व देती रहती है। 16 दिसम्बर, 1971 को प्रविश्वरणीय घटना भारत की इसी प्राचीन मान्यताओं एवं सिद्धांतों:

सबः संतु मुखिणः, सबः संतु निरामयः।
सबः भद्राणि पश्यन्तु, माकविचकु दुःखमाण्युयात्॥

की पुनरावृत्ति है, जबकि भारत के प्रयत्नों के फलस्वरूप, इस उपमहादीप के पूर्ण मंचि में स्वतन्त्रता के लिए सत्ता संस्करण करनी जानता के स्वप्नों की पूर्ति हुई और एक अद्वितीय राष्ट्र के रूप में भारत का विश्व रंगमंच पर प्राप्ति आया।

मुफ़्ति हेतु जानकर अभ्यास प्रारंभ तत्त्व हुई है कि इस महाचुन्ता उपलब्धि की प्रथम वर्षांत में अज्ञात्रात्म राष्ट्र को राष्ट्र की व्यावहारिक स्वरूप एक श्रमिकन्दन प्रण एवं इस अवसर पर ग्रामीणता दिवस के आयोजन किया गया है। इस श्रमिकन्दन प्रण एवं इस अवसर पर ग्रामीणता दिवस के आयोजन किये जाने वाले उत्सव की सफलता की कामना करता है।
Devoted Leader

SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA
Deputy Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation,
Government of India.
New Delhi.

Last year witnessed some significant developments which have changed the complexion of our sub-continent. The people rallied as one nation behind our beloved Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. She has given a new direction and a sense of involvement to our people.

The emergence of a stronger, more confident India was the culmination of a period of trials, troubles and tribulations. The part played by our defence forces under the devoted leadership of our Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram cannot be over-emphasised. Shri Jagjivan Ram is one of our foremost leaders who have dedicated themselves to the cause of the nation.

I am glad you are bringing out a Commemoration Volume on December 16, 1972 to mark the first anniversary of the victory, for presentation to Shri Jagjivan Ram. For many more years to come, I am sure, he will continue to guide the destiny of the nation.
An Ardent Fighter
SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI
Deputy Minister for Railways,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Few people have become a part of national history during their life-time, and one of them is Shri Jagjivan Ram. An ardent fighter for the country's freedom, he has continued to serve the country as an administrator of the highest ability. In a way he has been the architect of our great victory in the recent conflict with Pakistan. An intrepid fighter for the finer values of life, he has played a leading part in eliminating from our Society the evil of casteism. His life is one of dedications and service to the country, for which he will continue to have an honoured place in our history.

Good Wishes
SHRI SHRIMAN NARAYAN
Governor of Gujrat,
Raj Bhavan,
Ahmedabad.

I am glad to know that Shri Jagjivan Ramji, Defence Minister of India is being honoured and presented an 'Abhinandan Granth' on the occasion of the first anniversary of our glorious victory in last Indo-Pak conflict on the 16th, December, 1972.

I convey my good wishes on the occasion and wish Shri Jagjivan Ramji a long and fruitful life in the service of Nation.
Champion of Down-Trodden

SHRI MOHANLAL SUKHADIA
Governor of Mysore,
Raj Bhavan,
Bangalore.

I am happy to know that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti is planning to bring out a Commemoration Volume on the first anniversary of the liberation of Bangla Desh by our victorious forces. Shri Jagjivan Ram's contribution to the progress of the country and his sincere concern for the down-trodden and the neglected are known to everyone. His role in our recent victory is fresh in our memory.

I wish the venture all success.
Redressor of Injustices

SHRI ALI YAVAR JUNG
Governor of Maharashtra,
Raj Bhavan,
Bombay.

I am glad to learn of the project of presentation of a Commemoration Volume to Babu Jagjivan Ramji. He has held some of the most responsible offices of State at most crucial times. His services to the Scheduled Castes, however, need to be emphasised particularly in view of the decisive direction now given to our economic and social policies by the Prime Minister of which the establishment of equality and social justice and the redress of the injustices of the past form the cornerstone. Large sections of our people, both the Scheduled Castes and others, have been differentiated against and deprived of equal opportunities as a result of a way of life and thought which are not only anachronistic but incompatible with human dignity. Yet, some of those inequalities and discrimination persist in certain segments of our society in spite of legislation to the contrary. If democracy, secularism and socialism are to become realities, these should be rooted out, and the efforts of all of us should be directed to that end just as Babu Jagjivan Ramji’s have been. That is the ideal and example set before us by the Prime Minister and the vast majority of the people of our country have supported it.
Man of Many Services

SHRI D. C. PAVATE
Governor of Punjab,
Raj Bhavan,
Chandigarh.

I am glad to know that an Abhinandan Granth is to be presented to Shri Jagjivan Ram in appreciation of his many services to the nation. Shri Jagjivan Ram has been in the forefront of the struggle for independence, and has since 1947, served the nation with distinction in many capacities. The excellent manner in which the Armed Forces fought during the recent war with Pakistan, is one more feather in his cap. I send my good wishes on the occasion of the presentation of this Abhinandan Granth. I hope the nation will benefit from the services of Shri Jagjivan Ram for many years to come.

Valiant Freedom Fighter

SHRI BALESHWAR PRASAD
Lieutenant Governor of Delhi,
Raj Niwas,
Delhi.

I am happy to know that you are celebrating the anniversary of the great event of the emergence of Bangla Desh on December 16, 1972 and that you are also publishing a Commemoration Volume in honour of our Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram.

Babuji has been a valiant freedom fighter, a dedicated leader in the cause of the uplift of the weaker sections, secularism and democracy and has worked indefatigably in post-independence era for the welfare, well being and prosperity of the country. Under his leadership, as Defence Minister of India, our Armed Forces helped in emancipating Bangla Desh from the military regime of Pakistan and saved our territorial integrity against its attack on the Western front.

I join every one on this occasion in paying my tributes to Babuji who is a living symbol of strength of the nation.
Renowned Parliamentarian

SHRI BANARSI DASS GUPTA
Speaker,
Hariyana Vidhan Sabha,
Chandigarh.

I am glad to learn that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti has decided to present a Commemoration Volume on the occasion of the first anniversary of our victory over Pakistan in December last. Babuji has been a veteran freedom fighter in the pre-independence days and played an important role in the reconstruction of our country both in the party and Government hierarchy. His services to the Nation are well-known to all country-men and they are so many to be enumerated in these few lines. The country is indeed lucky in having in its midst today a stalwart of Babuji’s calibre to guide the destiny of the Nation. He has been a champion of the poorer and weaker sections of our Society and has been greatly instrumental in helping our Prime Minister to launch “Garibi Hatao” programme. Babuji is renowned Parliamentarian and an orator of repute whose speeches whether in the House or in public meetings keep the audiences spell bound. I hope and trust that Babuji’s life and contribution will act as a shining symbol to the coming generations and inspire them to dedicate themselves for the uplift of motherland.
Friend of Innumerable Friends

SHRI S. K. WANKHEDE
Speaker,
Maharashtra Legislative Assembly,
Bombay-1.

I have had the good fortune of knowing Babu Jagjivan Ramji for the last thirty five years. He has devoted his entire life for the emancipation of the weak and the down-trodden sections of society. He has handled different Ministries very ably but above all it is his human approach that has endeared him to his innumerable friends and admirers. This is rare virtue in political circles and that is what gives Babuji his present status and dignity. He has proved to be a faithful colleague and a fearless fighter and all these qualities have placed him on his present high pedestal.

As one of his friends and admirers, I wish Babuji good health and long life. May his selfless services be available to the country for many years to come.
Man of Sterling Qualities

SHRI DARBARA SINGH
Speaker,
Punjab Vidhan Sabha,
Chandigarh.

I am glad to know that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti is celebrating the first anniversary of the great event of India’s glorious victory over Pak Military Junta on the 16th December, 1972 and is presenting on this occasion a Commemoration Volume as a token of the Nation’s tribute, to Babu Jagjivan Ramji.

The achievements and services of Babu Jagjivan Ramji are too many to be recapitulated in a few words. He is gifted with sterling qualities of head and heart. He is a dynamic and competent leader. He has held various offices with great distinction. As Minister for Defence, he has shown his skill and ability both as an administrator and statesman. It is during his stewardship of the Ministry of Defence that our gallant Indian Forces dealt a heavy blow to and defeated the Pak Forces in the recent Indo-Pak war.
True Captain of the Stormy Sea

Dr. VIRENDRA SWARUP
Chairman,
Vidhan Parishad Uttar Pradesh,
Lucknow.

I am, indeed, very happy to know that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to Babu Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister of India, on 16th December, 1972, the first anniversary of the India's victory in the last Indo-Pakistan War.

There have been a few in World's history to match Babuji's courage, wisdom, wit and foresight. The successful way he has been steering the problems of the country, be it food, housing, transport or defence, makes him a leader not only endearing to his followers but a "True Captain of the Stormy Sea". His meteoric rise has inspired several young men of the country and confirms the truth that honesty and hard work alone matter in life; not colour, caste or creed.

I must say it is not only the Congress but the country as a whole, which will ever remain indebted to him for his contribution to its parliamentary life and phenomenal progress both political and economic, before and after independence.

I submit my most sincere and heart-felt felicitations and regards to Babuji on this occasion and wish all success to the organisers of the function.
Stalwart of Freedom Struggle

SHRI KEDAR PANDEY
Chief Minister,
Bihar.

I am glad to know that friends in Kanpur have taken steps to honour the services of Shri Jagjivan Ram, our Defence Minister, and present a Commemoration Volume to him on the first anniversary of the liberation of Bangla Desh.

Shri Jagjivan Ram has been one of our stalwarts in the freedom-struggle and his contribution to the reconstruction of the country has been phenomenal. He made a success of every job that came to him. His handling of the Bangla Desh situation was really superb. May he live long to bring further glories to the country.

I wish your efforts a success.

Burning Patriot

SHRI BANSI LAL
Chief Minister,
Haryana,
Chandigarh.

Babu Jagjivan Ram, Union Defence Minister, is a great son of India, who has always served his countrymen with devotion and dedication. He played a significant role in the crucial days of the last Indo-Pakistan War and led the nation to glorious victory. His untiring zeal, devotion to duty and burning patriotism created an upsurge of popular emotion and inspired the Jawans and people in all walks of life to make every sacrifice for defending and upholding the freedom and honour of our motherland.

It is befitting that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to him on the first anniversary of the historic event on the 16th December, 1972. I send my very best wishes to Babuji on this auspicious occasion.
Liberator of Depressed and Weaker Sections

SHRI Y.S. PARMAR
Chief Minister,
Government of Himachal Pradesh,
Simla-2.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is a man who, occupies the front rank of national leadership and has been actively associating himself with the national reconstruction. He is a seasoned politician and a statesman whose views on various problems are admired not only in parliamentary circles but also in public spheres.

Shri Jagjivan Ram, is a staunch supporter of socialism. He is one of the framers of neo-socialistic programmes conceived in post-Nehru era. His presence at the Indian political scene has much to do with implementation, execution and realisation of the policies and programmes set out by the Indian National Congress, from time to time.

As a leader, Babuji has a rare quality of deciding things most convincingly. In his various capacities in the Union Cabinet, he has been able to solve multifarious problems of labour, food, agriculture, defence and other works assigned to him.

As President of All India Congress he has been capable of bringing together various diversified views and opinions through gentle persuasion and sense of negotiation. There had been a number of instances when our great organisation could become a victim of disintegration and defunction but for this timely and able guidance and mastermindedness we have been able to tide over all such crisis within no time.

Shri Jagjivan Ram's main contribution is that he has been able to bring about integration among the various ranks of our
armed forces and during his tenure of Defence Minister, India has made great strides in direction of Defence production and orientation. It is all because of his ablest guidance that we have stood the test of time in liberating Bangla Desh.

Prior to his becoming Defence Minister, Sri Jagjivan Ram was assigned a number of portfolios in which labour, railways, food and agriculture are some of the important ones. He has been responsible in improving labour conditions, gearing up railway administration and proper storage and distribution of foodgrains besides providing impetus to agricultural production in the country.

He has been a great liberator of depressed and weaker sections of our society and for their emancipation and welfare he has been doing a lot of work.

Wish him a long and happy life.

Hero of War
SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON
Chief Minister,
Government of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

I am happy to learn that a Commemoration Volume is proposed to be presented to Shri Jagjivan Ram on 16th December, 1972 for the heroic role that he had played in the last Indo-Pakistan War.

I send my best wishes.
Valiant and Dedicated Son of Mother India

SHRI P.C. SETHI
Chief Minister,
Government of Madhya Pradesh,
Bhopal.

It gives me great pleasure to know that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti is celebrating the birth anniversary of the grand victory in the war forced upon us by the Pak Military Junta in December last. On this occasion, the Samiti is also presenting a Commemoration Volume to our Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram as tribute to his nature guidance and untiring efforts for bringing about this historical success resulting in emergence of a new nation—Bangla Desh.

In fact, this great success was due to the inspiring leadership and firm resolve of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, tactful handling of the situation by Babu Jagjivan Ram and the sacrifices by the Armed forces and people of our country.

The anniversary of such a historical event is a befitting occasion for the nation to pay its humble tribute to Babu Jagjivan Ram, who has played many important roles in Indian affairs.

I wish all success to the celebrations and pray for a long life to Babu Jagjivan Ram, a valiant and dedicated son of Mother India.
Historic President of Congress

SHRI BARKATULLAH KHAN
Chief Minister,
Government of Rajasthan,
Jaipur.

I am happy to learn that Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti has decided to present a Commemoration Volume on 16th December, 1972 as a token of Nation’s tribute to Honourable Babu Jagjivan Ramji. It is well known to all that Shri Jagjivan Ramji had been a great freedom fighter and had made sacrifices for the freedom of the country. After Independence he had made a mark in different spheres – as a Minister, Parliamentarian and President of All India Congress Committee.

I send my best wishes on this occasion.
Eminent Person

SHRI A. R. BADARI NARAYAN
Minister For Education,
Government of Mysore,
Bangalore-1.

I am really glad that to celebrate the first anniversary of the great event on the 16th December, 1972, Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti has decided to present on the occasion, a Commemoration Volume as a token of the Nation's tribute, to Honourable Babu Jagjivan Ramji, who has shown in the recent war that India is capable of defending not only her own freedom but that of her neighbours as well. Our country is really fortunate in having such an eminent person.

I congratulate the organisers for their efforts in this noble work and wish the function every success.

Pillar of Strength

SHRI K.H. PATIL
Minister For Agriculture & Forests,
Government of Mysore,
Bangalore-1.

I am to say that Babu Jagjivan Ramji has been a pillar of strength for the Nation. He is one of the few statesmen who would be able to guide us to peep into the history of pre-Independence movement. It is in the fitness of things that the services of Babu Jagjivan Ramji be recognised as felicitations offered.

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Veteran Stalwart

SHRI N. L. ODYUE
Minister of State Supply, Labour & Employment,
Area and Regional Councils,
Government of Nagaland,
Kohima.

I am glad to learn that Souvenir is being brought out to be presented to Babu Jagjivan Ramji, our Defence Minister on the occasion of the first anniversary of Bangladesh emerging as a new nation.

Shri Jagjivan Ram Babu is one of the exalted few who has been serving the country since the traumatic changeover period when the first national Government was formed in 1946. He has essentially been the man of labour, Trade Unions and the depressed classes and has worked strenuously and consistently throughout to bring succour and sunshine to their lives.

Although Shri Jagjivan Ram Babuji’s achievements during his long and cheque-red political life are many and varied, but the most spectacular was the one when he knocked the stuffing out of the stickiest crisis that developed in the sub-continent during last December.

With that crisis blown up, the deck is cleared and the locale is shifted once again to the unfinished task of national construction. I am sure that under the able leadership of our Prime Minister and the veteran stalwarts like Babu Jagjivan Ramji, we shall be able to meet successfully not only this, but a bigger challenge that has been gnawing at us in the Himalayas.

I send Shri Jagjivan Ram Babu my warm greetings and regards on this occasion.
Leader of Indian History

DR. SALIG RAM
Agriculture Minister,
Government of Himachal Pradesh,
Simla-2.

I am glad to know that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to Honourable Babu Jagjivan Ramji on 16th December, 1972 when the first anniversary of our glorious victory in a war imposed on us by the Pak Military Junta will be celebrated.

Babu Jagjivan Ram's services to the nation both in times of peace and war have been a matter of pride for all the Indians and his name would be carved out gloriously in the annals of Indian history.

I wish all success for the occasion and pray for many happy years of Babuji's leadership and service of the Indian masses.

Sagacious Steward

SHRI ONKARLAL CHAUHAN
Minister for Labour and Social Welfare,
Government of Rajasthan,
Jaipur.

Shri Jagjivan Ram has occupied a unique position both in the hierarchy of the Congress and in the Central Cabinet. He has particularly made his mark as the Defence Minister of the country during the crucial period of the recent war imposed on us by the military junta of Pakistan. Our glorious victory was made possible by the solidarity of the people of India, the armed might of the nation, the inspiring leadership of our Prime Minister and the sagacious stewardship of Shri Jagjivan Ram which enabled the country to steer clear of all obstacles.

It would but be a fitting occasion to present a Commemoration Volume to Shri Jagjivan Ram on the first anniversary of our victory.

I wish you every success.
Great Morale Booster

SHRI UDIT NARAIN SHARMA
Minister of Revenue & Rehabilitation,
Vidhan Bhavan,
Lucknow.

I am glad to learn that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to Shri Jagjivan Ram as a token of Nation’s gratitude on the occasion of First Anniversary of India’s historic victory over Pak Military Junta and the emergence of Bangla Desh.

The role played by the Union Defence Minister during the period preceding and after those fateful fourteen days had served as a great morale booster to the people in general and our armed forces in particular. The clarity and boldness with which he explained India’s stand had helped India win friends for the cause of democracy, freedom and secularism.

May he live long to serve the nation. I send my best wishes.
Fighter of Country's Freedom

DR. SITA RAM
Minister For Food & Civil Supplies & Harijan
Welfare Deptt.,
Vidhan Bhawan,
Lucknow.

I feel really honoured to associate myself with the Commemoration Volume proposed to be presented to the Union Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram on the occasion of the first anniversary of India's historic victory over forces of oppression, barbarism and totalitarianism, represented by the Pakistani Military Junta and the emergence of Bangla Desh in last December.

The services rendered by Jagjivan Ramji as fighter in the cause of country's freedom, as leader of the oppressed and down-trodden mass of humanity known as the Harijans and backward classes and as nation's top political leader for political, economic and social resurgence will ever remain enshrined in the annals of our history.

As free India's Minister for Labour, Communications, Railways, Food and Agriculture and as Defence Minister, he had been one of the foremost among builders of modern India and architect of many a victory on many a front. A notable achievement of his as Food & Agriculture Minister had been the fruition of the concept of Green Revolution and country's steady march towards self-sufficiency on the farm front. As Defence Minister, Jagjivan Ramji had been a perpetual source of strength to the people in general and the armed forces in particular during the 14-day war with Pakistan last year and created war history by forcing surrender of over a lakh of enemy's demoralised forces in the eastern theatre of war. The historic role he played at the time of the Congress split under
the leadership of Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi has
given a new dynamism and direction to our body politic and
assured India's rapid march towards a society based on demo-
cracy, socialism and secularism.

By his simple living, selfless sacrifices, political sagacity
and administrative acumen and skill, astute judgment of men
and affairs, his tireless efforts for the uplift of the down-trodden
and the dynamic leadership that he is providing to the country
at this critical juncture in its history he has created a niche in
the hearts of the people he serves.

I am sure that this Commemoration Volume is but a token
of his countrymen's love and affection and deep debt of grati-
tude that they owe to him. May he live long for many many
more years to come to serve the nation.

I wish your venture all success.
Defence Minister of Courage and Patience

PROF. SHRI A. B. LAL
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Rajasthan,
Jaipur (Rajasthan)

I am happy to know that on the occasion of the first anniversary of India's victory and emergence of the new Nation—Bangla Desh—on the 16th December, you propose to bring out a Commemoration Volume in honour of Babu Jagjivan Ramji. During the Indo-Pak War the courage, patience and statesmanship of our Defence Minister, Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, were brought home to us. His qualities of leadership are a source of inspiration to our countrymen. The quiet and self-effacing manner in which he has been working to raise India's defence potential have left a deep impression on the hearts of all Indians. It is on account of his farsightedness and organisational ability that India can hold her head high today.

I commend your plan to bring out the Commemoration Volume and join you all in wishing Babu Jagjivan Ram a long life of service to the country.
Builder of the Nation

DR. B. R. SAKSENA
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Allahabad,
Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh)

I am glad that you are bringing out a volume to felicitate Babu Jagjivan Ram. I have appreciated his work both social and political. He is one of the builders of the nation and has been trying to remove inequalities from our social life. May he live long to continue his work and to serve the beloved country.

I am sending to you very best wishes for the success of the venture and laudable effort.

Congratulations

SHRI T. K. TOPE
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Bombay,
Bombay-32.

I congratulate you for your decision to bring out in commemoration of new nation Bangla Desh, a volume on 16th December, 1972, as a token of the Nation’s tribute to Babu Jagjivan Ram.

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Devoted Worker
SHRI T.K. TUKOL
Vice-Chancellor,
Bangalore University,
Bangalore-1.

I am glad that you are contemplating to bring out a Commemoration Volume to honour Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram who has rendered unique service to the country. His services as Minister in different Ministries and in the Central Cabinet are unique. He is a devoted worker and has dedicated himself to the service of our country. His contributions to the different fields of administration, enrichment of national life and upliftment of the poorer sections of the society have been so significant and varied that it is impossible to enumerate them in this brief letter. May I join you and others in paying my respectful tributes to our leader for his meritorious national services to the advancement of India.

Strong Defence Minister
SHRI R.K. SINGH
Vice-Chancellor,
Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5 (Himachal Pradesh).

I am happy to learn that a decision has been taken to present a Commemoration Volume to Babu Jagjivan Ram on the occasion of the first anniversary of the emancipation of Bangla Desh. But for a strong Defence Minister, the war of Independence could have taken a different turn.

The nation is indebted to Babu Jagjivan Ram for his rich contribution to war efforts.

As a Vice-Chancellor of Himachal Pradesh University, I join the nation in paying well deserved tribute to our Defence Minister.
महान जन-नायक और राष्ट्र-सेवक
श्री बालकृष्ण राव

हुसैनी,
श्रीगांव विज्ञानविद्यालय,
श्रीगांव

भारत पाक संविधान (१९५०) में भारत की जो अमृतपुर्व और जिरसमरणीय विज्ञानी मिली का विशेष व्यक्तियों और संगठनों की ही नहीं, सेना के प्रत्येक बैनर और देश के प्रत्येक नागरिक की भी है। वस्तुतः युद्ध क्षेत्र में विज्ञान ताकद का उद्देश्य साहस और उसकी चिंतना का, और इससे निर्माण वंश और उन्नी जनरल का पुरस्कार है। जनता के मनोवाल को जड़ा का ध्येय द्वारा भी खैर जगजीवन राम का नाम सर्वप्रथम लिया जायगा।

प्रत्येक विषय के उपलब्ध भी प्रारंभिक पाठ्य प्रारंभिक समारोह के प्रारंभ पर बाण जगजीवन राम के प्रमाणत का निर्णय बाद घोषणा है। प्रमाणित-प्रथा के प्रकाशन के द्वारा ही उनके बाहर जाने के (जो इतिहास में समग्रित होने से रह जायेंगे) बन-बन के हुदू में राष्ट्र सेवा और लाभ का प्रेमण का प्रवर्तन ही प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। वस्तुतः उन्हें जैसे महान जन-नायक और राष्ट्र-सेवक के लिये यह मंत्र कुछ भी नहीं है।

इस बारसर पर में बाण जगजीवन राम के सर्वे स्वस्थ, सुप्रसंगीत और समृद्ध जीवन की शुभकामना करता हूँ।
Prudent Statesman

SHRI S. N. SEN
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Calcutta,
Senate House,
Calcutta-12.

I am very glad to learn that on the occasion of the next birthday of Babu Jagjivan Ram a Abhinandan Granth is being published.

As a valient soldier of our freedom struggle and as a prudent statesman after attainment of independence Babu Jagjivan Ram has become one of the distinguished sons of India. His unostensible way of living, demeanour and simplicity have made him one of the most popular leaders of our country.

I pray for his long life and good health.
Great Son of the Soil

SHRI S.K. DUTTA
Vice-Chancellor,
Kurukshetra University,
Kurukshetra (Haryana)

I have watched with respect this great man’s political career over the years. The energy of will and depth of understanding which he has brought to bear upon his task as a member of the Central cabinet have won him the love and admiration of thousands of people in the country. These qualities were particularly evident in his handling of the Defence portfolio during the difficult days of India’s confrontation with Pakistan.

I am glad to know that it is proposed to present a Commemoration Volume to Shri Jagjivan Ramji on the first anniversary of the surrender of the Pakistani forces on the 16th December, 1971. The volume while giving an assessment of his personality and attainments will be, above all, a token of the Nation’s gratitude to him for leading us to victory. One may say that it is a fearful thing for this peaceful country to talk of its war heroes and victories. But, as the great American President Woodrow Wilson put it: the right is more precious than peace. We must always fight for the things which we carry nearest to our hearts — democracy, the right of those who want to have a voice in their own Governments and the liberties of small nations. India will always cherish these ideals.

I should have very much liked to write about some aspect of Shri Jagjivan Ram’s life. But as I haven’t had any opportunity to watch him at close quarters, I content myself with paying my meed of tribute to this great son of the soil. Admiration is a homage of the heart and I pay that homage to him on this great occasion.
A True Gentleman

DR. G. S. MAHAJANI,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Poona,
Poona.

I have received your letter dated 5th August, 1972. I deeply appreciate the compliment you paid me by asking me to contribute a few lines to the Commemoration Volume planned by "The Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti".

Please allow me, in this connexion, to reproduce my own citation when on the 20th of January, 1968, we conferred on Jagjivan Ramji, the Honorary Doctorate of the Udaipur University:

"For the people of Udaipur, this visit of Jagjivan Ramji will no doubt illumine a page in the City's annals.

For the University, this Fifth Convocation will be long remembered by a notable coincidence: the Chancellor and the Chief Guest share one quality common. Affable and easily approachable to the public, they both, by their simplicity and complete disregard of form, pomp and power—they delight the common man. For, in their presence, he feels that he has really come into his own.

A science graduate from the Calcutta University, Jagjivan Ramji's public career began with his nomination, in 1936, to the Bihar Legislative Council. The very next year elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, took place and he entered the Assembly. The eventful decade that followed, equipped him with varied experience and in 1946, he came to the Centre as Minister for Labour. Since then, he has been continuously in the Central Cabinet, except for a three-year break under the Kamraj Plan. During these eighteen years, he has served the
nation in various fields such as Labour, Transport, Communication, Railways; and today, he holds the key portfolio of *Food & Agriculture*. Incidentally, he is perhaps the only member of the present Central Cabinet, who entered it before the accession of independence.

Nature obviously smiles on him in his present garb. His predecessor, able and amiable and hard working as they were, met with a sort of confrontation from her in the form of droughts and shortages of various kinds. But in the very first year of Jagjivan Ram’s present monsoon clouds gathered and in a way crowded round him to promise an all time record output of 95 million tons of food grains. Fortune favours humility in greatness, and greatness sits on him but lightly and he carries it with grace.

Universities the world over face today many unmerited attacks. And critics have even raised a false alarm that the University structure — “the scaffolding of the prospective Science Tower has collapsed”. They then proceed to accuse the academic community of having run away from the scene of the crumbling crash. Listen to this:

Where are they all?

The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor, The Deputy Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar, The Bursar, the Deans of the several faculties, the Director of Extra-Mural Studies, The Chairman of the University Council, The Esquire Beodell and the Public Orator?

For the Scaffolding has collapsed, the scaffolding of the prospective Science Tower......"

Where are they all?—well, we are all here (Let the critics take a photograph, if they will).

This University in its infancy is just running its sixth year. It is conscious that it has yet to go many miles before its achievements will be noticed and recognised. We are aware that Rome was not built in a day—and for that very reason, we
are careful in ensuring that no step that we take is false, and every stone in the structure is firmly and truly well laid.

Graduates of the year, our Guest of Honour hails from Bihar, the State of our first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He was regarded as the nearest approach, in modern times, to the ideal signified in having had no enemies—no critics. I will not embarrass Jagjivan Ramji by saying that he could be a good third in the line. That would be flattery. He has his critics as well as friends. But what distinguishes him from many other politicians is the fact that his loyalty to friends is even surpassed by his fairness—fairness to a fault that he shows to his critics.

We have in that sense, in him, a true gentleman to address this Convocation."
Architect of Glorious Victory

SHRI SURAJ BHAN
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Punjab,
Punjab.

16th of December will always be remembered by us as a day on which our national history took a new turn. The unprovoked aggression launched by Pakistan on that historic day all of a sudden awakened the inherent energies of the nation that had been lying dormant for some time. It appears as if under the magic touch of a Prince Charming the nation had shaken off its slumber and it took a leap forward from immaturity to maturity, from dependence to self-reliance, from darkness to light. It is, therefore, appropriate that we should commemorate this day as a day of thanks — giving to all those who under the inspiring leadership of our Prime Minister stood up to the challenge and vindicated the honour and prestige of the nation. The name of Babu Jagjivan Ram as our Defence Minister in one of the most history-jolting periods of our national existence will always be ranked among the architects of our glorious victory.

In his dedicated service to the nation for over half a century Babu Jagjivan Ram has played with distinction varied roles, but whenever I think of him he stands out primarily as a valiant fighter for freedom, as a champion of the underprivileged and as a statesman who is a rare combination of pragmatism and idealism.

As a fighter for freedom, Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of the pioneers of Trade Union Movement in our country. There was a time when trade unions in our country were looked
upon as a threat to established Government. And threats they indeed were. One motivating force that guided trade union activity in the pre-independent India was the desire to wrest freedom from alien government. Whether during the Non-cooperation days or the quit India movement, the trade unions in our country invariably responded to the call of the nation with all their organised force and ultimately paved the way for independence. It is due to selfless efforts and indefatigable work of men like Babu Jagjivan Ram that the energies of the farmers in the fields and workers in the factories were galvanised and trade unions in our country emerged as instruments of the nation in its historic struggle.

As a champion of the under-privileged in the Indian society, Babu Jagjivan Ram will be gratefully remembered by millions of our countrymen. As soon as Gandhiji emerged on the political scene of India, he immediately made us conscious that untouchability was a curse which must be eradicated. A nation that denies equality and justice to a large chunk of its population on the basis of caste, colour or creed can never play an effective role in the march of civilization. I believe that Babu Jagjivan Ram has contributed more than any other living person to uplift the Harijans and to make them conscious of their rights and obligations in a secular democratic India.

I am not sure whether we have been able to eliminate this evil from our society completely, but the heroic efforts of men like Babu Jagjivan Ram in this direction have ignited a spark that will keep on shining for ever. It is men like him who have been persistently trying to turn a dream into a reality—a dream of a world which has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls.

As a statesman, Babu Jagjivan Ram has been in the vanguard of all progressive movements in the country. At a time when the Indian National Congress was facing a split, he broke away from the reactionary forces and identified himself completely with our forward-looking Prime Minister. His role
as President of the Indian National Congress in those days of trial and uncertainty, his spirited support of revolutionary measures like the abolition of Privy Purses and nationalization of Banks and his commitments to the ideals that the Prime Minister stands for, are too well-known to be elaborated. Particularly his watchfulness as the Defence Minister of the country during the Indo-Pakistan conflict will always be memorable. On this occasion when we are celebrating the first anniversary of our glorious victory, I send my best wishes and earnest prayers for many many years of rich and fruitful life to Babu Jagjivan Ram in the service of the nation.

Triumphant Victor

SHRI K.L. JOSHI
Chancellor,
Indore University,
University House (Indore).

I congratulate you on your venture to felicitate Babu Jagjivan Ram for the triumphant victory of the Nation. It is my earnest desire that the Commemoration Volume may become a constant source of inspiration to all "jawans" and the youth of the country for defence of the motherland.
Honourable Defence Minister

DR. P.S. MENE
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Nagpur,
Nagpur.

I am glad to know that the first anniversary of the glorious victory of our country in the recent War with Pakistan is being celebrated on 16th December, 1972 in a befitting manner. I wish all success to the function.

Busy Administrator

DR. SHIVA MANGAL SINGH 'SUMAN'
Vice-Chancellor,
Vikram University,
Ujjain.

I feel very happy to learn that you are presenting a Commemoration Volume to our Honourable Defence Minister, Babu Jagjivan Ram, on 16th December 1972. The occasion is most befitting for felicitating one of the most glorious sons of India, who played most decisive role during this testing period. Just as Nehru dedicated his birthday for children and Dr. Radhakrishnan for the teachers, similarly the victorious event of 16th December 1971 can be dedicated to our brave Defence Minister. I have known Jagjivan Ramji more as a scholar full of genuine sense of perception. His Convocation Address in Vikram University in the year 1966 is full of erudition in the field of history and sociology. This can be a part of any post-graduate syllabus. It is beyond comprehension as to how such a busy administrator can find time for scholarly pursuits. I offer my hearty felicitations on this occasion for the glorious achievements of our brave Jagjivan Ram Babu and pray God for his still epoch-making victorious future. May he live long to inspire us.

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Fair and Firm

DR. (MRS.) G.P. SHERRY
Principal,
Women’s Training College,
Agra-5.

It may be an exercise in futility to attempt to portray the powerful and influential personality of our revered leader Babu Jagjivan Ramji in a nutshell. It would be no exaggeration to say that he possesses the Midas’ touch, for whatever office he held he adorned it with the lustre of gold. Amongst the fighters of freedom his name will be remembered for a long time. Babuji flourishes day by day in name and fame because of his selfless and dedicated service. Bismark observed that a really greatman is known by three signs—generosity in design, humanity in execution, moderation in success and these are richly blended in Babuji.

His spartan simplicity, his concern for the downtrodden, his burning zeal for their amelioration are the chief-trait of his character. He is the idol and hope of millions of the low and the lowly. He is essentially a man of the masses in whom his roots lie. He practises an unostentatious and unequalled identification with the common man, with the oppressed and the suppressed. He detests subterfuges. He is a true son of the soil and he loves to bend his energies to solve the problems that concern the common man. He knows what he means to do and does it. Fairness and firm decision are his chief characteristics. Patriotism, courage and steadfastness are the secrets of his success. But, it was during the last Indo-Pakistan war that our people came to recognise his mettle, his dynamism, his courage, his capacity for quick and firm decision. His brave words inspired the Jawans to give their best in the war and struck terror into the hearts of the enemy—nay they entirely emasculated them and destroyed their morale. He thus emerged pure and entirely shining like gold from the fires and flames of the war.

May the omnipotent God grant a long life of health and dedicated service to our Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram Sahib!
Dynamic Leader

SHRI EKNATH RANADE
Editor,
Swami Vivekanand Kendra Patrika,
Triplicane (Madras).

I am profoundly happy and thankful for the opportunity to associate myself with the forthcoming celebrations on the 16th of December, 1972, which completes a year after India's historic victory in the recent war, into which the Pak-Military Junta wantonly compelled our forces to enter by provocative acts of cruelty and aggression, and whose termination has ineradicable recorded a signal triumph for the Indian nation and the people of India as a whole, under the inspiration, dynamic leadership and superior strategy of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and our Defence Minister, Babu Jagjivan Ramji. It is a victory, not only for the nation and the people and for the great leadership, but for all the precious ideals and cherished principles of democracy and humanitarian universalism, so dear to our heart. The emergence of the new nation, Bangladesh, is an eloquent and spontaneous testimonial to the power and strength of DHARMA, which India has always stood for and upheld against rising tribes of ADHARMA.

It is eminently fitting and appropriate that the nation should seek to articulate its deep sense of appreciation of and gratitude to the unique leadership and particularly to the bold perseverance and steadfast sense of purpose shown by Babu Jagjivan Ramji, by means of a modest but heart-felt token in the form of a Commemoration Volume.
Koh-i-Noor in the Crown of Bharat Mata

RANBIR SINGH
Chief Editor,
“Daily Milap”
8-A, Bahadurshah Zafar Marg,
New Delhi-1.

It is my good fortune that I am as old as Shri Jagjivan Ramji. We were both born in the same year. But, during my journalistic career I had to come across so many people who are the builders of the society and the pillars of the Nation that it is almost impossible to count them. Out of them Shri Jagjivan Ramji shines like a jewel which is bigger, brighter and more brilliant than thousands of others. He is almost like a Koh-i-Noor in the Crown of Bharat Mata. Those of others, I have been very close to him. I can say that he is one of those gems in India on whom this Nation can always depend. Born in a poor family and amongst people who were once called untouchables, he has risen to the position of glory in the Nation. It is not because of his good luck only, which God has bestowed on him in abundance, but also because of the selfless service and his adherence to the ideals of Gandhiji and Nehruji. In a short note like this it is not possible to cover all his qualities but I know personally that he is devoted much more to the Nation than to anything else. For him the welfare of the Nation is the Super God. For him the ideals of Democracy, Socialism and Secularism are the tenets of the Dharma which is the main-stay of the edifice of the Society. Very long ago the Maharishi Vyas said in Mahabharta that wherever there is Yogeshwar Krishna and the Warrior Arjuna, there will be victory, triumph and glory. I say today that wherever Shri Jagjivan Ramji and Smt. Indira Gandhiji are, there will be victory always and welfare of the Nation above all.
Great Patriotic Fervour

SHRI A.G. SHEOREY
Managing Editor,
"Nagpur Times".

I think you are doing a wonderful thing in organising the publication of a Commemoration Volume as a token of the Nation's tribute to Babu Jagjivan Ramji who, under the leadership of our dynamic Prime Minister played a very significant role as a Defence Minister in the last Indo-Pak War, which not only gave us success but also national pride and self-respect. Babuji is a man of great patriotic fervour, an intelligent administrator and a practical statesman. He belongs to the old Gandhian traditions and is a firm democrat who has worked very hard for the uplift of the common man. I also admire him for his dedication to the cause of Hindi as the National language of India. I have great pleasure in offering my greetings and good wishes to Babuji and to you also for the success of your laudable venture.
A Patriot to the Core
GENERAL CARIAPPA (Retd.)

"Roshanara",
Marcara-Coorg,
Mysore.

I have had the pleasure of meeting Shri Jagjivan Ram on numerous occasions in the last 15 or more years; in his various capacities as a Minister of Labour, Railways, Defence, and so on. It was always a joy to me to meet him and to talk to him because of his very friendly manners and the courtesy he always extended to me whenever we met and talked of various matters of general interest. He was always very cheerful and in good mood.

What I liked about him was his preparedness to see the other man's point of view. I never found him dictatorial nor too highbrowish in his discussions. He was always polite, simple, and to the point.

I do think his ways and attitudes as stated, are worthy of emulation by quite a few others holding responsible assignments in public and in private life.

I know he is a great son of our soil, a patriot to the core and a firm and able administrator. I have always liked him personally very much as a perfect gentleman.

I hope Shri Jagjivan Ram will always have very good health to continue to serve our country in the same able manner he has been serving in the various Ministries, he was the head of, since independence.
Strongest Defence Minister
GENERAL J. N. CHAUDHURI (Retd.)
The Institute For Strategic Studies,
18, Adam Street,
London.

I am indeed gratified that you should ask me to send either an article or a message for inclusion in the Commemoration Volume to Babu Jagjivan Ramji. Since Babuji's assumption of the Defence Portfolio, our armed forces have gone from strength to strength. No one is more conscious of this than an ex-chief of Army staff like myself.

Wishing your Commemoration Volume all success.

An Administrator
GENERAL P.P. KUMARAMANGALAM
D.S.O. (Retd.),
"Sunny Lands",
Hosur Cattle Farm P.O.,
Dharmapuri District. (TAMILNADU)

I am very happy to know that you are holding a Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti and I hope that the Souvenir will make the people understand all that he has done. Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of our older freedom fighters and has done a lot as an administrator in various appointments, culminating in his being the Defence Minister in the last two years during which the Indian Armed Forces had such a resounding success.

I wish the members of the Samiti best success in their venture.
Bold and Effective Defence Minister

DR. DEVAKINANDAN SRIVASTAVA
Department of Hindi And Modern Indian Language,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow.

It is really a great pleasure to learn that the first anniversary of the glorious Indian victory and emergence of Bangla Desh is being celebrated on 16th December, 1972 and that on this historic occasion, it has been decided to present a Commemoration Volume, as a token of the Nation's tribute, to Babu Jagjivan Ram, our bold and effective Defence Minister. I heartily welcome this idea of a highly national significance and send my best wishes for all-round success of the Abhinandan Samiti in its efforts. The Commemoration Volume should also include various aspects of the national, political image of India with special context to India's major role in bringing peace and harmony in Asia—and the world.
Stalwart Babujee
SHRI MOOL NARAIN MISRA
Kanpur

Since the independence, not any worth mentioning laurel has been bestowed to the torchlight of Bapu’s Harijans which could have a landmark in the arena of honour and reception. Now your contemplation in this regard will accrue and serve two-fold end. On one hand the secular character of India’s constitution will get vitality and on the other deserving tribute for the mighty role of Babu Jagjivan Ram shall evolve incentive, impetus, zeal and enthusiasm among the rank and file of downtrodden masses. The cyclonic upheaval of Bangle Desh from its preface to epilogue was really dealt with the true spirit of ‘Bandung Conference’ and ‘Panch-sheel principles’ by worthy daughter of worthy father.

The exemplary and concrete emancipation of oppressed people of Bangladesh by our Honourable Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi coupled with foresighted defence forces operations under the rational dictate of Stalwart Babujee has established pace making victory of virtue over vice. Better it should be analogically deduced conquest of RAMA’S forces over RAVANA’S (The Pak War Mongers).
Biography

Smt. SACHI RANI GURTU

Shri Jagjivan Ram is not only one of India’s prominent leaders but has for long been accepted throughout the world as the kindling flame in the hearts of millions of humblest people. He is a vital link between all the workers of India with that of other countries. His fearlessness, relentless determination and unflinching sense of duty shall always be a beacon light guiding India’s path.

Jagjivan Ram was born on April 5, 1908 in CHANDWA a small village, situated at one and a half mile to the West of Arrah, on the Arrah-Buxur Road, Bihar, India. Although administered by Arrah Municipality, it had been deprived of the usual amenities normally available to urban people. Arrah is the Headquarter town of District Shahabad, and has to its credit innumerable historical events. To name a few, it is stated that at Buxur Vishwamitra gave training to Ram and Laxaman in ‘Treta’; Pandwas in ‘Dwapar’ are reported to have spent part of their exile in this area; it was invaded by Babar in 1529; and had seen the unquestionable supremacy of Sher Shah for a number of years, who constructed most famous architectural monuments of medieval history; Chandanpur hill at Sasaram has Asokan inscription, and Hiuen Tsiang is reported to have visited the District in Seventh Century A. D. Most glorious episode in the history of the District was the role of Babu Kunwar Singh and Babu Amar Singh, the then Jamindars of Jagdishpur, which is situated at a distance of 20 miles from Arrah. Their inspiring leadership for uprooting the
foreign rule, and their heroic feats have become proverbial and have taken the shape of legends and folk songs. Their great martial tradition still prevails, and Shahabad is the leading recruiting centre for Army in State of Bihar. Jagjivan Ram became a natural heir to these traditions, and the martial qualities inherited by him from the folk songs, describing epic bravery of the 80-year old Kunwar Singh, and the true stories of the bravery of the ‘Shahabadies’, narrated by participants during 1857, profoundly influenced Jagjivan Ram. Brought up in these environments, he enshrined the traditional gallantry and valour as Defence Minister, since 1970.

SANT SHOBHI RAM

Shiva Narain, Jagjivan Ram’s grandfather, was a farm labourer and lived in poverty and hardships. Some four score years ago when ‘begar’ or forced labour was a very normal practice, an agricultural worker’s life can be well imagined.

The ancestral home of Shiva Narain has not been located. He is understood to have migrated from Jhunathi in the district of Gaya to village Morasia in Shahabad where lived his wife’s sister.

At Morasia in 1864, was born Shobhi Ram, Jagjivan’s father. Shobhi Ram lost his mother as a child and was looked after by his grandmother. Shiva Narain died some time later. But so long as he lived, he faced great penury and it was difficult to make both ends meet. For the young Shobhi Ram, life was very hard and perspective very bleak. The boy, however, showed great intelligence and promise.

So, when one of Shobhi Ram’s uncles, a ‘Phupha’ who was serving the army paid a visit to Morasia, his home, a new vista opened. He was impressed by Shobhi Ram, still a young lad, and when he returned, he took him along with him. He was stationed either at Peshawar or Rawalpindi. To the parents he was a great hope.

Shobhi Ram endeavoured to be helpful. He would wash utensils, cook food and prepare tea and do other odd house
keeping jobs for his uncle. The uncle was, however, kind-hearted and took interest in Shobhi Ram. He would share some of these burdens and Shobhi Ram utilised his leisure hours in learning the alphabets. Sometimes, Shobhi Ram would wander into the wards of the Military Hospital of the Cantonment. He attracted attention of the British soldiers and officers who would send him on errands to buy cigarettes or biscuits. This brought him tips. He deposited the tip money with his uncle. His first month’s earning from tips amounted to about rupees twelve, a substantial figure in those days. He sent the entire amount by money order to his father. What a delightful surprise that money order must have been to Shiva Narain? For several years Shobhi Ram worked as an errand boy and regularly remitted his earnings to his father. Meanwhile he had learnt Hindi well and knew how to speak “Tommy” English.

After some time he got an appointment in British army hospital. He was then twelve years of age. There were the usual transfers but he remained mostly in the Punjab. At Multan he came in contact with followers of the ‘Shiva Narayani Sant’ sect. That, was, for him, the beginning of his spiritual career. He became a ‘Sant’.

On his transfer to Dinapore he came very near home. His father, Shiva Narain, and his step mother had died. But his grandmother who had given him a mother’s love and affection was still alive. He went to see her and on his first meeting offered to her his entire accumulated savings. Tears came in the old lady’s eyes and young Shobhi Ram also could not remain unaffected.

It was time that Shobhi Ram got married. Vasanti, a girl, of Balua Narmada, in the Shahabad district, was the girl chosen. The marriage was solemnised within a year. Vasanti was, then, only twelve years of age. It was not possible for her to accompany Shobhi Ram to Dinapore Cantonment. And Shobhi Ram had no house of his own. But he had now a job and could afford to build a house. That would give, he felt, a sense of
security and stability, for jobs he held were as unstable, as the shade of the palm tree.

Shiva Narain, as already stated, had migrated to a relation’s place at Morasia. His brother had similarly migrated to Baligaon, another place in Shahabad and had built his home there. Shobhi Ram decided to settle at Baligaon. Land was purchased and a house built. Vasanti had now a place of her own. She was still very young and she was the only member in Shobhi Ram’s family. He, therefore, requested his mother-in-law to come and keep house for them. She had no sons and Vasanti being the youngest and most loved of her daughters, she gladly accepted the offer. Vasanti would live alternatively at Baligaon and Dinapore. Santal, their eldest son, was born at Baligaon in 1885. He was delicate and was mostly ill. It was not possible to have proper treatment for the child at Baligaon which was in the interior, and as the medical facilities available were inadequate. Moreover, Shobhi Ram lived at Dinapore and there was none to take proper care of the sick child.

Shobhi Ram had seen army life. He had passed the most impressionable part of his boyhood waiting for odd jobs in the wards of a British military hospital. He could not be satisfied with the treatment of quacks and naturally wanted his son to be able to receive proper medical aid. He decided, therefore, to shift to a village situated near a town where adequate medical aid could be readily available.

The elder sister of Vasanti was married in Chandwa. She and her husband wanted Shobhi Ram to settle there. Vasanti’s parents also favoured the idea. Shobhi Ram was fed up with Baligaon. He took to the suggestion and without waiting to purchase land and build a house shifted to Chandwa in the house of Vasanti’s sister.

In due course land was acquired and a house was built. Shobhi Ram was putting his money to proper use. He started purchasing land and after some time he acquired the status of a small peasant.
The part of Chandwa in which Shobhi Ram had settled had no well. Water had to be brought from the well of a Kayastha. This well was situated at some distance. During rains when the lanes and bye-paths turned muddy and slippery, fetching water from that well became an ordeal and the people of the area were greatly inconvenienced. Shobhi Ram got a well constructed in this area. This created a lot of goodwill for him.

Shobhi Ram was a remarkable personality. Tall, fair and well built, he looked cultured and respectable. He came of very poor parents and was himself anything but rich. Yet, with all his gentleness and civility he had a fund of pride which sometimes surprised and bewildered people. He had courage and a pluck to fight against tyranny and oppression. The surprise was all the great because ‘Harijan’ was supposed to be different.

He rebelled against the unreasonable behaviour of an officer even by staking his service. The officer knew him to be good and efficient hand but an officer, it was believed, never committed a mistake. Shobhi Ram was told that if he apologised he would be pardoned. But to him, it was a matter of principle and of his self-respect. He decided to sacrifice his job but retain his self-respect and he resigned.

Back to Chandwa he found that he could not afford to remain unemployed for long. He could not work in his fields. Though the son of an agricultural worker, he was not used to hard manual labour. Luck, however, favoured him and after a few months he got a job in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. He took Santlal, his eldest son, to Calcutta with a view to giving him proper schooling and put him to in the Howrah Zilla School.

Shobhi Ram had now a fairly good income and he did not want his son to stink himself. The result of this fond indulgence was that Santlal learnt extravagant habits and aped the manners and behaviours of the sons of the idle rich. He would start with his books for school but would while away the
whole day wandering or sight-seeing. Shobhi Ram was blissfully ignorant of this deception. Santlal's timely departures and arrivals gave no cause for suspicion. But, when after the annual examination the progress report was received, Shobhi Ram received a rude shock. He flew into a rage and gave a hard beating to Santlal. Santlal quietly left Calcutta that very day. Shobhi Ram thought that Santlal must have fled back home but when he received Vasanti Devi's telegraphic reply he was greatly perturbed. A frantic search started and messengers were sent to those places where, it was considered likely, Santlal had gone.

Meanwhile, Santlal had gone straight to Lucknow. One of his uncles was employed in the Lucknow Military Hospital. Santlal knew this. He told the uncle on reaching Lucknow that he had come for sight-seeing. Fifteen days later when the uncle received Shobhi Ram's letter he came to know of the whole affair and took Santlal personally to Calcutta. That was the end of Santlal's education. Whatever his own desires, Shobhi Ram knew that it was no use trying to make the horse drink, he then got him appointed as an apprentice compounder and in due course Santlal became a compounder in the Medical College Hospital.

Shobhi Ram was keeping indifferent health. He left his job and returned to Chandwa to spend the rest of his days there, where Jagjivan Ram was born on April 5, 1908.

His domestic responsibilities had considerably increased. Of his eight issues, five were daughters. The elder son had not shaped as well as he had hoped. The middle one had died in infancy. The youngest, Jagjivan, showed great promise but he had to receive proper schooling. Santlal who had taken his newly married wife to Calcutta could not be of much assistance to the family. To crown all, Shobhi Ram's health was failing.

An idea struck him. As remarked earlier, he belonged to the 'Sant' sect. He was himself an important member and
occupied the status of a 'Vazir' or Minister of the sect in his own locality. He was 'Guru' or spiritual preceptor to hundreds.

If he could produce hand-written copies of Swami Shiva Naryani's 'Granths' it would pay well and it would be an occupation which would give him complete job satisfaction.

He was a fine calligraphist. He knew it would work. He threw himself heart and soul into it. It fetched him just enough to enable him to make both ends meet.

The cup of his misery was not yet full. In the year 1913, Chandwa was raged by floods and the house collapsed. At the age of five Jagjivan found the walls of the house being raised again.

Young Jagjivan was far from being quiet and docile. He had always some mischief up his sleeve. His father's writing materials provoked his curiosity. The brushes and the paints with which his father drew pictures on the margins of the hand-written 'Granths' particularly interested him. He would play with the brushes and pens. It caused considerable inconvenience to his father. His mother would remonstrate. She would ask him to return the brushes and pens and apologise to father with folded hands. Jagjivan would at once fold his hands and express regrets. His solemn behaviour would make his father laugh. But the same prank would be repeated again and again. The folding of hands and the prayer for apology were to Jagjivan, part of an exciting game.

The picture of his sage-like father seated on a 'Takht', copying out in his beautiful handwriting one after another of the 'Granths' left a deep and indelible impression on the child's heart. Fair complexioned, with white hair and long moustaches and bespectacled eyes, Shobhi Ram would be troubled by occasional cough. Yet his face had a certain aura and breathed in atmosphere of quiet and devoted application. The father became his son's hero. The vision became almost a part of his being. It comes to Shri Jagjivan Ram many times a day even now and he bows his head in mute reverence. It is one of his

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regrets that his father is not alive and he believes that he owes all that he is, to his father.

Jagjivan Ram was put to the village primary school on the ‘Vasant-Panchmi’ day, in January, 1914. Clad in turmeric-coloured ‘dhoti’, a silk ‘kurta’, a red velvet cap and ‘nagauri’ shoes, Jagjivan was a colourful spectacle and he felt proud and happy. Before he left for school the usual ceremony was observed and he was made to touch his wooden ‘patti’ with chalk. Sweets were distributed.

The Primary school was held in the Verandah of Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari’s house, which was situated in the middle of the village in the Mohalla of ‘Brahmins’.

The ‘Brahmins’ of the village are of ‘Kanyakubj’ sect. Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari was also a Kanyakubj. His house was situated in the ‘Brahmin’ Toli. But caste bigotry, as stated earlier, has been unknown to this village. Santal who had joined the ‘Pathshala’ in about the year 1891 sat on the same bench as the ‘Savarna’ Hindu boys. The street facing the Pathshala was frequented by ‘Brahmins’ and others. But no ‘Brahmin’ or ‘Rajput’ felt the intermixing of ‘Harijan’ boys with those of upper caste Hindus in the ‘Pathshala’ to be of any consequence. The ‘Pathshala’ has continued to have benches for students and chairs and table for the teacher ever since living memory. It is run by the Arrah Municipality.

It often happened that the parents of ‘Brahmin’ students came to the school for a talk with ‘Guruji’. They would remain standing while talking to ‘Guruji’ and it never occurred to them that there was anything uncommon in the ‘Harijan’ boys continuing to be on their seats when they were on their legs. This was the state of things long long ago when the rural areas had not even heard of the uplift of ‘Harijans’ or untouchables or the anti-untouchability drive of the Congress.

So Jagjivan entered the temple of the goddess of learning. His father introduced him to Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari. Jagjivan bowed and the Guru blessed him. He then
took his seat on one of the benches. His school career began.

Meanwhile, he had proved himself to be a very regular student. He would reach school early and in winter, when he came home in the mid-day recess, he was more anxious to get back than have a quiet meal. His mother did not share his enthusiasm and would remonstrate.

When he came back in the evening his father would make enquiries about his day's work and it gave him great pleasure to reply to his father's queries.

Shobhi Ram was deeply religious and the 'Savarnas' fetish for personal cleanliness. He would never touch his mid-day meal without his bath, 'havan', and 'Puja'. He invariably performed 'Sandhya' in the evenings.

After 'Sandhya' was over, he would take 'ektara' and sing a few 'bhajans' in accompaniment with the ektara's music. Jagjivan was often asked to join his father in recitation of the 'bhajans'. He did it with pleasure. Gradually, young Jagjivan had memorised a good many 'bhajans'. The 'Bhajans' were drawn from 'Tulsi', Sant Shiva Narayan and Kabir.

This deep and solemn religious impact was silently moulding the young boy's character and who knew he would not have taken entirely to a religious life if this routine had continued for long. Even today religion is a vital interest of his life.

Jagjivan, however, had one regret. He carried to the school only his primer, slate and pencil. Boys in upper class, however, carried on many books. He felt tempted and yearned to carry many books and copies like them when he went to school.

There were many books at home in English, Bengali and Hindi. Some belonged to his elder brother and the rest were religious books. He confided his longing to his father who gave him the course books of his elder brother. These were the prescribed texts in the Calcutta Schools which Santlal had
purchased. From the next day Jagjivan went to school with a fat bundle containing the books of his elder brother.

These happy days did not last long. In April 1914, his father fell seriously ill and was confined to bed. Santlal came with his wife from Calcutta and the sisters also arrived. Shobhi Ram had a feeling that he would not live much longer. All his future hopes of the prosperity of his family were centered on young Jagjivan whom he loved dearly and this love grew as his condition worsened. Perhaps the greatest desire of his life was to give his bright and promising son a good education and he dreaded lest his wish remained unfulfilled. There would be a tender and pathetic concern in his eyes when he made Jagjivan sit on his bed besides him after his return from school and looked long and intently at the young and curious face. His eyes would become moist. The boy could not make out what it all meant and got puzzled. All the while his mother would sit near the feet of his father, rubbing or massaging or administering medicines.

Knowing that the end had come, Shobhi Ram asked that arrangements be made for the ‘Puja’ of the ‘Granth’. All the ‘Sants’ of the neighbouring villages gathered. The ‘Granth’ was put on a ‘throne’ and after ‘puja’ had been performed, the ‘sants’ recited ‘bhajans’ of Shiva Narayan Swami to the accompaniment of musical instruments. It was a very devout gathering and the imminence of Shobhi Ram’s death lent to it an unusual solemnity.

Three days later Shobhi Ram died. It was the month of ‘Jyestha’ (June). He had been enquiring as to when ‘Jyestha’ would start and the sun would become ‘Uttarayan’ or northerly.

This scene was also incised on the young boy’s memory. The evening had deepened. He was sitting on a low stool by his father’s bed. Vasanti Devi was, as usual, sitting near the feet of Shobhi Ram on the cot. Santlal was standing on the opposite side of the cot. Shobhi Ram was saying some-
thing in a feeble voice to Vasanti Devi and all the while he was staring tenderly at Jagjivan.

Suddenly his mother burst into tears. Santlal offered water to the dying father. The sisters and relations rushed to the room. There was a tumult of crying and weeping. The men who had gathered took his father from the cot and laid him on the ground.

Poor young Jagjivan was tired. He was puzzled. Was it all a dream? Was he waking? His eyes gradually closed and when he awoke he found himself in a bed in another room.

ORPHANED

Shobhi Ram was an important ‘Sant’. He had initiated hundreds into the ‘Shiva Narayani Sampradaya’ and was held in great esteem. The news of his death brought ‘Sants’ from all the neighbouring villages. On the morrow of the death ‘Gaddi’ was arranged. The ‘Sant Vilas’ was put on the ‘Gaddi’ and the dead body was bathed, besmeared with scent and gulab (rose water) and placed near it. The ‘Sants’ assembled there recited couplets from ‘Sant Vilas’. Sant Shobhi Ram had left ‘Kal Desh’. He had gone to ‘Sant Vilas’ — the land of Eternal Bliss from which there is no coming back. He would live there happily as the beloved of ‘Sant Pati’ or God. Besides the recitation of ‘Sant Vilas’, the assembled ‘Sants’ also sang ‘Bhajans’ and ‘Rekhtas’ from Ram Nath and Kabir.

After the ‘Arti’ of the ‘Granth’, the ‘Arthi’ was got ready. The body was wrapped in white and placed on the ‘Arthi’. Then there was a red cover and a red canopy. His face was besmeared with ‘Sandal’, ‘abir’ and ‘gulal’. Incense was burnt and all the while the ‘Sants’ chanted to the accompaniment of ‘Dhol’, ‘Jhanjh’ and ‘Khanjri’:

What miseries I had to bear in ‘Naihar’ (World).
Now the call has come from the beloved and my joy knows no bounds. I have bedecked and adorned myself with ‘Chandan’, the sixteen ‘Sringars’ and the thirty two ‘abharans’. And now with the ‘Surati’ on the right path
and the beloved’s name on my lips, I am going back to my beloved.

It was long past mid-day when the ‘Arthi’ was taken out. The ‘Sants’ moved ahead. The recitations and ‘bhajans’ continued. Behind the ‘Arthi’ were Santlal and Jagjivan. Both had small cloth bags tied to their necks. These contained bits of copper and ‘achhat’ or sanctified rice. Both the brothers were throwing copper pieces along with the rice on the path and these were gathered by the only ‘Dom’ of the village, Butelia. The copper pieces were gradually transferring themselves into Butelia’s jholi and the young 15 years old ‘Dom’ was much pleased with himself.

The burial ground of the ‘Sants’ is towards the east of the village. The grave was ready. Incense was again burnt. The body was lowered into the grave. The customary ‘Panchagni’ or touching of the face with a burning fire-stick five times was to be performed by Jagjivan. He was still a boy of six. The grave was too deep. So, one of the ‘Sants’ who had got down took Jagjivan in his lap and the ‘panchagni’ was given. The ‘abir’ and ‘chandan’ smeared fair face of the deceased which looked still fresh and serene left an abiding impression in the young boy’s mind.

The performance of the last rites is a kind of penance and for a young boy of six years that Jagjivan Ram was, it was a great ordeal. He had to take food only once in a day.

No salt was given. He was surprised to find that he had lost taste even for sweets which were his favourite food. He took boiled rice, pulse and vegetables, all without salt. The ‘Shradh’ was performed on the 10th day.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

Soon the bustle and the tumult ended. The invitees left one by one. Santlal also left for Calcutta. The family now had Vasanti Devi, Santlal’s wife and his small daughter and Jagjivan. Vasanti Devi now took Shobhi Ram’s place. She had all along been of a religious disposition. She would never
touch any food without her bath, ‘puja’ and prayer. Though illiterate, she had by heart a good number of ‘bhajans’ and couplets from the Ramayana. After her husband’s death she turned more to God. At four in the morning she would start chanting her ‘prabhaties’ and ‘bhajans’ and each day began in the solemn religious atmosphere.

Jagjivan was always attentive to his studies. In 1919 at the age of eleven he passed the Upper Primary examination. There was nothing spectacular in the six years of his primary school life. But the deep and abiding impress of Shobhi Ram and the imbibing of the religious atmosphere, which pervaded his home, were silently working up their religious atmosphere. The village school master, Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari, also helped in the process.

Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari was very conscientious and had great paternal love for his pupils: He liked to see each child behave as ‘Aruni’ and he himself endeavoured to live up to the high idea of Aruni’s ‘guru’.

When Jagjivan was in Class Vth, another boy who sat next to him was Sakaldip Ram. He was several years older, broad and well-built and looked like a man. One day he had written his name on his slate. Jagjivan quietly rubbed out the last letter and queried as to how Sakaldip had started writing ‘Sakaldip Ra’. The dig was at the change in caste status implied in change of Ram into ‘Ra’. Sakaldip belonged to the backward classes. An exchange of hot words started and a little later they came to blows. Worsted in the duel, Sakaldip started crying which brought Panditjee in the room. Jagjivan was nonplussed. He had taken the whole thing in joke and was not prepared for this turn.

Assuming Jagjivan to be guilty and without going into the merits of explanations ‘Panditjee’ took one of the long sticks and down came strokes, rapidly one after another. Jagjivan Ram decided while still weeping that he would leave that school.

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When he returned home in the recess for lunch he did not tell anybody of the incident. How could he? Was it not a shameful affair? He took light meals and with a ‘lathi’ went to the adjacent orchard. He anticipated trouble from Sakaldip Ram.

Hitan Tewari, who used to bring unwilling students forcibly warned that there was no sense in what Jagjivan was doing. If he did not want to read in the school he should go to the school and tell ‘Panditji’. Jagjivan did likewise.

When Jagjivan reached school he found his mother was having an argument with ‘Panditjee’. She was not pleased at her son being beaten. She threatened to put him into the Arrah U. P. School. Vasanti Devi paid to the ‘guru’ more than any other guardian did. What was more important, no student of the school had ever won a Scholarship. The ‘Pandit’ had nourished a hope in Jagjivan. He was not prepared to lose him.

The ‘Pandit’ had relented. He was already repenting his rash action. When Jagjivan came he found atmosphere very congenial but affirmed that he would not read in that school. The ‘guru’ knew that it was no use arguing. He relieved the boy.

Next day both the ‘Pandit’ and his wife went to Jagjivan’s mother. It was hard persuading the irate mother and his proud son but they succeeded and the boy went to school. After a few days both Sakaldip and Jagjivan forgot the incident.

Within a few days Jagjivan’s marriage was settled with the daughter of Mukhalalji of Sonpura, a village five miles to the south-west of Chandwa. The formalities of betrothal were gone through. The marriage was to take place the same year. Jagjivan was married when he was eight years old.

ADOLESCENCE

After completing his education in the Upper Primary School of the village the boy was put to the Agrawal Middle school on the 2nd January, 1920. When the teacher started
giving out meanings of English words in English the boy did not know what to do.

And then a flash came. He started noting in Hindi all the English words the teacher gave. These had to be decoded and learnt. It involved great effort but the boy was determined not to figure as a backward. Great was his surprise, therefore, when besides doing very well in other subjects he found that he had secured 72 marks out of 100, only two marks less than the first student, in English. This gave him great prestige.

The ‘Ramayan’ was his great favourite. There was ‘Ramayan Path’ or recitation of the ‘Ramayan’ at his place on Sunday evenings when he would read out to the devout gathering, the meaning of stanzas.

Another habit he had developed was the reading of newspapers. Later in his high school days Jagjivan himself subscribed to Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘Young India’.

The illiterate women of the village had great affection and regard for him. He was so willing to read their letters and write out the replies on their behalf. He would often be sent for by upper-caste women, offered sweets, patted and petted, Jagjivan was becoming more and more popular.

These were the ‘khilafat’ days. Gandhiji had entered Indian politics. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre echoed and re-echoed throughout the country. The Indian Muslims had never taken any interest in ‘Pan-Islamism’. The powerful ‘Khilafat’ movement began and with it the honeymoon of Hindu-Muslim political friendships. Thus when both the powerful communities were seething with discontent Gandhiji found a way out. He indicated a new path and gave a new slogan which was to dominate Indian politics for decades. The new path was Non-Cooperation.

Jagjivan read of these things in the newspapers but he inadequately understood their significance. His mind, moreover, was not yet receptive to politics. Yet, in its own way the politics of the age did influence him.
He was not very particular about a headwear. But there were two-teachers in the school who insisted on the wearing of caps. So, like many boys, he kept a ‘dupalla’ in his pocket which would find place on his head as soon as these two teachers entered the class room. When the Gandhi cap became popular as the symbol of the new awakening Jagjivan also took to wearing it. There was no hiding the cap now. He wore it as a matter of course.

Everyday after his morning bath he repeated the ‘Hanuman Chalisa’. On Saturdays and Tuesdays the recitations were accompanied by ‘Havan’. There were no scholarships or freeships reserved for Harijan students then. But proud as the boy was he revolted at the idea of securing a concession on the basis of his being an untouchable. It was not consistent with his sense of dignity and self-respect. He paid greater attention to his studies. He obtained second position at the annual examination and secured freeship.

In one of the rooms of the school in two separate and distinct corners earthen pitchers filled with water were kept for the Hindu and Muslim boys and the glasses were also separate. There used to be a peon whose duty it was to serve drinking water. When the peon was not there the boys poured water themselves. When some Hindu boys saw Jagjivan taking water from the Hindu pitchers they put up an objection. The matter was taken to the Headmaster who got another pitcher for the ‘achhut’ boy. He accepted the arrangement but he was not happy. Food touched by a Muslim hand had polluted him. Now, water touched by him was polluted for the Hindus. His whole being protested the injustice and he hit upon a device to end the invidious distinction. Quietly and secretly he broke the pitcher reserved for him and reported to the Headmaster that the caste Hindu boys had out of malice broken it. The pitcher was replaced. But it was again found broken. The Headmaster believed the story and fed up with what he believed to be the mischief of the ‘Savarna’ boys, he ordered that Jagjivan would take water from the Hindu
pitchers and those who objected were free to make their own arrangements. The impact of Gandhiji on Hindu conscience had begun.

Jagjivan was not happy. He had won his point. But had he not told lies, deliberate lies? His victory left him cold and contemplating.

At the Prize Distribution ceremony, which came sometime later, arrangements were made for distribution of sweets to students. Some boys were distributing the sweets. Jagjivan was standing nearby and must have been cursing his lot. Banshi Dhar Prasad, a teacher of the school who was greatly feared, loved and respected and who knew almost all the boys, happened to pass that way. He could measure the whole situation in one glance. Going near the disconsolate boy, he observed: “Why are you standing? Why don’t you distribute the sweets?” Jagjivan hesitated. His touch was polluting. It was polluting both for Hindus and Muslims. But the teacher again ordered: “Distribute the sweets. Leave those who do not accept”. The hesitation gone, he started distributing the sweets. None objected. This was a new experience for the boy.

If politics had but little interest for Jagjivan, the reasons were obvious. He felt differently though he had not yet learnt to put his thoughts into words. It may be good to have independence. It may be very noble to fight the British. It may be virtuous, patriotic and fine to challenge the British might and suffer and sacrifice in order to break the shackles of Mother India. But what or where was Mother India?

Jagjivan had been denied access to the ‘Sant Granths’ but he had imbibed the essential teachings. His family members did not drink. They did not take dead flesh. They did not flay dead cattle. They were as moral as the most religious ‘Savarna’ Hindus.

Jagjivan participated in recitations and outshone others. He would be all the while sipping from a cup, which members
of the gathering knew, did not contain the white wine; it contained sweet 'gur sharbat'. The example worked. Later followed talks and discussions. Gradually, very gradually, Jagjivan was succeeding in driving home some essential points. The co-operation of Nithali Bhagat, an elderly and rich member of the community, gave weight to his efforts. Jagjivan, without knowing it himself, had become a practical social reformer and had come to believe that social reform must precede political agitation.

Later, he was to realise to his great disappointment and bitterness that many of the Congressmen who had worked merely as political agitators were at heart social reactionaries. Without far-reaching social reform and economic reorganisation as its contents, a political movement was a sham and share. He was surprised that none of the agitators considered it necessary to work amongst the untouchables.

It was with considerable eagerness and trepidation that the fifteen year old boy set out for Calcutta with his brother's wife and niece. The time of the train by which he was to reach Calcutta had been intimated to Santtal, still, it was a great adventure for young Jagjivan who had never set foot beyond his district.

Santtal had deputed an elderly person familiar with Calcutta to take his brother round. They visited the zoo, the museum, the Victoria Memorial, Kalighat and the Eden Gardens. But this hardly satisfied the boy. After three-four days of the conducted tours he started moving out on his own. In a month's time he had covered the whole of Calcutta and its industrial suburbs. He visited Shibpur, Kamarhati, Barrackpur, Patel-danga, Cossipur, Ichhapur, Dhapa and other such places. If he could contact an acquaintance, he got an opportunity to have a look inside the factory. If no acquaintance could be contacted he just stood at the gates and watched the stream of workers flow in and flow out. He found men and women moving together elbowing and thrusting each other. This was startling. In his village no man would even think of behaving
in this manner with women. Here men and women moved abreast jostling and rushing against one another. Visits to the workers 'bustees' attached to the jute mills where lived some of his village people were equally revealing. The mud houses of the poorest in Chandwa were incomparably more comfortable and cleaner. The houses here were damp even in summer and there were heaps of garbage and refuse all round.

He was called to Calcutta for his initiation. Jagjivan himself was eager to become a 'Sant'. Sant Ram Dhani Singh, a renowned 'Sant' of the 'Shiva Narayani’ Sect, had been invited for the purpose. On an auspicious day the rites of initiation, 'Gaddi', 'Bandagi' and 'Karm todna' were performed.

After the initiation ceremony was over and Jagjivan had almost ended his summer vacation, Santlal arranged to send him back to Chandwa. Knowing fully well that Vasanti Devi, his mother, was very frugal and did not get even proper clothes prepared for the young boy, he always got them prepared at Calcutta and sent them to the boy. But, he felt, the boy was starved of legitimate pocket money. He should have some money at his disposal. So he gave him five hundred rupees with the instruction that the money was to be spent carefully and only on necessities.

After sometime Santlal retired and came back to Chandwa. The eighteenth session of the Bihari Student's Conference was held at Banaras in 1925. Jagjivan was in the pre-matric class. He was one of the best students of the school and his general knowledge far surpassed that of others. He was himself not much at tracted towards the students movement but when some of those interested in it approached him and asked him to become a delegate, he willingly agreed.

They debated and wrangled in the conference. Jagjivan, a budding debater himself, participated and made his own contribution to the deliberations. But the only abiding impression left of the conference when he returned was the personality of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He was
impressed by his oratory and his saintliness and started regarding him as a great man of the age. He had read about Gandhiji’s greatness. He was regularly reading the Young India. He listened to his village people reverently talking of the Mahatma. But he had no occasion to see or get acquainted with him. The Mahatma was a myth. The Pandit was a reality.

He had offered Sanskrit and additional mathematics in the Matriculation besides the usual compulsory subjects. After appearing in Matriculation examination in 1926, Jagjivan was planning his future in consultation with Santlal when Malaviyaji happened to pay a visit to Arrah in the month of May.

A great political change had meanwhile taken place. The ‘khilafat’ movement was dead. The brief amity between Hinduism and Islam had ended. Kamal Ataturk had established a secular republic in Turkey, Latinised the Arabic script, prescribed the ‘fez’ and other oriental head-dresses and permitted the deposed Caliph to flee to the island of Malta. A weak heir clung to the ‘Caliphate’ but in 1924 he also became a refugee. The ‘Khilafat’ movement had now no cause. Pan-Islamism and Hindu nationalism could not hold together any longer. The non-cooperation movement had also petered out. The non-cooperators or no-changers stuck to Gandhiji’s programme of ‘khadi’, uplift of untouchables and Hindu-Muslim unity.

There was tension and frustration both amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. This found an outlet in violent conflicts on the flimsiest grounds. Music before the mosque and cow slaughter assumed great importance.

Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘Young India’ was making fervent appeals to Hindus to change their attitude towards their Muslim brethren. The appeals, however, fell on deaf ears. A better method of communicating what his soul felt with such acute intensity had to be adopted. Gandhiji started his twentyone day’s fast at the residence of Mohammed Ali younger brother of Shaukat Ali, on September 18, 1924. "The fast was an adventure
came to know that her son was living all alone in a rented house outside the University, she came down to Banaras. Lanka was not a populous area. The day hung heavily on Vasanti Devi. She wanted her son to shift the residence to some other more congenial locality. He took another house on rent at Assi.

Whenever the young collegian got time he strolled into nearby vegetable garden and studied their methods of cultivation. The methods were simple, the results impressive. He learnt a method of ‘grafting’ brinjals which he employed with satisfactory results in his kitchen garden later.

One day he had another rude shock. His barber refused to shave him. He had been greatly attached to him. But when he learnt that the young boy was an ‘achhut’, his prejudices asserted themselves and got the better of his ‘goodness’.

In his own village and in his district, barbers served the ‘achhuts’ as they served any other caste Hindus. The barber’s behaviour was a call for action.

He had his training in social reform work and organisation. He started contacting the ‘achhuts’. He wanted to organise them. He felt that if the ‘achhuts’ became organised, the behaviour of the ‘Savarna’ Hindus would change. If not, it could be made to change. He was engaged in this work when he met Deonandan Singh Dixit who later became a terrorist.

His personality attracted the untouchables. His arguments impressed. His sincerity evoked a response. Ultimately the ‘achhuts’ decided to boycott the barbers. After six months of boycott the barbers came down. The dispute was amicably settled. The ‘achhuts’ had learnt under his guidance the value of organisation.

Jagjivan felt that destiny perhaps intended him to become a social reformer. The disabilities of the ‘achhuts’ filled his heart with anguish.

Was it true that untouchability was divinely ordained? Did the ‘Shastras’ justly assign the lowliest place to the
'achhuts' and was age-old social pattern immutable? These questions brought him to the 'Shashtras' and he undertook an extensive study of them while yet a student of Intermediate Science. He studied the 'Vedas', 'Brahman Granths' and the eighteen 'Puranas' in Sanskrit with the help of commentaries. He read and meditated.

He had come across some Hindi translations of Bengali books. These impressed him. He thought that it would be more pleasurable reading the masterpieces in the original. Soon, he had learnt Bengali and read original work of Bankim, Sharat, D.L. Roy, Tagore and others.

He was deeply religious from childhood. He bathed in the Ganges, did his 'Sandhya' and 'Pranayam' and continued his study of the 'Vedas' and the 'Puranas' and other religious books with seriousness and thoroughness.

He had offered physics, chemistry and mathematics in addition to the compulsory subjects, English and Hindi. His love for mathematics and science subjects had, if anything, grown. But Hindi was equally dear. The Banaras Hindu University had in those days a galaxy of eminent litterateurs as Hindi teachers: Shyam Sunder Das, Ramchandra Shukla, Lala Bhagwan Din and Hariaudh. Their influence made every Hindi student a lover of Hindi.

He had impressed as a debater in the Arrah Town School. The mock Parliament of the B.H.U. attracted him. He was a frequent debater in the Parliament and here he received the grounding which was to stand him in such good stead in his later life.

Used to wrestling in the 'akhara' at Chandwa and to playing football in his school days, he had retained his love for physical exercise. He had, however, swimming as his favourite sport, and took exercises regularly at his residence. He often swam across the river and back and it did not prove a strain. The College indoor games had their special attraction for him.
The two years at Banaras were thus years of preparation. He always thought of the sad plight of the untouchables and dreamt of becoming a great religious reformer. Both the 'Dadupanthi Sant' and the 'Brahmachari' were great believers in 'Pranayam' and they imparted their enthusiasm to young Jagjivan.

'Pranayam' is a form of 'Sadhana' and implies concentration. So, Jagjivan would endeavour to forget the outer world or 'Maya' and concentrate on his inner self. His love for 'Pranayam' persisted.

The Papers brought news of the activities of the great national leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Sarojini Naidu and others. He followed the broad national current carefully and imbibed a love for Swadeshi.

It was during these days that he had occasion to know Tilak, not the great Tilak whom he could never see or hear, but the peon of the Chemical laboratory of the University. The big professors who had considerable experience of handling the apparatus and knew all about its working were nonplussed and could do nothing about it. Then, Tilak, the peon, came invariably to their rescue. He had no degrees. He had no training as a scientist or as a maker or mender of precision instruments. He was just a peon. He watched the professors and students working at the apparatus and he was supposed to keep them clean. Given the same opportunity that the professors had, Tilak would have far outstripped them and perhaps become a world-renowned scientist. Thus would the young collegian argue within himself.

Meetings of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society attracted him more than the political gatherings, next only to the hobby of discoursing with 'Sants' and man of religion. He listened to Dr. Annie Besant's impressive speeches.

Banaras had gradually given shape to his aspirations. Whatever he became or did not become, he would devote
himself first and foremost to the service of the untouchables. An oath had been taken secretly, almost unknown even to himself, without any of the known formalities. A solemn resolve was made.

Calcutta with its hundreds of thousands of ‘achhuts’ whose plight had ached his heart beckoned to him. Here the number of men of his own community working in the hospitals and the ‘Chukkals’ or jute mills and as cobblers was very considerable. Hundreds of these came from Shahabad. If he had to work for the amelioration of the untouchables Calcutta was the place for him. His mind was made up.

Immediately after joining the Vidyasagar College at Calcutta in the year 1928 he started contacting important members of his community. Ravidas Sabhas were formed in various localities. The response was encouraging.

The Wellington park meeting was a big surprise even for Jagjivan. At a modest estimate more than fifteen thousand ‘Achhuts’ had gathered. The twenty-year-old reformer, himself a college student, was to the audience their idol and saviour. Members of the ‘Dalit Sudhar Sabha’, an organisation devoted to the removal of untouchability, run by Congressmen, were present in the meeting. They did not participate. They had not been invited. They just watched the emergence of what they considered to be a new phase in Calcutta politics. Jagjivan became more confident.

The standard required for the examination was, compared to the Banaras Hindu University, lower and he had not to put in much effort to keep pace with the class. As a matter of fact he had finished the fourth years course while still in the third year and considered himself free to devote his time to what was his hobby—social work.

Jagjivan was not only opposed to the ‘Achhuts’ taking meat of dead animals with which there was general agreement; he considered the giving up of drinking wine a precondition for the uplift of the untouchables. This was a controversial point.
Some of these 'Mahantas' of the sect had made wine-drinking a part of religious ceremonies and rituals. Jagjivan was soon a leading 'Sudharak' of reformist school in the 'Sant Samaj'. This school objected to and preached against the practice of drinking wine by the community in general and on ceremonial occasions in particular. He always remembered that when his 'Guru' initiated him into the sect he had given an injunction not to touch wine. Jagjivan got the support of the 'Mahant' of Sasna. The controversy raged fiercely for months. Ultimately, though wine drinking by the community did not absolutely cease, religious sanction for drinking wine on Ceremonial occasions was withdrawn. This was, thought Jagjivan, one step forward.

The leaders, therefore, appreciated him in various ways. Some would take an elder-brotherly attitude to what he was doing and put him on the back. Some were patronisingly kind. Some spoke of ideological affinity with him. All felt that in Jagjivan was a force to reckon with.

Jagjivan soon came to know the Marwari money-lords, Jugal Kishore Birla, Sita Ram Seksaria, Basantlal Murarka, Bhagirath Kanodia and Prabhu Dayal Himmatsinghka. He also knew J. M. Sen Gupta, Dr. B.C. Roy, P. C. Ghosh and Subhas Chandra Bose. These were eminent all-India leaders. Thus, before Jagjivan had known a single important Congress man of his home state Bihar, he became personally known as leader of the 'Achhut' community of Calcutta to many of the top leaders of the Indian National movement.

When Jagjivan attended Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928 the restive mood of country touched him. Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru demanded action. "A thousand Bardolies would spring into action at your word!", they assured the Mahatma. But Gandhiji wanted time. He declared that if by December 31, 1929, India did not achieve Dominion status he would ask for complete Independence.

He could not take his examination in 1930 due to illness.
He was living in the precincts of the Medical College. One day, while going towards the Presidency College, he found that it was being picketed. The police made a lathi-charge and though he was just a spectator he also received a blow. His feelings were aroused. His pride was greatly hurt. He decided to join the picketeers and court arrest.

In 1931 he took his B.Sc. degree from the Calcutta University. On 20th September, 1932, Mahatmaji began his fast, and would not break it unless the British Government accepted the agreement. On 26th September, a copy of the British Prime Minister’s acceptance of the agreement was handed over to him and the fast ended.

Young Jagjivan Ram could not understand why Gandhiji had refused to accept statutory reservation of seats in the Round Table Conference and had addressed an angry letter only to be told by the Mahatma’s secretary that Gandhiji considered any kind of separation bad for the Hindus and for untouchables. “The Hindus received an emotional charity; the fast could not kill untouchability. But after the fast untouchability forfeited public approval”. Some links of the chain remained. But nobody would forge new links. Nobody would join the links together again. This further promised freedom.

A consequence of this emotional upheaval was the inauguration of an Anti-untouchability League on 30th September in Bombay. The aim of the league was to educate caste Hindus with a view to eradicating all vestiges of untouchability and to work for the uplift — educational, social and economic of the untouchables. G. D. Birla was elected as the Provisional President of the league. Later, when Gandhiji evolved a new word, ‘Harijan’ for untouchables while in jail, the League was renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh. The untouchables were now ‘Harijans’ or children of God and serving them was like serving God himself.

The Hindus had not undergone a mental revolution. What was mistaken as big change in social psychology was really emotional effervescence. A furious controversy arose.
There were loud protests against the Poona Pact. Dr. Subbarayan's Temple Entry Bill passed by the Madras Council in November 1932, was scuttled by the Centre, the Viceroy refusing his assent. But another Bill, Ranga Iyer's untouchability Abolition Bill was permitted to be moved in the Central Legislature on the 24th March, 1933, and after passing through many vicissitudes the Bill had to be withdrawn by the mover in view of strong opposition.

By December 1932, not only the Anti-untouchability League had changed into Harijan Sevak Sangh, even Gandhiji's paper 'Young India' changed its name to 'Harijan'. The children of God now claimed Gandhiji's major attention.

Meanwhile, Mahatma Gandhi was having his fasts one after the other. His 21 days fast for self-purification in connection with Harijan work commenced on the 8th May, 1933, and ended on the 29th May. He was released on the first day of the fast. Later, he was arrested and when he again started a fast in August as Government did not give him the facilities he needed for Harijan work, he was again unconditionally released in November 1933, he began his Harijan tour.

On return from Calcutta after taking his B.Sc., Jagjivan Ram wanted to devote himself exclusively to social reform. He could not conceive of a better cause to which one could dedicate his life. But his brother, his mother and other members of the family insisted on his taking up a job. He applied for the post of an Excise Inspector. His name was sent from his district and he was called for the final interview when he fell seriously ill. The illness lasted for sometime. Meanwhile, the final interview was over and the appointment had taken place.

The accident of his illness saved him from the Excise Inspectorship. He explained to his mother, his elder brother and others that he was not cut out for jobs and that the Lord willed it otherwise. He decided, his family members concurring with the decision, not to apply for any jobs in future.
The epic Yervada fast which had started on September 20 found Jagjivan Ram, a young man of twenty-four, engaged in his social reform work and study and contemplation. He was not convinced by Gandhiji’s logic that he had opposed reservation of seats for Harijans at the Round Table Conference because he considered any form of separation bad for the Harijans as well as the Hindus. Yet, the emotional churning which the fast caused could not leave him cold. His reputation as a budding ‘Harijan’ leader had travelled ahead of him and about this time the Congress leaders of the district of Shahabad contacted him. His name was forwarded as one of the nationalist ‘Harijan’ leaders for participation in the Leaders Conference. But great as his desire was to leave for the Leaders Conference which was being held in Bombay from Sept. 19, 1932, and, much though the leaders of the Shahabad Congress pressed him to leave for that momentous meeting, the outcome of which was to decide the issue of Gandhiji’s life, he could not do so. Santilal was ill.

He could not leave his ailing brother. But he had to do something. It was crucial moment in the history of the ‘Harijan’ movement. He poured his heart in a meeting of ‘Harijans’ and caste Hindus held at Arrah. He could see that the fast had given a fillip to Harijan uplift work. But he had his doubts. Will it endure? was the ever present question mark.

The Bihar Provincial Anti-Uncountability Conference was held at Patna in the Anjuman Islamia Hall under the presidency of Raja Radhika Ram Singh of Surajpura. Hindu Sabha, Arya Samaj, and Congress leaders of the province attended. Jagjivan was one of the invitees. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other leaders were also present.

Jagjivan Ram listened to speeches made by many leaders. They were repeating the same stale and stinking platitudes, he noted with mounting chagrin. Nothing pricked him more than the sermonising and moralising attitude of the caste Hindus. It were they who had perpetrated unparalleled atrocities on the untouchables who, history proclaimed, were once their
equals in culture and attainments. It were they who had reared the myth and the taboo of untouchability and made it a part of the Hindu religion. It were they who had denied all opportunities to those whom they made permanent and everlasting untouchables. For them to mount the pulpit and utter sermons was an affront to the untouchables. It was adding insult to injury.

When he spoke, therefore, he was sarcastic and bitter. He said that the ‘give-up meat eating, drinking wines and develop cleanliness’ attitude of the caste Hindus would not have the desired results. The ‘Harijans’ demanded and they must get fair treatment, not platitudinous advice. Action, not words, was needed.

His outspokenness stunned many present. The Arya Samajists criticised him in the meeting itself. But Dr. Rajendra Prasad was quiet and thoughtful. He had listened very attentively to his speech and he did not make any comments. Later, he told Jagjivan to give some of his time to the Province. Jagjivan Ram returned to Chandwa, impressed with the attitude and behaviour of Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Sometime later Vindeshwari Prasad Verma met him at Arrah and told him that Rajendra Babu had sent for him. He left for Patna with Vinda Babu immediately. He had a long heart to talk with Rajendra Babu in the Congress office which was then situated on the Bank Road. The latter pressed him to make Bihar his field of activities instead of Calcutta. Jagjivan Ram consented.

Jagjivan Ram became the Secretary of the Bihar Branch of the Anti-untouchability League, now known as the ‘Harijan Sevak Sangh’. Thus began his public career in Bihar.

Jagjivan Ram’s first wife had died in 1933. He now married Indrani, daughter of Dr. Birbal on the 2nd June, 1935 at Kanpur. Indrani Devi is educated and accomplished and she has proved a tower of strength to him.

The Depressed Classes Leaders Unity Conference met at Kanpur in May, 1935. Quite a large number of representative
Harijan leaders participated. Ambedkar, Raja and Srinivasan did not attend. Jagjivan Ram emphasised that the various communities constituting the depressed classes had their separate caste organisations and they, therefore, failed to impress Indian nationalism. Mere social reforms, moreover, would not do. Political status was essential. The depressed classes, so long as they remained split up in numberless tiny sectional organisations, devoted exclusively to social reform work, could never hope to attain a higher political status for themselves. They would be entirely at the mercy of caste Hindus. A well-knit, united, all-India political movement of the depressed classes conducted from a common platform, was a historic necessity. At the same time it was essential not to keep out themselves adrift from the main national current. The idea found a great response. The All India Depressed Classes League was fromed. Rasiklal Biswas was elected as the President and P. N. Rajbhoj and Jagjivan Ram as the Secretaries of the new organisation.

Jagjivan Ram, the principal inspirer of the All India Depressed Classes League, threw himself heart and soul into organisational work. By August 1935, he had organised the Bihar branch of the Depressed Classes League and was elected as its President.

The League was fast emerging as the single representative of the depressed classes. Besides the caste organisations of the 'Chamars', the 'Pasis', the 'Mahars', the 'Dusadhs', etc., the few depressed class organisations of a general nature were local and sectional, led by Ambedkar, Srinivasan and M. C. Raja. All the three were loyalists and had kept themselves and their organisations apart and separate from the Indian national movement.

As stated, Jagjivan Ram's approach to the depressed classes problem was basically different from the orthodox nationalist approach. He believed that an economic and socio-psychological revolution was a precondition for the coming of the depressed classes into their own. But he also
believed in first things first, and considered national independence as the first step towards that goal. He had seen the working of the Harijan Sevak Sangh from inside and did not feel very enthusiastic about it. Another difference now arose. Thakkar Bapa, secretary of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, did not like that Jagjivan Ram, a Secretary of the Sangh, should be active in the political movement even if it be of ‘Harijans’. After an exchange of correspondence Jagjivan Ram resigned from the Sangh. He was now free to devote himself entirely to the activities of the League.

From Kanpur he went straight to Ranchi and met Mansfield, the Reforms Secretary of the Bihar Government and later appeared before the Hammond Commission to tender his evidence. At Ranchi he put up with Ram Narain, M. L. C. He had mastered matters relating to franchise and its exercise. The way of the ballot box, he knew, was going to prove important for the evolution of Indian Democracy. Every effort, he felt, must be made to quicken the pace of constitutional reform and accelerate progress towards active participation by the people in elections. The variation in the qualification of ‘Harijan’ electorate was good so far as it went, but care had to be exercised to ensure the enlistment of all ‘Harijans’ eligible for voting and the delimitation of the double-member constituencies had to be done very carefully.

But the stunt kept Ambedkar in the full glare of publicity for about a year. He had announced the conversion move on the 13th October, 1935. Till May 1936, when the All India Depressed Classes Conference and the All Religions Conference were held in Lucknow, he occupied the centre of the stage in the ‘Harijan’ arena. The ghost of conversion, however, was exercised by Jagjivan Ram, Rasiklal Biswas and others in the above conference and thereafter the decline of Ambedkar’s importance and influence was predetermined.

But the confusion persisted. Muslims and Christian missionaries tried to fish in the troubled waters. The twenty-five lakh ‘Eshavas’ and ‘Thiyyas’ in Malabar were bitter and
conversion to Christianity appreciably increased as response to Ambedkar who announced on the 7th December, 1935, that he had decided to renounce Hinduism but he would not form a new sect. There were certain difficulties in the Harijans accepting Buddhism. Arya Samaj, they had decided not to join. But they were to consider the question of joining the Sikh religion.

This was the background when the All India Hindu Mahasabha met at Poona under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the 29th December, 1935. Malaviyaji, as the president, appealed to the ‘Harijans’ to protect the Hindu religion. “Let the ‘Harijans’ not forsake it and we will apply the dust under their feet to our foreheads.” They were, he assured, going to remove the thorns that had been spread in the ‘Harijans’ way. They were going to remove all their disabilities except interdinging and intermarriage which applied to the rest of the Hindus also.

In a resolution which was supported by Rasiklal Biswas, the Mahasabha reaffirmed its previous resolution for giving equal access to all Hindus, irrespective of their caste or creed, to all public amenities and institutions such as schools, wells, ghats, places of water supply, hotels, roads, parks, dharma-shalas, temples and public places of worship, burial grounds, etc. It recommended the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu society, based on birth or caste, in the spheres of public, social and political life.

But the resolution was not passed without a tussle between Jagjivan Ram and Shankaracharya. The latter moved an amendment to the resolution to the effect that while temples should be opened to the ‘Harijans’ they should not be permitted entry into the ‘garbha’ or innermost chamber of the temples. Jagjivan Ram, with thirty Harijan members of the conference following his lead, opposed the amendment and pressed another amendment stressing that no discrimination was to be shown against the Harijans. It was a big fight. Shankaracharya commanded a considerable following and the
Hindu Mahasabha delegates naturally had great regard for him. Jagjivan Ram, with his group of thirty, threatened to walk out of the conference. Malaviyaji made a stirring speech supporting his stand. Munje and Jayakar also supported Jagjivan Ram. Ultimately, Shankaracharya's amendment had to be shelved and Jagjivan Ram's point of view was incorporated in the resolution.

When Jagjivan Ram and his colleagues came out of the conference they were accosted by a group of Ambedkar's men who thanked them for their bold stand for the cause of the depressed. The event and the impression it created rankled in his breast and he left for Bombay with some of his young colleagues to see Ambedkar and put up in the 'Sukh Sagar' Hindu Hotel. When they reached Ambedkar's residence they found his drawing-room full of missionary and religious leaders—Christians, Muslims and Sikhs. They had all come to seek an interview and impress on him the respective merits of their faith.

Jagjivan Ram told him that conversion was not the way out, because so long as the depressed classes were the untouchables of the Hindu society, the stigma would shadow them wherever they went. Returning from Bombay, Rasiklal Biswas and Jagjivan Ram issued a confidential appeal to all the leaders of the Hindu community bringing out Ambedkar's viewpoint and urging its dispassionate consideration. In this appeal they held that if Ambedkar's men renounced the Hindu fold the responsibility would be of the caste Hindus. While in Bombay, Jagjivan Ram met Kajrolkar, Narain Rao Savarkar, Bhulabhai Desai and other leaders. He also went to the 'bustees' of the Shahabadi 'Chamars' who gave him a hearty welcome.

Ambedkar's announced preference for the Sikh religion accelerated the process of conversion of the Punjab Harijans to Sikhism which had begun much earlier. During 1921-31, the Harijan population in the Punjab had fallen from 2,800,000 to 1,300,000 which difference had perhaps all gone to add to the numerical strength of the Sikhs.
The attempt of missionaries to rope in the ‘Harijans’ were continuing. The editor of the ‘Catholic Leader’ told the All India Catholic Congress held in December 1935, just when the All India Hindu Mahasabha was holding its Poona session, that the sixty to seventy millions of the down-trodden presented the best hope for the future of the church. That clever missionary knew that it would be impossible even for the powerful church to retrieve the ‘Harijans’ from their economic slavery and observed: “Fortunately, these children of endurance have the necessary disposition for the acceptance of a religion which ensures for them the liberty of the children of God. Denied as they are of the good things of this world and despised by everyone, they easily show their desire to raise their hearts to things spiritual and eternal; their spirit is pliable and may, without difficulty, be drawn away from material and passing things”.

How poor the appeal was? How fantastic and absurd? Yet, so cruel had caste Hindu persecution been that in some areas the ‘Harijans’ were willing and eager to adopt any faith for a change, if not for anything else. The powerful Christian church had taken advantage of the situation and, for example, in the Telugu districts alone 8,80,000 ‘Harijans’ had till then been converted to Christianity.

Meanwhile, the ‘Harijans’ could be converted ‘en masse’ and an opportunity had come when a systematic, determined and well-organised movement could be initiated to reap the fruits that were ripe into harvest.

The Sikhs not to be left out had emphasised the teaching of Guru Nanak. On the 16th of May, 1936, some ‘Thiyyas’ from Malabar were converted to Sikhism in the Golden Temple of Amritsar. One of the Shankaracharyas actually conveyed his benedictions to the converts. Conversion to Sikhism, many Hindus felt, did not impinge on the doctrinal background of Hinduism. Sikhism as propounded by Nanak, was a religion of peace and goodwill towards all and its militancy had a parallel in the Puritan uprising in England and Scotland.

STRAUGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Even though various factors made Sikhism draw apart from Hinduism and assume the status of an independent religion, it was essentially a Hindu sect. The adoption of Sikhism by the untouchables had, in the opinion of some Hindus, therefore, as little of the element of proselytism in it as their conversion from 'Shaivism' to 'Vaishnavism'. But just as 'Lingayatism' in its original social features was uncompromisingly hostile to caste but later became a caste itself, Sikhism also had started developing some form of untouchability. None, appeared to notice this. Master Tarasingh, however, very honestly announced that people who embraced any faith out of hatred against Hinduism would not rise mere by conversions. The Sikhs had no allurements to offer and believed, said Master Tara Singh, that such benefits, even if it were possible to bestow them on the converts, degraded both the giver and the taker. The Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference held under the presidency of Kumar Ganganand Singh also emphasised the futility of conversion.

The stage was thus set for the All Religions Conference to be held on the 22nd May, 1936, at Lucknow and the All India Depressed Classes Conference to be held simultaneously at that very place. The all Religions Conference was held to decide what faith should the 'Harijans' adopt after forsaking Hinduism.

Then came the 49th Session of the Indian National Congress which was held at Lucknow between the 12th and 14th April, 1936. Nehru's presidential address emphasised that socialism was the only solution of India's as well as world problems. His approach to the communal aspect of the 'Harijan' problem was largely academic. He stated: "The problem of untouchability and the Harijans again can be approached in different ways: For a socialist it presents no difficulties, for under socialism there can be no such differentiation or victimisation. Economically speaking, the 'Harijans' have constituted the landless proletariat and an economic solution removes the social barriers that custom and tradition have raised".

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STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
This was an over-simplification of the complex land issue which had its roots deep in antiquity. It took the economic factors as the sole criteria of social-psychology and ignored the very important psycho-sociological factors, an appreciation of which was necessary not only for solution of the problem but also for its full comprehension. It ignored the necessity of a psychological revolution, the urgency of cultivating a different mode of thinking and of a different socio-religious pattern. It did not take notice of the fact that in many places in India the ‘Chamars’ and many other well-to-do ‘Harijan’ communities had been persecuted bitterly for putting on coloured clothes, or a headdress, taking out marriage processions, or even for serving food prepared in ‘ghee’, by caste Hindus organised ‘en masse’ to prevent the pollution of the Hindu society since unknown days.

Jagjivan Ram had reached Lucknow on the 12th April. On the 13th, the Reception Committee of the All India Depressed Classes League Conference told him that he would have to preside over the session which was to be held on the 14th and 15th and in which Gandhiji also was to be present.

His address, therefore, delivered as President of the All India Depressed Classes League Conference in which Gandhiji was present, created considerable confusion. His basic social theme was that the ‘Harijans’ wanted to merge completely in a changed and revolutionised and socially inter-dependent Hindu community and end for ever the separatist tendencies represented by the Poona Pact. His fundamental economic approach was that only major economic reforms, including a complete reorganisation of Indian agriculture, which would end not only ‘zamindari’, but the system of land tillage by hired workers and provide avenues of alternative employment, could solve the economic problem of the ‘Harijans’ and as these would follow and not precede independence, the political independence of India was more vitally urgent for the depressed masses whose problems were the problems of the poor. ‘In the progress of the country lies our progress; in its salvation, our salvation;
and in its emancipation, our emancipation;" he declared in unmistakable terms.

Yet, his analysis of the problem was different. His assessment of the role of nationalism vis-a-vis depressed classes was different. His evaluation of Gandhiji’s stand on the Harijan problem was different. He bitterly castigated the so-called humanitarianism of the caste Hindus and stated: ‘They would, of course, feign to work for our amelioration so that their own interest did not suffer’. He protested against imposing of the name ‘Harijan’ on the untouchables. Instead of bridging the gulf it widened it and perpetuated and accentuated the separation. It had the same old stench. He praised Ambedkar and stated that the Poona Pact, a result of the Communal Award, was as much Gandhiji’s as Ambedkar’s handiwork. The caste Hindus patronised the ‘Harijans’ and emphasised their duties. Jagjivan Ram resented the patronisation and emphasised the rights.

Gandhiji later wrote to Dr. Rajendra Prasad to seek clarification from Jagjivan Ram. Rajendra Babu wrote that his taking objection to the word ‘Harijan’, his aspersion on caste Hindus, his praise of Ambedkar were all very objectionable and suggested that the speech might have been written in a hurry, thereby making it easy for him to relent. Jagjivan Ram replied accepting that the address was written in a hurry and that he would have liked to qualify his remark about caste Hindu reformers as there were honourable exceptions and would have withdrawn if he had time to consider his address. He would have also withdrawn the observation that if caste Hindus did not work the Poona Pact both in letter and spirit the depressed classes would go in for separate electorates. But to the rest of his speech he stuck maintaining that it required no explanation. This difference in outlook was fundamental and persists even today. Absorption of this outlook and this attitude would expand nationalism into socio-economic revolution and socialism. It would impart to the national movement symbolised by the Congress a new virility
and vigour which it sorely needs and would pave the ground for one of the greatest revolutions in human history. But that day is yet to come.

The All Religions Conference held on the 22nd May, 1936, was a colourful gathering. Yellow-robed Buddhist monks, cassocked Maulvis, bearded Sikhs, Jains, Arya Samajists, Sanatanists and Christian Missionaries, all had come to woo the ‘Harijans’. Babu Patit Pawan Dass of Nagpur, who had undergone a long fast to secure temple-entry rights for the ‘Harijans’ in the Nasik temple, presided. Dr. Ambedkar who had inspired the conference was unable to be present.

Jagjivan Ram though not invited to the conference had come as a visitor along with a number of colleagues. Rasiklal Biswas, was an invitee. There were others who shared Jagjivan Ram’s viewpoint. It was decided that the only way to wean over the ‘Pro-conversionists’ was to get the issue of conversion deferred. Active lobbying was therefore in progress. The result was apparent the next morning when Rasiklal Biswas, President of the All India Depressed Classes League, which had been formed by Nationalist ‘Harijans’ and which had emerged as an effective challenge to Ambedkar’s leadership, was elected to be the president of the All India Depressed Classes Conference, which was meeting under Ambedkar’s inspiration and was distinct from the League Conference.

Many of the nationalist ‘Harijans’ had decided under Jagjivan Ram’s guidance that it was better strategy to declare themselves pro-conversionists if they had to carry the Ambedkarites with them. Their tactics succeeded. The nineteen-men committee, with powers to co-opt others, elected by the Conference to examine the different aspects of all the religions and, after considering the whole matter in the interest of the depressed classes, to submit a report to the next All India Depressed Classes Conference, had a majority of nationalist ‘Harijans’. They had posed at the Conference as ‘Pro-conversionists’ and had assented to a resolution expressing
full confidence in Ambedkar. Jagjivan Ram was the moving spirit behind this strategy. He kept himself sedulously in the background. He neither spoke in the delegates conference, nor did he personally canvass. But the resolution on the subject was his draft. Like a master-planner he gave the strategy, dictated how the moves had to be made and watched from a back bench how it was all shaping. He must have felt greatly satisfied when the conversion issue was deferred and the committee elected by the Conference had a majority of men of his view. While the press blazoned Ambedkar’s success, Jagjivan Ram knew that the Doctor’s fall had begun.

Estimates of the conference varied. All agreed that it was inconclusive. How long were the ‘Harijans’ going to take in making up their minds to renounce Hinduism and adopt another faith? Was it going to be a process extending over many years. Which religion were they going ultimately to choose? Those interested in the conversion were left guessing. Jagjivan Ram and his colleagues, however, knew what was going to happen. The ‘Harijan’ masses were not going to renounce Hinduism which, in spite of all the handicaps, was going to be reformed. But they must be ever on the alert. They must strive ceaselessly.

The Conference had really presented the spectacle of a religious auction. Muslims cultivated and feasted the delegates. Their volunteers were ready and willing to serve visitors. Forty bearded, turbaned, and sworded Sikhs, the aristocrats of the Punjab, waited courteously on the off-scourings of Hinduism gathered in the hall. They fed them, waved large fans to keep cool, took them in lorries to their places of worship. The Christians turned over to them the Christian hostels. It was thus a unique event in the religious history of India and world as well.

The All Religions Committee had a majority of men, as already stated, of Jagjivan Ram’s view-point. The resolution which sought the constitution of the committee was his draft. He was the unseen spirit moulding opinions and directing the
conference into what he and his colleagues conceived to be proper channels.

He had thus successfully piloted a subtle scheme calculated to strike a new path as an alternative to Dr. Ambedkar's negative tactics which led to blind alley. He knew that Dr. Ambedkar's manoeuvrings were directed towards the coming election in the winter of 1936-37 under the Government of India Act, 1935. He had a shrewd suspicion that even the conversion move was but a bargaining counter and a method of creating and sustaining mass hysteria and keeping all on tenterhooks. But it had other serious and undesirable repercussions which Ambedkar either knowingly missed or was callous enough to ignore deliberately.

The clash came in March and April, 1937. On the 27th March, 1937, Jagjivan Ram issued a statement to the press to the effect that the so-called All India Depressed Classes Conference, announced to be held at Patna in the second week of April to reiterate finally the decision of the depressed classes to break away from the Hindu fold, was a sham. Neither the Bihar Provincial Depressed Classes League, the only organisation of the depressed classes in Bihar, nor any member of that organisation, had anything to do with it. Then exposing the Baldeo Prasad Jaiswar—Christian missionary axis, he hit at the organisers, shrewdly observing that the conference was being convened by Pro-conversionists, all of whom were not necessarily members of the depressed classes. They had been imported by interested parties to create division amongst the Bihar depressed classes to give an opportunity to religious zealots of various sects to swallow up as many as possible of the depressed communities. The proposed conference was bound to disintegrate Hindu solidarity and hamper the rising spirit of nationalism among the 'Harijans'. He appealed to all not to have anything to do with the conference and specially directed the depressed classes of Bihar to boycott it.

Before the elections came off, Jagjivan Ram made an extensive tour of the whole of India exhorting the Harijans not
to drift apart from the main national current and consolidate the All India Depressed Classes League. He was showing that wonderful capacity for silent and unpublicised organisational work which was to mark him out later as the dominant Leader not only of the Harijans but also of the socio-economic movement in India.

In 1936, Jagjivan Ram had been nominated a member of the Bihar Legislative Council. His reputation as the leader of the Depressed Classes Leauge was on the increase. About this time, Orissa was separated from Bihar and formed into a separate province.

After this separation, there was left no Harijan member of the Council in Bihar, the only 'Harijan' nominated member of Bihar and Orissa Council being a man from Orissa. In the vacancy thus caused it was proposed to nominate a caste Hindu. Jagjivan Ram announced his intention of starting province-wide agitation if it were not filled up by a Harijan from Bihar. The Government nominated him. Congratulatory messages poured in from all over India. At many places in Bihar thousands of Harijans held meetings to celebrate the event. Thakkar Bapa wrote a congratulatory letter giving much useful advice.

On the opening day of the Council session attended by him, there was a tussle between the non-official and Treasury benches in connection with reduction of Canal rates. As a nominated member he was supposed to vote with the Treasury benches. The demand for reduction of rates was justified and the Government attitude appeared to Jagjivan Ram to be entirely unimaginative and bureaucratic. He told Sir Ganesh and Nirsu Narain Sinha that he would be voting with the opposition. They argued and persuaded. He was on the threshold of his parliamentary career and it would be extremely unfortunate if he entered into open conflict with the Government on the very first day of his attending the Council. But the young Councillor had learnt to do his own thinking and once his mind was made up, there was no turning back. He voted with the
opposition. This independence of outlook was his principal character and he displeased Congressmen sometime later when he went to receive the Governor at the station in beginning of 1937. Perhaps Congressmen felt that since Congress was having constitutional duel with the Government, the representative of that Government had to be boycotted. Jagjivan Ram considered it to be an expression of unjustified sensitiveness. Decency could be observed, he felt, consistent with the anti-imperialist attitude.

The uncontested returns from 14 out of 15, Harijan seats in Bihar on the Congress ticket was a feather in Jagjivan Ram’s cap. He was judicious in giving Depressed Classes League tickets and when fourteen candidates had been selected by the League, the Congress adopted all of them as its own candidates and such of them as were not Congressmen signed the Congress pledge.

M. Yunus was the Premier in the Bihar Interim Ministry. He was shrewed, calculating and very tenacious. Anxious and eager to enlarge the nominal support he had, he made a determined bid to win over the ‘Harijans’ through winning over Jagjivan Ram. The temptations offered were many; the prospects tantalizingly held out were very alluring. The poor and backward Harijans, Yunus felt convinced, would swallow the bait. Jagjivan Ram did not even nibble at it but at the same time kept Yunus on tenterhooks. All these negotiations took place before April 1, 1937. Rajendra Babu knew these goings-on and reported the matter to Gandhiji, who was happy and called Jagjivan Ram a piece of priceless jewel.

Before the constitutional deadlock was ended and Congress Ministries were installed in nine out of eleven British Indian Provinces on 1st August, 1937, an incident happened which threw fresh light on Jagjivan Ram’s character revealing him as a ‘man of steel’. The incident was the Gopalganj Session of the Bihar Provincial Depressed Classes League held on the 12th July, 1937.

The talk of ministry-making by the Congress was in the
air. At the political Conference held at Mashrak on the 10th July, the general consensus was that Jagjivan Ram was an ‘inevitability’ in the Bihar Cabinet. When a few days after the Gopalganj session of the Depressed Classes League, which was held almost simultaneously, it was known that he had not been offered a seat in the Cabinet but was to be a Parliamentary Secretary, there was general surprise and many wondered, ‘has Gopalganj done the trick?’

Jagjivan Ram had gone to Gopalganj with Rajendra Babu, Dr. S. K. Sinha and Dr. A. N. Sinha. Rajendra Babu reviewed in his speech the progress made in the direction of removing untouchability and expressed satisfaction at the achievements. The foundations of untouchability, he said, had been shaken. Its complete removal was a matter of some more time. He referred to the happenings in Travancore and other places and cautioned the ‘Harijans’ not to be impatient. Messages from Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar were read out by Ram. Pandit Nehru had said that he did not like any people to think themselves or call themselves as depressed classes. Congress stood, he had further stated, for the removal of the stigma of untouchability and the creation of a society without social barriers. Since, however, the real removal of the disabilities the Harijans suffered from could come only with political and economic freedom in India, the exploited and the suppressed ‘Harijans’ should take their full share in the movement for freedom.

In his presidential address, Jagjivan Ram did not share the hopefulness of Rajendra Babu and while he agreed with the basic formulation of Pandit Nehru, he felt that the contents of the untouchables social, economic and political freedom were not the same as those of many other classes who were constituents of the Indian National Congress. The Congress as an anti-imperialist united front had necessarily an amorphous programme which could not be the objective of the suppressed millions. Starting with the history of the movements of reform of Hindu social order and the failure of all the reform move-
ments, he pointed out that the Congress way of achieving the objective of social equality through the ‘Harijan Sevak Sangh’ was erroneous in conception, faulty in emphasis and halting in execution. After five years of reform activities, the Harijans were where they were before. Enumerating the religious, social, economic and educational disabilities of the Harijans, he suggested the provision of free primary education in an atmosphere encouraging enough to induce the ‘Harijans’ to take advantage of it, and earmarking Rs. fifty lakhs as fifty per cent cost of fifty thousand wells for the depressed classes. Describing the pitiable plight of agricultural labourers, he pointed out that ‘Zamindari’ abolition unaccompanied by redistribution of land to the actual tillers of the soil would not solve their problems and urged the landless proletariat to have an organisation of their own. He said: “90 per cent of our people are agricultural labourers—rather agricultural serfs. If you want to see remnants of the institution of slavery, go to a village and see ‘Halwaha’. He is forced to mortgage himself to a Kisan for a bare pittance and is not free to seek work in another village on a higher wage. Such audacity brings untold punishments. Such exploitations will not cease by mere abolition of ‘Zamindari’. Land must be redistributed among the actual tillers’.

Jagjivan Ram’s approach to the Harijan problem was basically different. He, therefore, took little interest in these manipulations or ‘charities’ which, according to him, diverted the attention of the ‘Harijans’ away from the fundamental issues. Neither was temple entry at all a problem for the ‘Harijans’, nor could the problems confronting them, which were really the bye-products of the Hindu social order, be solved by the manipulations of a single leader. He stood for a socio-psychological revolution. He pleaded for a unity of the depressed classes with a view to forging sanctions for the over-delayed social and economic revolution which only would remove the disabilities of the Harijans. He was a revolutionary and he kept to the path of social revolution undeterred by passing winds or gales.
IN THE CONGRESS

Development, Co-operatives and Industries were the portfolios attached to Jagjivan Ram as a Parliamentary Secretary when the Congress assumed office in Bihar on August 1, 1937. Tact and imagination not bureaucratic woodenness, a flair for acquiring mastery of details and not a tendency to be satisfied only with broad outlines and, above all, a constructive attitude and an unbending zeal were the qualities needed for the successful running of these departments. Jagjivan Ram possessed these in ample measure and, within the sphere of his functioning, his achievements were remarkable.

He sponsored the organisation of the Rural Development Department and was responsible for setting up the mechanical and electrical committees in the Industries section. The foundations of activities in hitherto neglected areas were being thus solidly laid. The fruits naturally took time to ripen.

In 1938 he was elected a delegate for the Haripura session of the Congress and has been so elected a delegate ever since then. He had become the symbol of the 'Harijans' hopes and aspirations. He was fast becoming an eminent and national Congress personality.

Resigning along with others in the Cabinet on the issue of the return of the Andaman prisoners, Jagjivan Ram proceeded to Haripura where the Congress session was to be held in February, 1938.

On September 1, 1939, the Nazi Army invaded Poland. England declared war against Germany on September 3. The Second World War had begun. By a proclamation issued that very day, England took India into the war without consulting her. Next day Gandhiji left for Simla in response to a telegraphic summon from the Viceroy. Talks and negotiations started. The Congress was ready to support war efforts if specified conditions were satisfied. England was in no mood to bargain. Under a directive of the Congress Working Committee the Congress Ministries resigned and under
section 93 of the Government of India Act, the Governors assumed full powers.

In 1940, Jagjivan Ram contested and was elected Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, which post he held till 1946, when he joined the Interim Cabinet at the Centre on the 2nd September, 1946. He was also elected a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1940 and has ever since held that position.

On December 10, 1940, Jagjivan Ram offered individual Satyagraha in the Shahabad district. He took as circuitous a route as he could possibly take in reaching the announced place, after holding and addressing numerous meetings. He was arrested at Piru, brought to Arrah, sentenced to one year’s imprisonment and transferred to the Hazaribagh Jail. This was his first experience of jail life. His old mother and his elder brother Santlal were always a source of strength to him. When he sought Santlal’s permission to offer Satyagraha there was not a moment’s hesitation. “What is there to ask about?” he said laughingly. He brought his bedding to Arrah jail after Jagjivan Ram was arrested.

The whole village had performed his ‘Arati’ before he started on, what Gandhiji has said, a pilgrimage to jail.

The forced confinement came to him as a blessing. He had been a keen student of Science and ‘Dharma Shastras’ and books on religion. He had studied Bengali and Hindi literature as well. But his knowledge of politics, economics and history was rudimentary, derived from occasional readings. If he had to speak on a subject, he must know it well. Half-way methods never satisfied his craze for mastery of details—theories as well as facts. But his ceaseless and hectic activity hardly left him time for a planned and systematic study. The enforced confinement in the jail gave him this much wanted opportunity. He resumed the study of economics with vigour and read all the books prescribed for the M.A. course starting with books on elementary theory. Politics and history also were not neglected. R. D. Tewari of Chapra,
who was arrested at Purnea and transferred to the Hazaribagh Jail, was a keen student of Hindi literature and with him he studied some of the master works.

The socialist prisoners organised classes on Marxism which was the raging fashion of the day. It attracted many young Congress workers who swallowed the teachings with avidity. Jagjivan Ram felt that the socialist teachers started with a bias in favour of Marxism and did not encourage independent thinking. The classes were an effort more at indoctrination than a quest for knowledge. Having read Marxism independently, he himself, started taking separate classes in Marxist theory and practice. He would also lecture on Gandhian doctrines and their far-reaching implications and encouraged his listeners to learn to evaluate critically both Gandhism and Marxism. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, took a very active interest in organising and running these study classes. One most distinguished man in the Congress and himself a keen economist, Dr. A. N. Sinha, regularly participated. All the Satyagrahies spun regularly and had recitations from the ‘Gita’ and other religious books.

Even though buried deep in his studies and taking his ‘Asans’ and ‘Pranayam’ every day, Jagjivan Ram was no recluse. He was full of human kindness. Just as injustice turned his heart into steel, suffering and distress made it equally soft.

He had, however, one worry. His only son and surviving child Suresh, who was born in 1938, was very delicate and suffered from frequent attacks of illness. Suddenly he became seriously ill and Indrani Devi had to take him to her father’s place at Kanpur. Even after the best treatment there he could not be cured. Indrani Devi returned to Patna for further treatment. Jagjivan Ram was filled with sorrow and intense sadness. He had, however, full faith in Indrani Devi’s capacity. He believed she would take the best possible care and do all that was possible to save the boy. She was such a devoted and charming house wife that he had often told her that she was to him what Urmila was to Laxaman. She had never
stood in the way of his hectic political life. She urged him on and in times of mental agony he knew he could lean against her. This was a source of great spiritual satisfaction. He remembered how she sacrificed her own pleasures and comforts in order to provide food and comfort for his frequent political guests and she did it all so sweetly and un murmur ingly that it filled all who came to know her with respect and affection for her.

On coming out of jail on September 10, his first concern was to attend to his son’s treatment.

Individual civil disobedience movement had generated little public enthusiasm after the initial phase. It was just a symbolic protest and nothing more.

The prospects in war for England, however, looked grim. Gandhiji was at Wardha. Rajendra Babu who was also there sent for Jagjivan Ram and he reached Wardha during the Pujas after staying for a day at Banaras and paying his respects to Malaviyaji who was keeping indifferent health. Jagjivan Ram returned to Patna after ten days stay at Wardha, resumed his ceaseless political and Depressed Classes League activities.

By June 1942, India was anticipating the possible advent of the Japanese. The masses were so embittered that they were prepared to think of them as liberators. But Gandhiji was clear in his mind. Congress leaders also had no illusions. “I would rather be shot than submit to the Japanese or any foreign power”, wrote Gandhiji on July 26, 1942. The country was simmering. Rage, frustration and discontent were struggling to find an outlet. Indian humanity was one vast bulk of highly inflammable material. The Government foolishly supplied the spark.

The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on August 7, and adopted a resolution assuring the British that an Indian Government would resist aggression with all the armed as well as non-violent forces at its command and urged immediate declaration of Independence. But if the appeal failed, the Congress, the resolution further said, would be
compelled to start a civil disobedience movement. After the resolution was adopted Gandhiji addressed the delegates after midnight of August 8. He wanted to have one more interview with the Viceroy. But the British were in no mood for parleys. Gandhiji, Nehru, Mrs. Naidu and scores of others were awakened sometime after they had gone to sleep and carried off to prison.

The whole of India was in revolt the next morning. Gandhiji had given only two slogans. He had declared to the British: "Quit India". He had told his countrymen: "Do or die". The details of the movement were chalked out in the vaguest outlines. Each man was to be his own leader if the acknowledged leaders were arrested.

Jagjivan Ram and the late Professor Abdul Bari and some others who were putting up in a hotel were informed, by a friendly source, in the early hours of the morning, of the arrest of national leaders. Gandhiji had expressed his desire to see both Jagjivan Ram and Abdul Bari on the 9th morning and they hoped to receive first-hand guidance and instructions. Though there were whispers of Gandhiji’s possible arrest, responsible congressmen thought that the Government would not be so foolish and would surely give Gandhiji a chance of meeting the Viceroy. Even though they knew that it was no use rushing to the Birla House then, they were anxious to get more information and they left their place at dawn. But there was a complete ‘Hartal’ in the city and no conveyance was available. The call of the wilderness reverberated through the silence and the tenseness of the atmosphere.

Jagjivan Ram left for Patna immediately. As Secretary of the Bihar Congress he would have much to do on reaching there. Satya Narain Sinha and others also left via metre gauge.

Jagjivan Ram felt that organisational work had become more important than the agitational. If the Congress was to lead a resistance movement, it must develop a resistance organisation. Local Congress leaders were, however, of diffe-
rent opinions. Jagat Narain Lal left for the rural area and Singheshwar Prasad who was guiding the movement at Patna was arrested.

All important localities in Patna had been barricaded by British soldiers. The barricades could be crossed only on passes issued by the civil authorities. The passes were naturally not given to the leaders of the rebellion and they would not apply for it. The organisation of a proper resistance movement, Jagjivan Ram felt, was not practicable. Congress volunteers had not the necessary training and the conditions were not propitious. The revolt could not be developed into an insurrection and the insurrection into a machinery for seizure of power. A country-wide well-coordinated resistance, was not practicable, and the only way out under the circumstances was to have widely scattered pockets of resistance, unapproachable to army units and where the spirit of the August Revolution would survive.

It was said that Gandhiji's message was: "Let each man be his own leader". This message had spread throughout the country like wildfire and people everywhere behaved as they liked.

Congress men came to him and told him that they wanted to cut the electricity and telephone lines and the water pipes. Jagjivan Ram happened to be at that time the President of Electric Workers' and Joint Water Works Unions. He set his foot against disrupting water or electricity supply but permitted the cutting of telephone wires.

He was thus endeavouring to give the movement a new look of moral responsibility. He was trying to inculcate discipline and a sense of high purpose. He was worried as how to stabilise the movement and not permit it to turn violent. He was glad when he found people responding to the call for moral responsibility. When the post office situated near his house in Kadamkuan was burnt not a penny was touched. The illiterate masses who burnt the post office were revolutionaries, not hooligans.
But, what next, was the ever present question mark. He met Annada Prasad Choudhry, a former Bengal revolutionary, in a house in Gardanibagh where he was staying. Chakradhar Sharan had accompanied him. A lively discussion ensued. Jagjivan Ram stood for complete dislocation of the means of communication. That would, he said, completely paralyse the Administration and keep the movement gain time to spread in far-off areas. Annada Choudhry agreed with him but a prominent socialist leader quoted from chapters of the Russian Revolution to prove his contention that disruption of the means of communication should be the last stage of the Revolution. As no decision could be reached, it was agreed to consult Ram Dayalu Sinha, the veteran Congress leader, who was ailing at Sir Ganesh Dutta Sinha’s place. Movement from one part of the city to another was becoming increasingly difficult. As stated, barricades had been erected at all important points and none could cross them without a pass. The first question the seasoned old veteran put to Jagjivan Ram was, “Have you obtained a pass for moving about in the city?”. On being informed that it had not been done, he advised that the obtaining of passes must be attended to first of all and that they should not wear Khadi for the time being.

Jagjivan Ram was the Secretary of the Bihar Congress. He was, he felt, the leader of the Bihar people who had risen in a magnificent way and had paralysed British administration. The leader of the people in revolt should not seek passes for moving about in his own town from the representative of the aliens, who had been challenged, that is how he felt. He queried: “Whom to apply for the passes? The British Collector of the district?”

He was right. He had been to Patna city for one day in his usual khadi clothes and the Gandhi Cap. The people rallied around him. It raised them spiritually. On another occasion an American soldier challenged him. Promptly, he drew out an old invitation card and flashed it in his face. The American was impressed and let him go.

The American soldier who mostly manned the barricades
and with whom he would have an occasional talk were utterly misinformed. A young American conscript, an engineering student, told him that they had supposed that they would have to guard the city against murderers, dacoits and such other criminal elements. There were similar casual remarks by a few others. Jagjivan Ram wrote out a comprehensive pamphlet detailing incidents of the American War of Independence replete with quotations from Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and others. A parallel was drawn with the Indian war of Independence waged by the Congress. The pamphlets were published and put in bundles at shops frequented by the American soldiers. It did go a long way in making the Americans understand the implications of the 1942 movement and there was a noticeable change in their attitude. Jamil Mazhari, the famous Urdu nationalist poet, rendered valuable help in this connection.

Ram Dayalu Sinha, however, believed in discretion being the better part of valour and did not agree with the "romantic and idealistic" attitude of Jagjivan Ram. He had undertaken to arrange for passes for both Jagjivan Ram and Chakradhar Sharan. There were friendly officers who would oblige. The passes were subsequently obtained but, before they could be delivered, Jagjivan Ram was arrested in the afternoon of August 20, 1942.

When Khan Bahadur Omar, the Additional Magistrate, went to arrest him, he had on his person several important papers and some money. But no search was made. Omar told him that he could take his own time in getting ready but Jagjivan Ram was in no mood to incur obligation. He handed over the papers and the money to the Congress workers gathered there and gave final instructions to Jamil Mazhari. Thus began Jagjivan Ram’s second baptism of jail life.

What a galaxy of eminence met him in the Bankipur jail! Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. S. K. Sinha, Dr. A.N. Sinha, Sarangdhar Singh, Satya Narain Babu, Mahamaya Prasad, Phulan Prasad
Verma and many others were already there. They were lodged in the hospital jail in one room. Rajendra Babu was given the operation theatre. After a few days came Deo Sharan Singh who informed that the people were being terribly harassed and the soldiers were masters of the situation. Yet, occasionally the people held unpleasant surprises for them.

As soon as the rail link to Hazaribagh was restored, all the political prisoners were transferred to the Central Jail there, excepting Rajendra Babu who was undergoing treatment.

The August movement was slowly ebbing away. There remained, however, pockets of resistance which continued to defy the might of British and held the banner of freedom flying. But such pockets of revolt and resistance were not many and even in these regions there was lack of proper leadership. Jagjivan Ram's dream of the 1942 movement had visualised thousands of such pockets in each province, resisting with all available means the imposition of the British rule, springing into action simultaneously and making it impossible for the depleted army units to cope with the situation. That dream had not materialised. The country suffered untold hardships. Many Congressmen were broken and demoralised.

Jagjivan Ram was in indifferent health and denial of fresh and open-air exercises soon made him sick. He had temperature and many thought he had got pleurisy. In October 1943, he was released after about fourteen months in jail.

Jagjivan Ram had been having very indifferent health after release from jail and he spent a few months at Simla with his family. The Bihar C.I.D. very diligently shadowed him wherever he went and kept a close watch.

After return to Patna from Simla in September 1944, he undertook an extensive tour of C. P. and Bombay, both for Congress and League work. At Nagpur, the working committee of the All India Depressed Classes League met under his presidency and prepared the memorandum which was presented on behalf of the All India Depressed Classes League
to the Sapru Committee. Later, finding that effective and useful political work of the Congress could not be carried on, he organised with the assistance of Professor Abdul Bari a constructive worker's organisation at Patna which continued to do useful work till the end of 1945.

After Mahadeva Desai's death in the Aga Khan Palace came the death of Kastur Ba. Then Gandhiji himself fell ill and was released on May 3, 1944. He went to Juhu. Sarjoni Naidu and Mrs. Pandit were also there.

A gloom and the tragedy of partition now hung over India. Rajagopalachari had evolved a formula for Congress-League understanding in June 1944. In September 1944, Gandhiji and Jinnah met several times but the talks ultimately broke down on the two-nation theory.

Jagjivan Ram was faced with a delicate situation. He could not, holding the views he did, assert that the untouchables were a separate nation. He could not at the same time leave untouchables interests completely unrepresented in any arrangement that took place or in any agreement that was to be made. The Harijans were certainly a part of the Indian nation but, being the most persecuted minority, it was only fair that their interests should be safeguarded. Welcoming Gandhiji's efforts to end the political deadlock, the working committee of the All India Depressed Classes League, meeting under Jagjivan Ram's presidency, in a resolution passed on August 18, 1944, regretted that neither Gandhiji's nor Rajagopalachari's formula took any notice of the untouchables and stressed that the interests of the depressed classes must be safeguarded in any political arrangement to be arrived at between the Congress and the Muslim League on the one hand and the Government on the other. Ambedkar, then a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was also stressing this aspect with abuse and blame for Gandhiji. He told a Bombay Scheduled Castes meeting on July 23, 1944, that the Congress and the League were likely to run away with a National Government but he was going to prevent it. He was prepared, he said, to make room
for others when a National Government came into being but he believed, that Gandhiji and Jinnah would never agree.

The Congress would not accept two-nation theory implied in the League’s insistence. The stalemate continued. On June 16, 1946 Wavell announced the failure of the League and the Congress to reach an understanding. But the Viceroy was not prepared to accept defeat. He asked the Congress and the League to submit names of their respective candidates but he stressed that no party was to vote the nominee of the other. Jinnah declined the invitation. Nehru was then commissioned to form a provisional Government on August 12, 1946. Nehru tried to make Jinnah agree but, when he failed, he formed a provisional Government consisting of six Congressmen of whom five were high caste Hindus and one a Harijan, one Christian, one Sikh, one Parsi and two non-League Muslims. Jagjivan Ram entered the Executive Council as India’s Labour Minister, and was sworn in on 2nd Septemer, 1946.

**YOUNGEST CABINET MEMBER**

By 1946, Jagjivan Ram had emerged as the undisputed leader of the nationalist Scheduled Castes. The separatists like Ambedkar and others, whose leadership were threatened by the unity of the nationalist Harijans, were bitter. Many of them derided Jagjivan Ram as a show-boy of the Congress.

Men like Nehru who were under the influence of Marxism considered the problem to be purely economic—a by-product of the problems of poverty. Many thought that ignorance, segregation and squalor did not distinguish the Harijans from the non-Harijans. Such was the view also of enlightened Hinduism which believed that the unreasonable prejudices and discriminations associated with untouchability would be gradually eliminated as the economic handicaps of the Harijans would be removed. This view was buttressed by the faith in homogeneity of the Hindu mass which was considered to be the main constituent of the Indian Nation. This belief was also shared by Mahatma Gandhi.
Jagjivan Ram knew and believed that all this was only theoretically sound. He also believed that the untouchables must form an unbreakable and solid constituent of the nation and this implied their complete merger in the Hindu fold. Separation would involve not only the drawing away of the untouchables from the main progressive political current of the country, it would also spell weakening of the Indian Nation. He had but very clearly and unequivocally stated that while therefore he would fight ceaselessly for the Harijan cause, "he would always remember that a limb could never be healthy unless the whole body was in good health". But the application of theories to a given situation was one thing, the attempt to fit all facts within the framework of the theories was something quite different. That is what was happening, felt Jagjivan Ram, and with his appraisal of the problem of untouchability as sociological, he was of the definite and considered opinion that it must be tackled simultaneously on all the fronts. Constitutional guarantees and reservations for a period long enough to enable the Harijans to catch up with the more advanced sections of the population were both essential and justified, "They only reflected," he held, "the realities of the social structure and climate and the dominant national will."

"Without the necessary guarantees and reservations, the dominant national or collective will which desired to see the end of untouchability within the life of a generation would be a sham and a mockery and would count for little in the moulding of the nation’s behaviour pattern". Moreover, Jagjivan Ram felt, "the winning of freedom for the Harijan meant the widening of the horizons of human freedom, the expansion of the human spirit". The fight of the Harijans was, to him, fundamentally a spiritual fight, a fight against the enslavement of the human spirit. Thus, while India was his daily thought, the Harijans were his hourly preoccupation.

While Bhulabhai Desai’s formula of parity between the Congress and the Muslim League proposed a political pact, the Wavell Plan introduced an element of Communalism and by
equating the Congress with caste Hindus struck a blow at the national character. This communal aspect of the plan was emphasised at the earlier stages by the unwillingness of the Viceroy to invite Maulana Azad, who was the President of the Congress, to the Simla Conference and at later stages by the demand of the emboldened Muslim League to be accepted as the sole champion of the Muslims.

The vehemence of the protest made by Gandhiji against Wavell’s equating the Congress with a caste Hindu organisation provoked Jagjivan Ram into issuing statement criticising the Mahatma’s stand. In this statement published in many Indian papers on June 18, 1945, Jagjivan Ram said that he found Gandhiji’s attitude ‘self-contradictory and surprising. Congress nationalism, he had often felt, had to broaden itself by shifts in emphasis not only on the economic programme but on social issue as well. While he did not agree with the parity formula in the Wavell Plan as a matter of fact he and under his inspiration the Depressed Classes League, opposed it vehemently’.

In later statement which was published on June 23, Jagjivan Ram explained that at least 3 seats in the Viceroy’s Executive Council should go to the Harijans. The Depressed Classes are opposed to the proposed parity of representation between the caste Hindus and the Muslims but they will not stand in the way of the Caste Hindus handing over whole or part of their share to one or the other community so long as the depressed classes got their legitimate share together with such weightage as is given to other communities. If the Muslims, who form 26.8 per cent of the population, get 40 per cent weightage which varies inversely to population, the Scheduled Castes whose population is about half of that of the Muslims, should get double the weightage of what the Muslims get, i.e. they should get about 100 per cent and hence at least 3 seats in the Executive Council.

On June 16, 1946 Wavell addressed a letter to Jagjivan Ram and others enclosing the text of his statement issued the
same day inviting him to become a member of the Interim Government. The statement said:

"The Viceroy is, therefore, issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution making will proceed in accordance with the statement of May, 16:

Sardar Baldev Singh    Dr. John Mathai
Sir N.P. Engineer      Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan
Mr. Jagjivan Ram       Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Mr. M.A. Jinnah         Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan    Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Mr. H.K. Mahtab          Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel.

As Maulana Azad, whom the Congress rightly wanted to be in the Interim Government, if only to emphasize its secular and national character, as Muslim League circles hinted, had been deliberately left out in order to placate the Muslim League, Jagjivan Ram sent the following telegram to Wavell on June 26:

"Lord Wavell,
New Delhi.

As Congressman and as representative of Scheduled Castes, I feel non-inclusion of nationalist Muslim unreasonable throwing minorities representative at Mr. Jinnah’s mercy undemocratic and Scheduled Castes representation inadequate stop. Hence respectfully decline becoming member Interim Government under existing condition.

—Jagjivan Ram.

Similar telegrams were sent by the other Congress invitees to the Interim Government. Later, when the Cabinet Delegation and Wavell accepted Maulana Azad, the Muslim League kept out and the Interim Government could be formed only after the Calcutta holocaust which followed the Direct Action day.
So inauspiciously began the Interim Government. Jagjivan Ram, along with Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Prasad and others, were sworn as members on September 3, 1946. He was offered the Labour portfolio. He was then only 38 years of age. “By far the youngest member of the first National Government of India will be Mr. Jagjivan Ram, President of the All India Depressed Classes League. His nomination has given universal satisfaction, has been hailed as heralding a new era of hope for the Harijan Masses of India”, thus wrote a noted journalist in the National Herald.

From September 3, 1946, till the general elections of 1952, Jagjivan Ram held the labour portfolio. His performance proved historic.

The five-year programme for labour drawn up under his inspiring guidance aimed at fulfilling the Congress pledges by implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission, 1931, and the Labour Investigation Committee, 1946. Besides guaranteeing rights and privileges to labour under various statute laws passed during his tenure, Jagjivan Ram made the tripartite consultative machineries yield very valuable results. No aspect of the entire range of the problems of workers escaped attention and endeavours were made to provide a solution for each. As a God-fearing man, Babu Jagjivan Ram was bestowed success after success, and various schemes were introduced by him in the utmost interest and benefit of the people in general. He successfully held charge of different Ministries, and a resume of high achievements in different Ministries, would suffice for the time being:

**UNION MINISTER FOR LABOUR:**

He held charge of Labour Ministry, from September 1946 to May 1952, in the Interim Government, and was subsequently sworn as Union Labour Minister. During this period he led the Indian delegation to the I. L. O. Conference in Geneva and was elected President of the Asian Regional Conference of International Labour Organisation. The most
important legislative enactments during this period were, the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946, the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947, the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948, the Factories Act, 1948, The Minimum Wages Act, 1948, The Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, The Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Scheme Act, 1948, The Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act, 1950, The Plantation Labour Act, 1951, the Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1952, The Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Act, 1952. In addition to these legislative enactments, various amendments to many of the existing Central Acts were also passed during this period of his being the Labour Minister.

UNION MINISTER FOR COMMUNICATIONS;

He held charge of Communications Ministry from May '52 to December, 1956. During this period he proposed for the formation of a statutory corporation, which was introduced vide Bill 1953 (27 of 1952) providing the establishment of 2 Air Corporations—(a) Air India to operate international service and (b) Indian Airlines to operate domestic services within the country and neighbouring countries and adoption of the Air Corporations Act. 3 Super-Constellation Aircrafts and subsequently 3 Boeing-707 Jet Planes were purchased by Air India, during 1953 and 1956 respectively. Similarly, 5 Viscouts and 3 additional sky-masters for Indian Airlines for operation on major routes and high air-services respectively, were purchased for Indian Airlines.

A great deal of improvement was marked, in the distribution of mail, telegrams, training to P & T Personnel of different cadre, introduction of All India cultural meet for P & T Employees, apart from National Federation of P & T employees in 1954, resulting in merger of various Unions into one for a common cause. Telegrams in Hindi were introduced during this period, and a Hindi Journal ‘DAKTAR’ was started. The P & T Guide was also translated in Hindi. Public Call Offices
and opening of various new Telephone Exchanges are some of the noticeable improvements. Great emphasis was laid on replacement of Runners' lines by Mail Motor services and Urban Mobile Post Offices were provided on a more liberal scale.

UNION MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & RAILWAYS:

On 7th December, 1956 he took over charge as Union Minister for Transport & Railways, and continued as such till 9th April, 1962. Here too, marked improvement was noticed in the form of great amenities to the III Class passengers, remodelling of Coaches, introduction of Waiting Rooms and improved service conditions to the low-paid railway staff, apart from extensive expansion of Railway lines, and increased speed, while he was Union Minister for Transport & Communication, he resigned on 31st August, 1963 under Kamraj Plan to strengthen the party activities.

UNION MINISTER FOR LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT & REHABILITATION:

He again took over as Minister for labour, Employment & Rehabilitation on 24th January, 1966 and continued as such till 12th March, 1967, when more stress was laid on improvement of the labour class in general throughout the country.

UNION MINISTER FOR FOOD & AGRICULTURE:

The challenging portfolio of Food & Agriculture, Community Development—and Cooperation Minister was taken over by him on 13th March, 1967 and unlike his predecessors, he proved like a pillar to improve food production, proper distribution, and the Green Revolution brought him immense praise throughout the world. As against our importing foodgrain under PL 480, we started thinking in terms of exporting. He solved the food problem very successfully, the Food and Agriculture Ministry which was treated as Grave-Yard for Ministers, brought him crown of success in the well-known green revolution in India.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT

In the meantime apart from ministerial charge, he was
also elected Congress President after the split on 28th December, 1969 and here too he proved like a Mountain for the reactionaries.

UNION MINISTER FOR DEFENCE:

On 29th June 1970, he was appointed Union Minister for Defence and is continuing as such.

The achievements of Babu Jagjivan Ram, as Defence Minister, hardly need any elucidation. It was his administrative capability and spirit of winning over the confidence of Army Heads and Jawans alike, that the mischievous plot of Pakistan in declaring a War against India on 3rd December, 1971 brought glorious victory to the Nation and his humanitarian attitude even towards enemies, brought the day of surrender of about 93,000 military and allied invaders, under the Command of A. K. Niazi, on 16th December, 1971, and also the existence of a Free Bangladesh. Defence production, and improved weapons and self reliance, in almost all the spheres, viz, Air, Naval and Land Forces, are unique in the history of Army today. Concessions, facilities to Army persons and their Dependents are unparalleled, and this has naturally aroused the greatest love and affection amongst the Army personal for their great leader.

To sum up, his success in Labour Ministry, Food Ministry, and last in Defence Ministry, and the recent victory of Indian forces over Pak Junta during last December conflict have decorated him with eminable fame and have established the bonafide of his capabilities, proving him to the Unique leader of the Nation.

During his long run, this great leader did strike to break the barrier between the rich and the poor, the high and the low. As a leader of these distempers he sorrowed with the down-trodden and the despised, he strove hard to create an impression that in keeping a section of the people deprived of their human rights and legitimate place in society cannot hold for long and a day would come when it would fall in a heap of ruins and cause serious obstruction to the traffic of our developing country. He never forgot his brethren and has
always been to teach them to be strong and self-confidant, to increase self-respect and reverence, to shape and protect themselves and to burn out all that was mean and feeble within them.

Time and again, he has expressed his thoughts, and reactions against casteism, has encouraged manhood and put words into the mouth of the lowliest who lost the language of protest and grim purpose. He still lives a healthier, simpler and humaner life, self-reliant but unaggressive, quiet and content with a unifying and understanding spirit, free from fear and with righteous indignation against injustice.
Jagjivan Ram—A Select Bibliography

K. L. CHANCHREEK

Important Events in the Life of Babu Jagjivan Ram

A : CHRONOLOGY

1908
5th April, 1908 : Born at Chandwa village, P. O. & P. S. Arrah, District Shahabad (Bihar) the home of Shri Shobhi Ram (Father) and Smt. Vasanti Devi (Mother).
: Father Shri Shobhi Ram, a saint by nature and deeds and a follower of Shiv Narayani Sect. Mother a pious, devoted lady.

1914
January, 1914 : Admitted in the Primary Classs in Upper (Vasant Panchmi). Primary School of the Village. Pandit Kapilmuni Tewari was the head Pandit.
June, 1914 : Death of Father Shri Shobhi Ram,

1916
June, 1916 : Married.

1920
2nd January, 1920 : After completing Primary Education took admission in Agrawal Middle English School, Arrah.
1922

2nd January, 1922: After passing Middle English examination took admission in Arrah Town High English School.

1923

May, 1923: 1. During summer vacation in May-June went to Calcutta, where eldest brother Shri Santlal was serving in Calcutta Medical College Hospital.
   2. Eldest brother Shri Santlal got him baptised in Shivanarayani Sect by Baba Ram Nidha Singh a Rajput saint of the Sect.
   3. With the inspiration and active cooperation of Nithali Bhagat a rich and prominent figure of the community started taking interest in social-reforms in Arrah Town at the early age of 15.

July, 1923: Returns from Calcutta.

August, 1923: Unprecedented heavy flood of the Sone River washed away many villages, including his own village Chandwa—the ancestral home was washed away. Before the house was swept away he evacuated many movable property and also the money which his elder brother had given him at the time of his visit to Calcutta, without caring for life, out of the flood waters. The whole family shifted to the house of Pandit Kapilmuni Tewari in the heart of the village and lived there till the house was re-built.

1924

1924: Built the house very expeditiously and got appreciation from all quarters.
1925

May, 1925: Attended the 18th Session of the Bihar Students Conference as a Delegate from Arrah at Varanasi, received prizes for elocution, was greatly influenced by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Took interest in the welfare of the downtrodden poor peasants and labourers.

1926

1926: Passed Matriculation Examination in 1st Division and secured cent percent marks in Mathematics.

May, 1926: Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Muhammad Ali visited Arrah town in connection with Khilafat movement. Read the "Manpatra". (Welcome address) in honour of Malaviyaji on behalf of the Scheduled Castes at the public meeting held at Gaurakshini compound.

Won high praises from Malaviyaji who invited him to join Banaras Hindu University for higher education.

Correspondence with Principal Dhruba, Pro-Chancellor of Hindu University who advised him to come to Banaras for taking admission at B. H. U.

July, 1926: 1. Took admission in First Year Science (I.Sc.) at Banaras Hindu University, was living in Fourth Hostel.

2. Recipient of Birla Scholarship which required him to live in Hostel.

3. In the Hostel Mess servants refused to clean his plate on account of the evils of Casteism and untouchability.

4. Consequently approached Principal Dhruba to permit him to live outside.
5. Dhruvaji agreed and after Puja holidays he started living in a private rented house with his mother.


: Came in contact with great novelist and Progressive writer Munshi Premchand and other prominent figures of Banaras like Sampurnanand, Kamlapati Tripathi etc.

1927

June, 1927

: During summer vacation real marriage—Dviragaman celebrated and wife was brought to home.

1. Experience of not being served by barbers at Banaras.

2. Organised Scheduled Castes to boycott barbers of Banaras.

3. Came in contact with some Revolutionary Brahmacharies and Sanyasies.

1928

1928

: Passed Inter Science Examination from B.H.U.

July, 1928

: Took admission in B.Sc. in Vidyasagar College, Calcutta University in the same year.

: At Calcutta came in touch with S/Shri Yugal Kishore Birla, J. M. Sen Gupta, Dr. B. C. Roy, Praphulla Chandra Ghosh and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as well as several other great Social Workers, Leaders, Philanthropists of the time.

: Worked as Volunteer at the Calcutta Session of the Congress, held in the month of December, 1928.
1929

1929

Organised several Meetings of the Working Class and Weaker Sections at Calcutta.

29th December, 1929

Took part in the Plenary Session of the All India National Congress held at Lahore.

At Lahore was guest of Basant Lal, Anarkali.

Addressed a Conference of the Depressed Classes at Lahore and came in contact with many leaders of the Depressed classes.

Came in contact with Bhagat Dayal Das of Kanpur.

Came into contact with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.

Toured in Northern India and addressed rallies of Depressed Classes.

1930

1930

On return from Lahore Session, had correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi on the problems of Depressed Classes and wrote letters to top leaders of the country.

Was assaulted by Police while picketing for boycott of Educational Institutions.

Came in contact with some Communist underground workers and read manuscripts sent from Russia.

Took pledge to work whole-time in Social fields and carry out constructive activities.

Also took pledge to wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi, started spinning, got one Dhoti woven from his own hand-spun yarn.
Took part in labour movement and cultivated a large circle of Jute workers, Tannery workers, Leather workers and Bonemill workers.

1931

Took B.Sc. Degree from Calcutta University.
Invited to Conferences of Depressed Classes at several places in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

1932

Wrote letter to Gandhiji in connection with his Historic Fast- unto-Death, Poona Pact and question of separate electorate for Scheduled Castes.
Received reply from Gandhi's secretary that he is himself against any type of electorate for Scheduled Castes separate from Hindus.
Actively participated in the programmes of Anti-Untouchability League, set up with the blessings of Gandhiji throughout the country which later was renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh.
Took part in the Bihar- Provincial Anti-Untouchability Conference at Patna which was attended by leaders and workers of Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj and Congress.
Dr. Rajendra Prasad was also present.
Dr. Rajendra Prasad, greatly impressed with his speech, invited him to Patna and requested him to take up Congress work in Bihar.
Went to Patna and started working with Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
Appointed Secretary of the Bihar State Harijan Sevak Sangh.

August, 1933

Death of wife.

Worked as Secretary, Bihar Province Harijan Sevak Sangh. Tour the whole State.

1934

February, 1934

Was in Calcutta when Earthquake took place in February, 1934.

Immediately came back to Bihar.

Worked for relief to the Earthquake victims along with Rajendra Babu.

Came in close touch with Gandhiji on his arrival in Bihar.

March, 1934

Accompanied Gandhiji during his historic Bihar Tour.

Orthodox Hindus and Priests opposed Gandhiji at Buxar and Deoghar etc.

At this occasion he himself, Thakkar Bapa and other Congress workers were accompanying Gandhiji.

For the first time organised All India Ravidas Congress at Calcutta.

Met Dr. Dharam Prakash, Dr. Ram Prasad Jaiswar, Rasiklal Biswas, Birat Chandra Mandal and other Scheduled Castes leaders, who were thinking of organising Depressed Classes of India.

Founded All India Depressed Classes League, as the organisation of Nationalist Scheduled Castes.

1935

May, 1935

The Unity-Conference of Depressed Classes leaders and workers held at Kanpur.
Was elected General Secretary of the Bhartiya Depressed Classes League, with Shri Rasiklal Biswas as President.

2nd June, 1935
Marriage with Indrani Devi, daughter of famous Social-worker of Kanpur, late Dr. Birbal.

August, 1935
Organised Bihar State Branch of the Bhartiya Depressed Classes League and elected its President.

1936

16th February, 1936: Inaugurated the Branch of Depressed Classes League of Danapur-Sub Division in Patna District.

18th February, 1936: Participated in Ravidas Conference, Bhagalpur.

18th February, 1936: In support of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya’s appeal, issued a statement calling upon Depressed Classes to take pledge not to leave Hindu religion.

24th February, 1936: Presided over the Depressed Classes Conference at Bhagalpur.

28th February, 1936: Chairman, Reception Committee of the All India Ravidas Conference held at Monghyr.

12th April, 1936: Attended the 49th Session of the All India Congress Committee held under the Presidency of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, at Lucknow.

13th April, 1936: Took part in the Executive Committee meeting of the All India Depressed Classes League, Lucknow.

14th & 15th April, 1936: Presided over the Conference of the Depressed Classes League, which was also attended by Mahatma Gandhi.
22nd May, 1936: An All Religions Conference was held at Lucknow by the followers of Dr. Ambedkar, attended by representatives of all religions from India and abroad. The purpose of the Conference was to enable the Depressed Classes to choose one religion to which the depressed classes will convert. He managed to get his own man Rasiklal Biswas elected as President and scuffled the whole move by referring to a committee the question of comparative study of all religions and to report after a year.

At Ranchi, appeared before the Hammond Commission, appointed by the British Government.

9th August, 1936: Drafted and published the Election Manifesto of the Bihar Provincial Depressed Classes League.

Nominated to the then Bihar Legislative Council and thus became M.L.C. (Bihar).

17th March, 1937: Attended All India Congress Committee and convention of Congress members of Legislative Assemblies at New Delhi.

27th March, 1937: 1. In a Press Statement opposed the so-called All India Depressed Classes Conference being organised during the 2nd week of April at Patna at the instance of Christian Missionaries to take a firm decision for their mass conversion to Christianity. The Conference was broken.

2. Elected unopposed to the Bihar Legislative Assembly in the election held under the Govt. of India Act, 1935.
3. Congress decides not to form ministries in provinces where it was in majority in Assemblies.

4. British Government makes efforts to get ministries formed.

5. When invited by Mr. Yunus who tried to form such a Ministry, to join his ministry in Bihar, he declined the offer of Ministership.

: Dr. Rajendra Prasad Congress Leader of Bihar informs Mahatma Gandhi, who praised Jagjivan Ram in his writings that Jagjivan Ram was a jewel.

10th April, 1937 : Disrupted the anti-national and anti-Hindu Harijan-Conference held at Patna, through the good offices of Shri Mahabir Dass, a Veteran Social worker of Bhagalpur.

14th April, 1937 : "Searchlight" English Daily of Patna published the full report of the failure of that Conference.

24-25th April, 1937 : Presided over the District Conference of the Depressed Classes League at Champaran.

10th July, 1937 : Presided over the Bihar Provincial Depressed Classes Conference held at Mashra on in Saran District. The Conference was attended by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Srikrishna Sinha, Anugrah Narain Sinha and other Bihar leaders.

: Talk regarding his inclusion in Bihar Cabinet.

: Attended Congress Political Conference held at Gopalganj along with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Srikrishna Sinha, and Dr. Anugrah Narain Sinha.
Chalked out Anti-Uncouchability and Harijan uplift programmes.

Organised the Landless Labour of Bihar; Orissa and Gujarat.

Founded Bihar Provincial Khet Mazdoor Sabha, a pioneer Organisation of the landless labour.

His radical views on land reform created concern in orthodox Congress circles who criticised his views.

In Hindi monthly “Saraswati” published from Allahabad, Pt. Nandkishore Tiwari criticised his views.

The answer to the criticism was given through ‘Viswamitra’ a leading Hindi Daily.

Even Aryasamajists did not spare him and through “Searchlight” & ‘Indian Nation’, Patna, they bitterly criticised his revolutionary ideas.

He kept quiet but many others, specially Dr. Raghunandan Prasad gave a fit reply and kept their guns silent.

Carried out his Mission of Harijan uplift, organisational work of landless labour and many other constructive activities.

1st August, 1937

1. Congress Ministries formed and he was to be taken in the Cabinet.

2. Shri Jaglal Chowdhry presses his claim as a Senior Congressman.

3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad greatly embarrassed but his anxiety was relieved when Jagjivan Ram himself withdrew in favour of Jaglal Chowdhry.

Appointed ‘Parliamentary Secretary’.

Worked with Dr. Mahmud, Cabinet Minister, as his Parliamentary Secretary
and was allotted the Department which comprised of Agriculture, Cooperative, Industry and Rural Development.

: Strengthened the Organisation of landless labour. This was not liked by Kisan Sabha Leaders but in spite of their opposition carried on his work.

1938

1938

: Elected Delegate to the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress.

: Resigned alongwith others from the Bihar Cabinet on the call of the Congress on account of differences with British Govt. on the issue of the Repatriation of political prisoners from Andaman.

February, 1938

: Attended Haripura Session of the Congress at Haripura, organised a Conference of the Khetihar Mazdoor (Conference of the Landless Labour) and requested Gandhiji to inaugurate it.

: On advice of Gandhiji, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, a veteran Peasant and Congress Leader inaugurated this Conference.

: Tried to organise the landless labour in Gujarat.

: Came in close contact with Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

1939

1939

: Subhash Chandra Bose elected President of Congress against Gandhiji’s wishes.

: Advised Netaji after his election as President of the Indian National Congress to submit his resignation from the Congress Presidentship.

: Gandhiji attended All India Congress Plenary Session at Tripura.
Organised Conference of Depressed Classes, Landless Labour and workers on All India level.

Worked for Hindustan Scouts Association.

Appointed Deputy Provincial Commissioner of Bihar State Branch of the Hindustan Scouts Association.

Resigned from Govt. as all Congress Ministries resigned as protest against India being dragged in war

1940

Elected as Member of the All India Congress Committee.

Contested and elected General Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee.

Feb - March, 1940

Bihar Provincial Congress Working Committee meets at Patna.

As General Secretary of B.P.C.C. toured throughout the State. Organised Depressed and Backward Classes in Districts.

Addressed several constructive Workers Training Camps.

Addressed Students Conference.

March, 18, 19 and 20, 1940

Attended Ramgarh Congress—Plenary Session held at Ramgarh, Maulana Azad presided this session.

As General Secretary of B.P.C.C. organised Camp Office at Ramgarh.

7th July, 1940

In spite of Gandhiji’s strong opposition, the Congress Working Committee passed a Resolution of C. Rajagopalachari that Britain should declare that India would be given full freedom and an Interim National Govt. would be formed at the Centre, which will conduct War efforts.
August, 1940 : Attended AICC meeting at Poona. Mahatma Gandhi addressing the Committee said that he would like to meet the Viceroy. But Viceroy refused to meet Gandhiji.

September, 1940 : Attended All India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay.

: Gandhiji gave full power to conduct Satyagrah.

10th December, 1940 : Offered himself for Individual-Satyagrah in Distt. Shahabad, Bihar. Addressed several meetings urging boycott of war efforts on a long route of 40 miles.

: Arrested at Piru on 10th December.

: Brought to Arrah and tried. Convicted to one year’s imprisonment, on 11th December and was kept at Hazaribagh Jail.

: Studied Marxist literature, Theology, Political Science, Economics and History in the Prison.

1941

10th September, 1941 : Released from prison on completing his term of imprisonment with normal remission.

: As desired by Gandhiji, went to Wardha to meet him. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was also there. Put up at Sevagram Ashram.

: As advised by Gandhiji shifted to Bajajwadi where Dr. Rajendra Prasad was putting up.

: Discussed various national and Scheduled Castes problems with Gandhiji and sought clarifications.
Stayed for 10 days at Wardha and every afternoon spent sometime with Gandhiji at Sevagram alongwith Rajendra Babu.

Took up his political assignments and work of the Depressed Classes League, at Patna.

Started constructive work along with Prof. Abdul Bari and Binodanand Jha.

1942

1-3rd February, 1942: Presided over the Eighth Session of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League at Meerut.

Visited All India Harijan Sevak Sangh at Delhi and addressed the Workers.

March, 1942: Sir Stafford Cripps came to Delhi with his plans.

7th August, 1942: Went to Bombay to participate in the historic Session of the All India Congress Committee.

Was put up in Windsor Hotel with Prof. Abdul Bari, top congress Leader of Bihar.

8th August, 1942: Gandhiji addressed the Congress Delegates at 12, in the midnight that he wished to meet the Viceroy.

As pre-planned the British Govt. arrested all top leaders including Gandhiji, Pt. Nehru and Smt. Sarojini Naidu etc, early in the morning of Ninth August.

9th August, 1942: Thus started the 'August Revolution', launched by the Congress.

Left Bombay by Calcutta mail via Allahabad for Patna to intensify the revolution.

Provincial Congress Leaders of Madhya Pradesh, and U. P. arrested from train when train entered their territory. Escaped
11th August, 1942: Arrives Patna in night.
   Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Babu and Anugrah Babu already arrested.

11th August, 1942: Patna Secretariat firing on students.
   Not arrested for 9 days, organised movement, established contact with all
districts, kept in close touch with B. Ram Dayal Sinha who was in Hospital.

20th August, 1942: (i) Arrested at Patna. Detained in Bankipur Jail (Patna) where Dr. Rajendra
   Prasad, Anugrah N. Sinha, Mahamaya Prasad Sinha and other leaders were
   kept.

September, 1942: (ii) Transferred to Hazaribagh Jail.
   In Jail under detention from 20th August, 1942 to 10th October, 1943.

9th November, 1942: Jayprakash Narayan escapes from jail
   along with Jogendra Sukul, Ram Nandan Mishra etc., resulting in harsh and very
   inconvenient restrictions on prisoners.

December, 1942: Elected President of the Amritsar Session
   of the All India Depressed Classes League, while in prison.

1943

October, 1943: Released from prison on grounds of
   health.
   Addressed letters to Scheduled Castes
   and social workers throughout the country to organise and re-dedicate to
   the cause of the down-trodden.
   After release, the health did not improve
   for sometime.

1944

June, 1944: Went to Simla for a change of climate.
September, 1944: After return from Simla toured throughout Madhya Pradesh and Bombay and addressed several Congress and Depressed Classes meetings.

1945:

1945: Participated in the Executive Committee meeting of the Depressed Classes League at Nagpur and prepared a Memorandum for presentation to Sapru Committee.

1945:

1945: Founded an Association of Constructive workers at Patna with Prof. Abdul Bari, Binodan and Jha and others, received blessings from Gandhiji and Rajendra Babu.

25th June, 1945:

25th June, 1945: The Depressed Classes League and its Branches all over India sent letters and telegrams to the Viceroy on the failure of the Government for not inviting their President (Babu Jagjivan Ram) to the Simla Conference.

28th June, 1945:

28th June, 1945: A Memorandum was drafted on behalf of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League for presenting it to the Viceroy, demanding inclusion of one member each of the Depressed Classes League, Scheduled Castes Federation of Dr. Ambedkar and Depressed Classes Association of M.C. Rajah.

August, 1945:

August, 1945: Under his Chairmanship the All India Depressed Classes League passed a resolution praising Gandhiji for his continued efforts for the all round uplift of the Harijans.

August, 1945: Also drew the attention of the Congress that neither Gandhiji, nor C. Rajagopalachari in their efforts/suggestions have received place for Scheduled Castes in
the Interim Cabinet, during talks between the Congress and the Muslim League.

- Issued statement on the demands of the Scheduled Castes.
- Met top Congress Leaders.
- Signed agreement that all candidates belonging to All India Depressed Classes League will sign the Congress Pledge and they will automatically be declared Congress candidates.

1946

23rd March, 1946: Cabinet Mission arrived in India.

- The Mission invited four representatives each of the Congress and Muslim League for long discussion. The talks failed.

2nd April, 1946: Presides over the executive Committee of the All India Depressed Classes League which met at Delhi to discuss various issues, especially the arrival of the Cabinet Mission and proper representation to the Scheduled Castes in the Govt. and prepared a Memorandum.

- The Executive Committee authorised him as President of the Depressed Classes League and R.N. Das, M.L.A. (Bengal), Secretary to meet the Mission to present the Memorandum to press the demands of the Nationalist Scheduled Castes at Simla.

5th April, 1946: Received a telegram from the Mission inviting him to present the viewpoint of the Nationalist Scheduled Castes before the Mission.

8th April, 1946: Appeared before the Cabinet Mission at Delhi.
17th April, 1946: Maulana Azad, the Congress President received a letter from Lord Pethick Lawrence, requesting him to attempt to obtain an agreement between the Muslim League and Congress.

12th May, 1946: Simla Conference having failed to achieve its object, broke up the Mission. The Viceroy, the Congress Leaders, the Muslim League leaders etc. moved down to Delhi.

18th May, 1946: Cabinet Mission Plan announcement.

16th June, 1946: Announcement made that invitations had been sent to Fourteen individuals by their names to help the Viceroy to form his Cabinet.

- Statement by Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency Viceroy issued on 16th June, 1946: The Viceroy in consultation with the Members of the Cabinet Mission has been exploring the possibilities of forming a coalition Govt., drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. It is necessary that a strong Govt. should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through. Therefore, following members are being invited to serve in the Interim Govt.

Sardar Baldev Singh  Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Sir N.P. Engineer  Mr. H.K. Mehtab
Mr. Jagjivan Ram  Mr. John Mathai
Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru Nawab Mohamad Ismail Khan
Mr. M.A. Jinnah Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel.

: Met Viceroy.

: Rejected Viceroy's invitation to serve in the Interim Government as the Congress did not accept it because no nationalist muslim was included.

16th August, 1946 : Negotiations of Nehru with Jinnah failed.
25th August, 1946 : Personnel of the first National Interim Govt., at the Centre announced by Viceroy :
1. Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel
3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
4. Mr. Asaf Ali
5. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
6. Mr. Sarat Chandra
7. Dr. Jhon Mathai
8. Sardar Baldev Singh
9. Sir Shaffaat Ahmad Khan
10. Mr. Jagjivan Ram
11. Syed Ali Zaheer Khan
12. Mr. C. H. Bhabha

2nd September, 1946 : Members of the Interim National Government took office and oath of secrecy.
: Appointed Minister-in-charge of Labour.
: Defending his labour portfolio, Viceroy
Lord Wavell wrote in a reply to Mr. Jinnah, "In the present conditions all the portfolios in the cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representatives can not be excluded from a share of the Major portfolios and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the labour portfolio."

3rd September, 1946 to May, 1952

: Union Minister for Labour.

1947

June, 1947


: Geneva session brought him International repute in Labour matters Visited—Paris, Germany, London etc. and other parts of Europe.

15th July, 1947

: While returning from London his plane crashed at Bashra. Seriously injured. Admitted in Hospital.

: Brought to Delhi by Lt. Col. Bhargawa kept in Willingdon Nursing Home till September.

: Gandhiji saw him in Hospital.

Oct.-Nov., 1947

: Elected President of the Asian Regional Conference of International Labour Organisation, held at New Delhi.

1948

: Continued Minister for Labour in the Union Cabinet.

30th January, 1948

: Shocked on Gandhiji's Assassination in New Delhi. who fought throughout the life for Harijans and Hindu-Muslim unity.

: Visited several disturbed areas in the country.
1949

- Presided over the function of the Employees State Insurance Scheme inaugurated by Prime Minister Nehru at Kanpur. 1949-50

- Continued as Union Minister for Labour.

- Advised Labour Unions not to indulge in anti-national activities.

- Addressed several meetings and conferences of Harijans at several places.

June, 1950


- Visited France, Germany Switzerland and England.

- Became Member of the Congress Parliamentary Board. 1951-52

Jan, 1951

- Continued as Union Minister for Labour and earned reputation as Labour Minster.

- Various Labour legislations were passed during his regime.

- Inauguration of Employees Provident Fund Scheme.

- Inauguration of Coal-mines Provident Fund Scheme. 1952-56

Upto May, 1952

- Union Minister for Labour.

May, 1952 to December, 1956

- Union Minister for Communications.

14th November, 1954

- Appreciated Prime Minister Pt. Nehru’s efforts for the betterment of labour class and his foreign policy at Calcutta.

- Initiated:
  
  (i) Nationalisation of Air Services.
(iii) Telephone exchanges.
(iv) Buildings.
(v) Metrology.

1956-57
7th December, 1956: Minister for Transport and Railways in the Union Cabinet.
1957-62
17th April, 1957 till: Union Minister for Railways.
9th April, 1962: Chairman, Reception Committee, 67th Session of All India Congress committee held at Patna.

AS RAILWAY MINISTER

(i) Foundation of Railway Bridges—Brahmaputra Bridge at Gauhati.
(ii) Opening of Bridges—Ganga Bridge at Mokama, Gandak bridge at Sonepur.
(iii) Creation of new Railway Zones—in Assam North East Frontier Railway.
(iv) Opening of new Railway Lines.
(v) General Managers' Conference.
(vi) Opening of waiting Rooms
(vii) Sleeper coaches.

1963
13th April, 1962 to: Union Minister for Transport and Communications.
31st August, 1963: Resigned from the Cabinet under the Kamraj Plan to strengthen the Congress Organisation.

1964-65
1964-65: Worked for strengthening and revitalising the Congress.
: Extensive Tour of the country.
Addressed several Harijan and Backward Classes meetings.

1966

24th January, 1966: Appointment as Union Minister for Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation.

5th April, 1966: Birthday celebrated by several Organisations.

: Addressed the Conference of the Depressed Classes League.

November, 1966: Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Asian Labour Ministers Conference held at Manila (Philippines).

1967

18th January, 1967: Inaugural speech at the Session of the National Commission of Labour at Bombay.

January, 1967: Address at the 8th Convocation of the Vikram University, Ujjain.

: Awarded Doctorate.

11th March, 1967: Appeal to farmers not to leave any land barren and unexploited.


16th March, 1967: Address at the Annual Convocation of U.P. Agricultural University, Pant Nagar, Nainital.


May, 1967 : Statement made in the Lok Sabha/Rajya Sabha on the delay in the arrival of the foodgrains as a result of the closure of Suez Canal.

3rd May, 1967 : Inaugural address at Seminar on public participation in Community Development at Kashi Vidyapith.

20th June, 1967 : Inaugural address at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Central Land Development Banks Co-operative Union at Nainital.

27th June, 1967 : Inaugural address at the International Symposium on Protein Foods and Concentrates at Mysore.

29th June, 1967 : Convocation address at the Tirhut College of Agriculture, Dholi, Bihar.

1st September, 1967 : 'Present food outlook in India' speech at New Delhi.

5th September, 1967 : Inaugural address at the Seminar on Economic growth through Agriculture and Industrial Independence, organised by the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.

23rd September, 1967 : Speech at the Prize Distribution Ceremony of the All India Benana Show (Western Zone) at Ahmedabad.


30th September, 1967 : Speech at the start of the 13th Wild life week at New Delhi.
Inaugural address at the 14th meeting of the Central Council of Health and the 4th meeting of the Central Family Planning Council at New Delhi.

Speech at the time of release of Shri Parnerkar's book 'Adhunik Gopal'.

19th October, 1967: Inaugural address at the 35th Annual Convocation of the Sugar Technologists Association of India, Kanpur.

20th October, 1967: Inaugural address at the Seminar on Cooperation Organised by the State Cooperative Bank Ltd., Kanpur.


Issued Statement at the occasion of XIV Session of the F.A.O. Conference held at Rome from 4 to 23rd November, 1967.


Presidential address at the gathering on the occasion of the 3rd Annual General meeting of the All India Federation of the Cooperative Spinning Mills at New Delhi.

4th December, 1967: Address at the concluding session of the Fifth Indian Cooperative Congress held at New Delhi.


14th December, 1967: Inaugural address at the opening ceremony of the new building of the Institute of Hotel Management and Catering and Nutrition, Pusa, New Delhi.
Inaugural address at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Horticultural Society of India and the International Symposium on Sub-Tropical and Tropical Horticulture at New Delhi.

21st December, 1967

Talk on 'Food' relayed by All India Radio, New Delhi under National Programme.

1968

2nd January, 1968

Inaugural address at the opening ceremony of the Bombay Unit of the Modern Bakeries (India) Ltd., at Bombay.

Address at the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Poona Agriculture College, Poona.

3rd January, 1968

Welcome address at the IX Commonwealth Forestry Conference, New Delhi.

18th January, 1968

Inaugural address at the Consumer Council of India Ltd., held at New Delhi.

20th January, 1968

Address at the Annual Convocation of Agricultural University at Udaipur.

3rd February, 1968

Address at the Third Convocation of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, Rajendra Nagar, Hyderabad.

Speech on Food Problems of India.

Speech on the Seminar on Increasing Yield of Crops in unirrigated area.

16th February, 1968

Address at Inauguration of the Buildings of the Inter-national Cooperative Alliance at New Delhi.

22nd February, 1968

Inaugural address at the 7th Central Conference of Key personnel of Intensive Agricultural District Programme at Vithal Bhai Patel House, New Delhi.

5th March, 1968  : Address at the Fourth Convocation of the Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana.


18th March, 1968  : Inaugural speech at the Seminar at Chandigarh, on 'Steps for minimising losses in storage at Farmers, Traders and Cooperative level'.

  : Held charge of the Union Minister of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation.

  : Inaugural address at the First Annual Convocation of the Indian Pest Control Association held at New Delhi.

  : Speech on 'Mahatma Gandhi and Social Change' at New Delhi.

2nd April, 1968  : Inaugural address at the 35th Annual General meeting of the Sugar Mills Association held at New Delhi.

  : Address to the Farmers at New Delhi.

14th April, 1968  : Sent message on the eve of the All India Veterinary Conference, Hyderabad.

7th June, 1968  : Address at the XI Meeting of the Central Board of Forestry, Bangalore.

17th June, 1968 : Address at the Release of a Special Postage Stamp to mark the Wheat Revolution and presentation of the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial prizes for Agricultural Research by Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at IARI, New Delhi.

17th July, 1968 : Welcome address at the 3rd Meeting of the Indian National Campaign Committee for the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, held at New Delhi.


27th July, 1968 : Inaugural address at the 8th Annual General Meeting of the Association of Food Technologists, Eastern Regional Branch at Calcutta.


31st August, 1968 : Inaugural speech at the All India Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes Convention held at New Delhi.

1st September, 1968 : Speech at All India Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes Convention, New Delhi.


7th October, 1968 : Convocation address at the 32nd Convocation of the National Sugar Institute, Kanpur.
26th November, 1968: Inaugural address at the 9th Annual General Meeting of the National Federation of Cooperative Sugar Factories Ltd., held at New Delhi.

7th December, 1968: Inaugural address at the All India Symposium of Refrigeration, Air-Conditioning and Environmental Control in the Cold Storage Industry, held at Kanpur.


21st December, 1968: Convocation address at the 3rd Convocation of the University of Agricultural Sciences, Bangalore.

: Inaugural address at the Thermophosphate Fertilizer Factory, Yashvanthapur, Bangalore.

: Inaugural address at the Seminar of Seed production.

22nd December, 1968: Inaugural address at the Agricultural Engineering Institute, Raichur.

: Speech on the problems facing the Nation at Anantpur, Andhra Pradesh.

1969

7th March, 1969: Inaugural address at the Silver Jubilee Convention of the Oil Technologists Association of India, Kanpur.

9th March, 1969: Inaugural address at the Seminar on Agricultural Production in the Southern Region, organised by the Fertilizer Association of India, Southern Region, Madras.

17th March, 1969: Inaugural address at the 29th Annual General meeting of the Roller Flour Millers Federation of India, New Delhi.
18th March, 1969: Inaugural address at the cooperative Sugar Factory at Hellikhed, District Bidar (Mysore).


30th March, 1969: Call for Casteless and Classless society in the country.

5th April, 1969: Address on the occasion of his 62nd Birthday Celebration.

7th April, 1969: Inaugural address at the First Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial Lecture of Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.


17th May, 1969: Inaugural address in the Conference of State Agricultural Production Commissioners.

30th June, 1969: Address in the Conferences of State Ministers of Cooperation.

8th July, 1969: Welcome address at the 7th Session of the Indian Board for Wild Life at New Delhi.

18th July, 1969: Inauguration of the State Farms Corporation of India at New Delhi.

26th July, 1969: Inaugural address at the Conference of Chairman and Managing Directors of Agro-Industries Corporations held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi.


8th September, 1969: Inaugural address at the First Meeting of the National Food Advisory Council at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi.

: Speech about Agricultural Revolution-Green Revolution.

28th September, 1969: Inaugural address at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Northern India Regional Council of the Institute of Costs and Works Accountants of India, New Delhi.

5th October, 1969: Inauguration of the All Parties Convention on Necessity of a campaign against Communalism at New Delhi.

: Statement regarding Being President of the Union of India.

: Correspondence with Nijlingappa – split in Congress.


22nd December, 1969: Inaugural address at the 42nd Annual Session of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi.

28th December, 1969: Elected President of the Indian National Congress after the split.


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STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
1970

17th February, 1970 : Till this date held additional charge of the Labour, Employment & Rehabilitation Ministry, in addition to the responsibilities of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Community Dev. & Coop.

20th June, 1970 to 29th June, 1970

: Addressed World Food Congress at Hague.

: Visited Netherland, Germany, U. K. (London) etc.

29th June, 1970

: Appointed Union Minister for Defence.

September, 1970

: Spoke in the AICC Seminar on India's Foreign Policy organised by the Congress Party in Parliament and Foreign Relations Department of the AICC inaugurated by P. M. Smt. Indira Gandhi.

1971

January, 1971

: Continued as Defence Minister.

2nd April, 1971

: Resigned from the Congress Presidentship. Paved way to D. Sanjivayya as Congress President.

: Addressed Civil and Military Meets in the country to boost the morale of the people and Jawans and visited forward areas.

(i) Radio and Television Interview to various foreign countries.

(ii) Local Television Interview at New Delhi.

December, 1971

: During his Defence Ministership, Indian forces fought against Pak aggression, in order to defend the Motherland and liberate Bangla Desh.

1972

January, 1972

: Continued as Minister of Defence.
16th February, 1972: Convocation address at Kanpur University.

: Conferred Honorary Doctorate of Science by University of Kanpur.

: Convocation address at Kashi Vidyapith, Varanasi.

: Convocation address at Gurukul Kangri.


9th May, 1972: Inaugurated a Symposium arranged by the Prachya-Bharati on the future of peace in the sub-continent.

3rd June, 1972: President V. V. Giri presented a Commemoration Volume "EK YUG : EK PRATIK" in recognition of his meritorious services to the Nation, specially in liberating Bangla Desh, and his role in defending the Motherland, edited by K. L. Chanchreek, on behalf of the intellectuals.

7th July, 1972: Drafted resolution welcoming the Simla Agreement for adoption by Congress Working Committee.


9th August, 1972: Inaugurated the 1st Anniversary to celebrate the Indo-Soviet Treaty for Peace in Delhi.

15th August, 1972: Addressed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Welfare Meet at Madras, and called for frontal attack on the caste system.

1st October, 1972: Delivered the 3rd. Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial lecture on 25 years of progress in India's defence, organised by Chitra Kala Sangam, New Delhi.
B : CLASSIFIED LITERATURE

JAGJIVAN RAM ON CONGRESS


2. All India Congress Committee (Ruling) President Jagjivan Ram. Address at the 73rd Session on 28th December, 1969 at Bombay. Women on the March (New Delhi) Jan-Feb, 1970. P. 5-16.

3. All India Congress Committee (Ruling) Presidential speech by Jagjivan Ram at the Patna Session. Statesman, Women on the March, Times of India etc., October 14, 1970.


5. Chavan and the Troubled Decade, T. V. Kunhikrishnan. Bombay, Somaiya, 1971. P. 299. “Seth Govind Das of Madhya Pradesh suggested the name of Jagjivan Ram for presidency. Chavan said he was attracted to the suggestion. A week later Chavan mentioned to the Prime Minister what he felt about Sethji’s suggestion. The P. M. was reported to have said that the suggestion was all right, but if he was elected as President, there would be imbalance in the C.W.C. and in the Cabinet”.  

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS 179


   The book is a political study of Mr. Chavan, set against the events of a troubled decade in India. References of Jagjivan Babu have appeared on pages 7, 280, 284, 290-91, 300, 302-03, 306, 308-09, 318, 321-23, 332-35, 344, 370 & 381 of this book.


   In his message Mr. Ram said, "Socialist Bharat has played a great role in the mid-term elections of Lok Sabha in Public-awakening. It is successfully advocating the cause of Congress Socialism", he added.


JAGJIVAN RAM ON LABOUR

14. Inaugurating the Session of the newly constituted National Commission on Labour, the Union Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said at Bombay on 18th January, 1967, "The work which the Commission starts today will leave its imprint on our labour policy and through
it on the nation’s economic life for decades to come”. He further said, “I had the privilege of serving as free India’s first Labour Minister and had a hand in formulating a Five Year Plan for labour even before the Planning Commission came to existence.” “It is that plan”, he further said, “which laid the foundation and basic structure of the Labour Policy of the Govt.”

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister appreciates Nehru’s efforts for the betterment of Labour Class and comments on his foreign policy.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON SCHEDULED CASTES


Addressing the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Welfare Association at Madras, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram called for a frontal attack on the Caste system so as to demolish it completely from the Indian society.


Mr. Jagjivan Ram said at Madras that the light of Independence has not penetrated millions and millions of our countrymen even after 25 years of freedom. Replying to felicitations by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Social Welfare Association, Madras he said, “The tragedy of the whole situation is that 80% of the population has to beg from the rest of 20%. Can there be a worse tragedy than this? While huge sums were spent on various projects, funds allotted for Scholarships for the under-privileged had not increased”, he said.

The editorial focusses the plight of the Harijans throughout the country. The editorial further quotes Mr. Jagjivan Ram's speech delivered in a Conference of Harijans on September 13 in Gujarat, where he was very rightly called on the Harijans and members of Backward Classes to agitate for their just demands and rightful place in society. He pointed out that caste distinctions have been created by vested interest and it is still being perpetuated by them. It is high time, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, further said, that we take notice of this very sick aspect of our society. The Government should not only enact laws but should make them more and more stringent and punishments more deterrent. But, the public also must create a situation where every Harijan member can speak and live freely without any fear. He must not be dependent on the Caste Hindus who have deprived him so long of all independent means for livelihood. Let us not have any more illusions. If we want a better society, we must strike at the very root of this decaying concept of caste. We must change here and now.

19. Speaking at the Annual Day Function of the Delhi School of Social Work, University of Delhi, on 8th March, 1968, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that this is one of the earliest School of Social Work established in the country for post graduate training in social work. He further said that it was during the struggle of independence that the inequity of our social order received some organised public attention. In the Social reform movement spearheaded by Mahatma Gandhi, the removal of social inequalities and irrational customs like seclusion of women, discrimination against large sections of population on the basis of caste, language etc., attracted the attention of our leaders. Gandhiji lend urgency to the task of giving attention to such problems as rural reconstruction, welfare of the tribal people, elimination of caste distinction and prejudices and
Hindu-Muslim Unity. He attracted a band of dedicated workers of diverse origin and education and with different social background to rouse the conscience of the nation to the plight of a society which was based on inequities and which denied a life of self-respect to a very large section.

20. Speaking on “Mahatma Gandhi and Social Change” in New Delhi during Gandhi Centenary Celebrations, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, “while Gandhiji elaborated and stressed his conception of caste and Varna expecting Hindu Conscience to catch up with the new thinking, he considered the eradication of untouchability as a matter of the gravest urgency”. Earlier he traced the background of social order and changing social consciousness in India. Summing up his address he said, “Gandhiji did not succeed in bringing about a radical change in the Hindu social order which was influenced and contaminated Islamic and Christian order also. He did not aspire or work for it. But he did put untouchables on the road to emancipation”.

JAGJIVAN RAM—FELICITATIONS


Defence Minister said that one of the greatest source of the country’s strength was the faith in the principle of peaceful co-existence, which it had pursued vigorously. Speaking at a function organised to felicitate him on his 65th birthday, Mr. Ram further said that it would be the biggest message the country would give to the world if it succeeded in realising the ideas of Gandhi and Nehru by establishing a socialistic society through non-violence and democratic methods.

Earlier Mr. Uma Shankar Dixit and Speaker Mr. G. S. Dhillon paid tributes to Mr. Ram’s work for the
uplift of the down-trodden and the degraded classes of the society.


Speaking in a grand function organised by the Delhi citizens in his honour on his 65th birthday, the Defence Minister said that India should be vigilant constantly at her borders.


Mr. Ram was felicitated on his 65th birthday today by several Union Ministers, Members of Parliament and Congress workers at his residence this morning.


Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi sent Mr. Jagjivan Ram felicitations on the occasion, "I greet you on your 65th birthday and wish you many happy returns of the day".


President V. V. Giri presenting a Commemoration Volume entitled "EK YUG : EK PRATIK", edited by eminent social worker and writer K. L. Chanchreek on 3rd June, 1972, praised Mr. Jagjivan Ram for his great services and sacrifices for the cause of the motherland, specially the Scheduled Castes and weaker sections.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY


Union Defence Minister's statement that India was considering making use of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes and the latest annual report of the Deptt. of Atomic Energy analysed.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram’s reference to the study, by the Atomic Energy Commission, of the technology of underground nuclear explosions claimed the most attention in Parliament and public, an editorial comment on.


Inaugurating the 11th Annual Conference of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Medical Education, at the Armed Forces Medical College, Poona, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram today called upon the civilian and armed forces Medical Scientists and Specialists to “seriously” concern about restructuring the medical education in the country so that it suitably oriented in line with the needs of society. He further said, “It was imprudent at the present stage of our development to depend upon importing ideas and systems of medical education that were prevalent in the Universities of the West”.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON FOREIGN POLICY


Speaking in the AICC Seminar on India’s Foreign policy organised by the Congress Party in Parliament and Foreign Relations Department of the AICC, and inaugurated by P. M. Indira Gandhi, the Congress President Jagjivan Ram said that India would continue to follow a foreign policy based on national interest, international security and prosperity. He further said that because of her sound and firm foreign policy, India was listened to by the rest of the world”. Scholars and 70 delegates from states attended the Seminar.

Inaugurating the first anniversary to celebrate the Indo-Soviet Treaty for peace in Delhi on 9th August, the Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram said, "India has always supported independence and liberation struggles all over the world and will continue to do so until the last of the vestiges of slavery, imperialism and colonialism is removed from the face of the earth". He said, "Imperialist forces were busy devising ways to perpetrate their order in some form or the other and warned that Asia would not allow their sinister designs to materialise".


What Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram has said in his 'Daily Telegraph' interview, about the role of the UN in Kashmir is eminently reasonable. UN is now aware of the Simla Agreement in which India and Pakistan agreed to solve their problems bilaterally.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON SIMLA PACT


Congress Working Committee on July 7 adopted a resolution welcoming the summit agreement signed by P. M. and President Bhutto. The resolution said the agreement was in conformity with the basic principles of India’s foreign policy. The resolution was drafted by a three member Committee set up by the CWC including Shri Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister, Syed Mir Qasim, C. M. Jammu & Kashmir and Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Chief Minister, West Bengal.

Explaining the concept behind the Simla Agreement, the Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram pointed out that understanding and peace with Pakistan would mean that third party intervention in this part of the world would be eliminated. It would head towards Asian Security more and more.


Inaugurating a symposium arranged today by the Prachya-Bharati on the future of peace in the sub-continent, Mr. Jagjivan Ram called on the people to beware of "some foreign powers" who were striving to stir fresh conflict on the Indian peninsula for political purposes and gains.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON COOPERATION

34. Inaugurating the Consumer Council of India at New Delhi on 18th January, 1968, the Minister for Food & Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said "The most challenging task I have to face is of maintaining the tempo of production and keeping the prices of foodgrains at reasonable levels. Consumers, as a class, have not so far been organised. Even in U.S.A. and U.K. awareness to safeguard the consumer's interests is of recent origin. In India, the Govt. has initiated the measures for the protection of the consumers". He further said, "The consumer's sector of the Cooperative Movement has not taken the same rapid strides towards progress as other sectors of the movement have over the last 55 years of its existence".

35. Speaking at the Conference of Chief Ministers and Ministers incharge of Cooperation held at Madras on 12th June, 1968, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that rural India has special problems—Problems of poverty, of unemployment and under employment, of low produc-
tivity of our agriculture etc. We have therefore attached the greatest importance to the agricultural production programmes. These programmes have to be supported by other activities and cooperation is admittedly the main instrument for this purpose. He further said that the principal aim of the Cooperative Movement is the support to the small man-person with limited resources and credit worthiness. He hoped that the cooperative movement has to see that its leadership is broad-based and does not become vested interest which distort the functioning of the organisation.

36. The Union Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram inaugurating the new building of the Regional Office and Education Centre for South East Asia of the International Cooperative Alliance, said in New Delhi on 16th February, 1968, that it is good the Regional Office and I. C. A. has chosen Cooperative education and Training as its primary activity and undertaken several useful programmes.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

37. Union Minister for Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said on 11th June, 1968 at Madras on the occasion of Conference of Chief Ministers and Ministers incharge of community Development and Panchayati Raj that it provided an opportunity to exchange views among ourselves on important issues concerning Community Development and Panchayati Raj. He further said that these are some basic assumptions under which the C. D. programmes function. It must involve the people by their voluntary participation in development efforts, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative, only technical and other assistance being provided by the State Agencies”. He further said that another important aspect of C. D. is the premise that the entire
community is the basic unit of development. It underlines the integrated and multi-faced approach for comprehensive development of rural communities.

**JAGJIVAN RAM ON LAND ACQUISITION**


Presenting the Report to Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Chairman of the Committee Mr. Anand Narain Mulla wrote. "It is with great pleasure that I am presenting this report to you. While examining the witnesses or discussing the problems amongst ourselves several basic objectives and fundamental values again and again dominated my thoughts and gave a direction to my opinions".

**JAGJIVAN RAM ON FOOD & AGRICULTURE**


Two-days Conference inaugurated by Prime Minister on April 8 to discuss food problems of the country during Food and Agriculture Ministership of Shri Jagjivan Ram.

40. Delivering the Annual Convocation of Agricultural University, Udaipur on 20th January, 1968, the Union Minister for Food, Agriculture, C. D. & C., Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "During the reign of the East India Company severe famines occurred in the years 1770, 1784, 1802, 1824 and 1837 and under the British Government Administration in North West India in 1860, in Orissa in 1865, in Rajasthan in 1868, in Bihar in 1873 and in South India in 1876 and in entire country in 1896 and 1899. Following the famine of 1876, a Famine Commission was appointed and the Agriculture Depart-
ment, was established following the report of the first Famine Commission. There have been occasional scarcity of foodgrains in the past as our agriculture has remained stagnant over a long period of time and agriculture production remained entirely dependent upon natural factors. Since 1947, great changes have occurred in our agriculture. With the development of irrigation facilities, agriculture is becoming less and less dependent on monsoons. Steps are also being taken for maintaining and enriching soil fertility and minimising damage to crops by pests and diseases”.

41. Delivering the Third Convocation address at the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, Rajendra Nagar, Hyderabad on 3rd February, 1968, the Food and Agriculture Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, “The main aim of an Agricultural University is to achieve a complete synthesis of education, research and extension both at faculty and student level. The assumption behind this philosophy is that a teacher to be effective should not only have considerable research interests but ought to have extension experience as well”.

42. Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said at the 3rd Meeting of Indian National Campaign Committee for the Freedom from Hunger campaign at New Delhi on 17th July, 1968 that the intention of this organisation was to mobilise good support to countries facing critical food shortages, from those in a position to help. Now the concept has undergone a change. In India, particularly, the movement has taken up the form of efforts for promoting domestic food production with the help of gifts and assistance, received from organisations in various other countries.

43. The Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, speaking at the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the Poona Agriculture College on 2nd January, 1968, said
that country cannot prosper unless we are self-sufficient in food.


45. Inaugurating the 7th Central Conference of Key Personnel of the Intensive Agriculture District Programme at Vithal Bhai Patel House, New Delhi on 22nd February, 1968, the Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that bright prospects of Agricultural Production in the current year have created an atmosphere of hope and confidence in the economy of our country. He hoped that the newly started programme of Farmers Training and Education will be helpful in achieving this objective.


At the time of assumption of charge of food, the writer says, "Will Mr. Jagjivan Ram be able to push Govt. Departments into action in the same way?"

48. Speaking at the inaugural function of the Indo-German F.A.O. Project at Almora on 4th March, 1968, the Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the Almora Project is the 4th Agricultural Development Project being launched in the country with the assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany. The first was initiated in the Mandi Distt. in 1962, which was later on extended to Kangra Distt. and similar project started in the Nilgiries. An important feature of such projects has been the emphasis on mixed farming through the development of horticulture, dairying, animal husbandry etc., he called.
49. Speaking at the Seminar on increasing the yield of crops in unirrigated areas, at New Delhi the Food and Agriculture Minister said that it is proper to hold this Seminar during Convocation Week of the I. A. R. I., for it will focus the attention of the Alumini of this Institution who are passing out on the problems and possibilities of dry farming. Mr. Ram hoped that it is timely that the low rainfall areas and the unirrigated areas receive their due share of attention. Their problems have to be tackled both with a view of agricultural development as well as general human welfare.

50. Speaking before farmers in New Delhi, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said in his address that when he assumed charge of the Food and Agriculture Ministry a year ago, the country was facing gravest crisis of Food shortages but today there is an air of confidence generated by the anticipated production of nearly 95 million tonnes of food grains. The production of cotton, oilseeds and jute is also expected to be substantially more than in the past. The credit for this achievement should mainly go to the millions of farmers of India.

51. Speaking on food problems, the Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said “The subject of food has always evoked widespread interest. It is again very much in the news, but with a difference. After two years of drought, shortages and high prices, promise of better availability and price relief has come with a bumper crop estimated at 20 million tonnes”.

52. Speaking on the occasion of the 4th Convocation of the Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana on 5th March, 1968, Union Minister for Food & Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that experimental fields and well-equipped laboratories, has a great potential for serving the farmer of India. All the more it is located in a region well known for its sturdy farmers who
have always been in the forefront in increasing production and adopting the latest production techniques.

53. Speaking on the occasion of the release of a Special postage stamp to mark the Wheat Revolution and presentation of the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Prizes for Agricultural Research by Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi at I.A.R.I., New Delhi on 17th July, 1968, the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that this year’s wheat harvest is one of the most glorious achievements in the country’s History, perhaps no less significant for our future than the achievement of political freedom. The Minister praised the great work done by the Pusa Institute, which has been on the forefront of the work on improved wheat. He thanked the P. M. to give the Kidwai Prizes for outstanding scientific work in Agriculture and graciously agreeing to release special stamp.


55. Welcoming the Chief Ministers meet at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi on 23rd Sept., 1968, the Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, “We are hoping after the bumper harvest of 1967 and 68 to maintain our advancement in food production. The Minister gave an overall picture of the Food situation, other commercial crops and appealed to the Chief Ministers to help the Govt. in maintaining the prices at level and helping in food production activities.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON SUGAR

56. Addressing at the 9th Annual General Meeting of the National Federation of Cooperative Sugar Factories Ltd. at New Delhi on 26 November, 1968, the Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, “In our five year plans, cooperation has been given an important place”. He further expressed satisfaction that the
NFCSF has been functioning as a coordinating agency for all Cooperative Factories in the country and helping guiding them in many ways, technically as well as in the matter of prices, exports etc.

57. Delivering the 32nd Convocation address of the National Sugar Institute, Kanpur on 7th October, 1968, the Food and Agriculture Minister Mr. Ram said, "The Sugar Industry in India dates back from very ancient times and has contributed to the rural economy of the modern sugar industry from the early thirties has come to exert an increasingly wider impact on the Nation's economy both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The installed capacity of the industry has more than doubled during the last one decade." He further hoped the Institute would endeavour to provide even better services to the Agro based Industry.

58. Inaugurating the 35th Annual General Meeting of the Indian Sugar Mills Association at New Delhi on 2nd April, 1968, the Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "Stability in the Sugar Industry can only be brought about by stepping up development activities." He further added, "Schemes for sugar cane development in factory areas have been in force in all the major sugar producing areas since 1948-49, Under these schemes which are included in the successive five year plans, attention is chiefly focussed on measures like irrigation, manuring, use of improved seed, publicity and demonstration in the cultivators fields, plant protection etc."

JAGJIVAN RAM ON FORESTRY

59. The Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram in his speech at the 11th meeting of the Central Board of Forestry, held at Bangalore on 7th June, 1968, said that this Board was constituted in 1950 on the
recommendations of the Conference of Forest Ministers held in 1948. Since its inception, the Board has played a vital role in the process of integrated development of forest resources.

60. In his welcome address at the IX Commonwealth Forestry Conference at New Delhi, held on 3rd January, 1968, presided over by Shri V. V. Giri, Vice President of India, the Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "These Conferences provide a forum for interchange of ideas and experiences among experts, which is so vital for finding solutions to problems. Indian forest resources cover nearly \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the land. The development of forest resources is of great importance to the economic development of the the country. I am sure useful results will emerge from the deliberations of the Conference to tackle the outstanding common problems of the Commonwealth Countries."

JAGJIVAN RAM ON BAKERY

61. Inaugurating the Bombay Unit of the Modern Bakeries (I) Ltd. at Bombay on 2nd January, 1968, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, Community Development & Cooperation, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "This Unit has been set up with the assistance of the Govt. of Australia under the Colombo Plan. The Modern Bakery project have been developed as a part of the programme of Subsidiary Foods and nutrition. Rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, increase in population and changes in dietary habits and several related factors have generated an increasing demand for ready made food in the country. I am happy to learn that bread produced in this Bakery will be utilised in School Feeding programmes, besides being offered for general consumption."

JAGJIVAN RAM ON FERTILIZER

62. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Food & Agriculture Minister said at the inauguration of the Indian Farmers Fertilizer coop-
erative Ltd. at New Delhi on 11th April, 1968 that use of fertilizer can yield rich crops which will not only prosper the Nation but also bring prosperity in the homes of farmers and others in India.


JAGJIVAN RAM ON PEST CONTROL

64. In his inaugural address at the First Annual Convention of the Indian Pest Control Association, 1968, the Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that many crops in the fields suffer from the ravages of pests and diseases to a varying extent. In the new Agricultural strategy of intensive cultivation, measures for the protection of crops at various stages of their growth and attention to the proper storage of agricultural produce is indispensable if full benefits are to be realised by the farmers. He further said that according to the F.A.O. estimates, if losses of grain due to damage in storage through the attacks of insects, pests were eliminated, these will be over 55 million metric tonnes of additional grains available each year without any increase in the production. He further said, that Indian agriculturists have come in contact with pesticides and modern scientific techniques of pest control only during the last decade.

JAGJIVAN RAM ON STORAGE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

65. Delivering the inaugural speech at the “Seminar on steps for minimizing losses in storage at Farmers/traders and Cooperative level, held at Chandigarh from 18th to 20th March, 1968 the Minister for Food & Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that in India the adoption of technological development in the fields of agriculture have now started showing results and
record crops of almost every food-grains are in sight. With the coming of bumper harvests a problem that assumes significance is that of handling grain. About 70% of our food grains produced are stored and processed on the farms under primitive conditions. Commercial marketing, processing, storage and transportation are not well developed. Wastage in the handling of foodgrains and proper scientific storage at all levels require immediate attention, he said.

**JAGJIVAN RAM ON DAIRY**


**JAGJIVAN RAM ON A. H. & VETERINARY SCIENCE**

67. Sending his message on the eve of the 1st All India Veterinary Conference, held at Hyderabad from 3rd to 6th June, 1968, the Food & Agriculture Minister said, “The importance of livestock to the health and wealth of the country needs no emphasis. It contributes in a variety of ways to the economy and health of the country. Cows and bullocks are of special importance to us. As a sizable portion of our population is vegetarian, milk is the main protective food of our diet, particularly for children and mothers.”

68. Speaking on the occasion of Convocation of the U. P. College of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry, Mathura, Union Food & Agriculture Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said on 12th March, 1968, that animal husbandry has been rightly called the back-bone of Indian agriculture. Nearly 23 per cent of the total agricultural income is derived from livestock and livestock products. Even the production of plant foods is dependent to great extent on animal life. Cattle provide motive power to various agricultural operations including irrigation and rural transport. They are also the main source of organic manure in our farms. Livestock
also holds a strategic position in our quest for self-reliance in food. It is realised that increase in the production of foods of animal origin, meat, milk and eggs can relieve the pressure on cereals and thereby help in the attainment of self-sufficiency. India has an enormous cattle strength which is nearly 25 per cent of the world's cattle population. Therefore, the role of the veterinarian has gone a great transformation in recent years and a more challenging task is awaiting those who have specialised in his field.

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Sri Jagjivan Ram
Shri Phulan Singh
Bankipore
Patna

26 May 40
8 A.M.

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
भारत जगजीवनाराम,

प्रेमवाद नामका बयां,

चौथी अगस्त सिंह के लोकमें, शिक्षा

उसे अंग्रेजी से अच्छे लिखने
हें? जो मालाम सुरूही है वह मेरे
लिखे रखा शाला है। जिस लिखे
अंग्रेजीमें देवनारेती आपस में हम अमे
जिसे है, अर अर सबों के लिये
अंग्रेजीमें लिखने के रायन मंजुरों
आपकमें सैदाह ने है। देवनार
अर अर सबों के लिये
अंग्रेजीमें निशुल्क मारी
लिखने कारी रक्षा सबों है। उसे बारिश,
मन होगा और जनजीवनों लिये
दुखलिप होगा। अंग्रेजी अंग्रेजी
आपकमें रिश्तेसारामें अनिश्चित
ही है। स्मरणी राजंत्र ऊप
अब सब नहीं अब सब के है।
अज आज अंग्रेजी से अंग्रेजी
रत्न अरबसे अलेको मारा
होनेगा। नहीं है। अगर अरब बढ़े
वह भी जरूर लो सबसे उत्तरक
निरेक्षी कहनीयी स्वागत करता हूं,
और अनुकूल अनुशिक्षा सुरक्षित करता हूं।

अब मैं कहाँ जाने जा रहा हूं। मंदिर का चार-का चार के लिए मेरे पता नहीं है। कुल हजारों से हजारों से सबसे कठिन होने की तरह, मेरे लिए आराम के लिए नहीं मानता, न ही एक दिन आता हूं।

(Letters From Bapu To Jagjivan Ram)
A Devoted & Promising Youngman

(Late.) PRESIDENT Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

About 19 or 20 years ago, when Jagjivan Ram came in contact with me, he was fresh from the college and was interested in doing some social work in Patna. Fortunately, brilliant youngmen used to come in contact with me and consulted about their future programme of life. I had a
similar talk with Jagjivan Ram. I found in him a devoted and promising young man. Gradually he started taking interest in the working of the Congress. When the time came he along with others unhesitatingly courted arrest. In 1937, when in States Congress Ministries were being formed, Mahatma Gandhi laid down a condition that the Congress could form Ministry, if the Governors assured to do every work in consultation with Ministers. In the beginning the Governors refused to hold out any such promise. At that time, Congress was in majority in many provinces and so constitutionally it was impossible to form any Ministry without the support of the Congress. Governors, in keeping with the declared policy of the Government, did try their best to get the Ministry formed in several States. A similar effort was made in Bihar, and for sometime Shri Yunus formed his Ministry. At that time, Jagjivan Ram was a member of the Bihar Legislative Council. Shri Yunus made several attempts to induct Jagjivan Ram in his Ministry and thus to secure the support of Harijan members who were his devoted followers, but Shri Ram turned down his request and spurned the offer made by Shri Yunus. I came to know about it and I informed Gandhiji immediately about this. Gandhiji was very much pleased with him and as far as I remember Gandhiji has written about this in one of his articles. After this incident the respect and affection that I had for Jagjivan Ram increased all the more and I noticed that he was not only a devoted and sincere worker but he also did not lag behind anyone in doing sacrifices. After this, as far as my memory goes, he took an active part in the working of Provincial Congress Committee of Bihar and when after sometime the Congress formed its own Ministry, he was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary. He realised his responsibility and sincerely worked on this post. Day by day, he came in close contact with Congress workers and in 1941 he threw himself in the great struggle at the call of Mahatma Gandhi. And in 1946, when the Congress decided to join the Central Ministry, naturally he was thought of. He got a place. He was quite young but even then he managed the Labour Ministry quite
efficiently. For the first five years he served this department. The work which he did for ameliorating the conditions of the labour is not found inscribed in the law books of the Government, but we can feel the improvement in their conditions by observation. In the mean time he had gained a lot of experience and he became an authority in his subject. His life is simple; he has got devotion for work, is never afraid of hard work and never hesitates in doing and saying, whatever he thinks to be just. He forms his final opinion after deep pondering and consideration of the problem from every angle and after making up his mind he never flickers. My relations with him grew closer and I hope that his future shall be brighter. At present he is not much advanced in age and therefore he had great scope, time and energy for work. I wish that he should utilise his time and energy in the service of the Nation with the same zeal and devotion as he has been doing uptil now with great success.
A Doughty Champion of the Poor

PRESIDENT V. V. GIRI

Shri Jagjivan Ram has been in the forefront of the struggle for freedom in our country. He has spent his life in the service of the Motherland and has consistently been a doughty champion of the poor and the down-trodden. He has occupied many high positions of dignity and honour in our public life. But these positions have not affected his great humility and his dedication to the uplift of the under-privileged classes in our society. Having been born a Harijan himself, he naturally understood the problems of the Harijans intimately from personal experience.

The canker of untouchability was eroding our social structure, dividing the Indian society into castes and classes. This suited the British because so long as India was divided into communal and caste factions, it helped them to retain their hold on us.

With his deep insight, Mahatma Gandhi perceived the danger posed by untouchability and casteism to Indian Nationalism and he staked even his own precious life to put an end to this state of things. A grateful nation will always remember the efforts of Gandhiji to consolidate our social structure by freeing it from the blot of untouchability and casteism. He acclaimed the untouchables as children of God—Harijans—and worked hard to rouse national conscience against the age-old indignities perpetrated on them. In this campaign
of social reform and national integration, Bapu was ably assisted by men like Jagjivan Ram.

Since gaining independence we have taken several steps to eradicate untouchability and other evil practices from our social system. Abolition of untouchability has been enshrined in our Constitution as Fundamental Right, and Parliament has also passed legislation to punish any person committing the offence of untouchability. With all these legal safeguards, I must say, with a sense of deep regret and sorrow, that we still hear of an incident here and there in this vast country of ours of some sections of people indulging in this practice. I have no doubt that these people who perpetrate such crimes on their own fellow-beings will be looked upon as outcastes by all right-thinking people.

What is needed is a vigilant, constant and vigorous programme, in every nook and corner of this country to rouse social conscience, so that no individual will look upon another person as superior or inferior in any manner and establish a society where there is no distinction of caste, creed, etc.

We are today engaged in the mighty task of building in this ancient land of ours a modern State dedicated to democracy and socialism. We are using science and technology to modernise our economy but we will not get the full benefit unless we restructure our society to suit the demands of modern life. There is absolutely no place for any attitude of mind that militates against a humane and rational social order. We have to give up superstitious beliefs and anti-social practices that promote fissiparous tendencies. Gandhiji's fight for restoration of humane dignity to millions of untouchables has a revolutionary significance. It is our duty to complete this unfinished revolution and assure to all our citizens the fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution.

We are today honouring a man whose contribution to Harijan uplift will always be remembered. As a Minister of the Union Government, Shri Jagjivan Ram has served and
made a mark in a number of important Ministries. With his background and experience it is appropriate that it was given to him to head the Defence Ministry during the most crucial period in India’s history.

I deem it an honour to have enjoyed the friendship and affection of Shri Jagjivan Ram during the past three decades. I succeeded him as Union Minister of Labour and Employment in 1952. During the period he held the office of Labour Minister, he tried and succeeded in giving concrete shape to the Congress election manifesto relating to labour. The five year programme for labour drawn up under his inspiring guidance aimed at fulfilling the Congress pledges by implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission, 1931, and the Labour Investigation Committee, 1946. Important legislation like the Employees’ State Insurance Act was placed on the Statute book during his stewardship of the Labour Ministry. It was my privilege to have implemented these social security measures.

On this happy occasion, I wish him many more years of service in the cause of the nation.
Dear old Comrade

KAKA KALELKAR

Now-a-days, mostly, I see quite new faces in our Congress, in Government as well as among Leaders of the country. Many of them, may not be knowing much of slave India and be fully aware of social, religious, economic and old customs.

I also wonder whether they know what our national leaders like Babu Jagjivan Ram have suffered and tolerated in their early days, faced injustices and worked with determination to make the country free.

Old workers and Ashramites like me, who are witness of Babu Jagjivan Ram’s determination, only know, the importance of his services and sacrifices to the fullest extent, for the cause of the motherland.

But Yahya Khan of Pakistan gave a timely opportunity to our people, to know the patriotism and understand efficiency of Babu Jagjivan Ram. Yahya was not even aware in his dreams how efficient, fermentative and daring all the more, our Defence Minister could be.

I heartily welcome my old affectionate Comrade and wish him a long life.
Affectionate Younger Brother

VIYOGI HARI

Like Gandhiji, Jagjivan Ram has attached greater importance in his life to true religion, while fighting for uprooting social evils and injustices. He always and throughout opposed pollution in religion.

I know it for definite, he has done so because of his staunch faith in true religion. He has vehemently opposed the evils of casteism and orthodoxy in Hindu Society, but never hammered on the very root of Hinduism, as a whole; root, I mean, truth, morality and devotion.

Deriving inspiration from Saint—Literature, he has striven to model his life conforming to reality of religion.

Out of sheer affection, I have regarded Jagjivan Ram as my younger brother and my good wishes have always been for him. Holding charge of different Ministries, he adequately justified his responsibilities and brought revolutionary changes. But brotherhood to my mind has always been supreme over these positions. It was an occasion of his birthday, when Jagjivan Ram observed quietly, 'both Kaka Kalelkar and Viyogi Hari have spoiled me out of extreme affection.' How I can forget the truth of his heart and affectionate feeling in his above expression—rather I am afraid of being spoiled myself for his deep sense of regard and affection for us.
जय, जय, जगजीवनराम

डा. रामकुमार वर्मा

किया पराजित प्रवल शान्त को युद्ध-स्थल में, समता भी कर सका कौन साहस में, बल में? बंग देश की रेख बीच दी पाकांवल में, जैसे सींगों अमृत-वार प्रज्वलित गरल में।

जग-जीवन की रक्षा तुम्हें साहस से स्त्रीकार है।

जय, जय, जगजीवन राम जी,

धन्य तुम्हें सो बार है!!
Maker of Modern India

M.C. SINHA

Beacon Light of Free India,
And Champion of Truth;
Beauty and Goodness,
Undaunted you fought with.

Just, with courage, with vigour,
And stood by what was right;
One then were the tyrant’s might.

Justice reigned, peace prevailed,
In India; in free Bangla Desh,
Venerable, yet venerable you are;
Armed for sacrifice, suffering and solace,
Ever you lagged behind.

Ruled ye not the land but the heart,
And ye the maker of modern India,
Mightier, Majestic, Magnanimous BABU JI.
Hope of the Down Trodden

JAGAT S. BRIGHT

Jagjivan Ram!
Hope of the down trodden!
And beacon for the youth
Who yearn in vain for truth
When politics is sodden
And economics is sham.

In this national crisis
Of tribulations and trials,
In this critical hour
When dark is every bower,
Full of troubles and tumults,
You are the lotus oasis.

We expect a lot from you,
We hope no more from others,
To end the national strife.
For short is human life,
And we all are brothers,
And so to nation must be true.
The angels know your worth
And your praises sing,
And the great gods are gay,
But people’s war is no play,
It is a serious thing
Beyond the heaven and earth.

All the days you have
Devote them to the youth
And national solidarity,
Above personal hilarity,
For youth are the truth
Beyond cremation and grave.

Your name’s in brightest best
Words of silver and gold,
Across the time’s ridge,
Because you are the bridge
Between the youth and the old,
The East and the West.

You healer of sorrows
With lifelong work unbent
For the poor and the outcaste!
Golden is your past,
More glorious your present.
And greatest your tomorrows.
Sterling Qualities

Dr. NAUNIHAL SINGH

I got acquainted with Shri Jagjivan Ram some time in 1944, through Bhagat Dayal Das of Kanpur. By that time I had heard a lot about him, as a young leader of the peasants, exploited masses and other poorer sections of the society, particularly the depressed and the backward classes of India. I found in him something promising and exciting as a man of talents and firm determination, who would turn out to be a man of action. As myself, I was in twenties, natural enough there was a very heavy impact on me of his gigantic and towering personality and since then he became a leader of my conscience and my action in life. All these years his personality developed in manifold way. Not only myself but every one in the country watched him rising from one step to other on the ladder of human success and he rose to the pinnacle of glory. One can safely imagine that he has proved to be a deliverer of the nation and the ultimate happiness lies in him for the poorer and depressed who rejoice by his name, by his talk, and by his preaching to live a fuller life that hitherto before was denied to them for centuries.

He took up Congress work while he was quite young and became a first rate Congress Leader of Bihar by his hard labour within a very short period. He earned praise from Gandhiji and Dr. Rajendra Prasad when he declined the Yunus offer for a place in the Bihar Cabinet in 1937.
Automatically, he attracted the attention of the Congress when Interim Government was formed in 1946 and till then he has held charge of several important Ministries of the Govt. of India, including highest place in the party as Congress President.

Like Rajendra Babu & Mahatmaji, Jagjivan Ram not only believes in simplicity but also lives simple and has the zeal of a missionary. His whole life is a story of dedication. Hard work does not deter him and he has learnt to speak out his mind and act up to his beliefs. When he is confronted with a problem, he formulates his opinion only after viewing it in all its aspects. But once his opinion is formed, nothing can make him waiver.

Jagjivan Ram’s work, official and social for the improvement of the conditions of the Harijans is well-known. He made the Harijans and other backward classes realise at the time when the whole world is passing through a revolutionary phase that they alone should not lag behind. He exhorted to them that if they did not rise up and gird up their loins there was a danger of their being submerged and be swept aside. The unfortunate and the neglected millions of the masses responded to his call. The following urdu couplet will indicate and describe the uprising of the depressed classes.

"Dariya ke dil se puchho
Sahil ke lub se puchho
Ek mauje tah nashin ka
Muddat ke bad ubharna"

(In the river, the upper stream was flowing for centuries in the same position, the lowest stream was flowing at the bottom throughout in the same position. The lowest stream revolted as to why it should not flow on the top where the upper stream was flowing for all time).

This shows the urge and uprising of the depressed and down-trodden against the higher castes on the upper level of the society.

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STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Jagjivan Ram's outstanding intellectual ability has been watched by the people with great pleasure. Often it surprises many to see his astute judgment and clarity of understanding. He has a great position of character, which marks him out for a successful administrator. Jagjivan Ram's contribution to the cause of labour, his services and his personality, is immense.

For sweetness of temper and affability, combined with firmness of purpose, thoroughness of work, strength of conviction and absolute impartiality of judgment, it is difficult to come across any one peer to Jagjivan Ram. His contribution to labour legislation has been prodigious and his part in the larger politics of the country ample. He does not compromise his conscience for the sake of universal approbation, but acts up to its dictates. Jagjivan Ram is, thus, one of the most illustrious sons of India. He is one of India's trusted leaders and his championship of the cause, especially of working class and socially backward people, serves as a guide for our public workers.

Jagjivan Ram is the only leader in the country who not only devoted himself to the cause of the Harijans, but also for the cause of other backward classes. It is, therefore, evident that he never lived for narrowness of mind and he wanted to carry within his bosom the under-dog and the most down-trodden people. Their cause has been most dear to him, even more than his soul.

Jagjivan Ram is a highly gifted personality and coming as it does from that sector of Indian society, which produces only and not make promises. To have risen to the high pedestal he occupies, are indicative of his sterling qualities as a man made of distinct metal. The Creator has conditioned and chiselled Jagjivan Ram mainly for the cause of those who have been neglected in the country for centuries. In the ordinary parleys, the masses sometimes say that whenever there is utter misery over the people, God creates a
Deliverer of the nation and it is in him that God created a man and rather a ‘Devta’ for the down-trodden millions of the masses in India. To have been born and brought up in this atmosphere of superstitious bigotry and wanton tyranny and yet to have given the call to the very victims of oppression to beware of reactionaries and to have exhorted them to rally round and cast their lot with Indian nationalism speaks of the largeness of his heart. Today he guides from his exalted position our national life, endeavouring all the while, to make it fuller and richer.

Jagjivan Ram is a symbol of the social change which has begun in this country and must be pushed ahead with the greatest vigour. In fact, I would call him as a beacon of light for the millions of the masses of this country and he has transformed himself as a cynosure to the people of India. He occupies an unique place among the foremost public servants in India. He discharged many responsibilities entrusted to him only too well to describe. Today the burdens of a very important Department of the Indian Government are on his shoulders. It is recalled that his decision to nationalise Air Services was at once bold and significant, which has brought real service to the people and the social economic life has been augmented. He is one of the leaders who has inculcated faith in those who come across with him.

As is usual in the case of the people working for the cause of the depressed and backward classes, he has had to undergo too many trials and tribulations and face vicissitudes of fortune. Yet, his patriotic heart and clear vision brought him to a position which he most likely deserved, whether it is in the administration of the country or in the Congress Organisation. While fighting for and working towards the uplift of the so-called Scheduled Castes, he never neglected the ‘Other Backward Classes’. He has a soft heart even for the backward people among the high caste communities. It goes to show the spirit of secularism which he practised and for which he lived. Many a Scheduled Caste leaders do not manifest
these attitudes towards other backward classes as he does. He recognises that many castes among the ‘other backward classes’ were more helpless than even some of the scheduled castes.

It is a matter of good fortune of India that Jagjivan Ram’s merit and capacity have been recognised fairly early in his life by the top leaders of the country. He has all along shown himself an excellent organiser. A capable administrator, a fine debater in the Parliament and a man possessed of tact, prudence and courage of conviction. Quiet by nature and unostentatious by temperament, Jagjivan Ram is a shining example of a life dedicated to the cause of the uplift of the depressed and down-trodden. His mature judgment and sweet and amiable disposition are assets, which his colleagues in the Cabinet appreciate very much. His services to the country are known to everybody and his contribution in the various fields and aspects of human life are meritorious and there is no denying the fact that he has richly contributed in the social change, which has come about in our Nation. He has proved by his leadership that Harijans and ‘other backward classes’ are equal to the others in intellect and patriotism and are in no way inferior even to the best.

Jagjivan Ram always believed and gave his slogan to the backward classes: “Two steps forward and one step backward”. He advised them that it was necessary to have roots into the soil and culture of India as well as to do away with the things which are not required in the new society. He advised them to pick up what is alive from the ashes of the old and leave what is dead behind. In that manner, Jagjivan Babu energised and excited the down-trodden masses, who were ignored and living a miserable life for centuries and aroused them from the age-long slumber for an onward march. This is why Jagjivan occupies a unique place in the public life of this country. Apart from being a valiant fighter in the battle for freedom, he has shown the qualities of statesmanship. He is one of the steadiest and most sober of our Statesmen. Inspite of his
emotional identification with the poor and the socially exploited, he is not an extremist. Endowed with a keen intellect and ever mentally alert, he learnt, while he was still very young, to do his own thinking and take his own decisions. This has stood him in good stead in the stress and freedom of political life and even those who once differed from him strongly, have gradually learnt to appreciate his viewpoints.

There was time when young Jagjivan Ram had the temerity to differ from Mahatmaji. But the Father of the Nation loved him all-the-more for his independent outlook. It is difficult in these pages to describe him what in fact he is; it is only the decades hence when Jagjivan Ram will be known and endeared for his work and worth. The country will be grateful for him as one of the greatest builders of our democracy. Despite queer reactionary forces working in the country, which would have gone to dis-unite the Nation, he worked ceaselessly to ensure that the country remains united and does not lag behind because of the gap between the backward classes and the high caste people in the country. He is always to build bridges in-between the two extremities of the life in the country and as a result, the nation is witnessing a great step forward, which has been achieved by this united leap of the society.

Everyone would agree that Jagjivan Ram’s personality does not produce an immediate impact. There is no sensation of a flash, but the more one goes nearer him, his personality is unfolded and one loves his solid virtues and values together with his solid achievements. He has the pride of intellect and conviction, but he is too amiable to be prickly and imperative.

Jagjivan Babu has the quiet yet infectious confidence of the man of destiny, but not his bigotry. He has the firing zeal of an iconoclast and revolutionary, but is too much of a humanist to lose balance and be dogmatic. He is now one of our leaders on whom we count for guiding our affairs to the rightful destination. From the obscurity of darkness, unfortunately, surrounding the community, which had the privilege of
giving birth to him, he literally shot out like a meteor and illuminated the space around. But his was not a temporary flash, but the steady light which grew all over the country and in particular proved to be a beacon of light for the depressed classes of the country.

Jagjivan Ram's life is undoubtedly one, from which many lessons can be learnt. It would be an inspiring study for our youngmen. Jagjivan Ram is a still young in his spirits and his age has not withered away his exciting way of treating the problems that face the Nation. He has still before him a long career of useful public work and many more opportunities adding to the public service, which he has already rendered not only to the depressed, but to all the weaker communities in the country.

During his tenure of office as Labour Minister, he actually laid down the foundation of social security. The prominent example of this step was by way of having the two important Acts passed, namely, the Employees State Insurance Act and the Provident Funds Act. There is no doubt that on this foundation, we shall be able to build up in future a more adequate, fuller and sounder system of social security for Indian labour. He has to his credit also a thorough revision of the Indian Factories Act and the Indian Mines Act. He has the honour of successfully piloting the first Indian Plantation Labour Act and also the first measure for the de-casualisation of the dock workers in India. Thus, he rendered a valuable service to the Indian labour, which community in fact needed protection that was due to them.

Jagjivan Ram has all along been a valiant fighter in the cause of social justice and economic equality. It is because of his ceaseless efforts that social justice is no longer merely a concept, it is an Article of Constitution, a part of our active faith in a social order in which the lowest amongst us would have equal opportunities with the highest. It goes to show that he is endowed with a magic wand to solve the problems of the society successfully.
When Jagjivan Ram was in Hazaribagh Jail during 1942-43, most of the Bihar leaders were also with him in the same ward and there was no restriction on the detinues visiting one another. Jagjivan Babu used to visit every one of the leaders in the ward and discussed the various issues faced by the Nation. One would agree that the jail is a wonderful place to bring out the best or the worst in a man, because the seclusion from the outside world and the consequent loneliness, ignorance what the powers-that-be, have in mind to you the uncertainty of the duration of detention all these tell on the nerves of everyone. Some become irritable, quarrel-some and very selfish, others become highly party-politicians and develop the crusading spirit. It is only a few who maintain their dignity and poise and Jagjivan Babu was one of them who maintained his impermeability throughout. Politics and not labour problems were in the forefront in those days and the occasions when the leaders used to meet each other in the jail were utilised to discuss general issues.

Certain men do not impress one very much, but when occasion arises, they show qualities of dynamic activity and rare initiative that take one by surprise. Jagjivan Babu is one such. Those who have known him during pre-1940 days, would remember him as a camp follower and worker, who is now the leader of the millions of the masses of the people. When he was made a Parliamentary Secretary in the Bihar Cabinet in 1937, he proved that he was both industrious and able. By 1946, he was in the Central Cabinet having important portfolio of labour. The trust and ability that he showed in steering the affairs of the labour over-shadowed the towering personality of even Professor Abdul Bari who was known by everyone in the field of Labour.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who had known him over a number of years had not, it seemed, made a mistake in estimating the ability of Jagjivan Babu, while recommending him to Mahatmaji for his choice to the Cabinet and entrusted him with the work of the labour which involved the millions of the unfortunate
masses, who have been ignored for centuries. In fact, Jagjivan Babu unleashed his rare virtues that were embedded within him by Nature. Endowed with a granite character, he never bent to the most organised and persistent opposition of orthodoxy—social, economic, political and never let himself be embittered.

This high souled person is a herald of a new social order combining in himself the iconoclastic firing zeal of a crusader and the patience of a creative genius. He is adored and worshiped by hundreds of millions of depressed and downtrodden Indian masses, who look up to him as their saviour.

There has been something unique about Jagjivan Babu that even the opposition leaders had been meeting him freely and frankly seeking his advice, which he gave unhesitatingly and showed the generosity of his heart. He never closed himself or squeezed his virtues only to a narrow aspect of the activity with which he may be concerned. A very stark example of this fact is that he never treated the conditions and the problems of the Scheduled Castes and ‘other backward classes’ separately or in isolation which was in fact considered or treated by other leaders differently. For instance, Dr. Ambedkar concentrated his political activities only in terms of the Harijans and more so in terms of the Mahar Community, to which he belonged. This is why Jagjivan Babu has excelled and broken the barriers which existed between the Scheduled Castes and the ‘other backward classes’. He has created a parapet and spring-board by bringing Scheduled Castes and the ‘other backward classes’ on a single forum, on which alone the social change can take springs and strides.

Marx described the industrial worker as the most exploited section of the humanity, but in fact throughout the ages and even today the most exploited section is the agriculturist, particularly the agriculture worker. The industrial revolution and the development of Imperialism quickened the pace of exploitation of the rural people by the urban and the
world market led to the enrichment of the non-agricultural classes at the cost of the agricultural masses.

India, a predominantly agricultural country is also one of the most backward countries of the world and her agricultural worker is at the very bottom of the ladder of human life. India’s progress, therefore, can be truely gauged by the degree of economic and social advancement made possible for her agricultural worker. The main aspects of the Indian Peasants Movement and the principal life mission of so many of our leaders is to stop the exploitation of the agriculturists and the agricultural workers, prevent the drain of rural wealth into towns and achieve an equitable distribution of national wealth as between rural and urban, agricultural and non-agricultural sections of our society.

In this sacred and urgent social mission, I am proud to claim that Jagjivan Ram has been one of the best and most sagacious leaders. Jagjivan Babu prescribed and enforced the minimum wages for agricultural labour and extension of as much of protective labour legislation as possible for agricultural labour. As long as 1929, Jagjivan Babu raised his voice when the Whitley Commission came to India and from 1935 when he joined the Central Legislature.

None of the leaders could do anything about this problem in the country until Jagjivan Babu became the Labour Minister of Independent India. Thereafter, he sought to extend the Minimum Wages Act as well as the Social Insurance Scheme to Agricultural workers also. All other leaders were called to cooperate with him in his herculean task. It was for the first time that the agricultural workers were brought within the purview of Central Legislation. It is noteworthy of ‘Swaraj’ in India that the agricultural worker has come to be salvaged, though a little, by his confere. But the position of the agricultural worker can really improve only in the measure in which the urban exploitation of rural people lessens and the mutual relations between the agricultural worker and the peasant proprietor is placed on a non-exploiting basis. It is here that
we needed the quiet, but dynamic leadership of Jagjivan Ram.

Rural Housing Scheme is a crying need. The final plans are yet to come in. Jagjivan Ram has also given dimension towards this problem. The Bhoodan Yajna is a progressive movement towards which he has also contributed a lot. He wanted to make it sure that all the land belonging to the Government, but yet not being exploited, is placed at the disposal of the agricultural workers. Cooperative credit and servicing must also be made available to them, so that rapid progress can be made by the larger sections of our workers towards cooperative peasants proprietorship. This concept was also developed by Jagjivan Babu. To achieve this and many other objectives, and to attain social progress and gain political power commensurate with their numbers, social role and needs, the agricultural workers need organisational strength, comradely efforts and wise leadership which was provided by Jagjivan Ram.

It would, thus, appear that Jagjivan Babu's life is a story of great obstacles overcome by infinite humility with great achievements, with pride but without the least vengeance. It is, therefore, difficult for one to restrain oneself from delineating on the various aspects of his historic personality. He is not dear to me alone, but is dear to the society as a whole. When consciousness awakens in a section of humanity exploited and down-trodden through the ages, it takes the form of the revolutionary dynamism, which is symbolised by its social—in its widest sense trumpet, lightening, fire, brimstone.

Jagjivan Babu is an embodiment of this. His burning desire to serve the dispossessed, his iconoclastic zeal to break the age-old superstitions and customs are so well-known to all of us. He is such an individual who expresses in himself the most revolutionary urge of modern history. I have tried consciously to express his ideas, unfold his greatness and unfurl his 'sadhnā' in a manner, through this, so that it is imbibed by the society at large and so that this document may become a source of perennial inspiration to the progeny to come for centuries ahead.
From humble origin to a position of Eminence

V. C. SHUKLA

Shri Jagjivan Ram's rise from humble origin to a position of eminence in our national life is not an ordinary success story. It is a story of the fight against an unjust social order, which condemned a section of our unfortunate brothers and sisters to a life of taboos and discrimination.

While Shri Jagjivan Ram's contributions are many, I propose to deal, in this article, with his association with the Government of India and the progressive measures he initiated. Shri Jagjivan Ram's association with the Government of India dates back to 1946 when he was invited to join the Interim Government as Labour Minister. He was then 38 and the youngest member of the Government. His stewardship of the Ministry of Labour for six years was characterised by some of the most forward looking labour laws which at once put India on the labour map of the world. His progressive views earned Shri Jagjivan Ram Presidentship of the International Labour Conference in 1950. He rendered a singular service in improving the condition of Indian workers, in securing for them their legitimate rights and in linking them with the International Labour Movement. No class of workers—industrial, agricultural or other escaped his attention.

He evolved a Five-year Labour Plan which sought to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission, 1931 and the Labour Investigation Committee, 1946. He
worked out tripartite arrangements and administrative adjustments to ensure stable foundations for the workers' security. Legislation followed legislation to ameliorate their lot. Minimum wages were statutorily provided in sweated industries and occupations under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. There was standardisation of occupational terms and wages in major industries and the determination of differentials of wage rates as between various occupations in the same industry. The rates of dearness allowance were rationalised and 'fair wage' agreements including the introduction of time-scales were promoted. A scheme of industrial training and apprenticeship was introduced.

Regulation and improvement of working conditions were sought to be achieved by the Factories Act of 1948, the Mines Act of 1952 and by separate legislation for regulating hours of work, weekly rest day and holidays for those engaged in unregulated occupations, and by extending labour inspection services.

The Factories Act of 1948 provided for sanitation, ventilation, light, drinking water, fixed working hours, weekly paid holidays, prohibition of employing children below 13 and safety measures. It covered all power-driven factories employing 10 or more workers and other factories employing 20 or more workers.

To ensure social security for wage-earners, the Employees Provident Fund Act was enacted in 1952. Under this Act, all factories employing 50 or more workers were required to introduce the Provident Fund scheme.

Methods of recruitment and terms of service were revised, employment exchange services expanded and the Payment of Wages Act amended.

Last but not the least were measures to secure better housing conditions and industrial relations. The Workmen's Compensation Act was amended and the Employees' State
Insurance Act of 1948 enacted. The long-neglected plantation and agricultural workers received due attention with the placing of the Plantation Workers Act, 1951 on the Statute Book.

After the first general elections in 1952, Shri Jagjivan Ram was appointed Union Minister for Communications. The people of thinly populated areas of the country, who had to walk long distances to reach a Post Office, were the first to receive his attention. He changed the age old rule of opening new Post Offices only on population basis. New Post Offices were opened in thinly populated areas.

Under his direction, the first series of special postal stamps—saints and poets—was released in the country. He was responsible for initiating the Radio telephone service between India and other countries. For the welfare of postal employees, new canteens, railway mail service, rest houses and recreation clubs were set up. Shri Jagjivan Ram also initiated the nationalisation of Civil Aviation.

Following the resignation of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri in December 1956, Shri Jagjivan Ram became the Minister of Railways and held this office till April 1962, when he became Minister for Transport and Communications. His tenure as Railway Minister will be long remembered for the attainment of self-sufficiency in locomotives and passenger coach requirements and for the introduction of 3rd class sleeper coaches.

The completion of the Rajendra Pul (Bridge) over the river Ganga at a cost of Rs. 10 crores was an important landmark for the growth of the railway system in the country. The project, which was built ahead of schedule, linked agriculturally rich Northern areas and mineral rich areas of Bihar. The other equally important project to be constructed was the Jagjivan Pul over the river Gandak.

Under his inspired leadership, the Railways exceeded the second plan targets.
Shri Jagjivan Ram took over as Minister for Transport and Communications in April 1962 and relinquished charge in August 1963 under the Kamraj Plan. In 1966, he rejoined the Cabinet as Minister for Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation.

After the 1967 elections there was yet another job, more challenging than any other, awaiting him. The country was in the third successive year of drought and the goal of self-sufficiency in food had become a mirage. Shri Jagjivan Ram accepted the challenge when he assumed the office of the Food Minister. In a year's time, the gloomy situation on the food front turned, surprisingly, into a happy one. The policy of intensive cultivation accompanied by better agricultural inputs in the shape of quality seeds, fertilizers and irrigation facilities paid rich dividends. Soon this happy situation, which was the result of intensive agricultural efforts and not a mere lucky coincidence, became the Green Revolution. From acute food scarcity to plenty in a matter of three years was nothing short of a miracle.

In June 1970, he took over his present portfolio of Defence. With threats of war from Pakistan in the wake of the Bangla Desh crisis and the arrival of ten million refugees, the Defence portfolio became, perhaps, the most challenging assignment of his career. The way he welded the three Services into a well-knit team speaks volumes of his great qualities of leadership and his quiet efficiency. It was as much the higher direction of war as the gallantry of our officers and men which won the war.
The Phenomenon that is Jagjivan Ram

Dr. P.P. SHARMA

I choose to call Jagjivan Ram a phenomenon, for it is essential to set him apart from the common run of politicians in our country. He is one of the few individuals who took to politics as the only means of serving his people. At no stage in his life did he deliberately plan a strategy to thrust himself forward. Right from the beginning he felt himself called upon to take up the cause of the socially handicapped and the economically backward people. Political slavery of India also irked him terribly in his early impressionable years. Setting his heart upon lofty ideals he never stopped to bargain for loaves and fishes of the office. If acclaim and rewards came to him—and who would deny they did in ample measure?—it was because in the typical saintly tradition in which he had grown up, he kept his eyes averted from them. Seized with an intense longing to lift the so-called untouchables out of the morass to which they had been condemned for ages, he hit hard the caste Hindus, never mincing words and never bothering to see who felt offended. Similarly, on the national plane, he fought long and fiercely to set the country free from British bondage. What at one time looked like a work of greater magnitude, and therefore calling for unusual daring, is already completed: we are an independent, sovereign republic. The lesser problem, however, is still there, challenging the best in us. Jagjivan Ram's dream has not yet materialized. That is why, inspite of his age, his fighting temper keeps
flaring up. This fact that although he was in one of the leading roles in the drama that culminated in the spectacular triumph of the Indian nation against the alien rulers, he is far from feeling complacent—highlights his sincerity of purpose. Has he not declared a number of times that political independence without social and economic equality is not worth much? Not many even among our top-notch leaders set before themselves a task so stupendous nor did they throw themselves, heart and soul, into it like him. What invests his stature with special significance is that he is one of the select band who after winning countries' liberation has allowed himself no relaxation and no respite.

Some among the post-independence survivors lost the first fine rapture of their early struggle; others thought of setting themselves up as party gods; still others were seduced by tempting offers made to them. Jagjivan Ram, however, heroically withstood all pulls and pressures. His large comprehensive vision never got confused and blurred. Amid distractions of all kinds, he remained calm and unperturbed for ever committed to high ideals. For a man of his grasp of the totality of things, there was no real danger of missing the wood for the trees. Minutiae, interesting sometimes as they are, will never obfuscate the understanding of the real issues for anybody who retains his sense of proportion and perspective. This is perhaps the secret of how Jagjivan Ram has been able to steer clear of petty bickerings on which many have foundered. There have been betrayals and partings, mutual accusation and mud-flinging, but Jagjivan Ram's image has remained unsmirched and untarnished. He derives his strength basically from the integrity of his character and prefers to keep the political gambols to the barest minimum.

This article has no room for more than one example of Jagjivan Ram's adherence to his principles. Although he was greatly fascinated by Jawahar Lal's personality, he could never bring himself to accept his oft-repeated theory that the problems of Scheduled Castes were in no way different from those of the poor in general and they would be aut-
omatically solved once the country became free and socialism was ushered in. This sounded in Jagjivan Ram’s ears like the favourite text of a doctrinaire which had little relevance to the actual situation. To reduce the distresses and handicaps of this section of the Indian society to a hearty fine thesis, Jagjivan Ram felt, was to oversimplify a pretty intricate matter to the point of naivety. He had the courage of his conviction and roundly declared that a cultural and social revolution alone could set things right. A nationalist to the core as he was, he was annoyed when some upper class Hindus set out to reform the Harijans by pointing up the evils of drinking, gambling and filthy living rampant among them. Who has kept them in this appalling state? he would roar out. He was touched to the quick if the members of the privileged class doled out, in solemn pontifical tones, huge chunks of advice. He felt that they had no business to adopt a super- celestial attitude towards the victims of their own age-old inequitous treatment. On some occasion Gandhiji exhorted the well-to-do to have some consideration for their unfortunate brethren. Sensing some note of condescension, Jagjivan Ram showed his guts in remonstrating with no less a man than the “Father of the Nation”. For a man who was still struggling to find his bearings, this must have required extraordinary courage to speak out fearlessly and frankly. But Jagjivan Ram hated to remain reticent on matters in which he had his own personal experience to fall back upon.

Here a brief excursus into his biographical background would be in order. It is common knowledge that he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, not even with a spade in his hand. For a ‘chamar’ family even the prospects of working in a field, except in the form of indentured labour, were hopelessly remote. In the days of his childhood the untouchables were not allowed to draw water from the village well, to walk on the public thoroughfare, use tanks and bathing ghats, go in the proximity of places of worship. The respectable Brahmins avoided even their shadow. How the boy Jagjivan Ram must have felt about the cramped social environ-
ment can be more easily imagined than described. He must have witnessed and agonized over scenes of social injustice and discrimination. It is no wonder that his heart rebelled against all those who instead of confessing their own sins set about haranguing the long suffering Harijans. Later in life he had skirmishes with such people fond of saying goody-goody decorous things. It is surprising indeed that being familiar with the woeful tale of the Hindus', atrocities on the Harijans he did not turn into a rabid hater. It is as though he swallowed the venom, and although at times he would radiate its fierce light, he would never allow it to cause a conflagration involving all people indiscriminately. In Gandhi's utterances he saw the sincerest pain on behalf of the Harijans and he had little difficulty to recognize his master. It can, perhaps, be said that the influence of his father, whom he greatly adored, instilled in him the power of a large comprehension.

Jagjivan Ram has become what he is today not because of but inspite of the social milieu in which his early life was cast. It was clearly inimical to any kind of academic pursuit, there hardly penetrated into it any refining influences. He must have felt what it is to begin from scratch. It is only natural if his heart goes out in sympathy for the disadvantaged who are striving desperately for a breakthrough. Having tasted the fruit of knowledge himself, he is, understandably enough, impatient to throw open the portals of universities and such-like institutions to all and sundry. Over the years he has been, in one form or another, agitating for education among the poor and the backward. Earlier in his life, he set up a chain of Ravidas Sabhas which, besides knitting together and fostering a sense of solidarity among the various types and categories of the Harijans, also presumably disseminated enlightened opinions and mature perceptions. He knew, for certain, that obscurantism irrational prejudice, superstition and outmoded mediaeval outlook can be successfully combated if people wake up from their mental lethargy. How easily gullible the ignorant are, how quickly they fall a victim to the manoeuvrings and machinations of demagogues-all this
he has seen with his own eyes. The only way to save them from their willy tricks and stratagems is to educate them and this is exactly what he has been doing now for quite some time in his addresses and speeches. The bane of illiteracy must be stamped out, he feels convinced, if any progress is to take place. Himself a science graduate like his illustrious contemporary Jawaharlal, he regards lack of access to knowledge for anybody as a blatant denial of a fundamental right to him.

A simple and unsophisticated person, Jagjivan Ram possesses a critical acumen of a very high order to reconcile contradictions. To his way of thinking there is nothing incongruous and incompatible for the Harijans to be engaged in a two-pronged endeavour; to develop a strong sense of identity (that is the base on which everything can be constructed) and to respond to nation's urges and aspirations. Whereas it is easy to underscore the one to the total exclusion of the other, Jagjivan Ram achieved a rich and strange synthesis by encompassing polarities in a given situation. In his multi-dimensional approach to problems, one finds a sort of symphony arising from conflicting and apparently heterogeneous elements found in this country's culture and civilization. As an heir to Buddha and Gandhi, he not only preaches but also practises the gospel of peace, amity and brotherhood. But when barbarous hordes trample underfoot all the long-cherished values of decency and humanity, as the Pakistani armies did in Bangla Desh, he launches out into a relentless fight, the inspiring words of the Geeta stirring him to his depth. At the surrender of the enemy, he recovers his characteristic magnanimity, all fury abated and all passion spent. The victory over Kalinga did not go to Ashoka's head; to the infinite wonder and bafflement of the world, Jagjivan Ram, draped from head to foot with military glory as Defence Minister of his country, unilaterally declared cease-fire.

Jagjivan Ram has several trophies to his credit. One that the future historian is likely to set great store by his successful attempt to keep the Harijans from falling into disarray
at a very crucial moment. In the 'thirties a lot of claptrap was churned up to fill Harijans’ minds with deception. Slogans and shibboleths were up in the air. The Harijans were persecuted and tyrannized over for centuries past; they were, therefore, being instigated to embrace en masse some other religion. Opportunists with their eye on the main chance were all too eager to cash in on this rising discontent and resentment among the Harijans. In some quarters confabulations and negotiations were going on and the representatives of each religion were anxious to outbid those of others by offering competitive terms. At such a critical juncture when religion had degenerated into a base business proposition, Jagjivan Ram, displayed wonderful sagacity. He pointed out that there was no guarantee that once they walked into the fold of any other religion there would be an end to the social odium clinging to them. He kept the oscillating and wavering from falling apart. He exhorted them to stay back where they belonged and work out their salvation.

It speaks volumes for his fair-mindedness and mature judgment that in an atmosphere vitiated by misunderstanding and distrust and electrified by acrimonious controversies, he did not for a moment doubt the sincerity of leaders like Gandhiji and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Both of them were opposed to the separation of the Harijans from Hindus and roundly blamed the latter for the deplorable backwardness of the former. Unlike short-sighted champions of communal interests who were prone to misinterpret all such gestures, Jagjivan Ram, was impressed by their sentiments and responded to them without any reservation. The enlightened leadership that he gave to his followers resulted in their ultimate decision to regard themselves as part and parcel of the Hindu organization without, of course, ceasing to agitate for their legitimate place within it. To him it was apparent that India’s fight for freedom and the Harijans’ aspiration for a forward thrust were basically part of the same drive and they could not be mutually exclusive and incompatible.
We are celebrating the anniversary of our glorious victory over Pakistani aggressors and it is in the fitness of things that we express our heart-felt and profound gratitude to Honourable Jagjivan Ram, under whose inspiring and untiring leadership, the Indian army routed the forces of evil and barbarism. But there are still formidable forces within the country-disintegration, reaction, vested interests, casteism and economic disparities and they have to be overcome. Considering how much remains to be accomplished, it seems that Jagjivan Ram is sentenced to hard and incessant labour. Rising above discordant notes and jarring cacophony, his voice of sanity and wisdom will, we are confident, lead the nation to greater heights in years to come.
A Saviour of Democracy

PARIPURNANAND VARMA

It is difficult to write an article on Babu Jagjivan Ram. He is an article by himself, an article on faith, wisdom and sagacity. He is about a couple of months younger to me and poles ahead of me in status, position and in politics. I almost lost the game in politics because I was too closely tied down to the aprons of a great man Dr. Sampurnanand and Jagjivan Ram was always on his own boat, held his own cudgels and chewed his own cud. He started on his own, with none to back and plunged in the wide sea of social service and politics in his own leaky boat. He paddled on through storm and clouds, through thunder and torpedoes, repaired his boat all by himself and sailed in the high seas with gumption and courage. He suffered dark days—and I know a bit of those days because when out of power he did share some of his worries with me and I was amazed at his equanimity, poise and faith in his ultimate victory, victory in life, in politics, in Indian pantheon.

It was an achievement to have assumed the Presidentship of All India Depressed Classes League at the age of twentyeight in 1936 and to have held his office for full eight years. Public memory is short but no good Indian student of political history will forget the memorable service done to Hindu community by saving it from the dangerous separatist chauvenism of Ambedkarites. No ordinary politician can claim an unbroken parliamentarian life like that of Jagjivan Ram for the last thirty six years. In 1936, he entered Bihar Legislative
Council and started his administrative career as Parliamentary Secretary in 1937.

He made his mark abroad as Leader of the Indian delegation to the International Labour Organization Conference in 1947 and 1950. As Union Labour Minister in September, 1946 to May, 1952 he ushered a new era of Labours' participation in management and profits. In fact he was one of the most hated persons for the crassy employers. What other offices he held and what he did for each is a matter for historians to recount. I have never met or talked to him when he was in Delhi holding any office. I hate the paraphernalia of secretaries "booking" your berth in the office cauldron. And I have ceased to correspond with him because only V. I. Ps. or M.Ps. get a first hand reply according to the 'neo-ministerial discipline,' and I hate third-person contacts; but Jagjivan Ram has a tremendous memory for faces and friends. No one can ever complain that he 'refused' to 'recognise' like the so-many bigs in Indian politics. His warm reception and bewitching smile is one of his greatest charms which adequately compensates for his not very attractive but sensuous face. Jagjivan Ram is immensely open-hearted and chummy with his acquaintances and friends. He is almost an exception among the big ones in India.

I am not talking politics but talking about an old and close friend. His significant achievements cannot be ignored. His tenure of office as Secretary, Bihar Province Congress Committee during the hectic days of 1940-46 is a glorious record of devoted political party service. When he entered the Working Committee in 1948, he was fully equipped to share the bench with the destiny-makers of India. No Congress President has piloted his party's ship through such stormy waters as Jagjivan Ram when he assumed this office in December, 1969. As an old Congressman, I am not yet very sure if the 'two Congress' are good or bad for the country. I am here dealing with a man who knows how to inflict smashing blows on his adversaries without compunction.
Let me frankly admit that I am no votary for every political move of that greatman. My qualms are nobody’s concern. But how many among us can claim to have so much of a single-handed contribution to Indian politics as the person we are discussing. It was no act of wisdom to drop out a person of his calibre under the ill-fated Kamraj Plan from the Central Cabinet in August, 1963. Perhaps those who were dropped had become too prominent and thus irksome. But Jagjivan Ram had his revenge. Today, he holds the key of Indian politics. He can make or mar careers; he can churn to dust his face or shapen into sweet dolls his friends and favourites.

The recent victory of India over Pakistan is not one individual achievement. So many factors have contributed to our success. The whole country stood united for a cause. I do not treat “Bangla Desh” as the primary cause. For us it was India. But there can be no victory without a leader.

French diplomat Talleyrand (1754-1838) said:
“I am not afraid of an army of one hundred lions led by a sheep. I am afraid of an army of hundred sheep led by a lion.”

Therefore it is the lion who counts, not as a camp-follower but as a leader. Jagjivan Ram has proved Talleyrand to be correct. He has proved that out of any mould, he can create wonders. It was Jagjivan Ram’s superb leadership which won us the war. His place in history is secure; his seat in the galaxy of great leaders is reserved and his fame is the chargin of hundreds of Defence Ministers in the world.

Jagjivan Ram is not only an administrator or a politician. He is not a boring self-conceited conversationalist as most of our big guns in the present lime light are. I have found his company exhilarating, his conversation with a fund of humour and his approach to any subject wise and almost wistful. Some of his political statements have raised controversies. I do confess that I am not always in agreement with him. I have been
a socialist all my unsuccessful life but I do not understand or appreciate the present wild talk about almost ruinous socialism. The socialism in fashion today is either a bastard communism or a frantic gymnastic in mental debacle. But I do understand what Jagjivan Ram means by democracy. He wants to save our democracy from degradation, a degeneration which overtook the great democracy of Athens built by Pericles (492-429 B.C.) which led Aristotle (382-322 B.C.) to define democracy as the perversion of that form of government, which he called 'polity' or 'constitutional government', the rule of the majority of the free and equal citizens, as opposed to monarchy and aristocracy. Roman republic in the 5th century B.C. was what ancient Indian republics had become in their later days, some patrician families chosing a senate from their families. Plebeians in Rome struggled to wrest power from them or to share and ultimately succeeded in having 'tribunes' of the people. Our present assembly or parliament, all over the world are born of this tribune.

The Organisation and consolidation of democratic form of Government was the result of struggles and sacrifices of three centuries, e.g., English revolutions of 1642-1688, War of American Independence of 1776, French Revolution of 1789, 1830 and 1848 and European revolutions of 1906-1920. But soon democracy also began to lose face. Byron remarked that 'The Devil was the first democrat'. Mrs. Stowe claimed that 'Your child is your only true democrat'. Dr. Brand Whitlock wrote forty years ago that "As men realize themselves as a part of a large mass, they get bolder, and less tolerant of the views of the others; they resort to any means to impose on others those prejudices that so many of them mistake for principles—Another danger is that with the State and side by side with constituted authority there is sometimes organized and set up an extra-legal irresponsible authority, which by controlling a large block of votes, exercises an influence on legislation and administration unwarranted in the constitution".

In India the above quoted danger has appeared rather too early for our democracy of only 25 years old. The conflict
of interests and ambitions, the old antagonism of classes and clash of interests in the ruling party has come to the surface. Modern democracies are not virtually Lincoln's 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'. All over the world it is the 'leaders' who manipulate the political machinery. Old concept of humanistic democracy has been replaced by industrial democracy. There is so much of 'social consciousness' that while shuffling off the old chains of every type of slavery man has become a bigger slave to his passions and interests. Because of his impressionistic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, man is unable to enjoy either of these boons.

Unless the spirit of democracy dwells in the people, democracy cannot triumph. By stretching liberty of action to the point of anarchy, by ignoring personal and social responsibilities, by over-emphasising selfish needs, we in India are destroying the vitality of our hard won freedom. Democracy lives by ballot and not by agitation and jeopardising law and order and by 'dhamas' and 'hunger-strikes'. Democracy requires every individual's sustained labour and vigilance. And Jagjivan Ram has been fearlessly harping on this theme. His advice is sound. His approach is sane. His attack on petty fogging is bold and prudent.

I would rather close here. I am no authority on this big leader. I am afraid to call him my friend. Friendship is among equals and there are few equals left for Jagjivan Ram. He must pay the penalty of bigness. He must suffer isolation - the only price a big gun must pay. But we shall have few Jagjivan Ram's in our history. It takes centuries to create one such person. Therefore let us pray and hope that he shall live for full hundred years in all glory of health and wisdom.
A Wise Statesman and Mature Thinker

Dr. KAMTA PRASAD

Shri Jagjivan Ram, affectionately known as 'Babuji' has been a leading star on the Indian Political scene for more than 40 years and has come to be regarded as an elder statesman whose opinion and advice is much sought after. There is hardly any other political personality in the country who can compete with Jagjivan Ram with respect to the wealth of his administrative experience, his careful handling of difficult political, administrative and economic problems and his command over any situation in which he is placed. He has a flair for solving difficult problems which very few people possess. His administrative as well as political abilities have been tested not once and twice but several times and always he has come out with flying colours. He has been a successful Minister throughout and is said to have left his mark in the different Ministries which have been under him during the last twenty five years.

He has had an early start in his life, becoming a full fledged Cabinet Minister in the Central Government in his thirties, not because he was related to somebody or came from an influential family but because of his sheer merit and ability. Very few political personalities have been able to reach this high level in such an early age. In our country membership of the Union Cabinet is offered generally to politicians above fifty years of age. He is also unique in the sense that his member-
ship of the Union Cabinet has been the longest in India. There is no other person in our country who has been continuously associated with the Union Cabinet as its member for about 25 years. Ministers have come and gone, but Jagjivan Babu has always been there ever since India became independent, barring the few years when he was out under the so-called 'Kamraj Plan'. His continued presence in the Central Cabinet inspite of taking sides on important issues is indeed amazing and it would be hard to find several such cases in the world as a whole. It may be mentioned here that he has not been a 'Yes man' or a blind supporter.

One can easily recollect several occasions in the past when 'Babuji' did not agree on certain issues and expressed his disagreement in public. He has always taken a urea cut stand on the political issues facing the country and has been an important member of Congress Party. A member of its executive committee and parliamentary board for several years, he was also requested to become its President during its most difficult days. He has continued to occupy important positions at both the political and governmental levels because he is more than an individual. He represents a force and an idea. He represents the dumb and the down-trodden millions of the country working in farms and factories, giving their sweat and toil in return for mere subsistence living. He represents the backward and scheduled castes of the country who have been victim of continuous exploitation throughout the centuries. But more than anything else, he represents the aspirations of the poor and the downtrodden for a just and better society, their determination to bring this about and a new awakening regarding their rights and privileges.

But this continued wielding of power has not made him power-drunk. Far from that he remains as simple, modest and unassuming as ever before. His door is always open for high and low without any distinction. The warmth and affection with which he treats his audience has made him a very
popular figure. I have hardly seen a more affable personality at such a high position that he is occupying. Quite often I have noticed how a M.L.A. or M.P. after becoming, say a Deputy Minister, starts changing his colours and tries to give the appearance of his importance. Not so, with Jagjivan Ram. This is one of the most distinguishing features of his personality. Even the poorest can hope to get an interview with and to have a patient hearing from him. His whole approach is human and sympathetic. Quite naturally, one enjoys talking to him and to be in his company because one feels at home. That may be one of the reasons why people throng to his residence to get an opportunity to talk to him. Whenever you go to his residence, morning or evening, winter or summer, you will always find a big crowd of people from all walks of life waiting for an interview. This is a good indicator of the popularity of Jagjivan Babu. He has a mass following and a mass appeal. There is something in him which attracts people.

Shri Jagjivan Ram is a farsighted statesman with an eye for the essentials. He does not seem to take much time in distinguishing between the central and peripheral aspects of a problem and in spending his time on the former. During his long political and administrative career, there are very few instances where he has been found to be involved with irrelevant or petty issues as is characteristic of several politicians. He is seldom confused and has never given the impression of being involved in circular reasoning. He has a sharp mind and can easily see what is beneath the surface. He has the capacity for logical thinking which enables him to perceive the ultimate consequences of any policy measure or action. This may be one reason why he has generally succeeded in making the correct decisions whether with respect to any political move or issue or any administrative matter. As an example, look at the 1969 crisis in the Congress Party, leading to its split into two factions. It took no time for Jagjivan Babu to realise that his interests
as well as those of the country lay with the group headed by Mrs. Gandhi. He was the first amongst the important political leaders to side with Mrs. Gandhi. Others took longer time. The same ability for making correct decisions was amply displayed during the recent Indo-Pakistan war. There is no denying the fact that much of our success has been on account of his able handling of the defence affairs of the country. Decision-making is the chief function of a Minister and hence the ability to make the right decisions should be regarded as the chief yardstick for measuring his performance. Shri Jagjivan Ram stands outstanding in this respect.

His abilities as an administrator are equally outstanding. People who have worked under him have nothing but admiration for the way in which he gets his decisions implemented. The recent Indo-Pakistan war provided a good testimony to his administrative abilities. During the war the three wings of Army, Navy and Air-force worked in a concerted and coordinated manner and much of our success may be attributed to this. Moreover, the morale of the armed forces was very high. It goes to the credit of Jagjivan Babu to have kept the forces in such a fine spirit and to have provided a dynamic leadership as was the need of the hour. He had predicted that if war breaks out, fighting would take place on Pakistani soil and the event of the war proved that he was correct in his assessment. His stewardship of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is equally worth mentioning. He was given charge of this Ministry at a very critical time in India’s history. The food situation was precarious as a result of drought situation. Nearly famine conditions prevailed in several parts of the country. This had led to political troubles and the very political stability of the country was in danger. It was at this critical juncture in India’s history that Jagjivan Ram became the Food & Agriculture Minister in the Union Cabinet. Words cannot describe the admirable manner in which he tackled this most difficult problem. Not only was the food scarcity over, but the country approached a situation of near self-sufficiency.
which was regarded as a mere dream when he took charge of the Ministry. Agricultural production improved substantially and the distributive mechanism was streamlined. With this the political turmoils also subsided and the country settled down to a normal and stable life. It is my feeling that much of the phenomenal success of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party in securing popular votes in recent elections has been on account of the easy availability of food, in contrast to the earlier scarcity situation, the credit for which should mostly go to 'Babuji'. The work done during his time has turned the very fate of the country. The so-called green revolution has opened possibilities of economic expansion which could not be visualized a few years ago. Now, India has acquired a new image.

He is a very clear headed and mature political thinker. His ideas are shaped not so much by dogmas or abstract theories as by his rich practical experience and his sincere concern for the welfare of the poor. Himself coming from the lowest section of the Indian society, he is fully aware of the acute social and economic problems of the masses and has been trying his best to improve their levels of living. There is little doubt that the salvation of India lies in the improvement in the levels of living of the Indian masses. The nation cannot make much progress so long as the bulk of the people are sunk in poverty. The years of planning have not benefitted the poor in the same proportion as the rich. Available evidence suggests that the gulf between the rich and the poor has been increasing. Jagjivan Babu has never been satisfied with the slow rate at which the income of the poorer sections has been going up in our country. There have been several occasions when he has expressed his impatience with this slow progress. He is against the status quo and all that it implies. Economic and social change and development is the essence of his basic philosophy. For him, economic development does not merely imply a growth of output. It is the improvement in the economic condition of the masses which provides the real yardstick of national progress. Growth of output, therefore,
must be associated with a better distribution of income. The country cannot be described as developed so long as everybody is not assured of minimum facilities in terms of food, clothing, shelter, education and employment. All obstacles hindering the advancement of lower classes should be removed. Nobody should be denied opportunities for his material and cultural advancement on account of such artificial considerations as his caste or family background. The very idea of distinctions based upon caste is repulsive to him. He is for a social system without any caste distinction and without social and economic exploitation of the poorer and backward sections of our society. We have made some progress in this direction. But much remains to be done as yet. I think that the best way of paying our respect to "Babuji" is to make a determined effort to remove the caste barriers from our social system.

He is radical in his thinking and advocating socialism for a long time much before the term became fashionable or a vote-catching slogan; but he has never been an extremist. His spirit of tolerance is really remarkable. Normally a person of his background with full awareness of the social and economic exploitation of the poorer section with which he is identified is likely to be a diehard revolutionary bent upon destroying the existing social and economic structure regardless of the other consequences. But Jagjivan Babu knows the dangers of this policy. He would not like to destroy the Indian social fabric completely. He has a deep and abiding faith in the parliamentary practices and in non-violent approach to solving problems. He is, however, different from arm-chair politicians or academic political thinkers. He is a man of action and has been trying for social revolution both politically by influencing the ideology of the Congress Party and administratively by influencing the governmental machinery. His concern for the poor and down-trodden section of the Indian society has been amply reflected in such measures as the different labour legislations passed during the period when he was the Union Labour Minister, the reservation of seats for candidates
belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in
governmental services, the grant of scholarship and freeships
to children coming from poorer families. He has always thrown
his weight behind progressive measures designed to reduce
social and economic inequalities in the country. No wonder
that he has been an eyesore for the rich landlords and the
capitalists and an idol for the poorer and backward sections of
the society. His sway on the masses is tremendous. At the
time of every general election, the forces opposed to him try
their best to get him defeated at the polls. But he has never
been defeated up till now. He has always been elected with
huge margins over his rivals. I have twice visited his constitu-
tuency during election time and have been impressed to see
the enthusiasm with which the poorer sections of all castes
canvas support for him. There would be very few persons in
the country having the privilege of representing the same
constituency in Lok Sabha continuously for the last twentyfive
years. He is undoubtedly one of the most popular leaders of
the masses.
Babu Jagjivan Ram—As I See Him

K. K. SHAH

It is rightly said that "a great mind is one that moulds the minds of others". This was the marvellous characteristic of the coruscating personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Our Freedom struggle threw upon the national scene many men and women from different parts of the country and all of them, speaking in one voice and working for one goal, functioned as a disciplined army under the dynamic and awe-inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of those veteran soldiers who fought many a battle and won the war of Freedom.

In the course of our trials and tribulations, we discovered our own internal weaknesses. The fight for freedom was also a fight against our weaknesses. Casteism was a canker in our body politic and was eating into the vitals of our society. Its concomitant evils of untouchability and social ostracism raised their ugly heads from time to time and divided us into narrow compartments. The vigorous programme of Harijan uplift launched by the Mahatma has to be understood in this background. Babu Jagjivan Ram, in the early days of his public life, made a correct diagnosis of our social ills and became a champion of the cause of the depressed classes. He toiled for the elevation of the downtrodden and the socially oppressed. As an accredited leader of scheduled castes, he gave evidence before the Cabinet Mission. He has been a crusader who fought tooth and nail against the evil of casteism and threw his entire weight on the side of Gandhiji's...
Harijan uplift work. If today the Constitution of India contains special provisions for the protection and uplift of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, much is due to the pioneering work done by leaders like Babu Jagjivan Ram. We have to be vigilant even today in combating against the weaknesses of democracy which are exploited by the wily politicians in the name of religion or caste or community. Experienced leaders like Babu Jagjivan Ram act as safeguards against the pitfalls of democracy.

Free India has fittingly honoured him by availing herself of his distinguished services in different capacities. Shri Jagjivan Ram has left his mark wherever he has worked—be it Labour, Communications, Transport, Railways, Food and Agriculture, Community Development or Defence. Special mention must be made of his outstanding achievements in certain spheres of our nation-building activities. He was responsible for the nationalisation of air transport. He added new dimensions to food production. We saw him admirably rise equal to his onerous duties and responsibilities as Defence Minister under the dynamic leadership of our beloved Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It is an eloquent tribute to his administrative ability as Defence Minister that when Smt. Gandhi was waging an epoch making war, our armed forces gave a crushing blow to the enemy in all sectors and brought triumph and glory to the justnees of our cause. Shri Jagjivan Ram has secured a place of honour in the pages of our history.

Being a great asset to our Prime Minister and the Central Cabinet, Shri Jagjivan Ram has a vital role to play in the years to come in nurturing our nascent democracy and in implementing many progressive measures for promoting social justice and national prosperity. May he live long to serve India.
Greatness of Soul, achieves success

Dr. DEVRAJ UPADHYAYA

Shri Jagjivan Ram is, at present, one of the brightest luminaries adorning the firmament of the Indian social and political life. He comes of a humble Harijan family in a village Chandwa, situated just at a distance of few miles from my village. A young boy born of a Harijan family having passed his Matriculation examination even before the early twenties was a veritable miracle which Shri Jagjivan was and is and, let me say, will be. He was a source of inspiration to many youngsters like us who were imbued with the idea of patriotism and sacrifice for the sake of society and country under the leadership of noble souls like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Gandhiji. While I write these lines that soul inspiring and stirring scene at Gaurakshini at Arrah, when, in an open meeting attended by a vast multitude mainly consisting of high class Hindus, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya clasped a young and simpleton Harijan boy in a close and affectionate embrace and invited him with a scholarship to continue his higher studies at Banaras Hindu University.

This was the first formidable and major crack in the citadel of Hindu Orthodoxy in Northern India in general and Bihar in particular. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was supposed to be the leader of Sanatan Dharma. Though of progressive views, he was too careful to take any step savouring of revolution and untouchability being one of the corner...
stone of orthodox Hinduism, at that time, was too dangerous a path to tread upon with a view to soften its rigours. But Jagjivan's example, his inherent capacity full of high potentiality proved too much and the stone cracked with a bang. It was impossible to conceive of a leader of Sanatan Dharma, in those days, to relent in this way. But truth asserts itself and cries from the house-top. The leader melted under the impact of the life's ascending sun embodied in the frame of Jagjivan and the former relented. To quote Bhavabhuti i.e. 'Siddhi (success) does not lie in the strength of powerful auxiliaries but in the inherent greatness of man's soul.' It is so easy for me, a man who had only a few opportunities to come in Shri Jagjivan Ram's personal contact but always shaping his life under his invisible and imperceptible influence, to imagine the existence of real Satva (greatness) in him which makes a slave of success and forces it to dog his steps. It is too much to imagine that Mr. Ram has been a tremendous force in abolishing the system of slavery but he has brought it back by the next door in as much as he has made slave of success itself. Such an easy, quick success, involving the least sacrifice with which the freedom of Bangla Desh has been achieved is an eloquent corroboration of what I say about Mr. Ram. History knows no example where a country has been freed of foreign yoke within a course of 14 days. Shri Jagjivan Ram is a name to conjure with and is a symbol of country's aspiration. There is no aspect of the country's life which he has not touched and he has not touched any which he has not illuminated and bettered.

I won't speak much of Shri Ram's qualities of head and heart. It will be just another example of carrying coats to newcastle. He moves like colossus on the arena of Indian political life and is fully exposed to the public critical gaze, and, to be frank, he is not spared lightly too and does not go unscaled. He bears all these with an equanimity. Neither do fulsome praises swell his head nor does adversity of criticism throw him into a fit of depression. But, there is another aspect of
Shri Jagjivan Ram which contains his true self in all its pristine purity. It is here that true and real Jagjivan resides and gets his inspiration from. He is great as a politician because he is great as a man—a man over-flowing with a milk of human kindness. Individual in him is greater than his politician. To be true, he comes under the category of Saints like Kabir, Dadu and Ravidas always moving with the people, sharing their weal and woe but ever detached from it. Palace and hut have no meaning for him and make no difference either.

As I left Bihar very early my meetings with him have been very few and far between but whatever little contact has been possible it has left its indelible mark on my life. I have now, after retirement, returned to Arrah where I have a mind to spend the rest of my life. During my forty years of sujourn in Rajasthan, I often, when in expansive mood used to remark that the history of ancient India has been history of Bihar for centuries and centuries together and history of Rajasthan constitute the history of mediaeval India. It is so heartening to think that the tradition of ChandraGupta, Ashoka, Kabir and Dadu is still alive, all combined in one, in the personality of Shri Jagjivan Ram who is its magnificent embodiment. The country, its glory, culture and its glorious heritage is safe as long as he is at the helm of affairs. Let the first anniversary of the freedom and independence of Bangla Desh dawn with all its resplendent brightness. I send, along with a multitude of kindred souls, my fervent prayers to Almighty to grant this son of India a long lease of life.
Jagjivan Ram—A Man of Piety

A. L. MISHRA

Piety is like mercy, a sacred attribute. It is not the monopoly of a particular class or a particular person. All human beings share it in common though some possess it in a larger measure than others. This difference in degree may be ascribed to a number of factors such as heredity, social and cultural environment, education and personal contact and influence. One is mistaken if one believes that a man belonging to a high caste is always a pious being and that another person who is connected with a low caste has no grain of piety in him or her. Ravan, King of Lanka, was born in a highly respectable Brahmin family. He was a scholar of the first water. He was gifted with a wit and brilliance. Despite all these enviable virtues, he was devoid of piety. He never performed any godly deed, nor did he allow his subjects to have any religious observances. His impious behaviour led to the decline of religion in his Kingdom. Truth, non-violence, nobility, self-denial and celibacy had all fallen evil days in his reign. Untruth, violence, vice, greed and sensuality were fast replacing them. In short, Ravan struck at the roots of piety, whereas he, being a Brahmin should have safeguarded and promoted it. We have, on the other hand, the examples of Kabir, Namdev and Ravidas. They were neither kings, nor the members of a high caste, yet the world holds them in great veneration. Their respectability is due to their saintliness. Humanity derives and will continue to derive plenty of inspiration from their holy way of living.
Closely corresponding to Kabir is George Bernard Shaw. Shaw was not only a reputed litterateur, but also a great saint. He was a saint not in the popular or traditional sense of the term, but otherwise. He was truthful and honest; he supported the cause of the poor and the down-trodden, he was a perfect vegetarian, he kept at an arm’s length from intemperance and adultery. Critics have called him an atheist, but he with his atheism is far more esteemable than many hypocrites with their so-called theism. Shaw’s piety is worth-emulating. His is a personality which presents a peculiar blending of atheism and religiousness.

Judged from the point of view of piety, Babu Jagjivan Ram serves as a model for many of us. Several decades ago, he was born in a Harijan family of Bihar. Little did his neighbours think, when they beheld the new-born babe, that he was destined to be a man of great virtue and fame. Of the theological virtues that Babuji has his faith is the most remarkable one. By birth he is a Hindu. He loves Hinduism profoundly. He is very proud of it and would not give it up even for all the riches of the world. In religious matters the “Bhagavadgita” serves him as a good guide. He has an unflinching faith in Lord Krishna’s words. He would rather die in the service of the religion of his ancestors than take to some other faith. Not that he dislikes other religions, but he likes Hinduism more.

Jagjivan Ram belongs to the category of theists. He believes that there is some invisible Being, that He is the Creator and Ruler of the universe, that His will reigns supreme and that He manifests Himself to mankind in numerous ways and forms. Theists are usually God-fearing. Jagjivan Ram’s just and upright social conduct has its roots in his theism. Also, his optimism and boldness draw their nourishment from the same source. Those who have watched his mode of living at close quarters must be familiar with the fact that he is a ‘Sagunopasak’ or a votary of God with a form. In Northern India ‘Sagunopasak Vaishnavas’ have two major sects. One
consists of the worshippers of Lord Ram, while the other is made up of the devotees of Lord Krishna. The object of Jagjivan Ram's devotion is Lord Ram. He does not only worship Him, but also regards Him as his ideal. Temperamentally he is an idealist. Besides, he is an admirer of ancient Indian culture and civilization, and the greatest embodiment of the culture is Lord-Ram. Ram's personality has, therefore, an irresistible attraction for him. Moreover, Ram treats all His votaries, whether highborn or low-born, alike. As He told to Bhilni:

Though many of his friends cannot reconcile themselves to his blind devotion to Ram, he continues to be His ardent admirer and sincere worshipper. Ram’s convinance at or tacit approval of the outrage committed against Shurpanakha, His ambuscade on Bali, His unjust treatment to Sita and his callous killing of a Shudra fail to shake Jagjivan Ram's faith in Him. He must revere Him, he must bow to Him. According to him, it is sheer perversity to cast aspersions on His ennobling character. To him Ram is incapable of practising deception. He also believes in the 'Gita' which tells us that there is nothing in the world which is entirely free from fault. Let us therefore, like the fabled swan who rejects the water and takes only the milk, learn to treasure only the good and reject the evil in everything.

If Ram is Babuji's adored ideal, Tulsidas, His biographer, is his most favourite poet. Tulsi's immortal epic, the "Ramcharitmanas" is, for him, a book par excellence. He regards it as an un-assailable piece of theological literature. He loves it as an orthodox Christian would love the "Bible", or a Muslim would love the "Koran". He loves it more for its religious value than for its artistic beauty. To him every page of the "Ramcharitmanas" is intensely inspiring and overflowing with devotion and spiritual experience. He recites its verses with great fondness and admiration. His reverence for its hero, as also for its author, is commendable. Tears of devotion can be seen trickling down his cheeks, while he is busy repeating
some pathetic stanzas from it. These tears cleanse his heart of all wicked passions and his mind of all wicked thoughts. Recitation of the quatrains and couplets from the "Ramcharitmanas" is an essential part of Jagjivan Ram's daily routine. A statesman as he is, he has an over crowded programme and an awfully busy life. He has to attend to his numerous Ministerial duties, he has to give a patient hearing to hundreds of visitors who call on him everyday, he has to look to the party work too. 'Nevertheless', he finds time to chant the verses of the "Ramcharitmanas" and this he does regularly. If regularity is the same as penance, Jagjivan Ram is admittedly a man of penance. His life shows a judicious mixture of "Artha" and "Dharma" or earthly glory and spiritual elevation. He is not an escapist as most devotees are; he is not a materialist as most politicians are. His ambition for mundane possessions cannot dull his desire for the salvation of his soul. They both counter-balance each other. It is this kind of piety that the nation badly needs today. Most people in the East are strongly entrenched in the belief that material things are all superficial things and that spiritual things are the only important things. From the point of view of national welfare nothing will be more serious than to have such a view, for it is a sheer folly to talk of God and soul when human beings suffer from poverty and starvation. Before one can talk about anything else, one must provide oneself with the normal essentials of life. The growth of the material side along with the growth of the spiritual side is the real growth of man. Jagjivan Ram understands the significance of this view-point. That is why both 'Artha' and 'Dharma' find equally important places in his life.

There is a striking affinity between Kabir's creed and Jagjivan Ram's religious ideology. Kabir may, in a sense, pass for his mentor. Both are theists, both are opposed to dogmatism Kabir's undaunted denunciation of time worn traditions and customs appeals to Babuji a great deal. He too has condemned the evils that have crept into Hinduism. He too has sought to remove them. He tries to live up to the best teachings of
his religion. He pursues the path of Truth, love and service to mankind. He will not allow the scriptures to stifle man’s conscience. He follows the dictates of the small voice within even if they run contrary to the commandments of the ‘Shastras’.

He will continue to follow them, so long as they conform to Truth and Universal love. Jagjivan Ram’s religion is, thus, a religion of freedom and growth. Like Kabir’s religion it does not approve of bondage to tradition and liturgy. The only difference that we mark between the medaeval saint and the twentieth century politician is that the former was a ‘Nirgunopasak’, while the latter is a ‘Sagunopasak’.

In the spheres of politics and religion Jagjivan Ram is a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. The nineteenth century Indian scene bears, everywhere, an indelible impress of the Mahatma. He called himself a Hindu. “Hinduism was his life-breath, the very marrow of his bones, and he clung to it through all his tempestuous career as a child clings to its mother’s arms.” He looked to the “Bhagwadgita” for inspiration and guidance. Next to “Gita” Tulsidas’s Ramayana” formed his food. These two books have fashioned the religious life of Jagjivan Ram also. Gandhiji regarded all men as equal. Treated all human beings, including his enemies, with sympathy and love. To him the distinctions of race, caste and creed were meaningless. They are meaningless to his disciple as well. In his opinion, racial superiority is the root-cause of all modern troubles and wars, for it creates jealousy and enmity between man and man. Following in the foot-prints of his ‘guru’, Jagjivan Ram looks upon all men and women as the sons and daughters of one and the same supreme Father. Again, Gandhiji called Hinduism an all-embracing religion. He had as much regard for Christianity and Islam as his own religion. To offend the religious sentiments of others, was in his eye, a sacrilege or a sin. Jagjivan Ram has a like attitude towards all religions other than Hinduism. He respects them as the Mahatma did.
A sympathetic tolerance in religious matters seems to be his motto. His cultured mind, rooted in the religion of his forefathers, has its doors and windows open to the wisdom and good contained in other religions. He tries to understand the others’ view-point, even though he may not agree to it. In his opinion, grains of wisdom can be and should be gleaned from all the religions of the world. This, we may be sure, is perfectly a Gandhian attitude towards religions.

“Religion, pure and undefiled as it is in the mouths of the great seers and prophets, degenerates in course of time and becomes lost in the dry sands of dead tradition and ritual”. This was what happened to Hinduism in the fifteenth century when Kabir, a great prophet appeared to redeem it from fanaticism and unrighteousness. He called his countrymen back to true religion. In our own day Vivekanand and Gandhiji did the same. They rescued Hinduism from stagnation and decay. Jagjivan Ram, like Gandhiji rejects ritualism, if he finds it inconsistent with his moral sense and spiritual growth. He is a Sanatani Hindu, but of a different kind. To him the “Vedas” and the “Upanishads” are a store-house of wisdom. But if their teachings go against his reason and moral sense, he will not hesitate in renouncing them. Hinduism permits every human being to worship God according to his own faith and enjoins upon him to live at peace with the followers of other religions. It tells us that wisdom is not the prerogative of any race or class. It is this form of Hinduism that fascinates Jagjivan Ram. He loves it as a man loves his wife. In spite of all its demerits and limitations, he clings to it. He practises it without ever preaching it. In short, he lives by it, up to it and for it.

1. Kabir. “Caste and class are insignificant. What endears man to God is devotion to him”. 

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
2. Tulsidas, the "Ramcharitmanas" (Aranyakand)

"Listen to my words, O Woman! I value only one relationship, that of devotion. Despite his high caste, his exalted rank, his virtuousness, his power and pelf, his influential relations, his parts and his skill, a man without devotion looks like a cloud without rain".


Illustrious Son of Bharat Mata

Dr. DUKHAN RAM

Shri Jagjivan Ram is an illustrious son of Bharat Mata. I am thankful for the opportunity extended to me to write a few lines on the different aspects of Sri Jagjivan Ram’s life.

BUILDER OF NEW HINDU SOCIETY

During the critical days of the Independence Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, when options were few and divisive forces many, Shri Jagjivan Ram had a vision to see through all the complex forces which were gathering momentum and intensity. Mohammed Ali Jinnah put forward the two nations theory. Dr. Ambedkar came out with the demand for ‘Achhutistan’ on top of this. Further, this being in line with the divide and rule policy, it was favoured by the then British Government on the score of deep seated hatred between the caste Hindus and the Harijans. There was a time when the slogan of Achhutistan created a stir all over the country. Dr. Ambedkar emerged as a champion of this cause in the world. He gave a clarion call to the Harijans to embrace Islam to get rid of inhuman treatment by the caste Hindus. Later on, to some extent he succeeded in converting the Harijans into Buddhism. Shri Jagjivan Ram opposed this idea tooth and nail.

As a staunch Hindu, Shri Jagjivan Ram put up a stiff resistance to this movement and advised Harijans to revolt against the tyranny of the caste Hindus. Because in the past
also conversion of Harijans into other sects of faiths could not bring about any radical changes in their economy and social status, Shri Jagjivan Ram favoured the new orientation of the conventional Hindu structure of society. He still believes change of religion is not the solution. He acted just like a Shankaracharya who once saved Hinduism from the onslaughts of Buddhism. Untouchability, the hydra-headed monster, existing in Indian society, had focussed the attention of the world in general and the British in particular. Shri Jagjivan Ram tamed this monster just in the nick of time.

ABLE ADMINISTRATOR

Whenever the country has passed through a fiery ordeal, Shri Jagjivan Ram has come to the rescue. As Labour Minister the labour legislations which he enacted remain as the Magna Charta, and are accepted as such by all the different Trade Unions of this country. During the period when famine was raging, it was he, who as Food Minister, relieved the suffering of millions of Indians. At the critical moment of the split in the Congress, as Congress President he saved the country from chaos, confusion and disintegration, and once again set right the course of socialism in India. Under his Presidentship the Indian National Congress secured a massive and convincing victory.

STRATEGIST OF WAR

Shri Jagjivan Ram is a peace loving man, but when the blasts of war were to be heard in our country, it was he who rose to the occasion to face the situation. At the time of Indo-China war, Mr. Menon became the escape-goat of the debacle. The nation did not hold Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru responsible for the unpreparedness in defence. During the Indo-Pak war Shri Jagjivan Ram happened to be the Defence Minister, which he is still to-day. At Patna before a mammoth gathering in the Gandhi Maidan it was Shri Jagjivan Ram who took up the banner and spoke in a forthright manner that the battle would be fought on Pakistani soil. And he did. He
further added that Bangla Desh would be the Desh of Mujibur Rahman. He expressed that Yahya Khan should be behind the bars. Parallel to our ancient mythology, where Bhagwan Ram put the ‘tilak mark’ on the forehead of Bibhisan, another Ram crowned the beloved leader of Bangla Desh, Shri Mujibur Rahman as a Prime Minister. It would not be out of place to mention here that for his bold utterances—‘fight on Pakistani-soil’, he was asked an explanation. But after the victory every-one came forward to take laurels.

It is indeed, a sad commentary on the life of this nation that seldom a man of Shri Jagjivan Ram’s calibre gets his due share of honour and respect from society. Should he who has a vision beyond caste, tribunal and national horizons and touches with grace the limitless boundary of humanity, be cornered only to plead the cause of down-trodden? It is high time for the nation to rise to the occasion to pay real tribute to Shri Jagjivan Ram, not mere lip service.
A Life Dedicated to the Nation

Dr. S.N. DIXIT

A MAN OF DESTINY AND FIRM DETERMINATION

Shri Jagjivan Ram as a seasoned political leader, successful statesman and as a Central Cabinet Minister of such a great stature and long experience, has influenced the great events and decisions of national importance. He is one of the few colourful personalities in contemporary India who has the clear conception and rare vision of future India. Rather, he is one of the builders of new India, what it is today. Jagjivan Ram throughout his life long political career, has been a torch bearer of patriotism and selfless service to the suffering humanity. Inspired by lofty ideals, in his early life, he joined the civil disobedience movement under the inspiring leadership of great Mahatma Gandhi. Being a man of strong determination he dedicated his humble services to the cause of liberation of mother India with utmost devotion and spirit of selflessness. Very soon, he was, then one of the important personalities amongst the fore-runners of that great movement. He remained always a brave fighter for the cause of nation and its exploited poor people.

In post-independence era, destiny had stored a still greater role for him to play in his public life. Rather it was opening a new vista and challenge to meet with. Analysis of his powerful personality leads us to definite conclusion that he shines while he is in midst of crisis and conflict, with his
missionary spirit of selfless service of poor and utterly neglected people and complete devotion for the betterment of our developing nation. Whatever he has contributed, will remain as an inspiring guide light for our younger generation.

A GREAT ORGANISER

Shri Jagjivan Ram, recently, was rather compelled to accept the controversial post of Congress Presidentship in midst of bitterest mutual crisis in history of Indian National Congress. The great National Organisation was just on the point of breaking into pieces, nay, the very national solidarity was at great stake. Thanks to the wisdom of Jagjivan Babu, who like a skilful ‘Sutradhar’ of Indian stage, managed the whole show so sagaciously and dramatically that the great organisation was saved and a new vigour came into being in favour of socialism, secularism, and democratic traditions in entire nation. He, not only, inspired the party cadre with new spirit and faith in socialistic pattern of society but a new wave for reshaping the destiny of the country touched the highest point, never known in past. The important national events no doubt, are gliding and vanishing gently in the lap of history, but the contributions made by Jagjivan Ram at such a critical juncture in the history of our nation will remain ever memorable in the annals of contemporary Indian history.

A GREAT LEADER BUT COMMONER TOO

In his public life Shri Jagjivan Ram has certain puritan approach to the day-to-day problems. He has established some high ideals and healthy traditions for the present and future generations to follow with. He is not there, for any personal gain or lust of power or for simply living luxurious life like an average politician. No; he is there, to write a new chapter, create a congenial atmosphere for the welfare of the state, a state full of socialistic outlook both in theory and practice. He knows, we are still far behind the ideals enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. So he believes in hard work and greater self-sacrifice for the realisation of those
high ideals. Though an influential Minister throughout, he
counts himself as a Commoner and works ceaselessly from the
attainment of these greater ideals. This is the secret of his
successful political life.

A MAN OF HIGH CALIBRE AND EFFICIENCY

High Calibre and efficiency of Jagjivan Ram left lasting im-
pressions on our succeeding Prime Ministers from Pandit Nehru
to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He always gets important portfolios
in the central cabinet and performs the duties assigned
to him in various capacities. His critics and admirers too some-
times, doubt, whether he is born with some auspicious signs?

When he was Railway Minister, accidents came to the lowest
ebb, and as a Food Minister he controlled the rising prices
of food grains. In fact secret of his success lies in his hard-
working temperament and selfless devotion to assigned duties.
He knows how to work ceaselessly, act tactfully in time and
handle the complex situation amicably: Though one of the
senior most Cabinet Ministers and a leader of such a great
stature, he counts himself among the commoners and serves the
nation with utmost humility and humble submission. This rare
human quality has made him not only the leader of a political
party but a true friend of common people. People give him
their heartfelt love than awe and respect.

WRITER OF A GLORIOUS CHAPTER

What Shri Jagjivan Ram achieved as a Defence Minister
and added a glorious chapter to contemporary Indian history,
is too fresh an event to examine dispassionately at present
moment. We Indians, are still undergoing through after
effects of Indo-Pak war and echoes of last war still resounding.
But how one can deny the patent fact that as a Defence
Minister, Shri Ram took greater strides to re-equip our defence
requirements, created greater confidence among the Jawans to
fight the enemy, and kept their morale high to the last. As
Jagjivan Babu proclaimed, Pakistan army was defeated and
crushed on her own soil.
INDO-PAK WAR AND BASIC HUMAN VALUES

While analysing the causes of Indo-Pak war, it must be borne in mind that it was not fought for any territorial gain, or for simple reason of breaking Pakistan into pieces or creating a friendly nation ‘Bangla Desh’ on our eastern border. We must not miss the patent fact that last Indo-Pak war was an event of greater significance. Indian people and its army were facing a very complex situation. A bitter and greater challenge was before us. Lakh of refugees were crossing Indian border. Inside East Bengal, people were carrying the grim battle with limited resources, West Pakistan army fully equipped with modern destructive weapons, was trying to crush their spirits as a nation, quite independent. They fought till to the last drop of their blood for defence of their language, literature, culture and the dignity of their mothers and sisters. Pakistan army not only killed the poor people and looted their property, but they behaved like beasts and quenched their beastly thirst outraging the chastity of tender and helpless Bengalee women which was not only inhuman, but barbarous and sinful.

CREATION OF BANGLA DESH : A MATTER OF GREAT EVENT

Provoked by gruesome Pak attack, Indian army came to the scene for the defence of certain human values, certain basic democratic principles and traditions and last but not the least to save the dignity of womenhood, which suffered the worst. Indian army fought there bravely and tactfully and finally won the war within 14 days in face of fear of attack from 7th Fleet which came to the Bay of Bengal from Far East for the very fact to demoralise our army. But our army gave a befitting reply by giving a crushing defeat on their own soil. Bangla Desh came into being and a large area of Pakistani territory came into our possession. Indian army through its sacrifice, courage, tact and foresight, achieved victory on military and mental plane. Pakistani army and the people were completely demoralised.
CONTRIBUTION OF A DEFENCE MINISTER

This is the greatest contribution a Defence Minister can make to serve the motherland and its people. Jagjivan Babu always shows his worth in midst of bitter crisis, conflict and challenge. When national integrity is in danger he knows how to inspire the living spirit of entire nation. He serves the Nation and guides the people like a friend and philosopher and stands with them in moments of crisis and calamity.

May God give him longer life, greater strength to guide the destiny of this great nation and entire people for long.

Jaya Hind
Jaya Jag (entire world),
Jaya Jivan (all living being), and
Jaya Ram (The master of universe).
The History of ‘Confidant Self’

ARVIND GURTU

What could the great Warrior say? What could the great Diplomat state? What would the great Master answer? All such answers could not come out from the Horse’s Mouth if the question was this—

"Don’t you think that war is a sacred game in unpeaceful conditions?"

But a ‘Confidant self’ could come out very easily with simpleton answer—

"We have to fight till our victory?"

And that was all—it was the noble manifestation of something unknown, a simple answer with no intention to solve the problem on rectangular tables, but only to exploit the opportunity in most explicit terms. Jagjivan Ram is the synthesis of that ‘confidant self’ which has the saga of a glorious revolution beginning right from the pre-Independence Era, following towards the Nehru Arena, taking its shape in Shastri’s brief period and making a tremendous turn in Indira regime. This ‘confidant self’ called Jagjivan Ram had an unproclaimed truth at its base, notwithstanding the fact that it moves its holy finger towards the truer self which was enlightened and righteous. On the one hand Indira had the advantages of being the darling daughter of Nehru, on the other hand Jagjivan Ram had not such family heritage which could govern his future. He was unified, synthetic, concen-
trated one ‘self’, and a past of suffering and humiliation, frustration of the class-consciousness and non-secular minds, difference of the newly emergent popular leaders, and dogma of the newly structured west-effected society. Because his ‘self’ was more refined and pure, he could not have been affected by these petty frivolities which existed and faded inevitably, during the specific time. That strong ‘self’ could not be attracted and bewitched, bewildered and exhausted, shattered and conquered by the ‘Time’, but it could continue more spontaneously and naturally with the passing time. That means in other sense, that the pure world of this ‘self’ conquered the time and thus caste and creed, colour bar and shobhism, monetary and hereditary—all such distinctions become absorbed and reached finally their richest accomplishment in the amazingly many sided personality of Jagjivan Ram a great social revolutionary, a great politician and the Saviour of the downtrodden.

It is always wondered what would have been the fate of Jagjivan Ram if he belonged to the upper crust of society. If Shastri sprang up from a lower crust of society, Jagjivan Ram could not have come out from the more lower crust of life—he only became the class in itself which was noticeably a Scheduled Caste and negligible in this religious and orthodox country. He became the symbol of not only that Class but a symbolic figure of the real India, which could not be avoided so easily. He became a symphony of ignoble strife towards freedom. More freedom, more and more freedom—the ‘Confidant self’ wanted to annex every territory which was invaded by the orthodoxy and rigid customs. What could be the better way but to revolutionise the whole system of freer thought and freer speech. Jagjivan Ram and the ‘Confidant self’ fought passionately and emphatically to reach the goal of more freer ‘self’, more freer society, more freer nation.

It was a glorious war of self-righteousness and enslaved selves. Right from that war to the war for Bangla Desh, the same ‘confidant self’ worked with its remarkable strategies
and self-applicable tactics. Therefore, he won every war—
either it was of Labour uplift, Green Revolution or war with
the Nation. He uprooted every genre of being victimised or
harassed unnecessarily, because he had the nature of con-
quering every unjust thing of the world. His nature had never
accepted the defeat, because his ‘strong self’ was the embodi-
ment of many great defeats from the rigid society; his nature
never surrendered to the situation, because his ‘golden self’
surrendered many times before the tormented laws of society,
his nature never could be punished, because his ‘God-like
self’ was punished and punished several times by the pandits
of Society. When the country listened that Pakistani forces
had surrendered before the Indian Forces, then I thought that
it was the unacknowledged defeat of the rigid and severe
ideologies of the society towards the truly democratic and
free society. He fought fiercely, undauntedly more
like a Champion to the cause, than champion of the Nation.
We could not say that it was unprecedented, but it was
really great in the history of India, because it was the war of
ideologies, not the war of two nations for any selfish cause.
Pakistan was utterly defeated, but India was not the winner,
because as this ‘confidant self’ had proclaimed that it was the
truth which has triumphed over falsehood and this had not
happened once but twice during a short span of time.

Quite earlier, when Babu Jagjivan Ram was the Food
Minister, the same idea struck me. It was the same ‘Confidant
self’ which had experienced the winning game when he was
Railway Minister. All the time of deteriorating Food situation
in the country, when Bihar and parts of U. P. and Rajasthan
were struck miserably by the drought and famine, he came as
a sooth sayer and walked as Caesar bewaring the ideas of March
and killing the unnatural phenomenon. It was really overcon-
quering the nature, the real gambits of nature and God, and
again there was a tremendous outburst of thunderstorm and
rainfall. The ‘Confidant self’ this time played heroically not
with the soldiers but with God and nature, and since this time
he started winning games, then this became the habit. The stakes were high and bid was low, but the game was in favour. There was a marvellous improvement in the Food situation, and the time came when the surplus food was sent to other nations.

Food of thought was more expensive than food for body. It could not be generated just by means of making policies in the air, plans, so called commissions, the food could only be brought by hard labour, day and night work, irrigational means, etc. etc. And this was brought down, Jagjivan Ram chalked out the practical planning and executed it within no time. Neither he waited for the results, nor he waited for the orders, he executed the plan immediately and gave the results, tremendous and outstanding results—and after as he felt satisfied, he immediately switched over to his next assignment—the safety of Congress and results of the Congress split. This was the immediate task before him, and for the transient period he forgot the food or any relevent problems because the house of Congress, which was built after a great struggle, was breaking in its columns and all around the voices were shrieking as if something had to happen immediately. The voices of God prevented the debacle and people were made to know the truth. The truth was this—the Congress was not more a house of Cards, it was a National Force, a dynamic reality. At this critical juncture, Jagjivan Ram with his strongly integrated 'self' displayed his wise tactics and paved the way for opening a new chapter. The voice of Congress became the voice of Jagjivan Ram which in turn became the voice of the people.

People wanted to nationalise the banks, people wanted to abolish the privy purses, people wanted the ceiling towards property and land, and people wanted to exterminate poverty, annihilate unemployment and wipe out scarcity. If it was Indira Gandhi on the one hand to proclaim the Congress motivation, it was on the other Jagjivan Ram who implemented the motive. The motive was very much straight forward and
direct, three-fold to end the poverty (Garibi Hatao), to abolish privy purses and to fade out unemployment. This could be the only voice of a socialistic country like India, which is entangled in such like problems. The other parties had no such motivation behind dictating the terms of election machinery. It was quite inevitable that Congress won with great majority, and majority of the people voted only Indira Gandhi or Jagjivan Ram. It is quite true that this time the wave of personality cult gripped the entire mass. The whole community subsisted their emotions and thought of only one thing—Congress should win. It was a fight between Congress and congress, people with blockheads, many with few. So it happened another ‘Mahabharat’ in Greater India, another ‘Chakravyuh’ in Dharmakshetre Kurukshetre, another milestone in the history of India. The people surrendered before the leader, the liars surrendered before the Supreme Truth, the augmen ters subjugated before the Tenth Commandment. It was really a great victory in actual sense.

Jagjivan Ram, the noble ‘confidant self’ was a synthesis of winning the game paradoxically and enjoying the result categorically. Truly speaking, he is a man of manifold qualitative truths. During his life he has faced immense pressures, monstrous problems, but at such occasions he does not like to carry a wounded look, but more than enough confidence in seriously thinking and seeking out solution of a problem. He is very witty and more engaging is his gift of getting down to the truth to the matter. One can easily marvel at the man’s skill and agility as well as clarity of his mind and thinking. He knows the art of speaking, he knows what to speak, and what not to speak. He has a sense of humour, and great mixture of wit and irony. So much so, he gives his opinion, when it is mostly needed, and makes the suggestions, when it can be implemented. He seldom talks, and if talks, speaks in the most lucid terms, like symbolic figures, epiphanic speech as if manifestation of something unknown. ‘Epiphany’ is a great term meaning a lid unopend. Jagjivan Ram opens himself
when the things are closed, and he discloses the truth. This super imposition of truth gives a clear meaning of the Plan, which he nourishes in mind, and takes shape when he seriously thinks it over.

There can be many men who misunderstand him, and there can be many men who closely associate him to know something, and there can be men who are only convinced by this qualitative truth that they don't know him. What is this knowledge in a real term—is it the know-how of a technique which bewitches the knowledge or is it a just another malefactor opinion of the knowledge? The reasons behind them may be fractionary, but it speaks the real 'self'. The real 'self' acknowledges the knowledge, but never surrenders before the truth that's the real 'confidant self' walks on the pedlary ground and reaches the destination. After Nehru there were many questions on the lips, but the problem was solved without taking into consideration that Jagjivan Ram can be also included in the candidature. He was aloof, but part and parcel of the selection team. He became innocent, as he was only the observer in the game. He didn't stand like Morarji Bhai to select himself, but stood near the candidate who was greatly appreciated, and clapped when he was clapped. Even the second time, he didn't poke his nose in the final selection, and therefore once again he remained out side the Prime Minister platform and applauded the final candidate. It does not mean that I am misinterpreting the facts, or want to create a misunderstanding of him, but precisely, this means that how a man patiently waits for the 'time', and never tries to indulge in the circumstances. He remains great, unchallenged, but never tries to challenge the Combat, because he knows that, if he really wants to do the great social service, then it is insignificant whether he is selected as the Prime Minister or not. Even if he is selected for such a high post, he thinks he is too small a man to adjust to it. But this is merely his thinking, and the people know that he is versatile enough to hold any vulnerable post, which
requires a highly concentrated command, prophesied planning, and vigorous assignments. The country at its stake gave ample accommodation for his executive talent, and positively he could be able to command the supreme confidence of the people and the Government. But he came from the right exit and remained standing near the back door, and tried to take the permission for going towards the Main Door. Did he blush at the idea of becoming the Prime Minister, or did he feel that he was unable to execute it. No! It was the same ‘Confidant self’ which stood near the back door, and waited in queue for his arrival. He didn’t want that the opportunity should be taken as granted, he didn’t want that he should burst out and fade away. The opportunity never knocks the door twice, and he remained aloof towards the situation, and opportunity remained knocking at the different doors.

As a Congress Chief, he controlled the distressing situation. His voice was mild, but his heart was expanding, his ‘self’ was confidant, and his eyes were directly connected towards the goal. He never pooh-poohed his office, he never spoke the diabolical sentences like a conventional speaker, he never came out as a political speaker and never displayed the diplomatic gambit. His acrobatics were none and his contribution was great like Jawahar Lal Nehru in the past, and Indira Gandhi in the present, he never visited the ten-fifteen constituencies in one day, he never gave the ten to fifteen speeches at different places, he never made use of the helicopters, jeeps, trucks or motorcades. Some people believed that he was inefficient, though he was controlling the highest party office. On the one hand his own constituency and Bihar State was not such in the lime-light and on the other hand his own self was much concentrating on the people or the ticket-mongers. He had rightly analysed the situation, and tried to work out every detail in his self-made map. He never bothered what the people thought of him, and also what will be the fate of his State and the Constituency. There was
not a single Minister or leader left at the Capital, who was not busy in total election campaign. Total Campaign was the different matter for them, because everybody was busy in their own State or in their respective constituencies. Jagjivan Ram was only concentrating on his map, and his mind was totally imbibed in the whole country. He might be smoking a Gold Flake in a cosy room of his residence at 6, Hastings road or he might be sitting on his easy chair at his hometown residence, he was making his mind to listen the result of his party, which was so much paralysed by different opposition parties. They had the guns, guts and gums to conquer a split party. They had made a united front, and they were attacking on a small cow and calf which was innocently standing on the road-side. They were attacking by Charkhas, Diyas, Hassiyas and Hathoras and what not, and this time the attack was united. They had the armaments, but didn’t know how to use them, in the same way, Pak soldiers had the most modern Machine Guns. Tanks, Jets and Pattons, but they also didn’t know how to use them. Assembling the guns does not mean that you know the art of attacking. So that war was flopped, badly flopped and Jagjivan Ram, who was the brain behind the manoeuvring never boasted that he took the lead. He sparked the slaunting rays, and fictitious people were bewared that they are unknown to the idea of March. As soon as the results came out, everybody was jubilant, overjoyed, overpuffed with emotions except him, because he knew the results before. He never made the statement of victory, he never went to the platform and accepted the garlands or bouquets. He was simply changing his assignment towards more challenging work.

Some people had asked in this context, that why Jagjivan Ram didn’t show his unchallenging technique in the previous 1966 Election when the Congress party badly failed to click the mind of the people. It was tumbling game at that time, when Congress showed a marginal decline in practically
all the States, even the Reserved and Union Territories. I can only say this much that, he was not a magician, nor a great juggler. What I said about him earlier I stress again that he was something in him his own method to get his way. His habitual attitude of seriously and silently pondering over the things can often be seen making a gesture of an innate and very deep sense of doing his duty without show and ostentation. This job, no doubt, involves long and lonely path of work, but this is the most outstanding trait in his character. He has courage, but an equally aspect of his nature is action. He is essentially a doer who always played a key role in the making of the country and thus attained an excellent reputation in India and abroad.
A man of diversified talents, Babu Jagjivan Ram is a worthy son of India. A veteran social reformer, a seasoned politician yet a man who has moulded his life in the pattern of ascetics of the country. His ability in solving economic problems is superb, He is one of the few leaders of India who has been earnestly trying for the establishment of true equality in Indian society.

Born in an ordinary family and without any silver spoon in his mouth, he has gradually risen to the position of top leaders of the country because of his extraordinary talents, integrity, patriotism and high sense of duty. Inspired by patriotism he entered politics and devoted most of his time for the uplift of the downtrodden and backward classes of the society. The story of his constant struggle against social evils and his campaigns for securing social justice to the lowliest is well known.

Babuji is a man of simple but charming personality. He is humble but beneath the life of simplicity dwells an ironman. He has a delightful sense of humour, the subtlety of which can best be seen when he delivers speech. Howsoever terse or serious the topic may be, he makes it interesting, simple and lucid.

Babuji has several qualities which have evoked the admiration of the country. His greatest ability lies in shouldering successfully any responsibility given to him. Every
department headed by him has marched steadily on the way to progress. After independence, he became Labour Minister. Several laws regarding proper wages and welfare of the labourers were made during his regime. It can rightly be said that those laws have become the backbone of the Labour Ministry. Several beneficial changes in the railways were made when he became Minister for Railways. With a view to providing facilities to common man he increased the number of third class bogies.

Sleeping accommodation was also ensured for third class passengers during his time. After the rift in the Congress, he joined that Congress which was true representative of the people and strengthened the hands of Prime Minister Smt. Gandhi. The memories of President Giri's election and glorious victory of Jagjivan Ram Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi are still fresh. He became Minister for Agriculture at a time when the country was facing a severe drought, he ably solved the food problem. It is mostly due to the measures taken during his regime that we have attained self-sufficiency in foodgrains. His services to India in the recent past as Defence Minister have been laudable and one more glorious chapter in the history of this land has been added. Even foreigners have paid glowing tributes to his defence policy. Under his expert direction we attained a victory in the Indo-Pak war which has enhanced our prestige in international sphere. India is regarded as a big power in Asia today.

The services of Babu Jagjivan Ram both in pre and post independence era have been valuable to the nation. Selfless, painstaking and devoted workers like him are few in the country. Babuji's socialism is also a pure product of this land free from any foreign influence. His name will be a beacon light in years to come.
Jagjivan Ram's Dynamic View of Education

BADRI PRASAD

Babu Jagjivan Ram's greatness has been recognised in several spheres of activities, but, one feels that little notice has been taken of his contribution to education in our country.

A distinguished reformist of long standing, a graceful stylist and a sensitive soul vibrant with deep emotions, Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of the best representatives of a secular, free and civilized India. Known for his devotion and sacrifice to the educational cause he is one of the chief exponents of indigenous education. His speeches are a glowing tribute to his modesty and originality. His faith in democracy is never under any doubt.

Education is a dynamic affair. Babuji's contributions to the educational philosophy and its practice leads to a possibility of building up an indigenous theory of education provided we are not over-whelmed by the western frames of reference. He is acutely conscious of the need for having a national system of education, where people irrespective of class, religion and caste have their own rightful role to play. He warns against a narrow, restrictive and, therefore, perverted approach to this problem. The minorities in India have the same claim on education as the majority have. Any biased approach will only harm the cause.
He is anxious to let education have as broad a base as possible—a base which has its roots deep down in India's long good traditions. His image of India is of a country where justice and truth are accorded highest position, where religion is not a cause of dissension but of peace and forgiveness and where all have similar opportunities of maximum growth.

Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution. We need to bring about major improvement in the effectiveness of primary education; to introduce work-experience as an integral element of general education; to vocationalize secondary education; to improve the quality of teachers at all levels and to provide teachers in sufficient strength; to liquidate illiteracy; to strengthen centres of advanced study and strive to attain in some of our universities at least higher international standards; to lay special emphasis on the combination of teaching and research; and to pay particular attention to education and research in agriculture and allied sciences. All this calls for a determined and large scale action. Tinkering with the existing situation, and moving forward with faltering steps and lack of faith can make things worse than before.

Babuji gives equal importance to all parts of education. The primary education should be the first ladder of school going age. With the Basic Education, he has attached the question of social needs. The social bias of education is really the kernel of good education. He condemned bookish education for stunting the creative talent of children, for it neither leads one to creativity nor a full development of personality. Socially useful, physically based and intellectually elevating curriculum should be the main aim of early education. All educational institutions should be transformed from mere information-mongering places into temples of work-centred and experience-oriented learning. This early education should attempt to compensate for the unsatisfactory home environment of children from slum areas or poor families. Modern researches
have shown that the years between three and ten are of the greatest importance in the child’s physical, emotional and intellectual development.

Work-experience is an integral part of whole education. But what type of work-experience should be? This question is rather complicated.

The Gandhian Scheme of work or life-centered education can be expressed in the following words: “The aim of my education,” Gandhiji said, “is not mere to teach handicrafts to children along with the so called liberal education. I wish the entire education be imparted through the medium of some handicraft or industry—Improvement in education can be expected only when the art and science of some vocation is taught through education and it is made the basis of entire educational system”.

Babuji is not entirely against it. He wants to add some more ideas to these thoughts. He says work preceded by mental effort is more educative. An educative quality can be found in hand work as well as in mental work. In this way, we see that in the eyes of Babuji a good School imitates children into self-education and social achievements.

At the higher stages, Babuji wants to revolutionise college education to bring in line with national necessities. Universities in the modern world have a distinct role to play. These are neither the only repositories of wisdom and knowledge nor any more the places where the aristocracy finds convenient to tarry a while, learn good manners and retire guilty thereafter to pursue other interests of their own. They also do not function now as bodies which have a sole right to confer upon an individual a distinction which he otherwise cannot obtain.

A University is the reflection of a nation’s resolve to create new frontiers of knowledge and also of a sign of awareness of the demands of time and change. It is a platform where ceaseless, untiring academic debates go on. But a single glance at the way majority of Indian Universities are
functioning today will make one shudder at the sorry spectacle they present. Here now political affiliations are stronger than academic interests. In a word, Indian Universities today are just the reverse of what they ought to be. Babuji charges universities for feeling satisfied with their dimunitive role carelessly and incomprehensively hoisted by themselves. There is dangerously little of thinking in the universities all over the country about their own work, about its nature and scope, its aims and objectives, its methods and techniques. He would like the University people, to work in the direction of making their country great. Not only they should know India’s mission but conscientiously strive to help to achieve it. He says that both individual and national goals need be attained. He is a practical man. He has his own views on the problems like University autonomy, equality, academic freedom and individual needs. He believes in the unrestricted freedom of the mind. These Universities should be placed, where people get time and opportunity to think.

We come finally to discuss science and technology as viewed by Jagjivan Ram. Are the objectives of modern science and technology in consonance with the spiritual and moral aspirations of our generation to this country? Is the scientific learning healthy for the development of our peculiar fibre and needs? To these questions Babuji has ready answers. He asks his countrymen to learn science and technology. Modern science and modern technique are really two sides of the modern view of nature, in its practical and theoretical implications. Theory and practice go hand to hand. Knowledge is power. Scientific discovery and technical inventions are Siamese twins. But at the same time he expects a scientist to be humane and appreciative of others, who are not mere ‘things’ but human beings. Again he makes humane approach to all problems because of unlimited potentialities of science and technology acquired today of annihilation of the mankind. That is why he calls upon scientists and technologists to remember that there is another side also to the story of science.
-progress. So we see that science with human values can prosper and benefit the nation.

He is always in favour of improving education of masses on national level. He has always expressed his thoughts on education in convocation addresses, lectures and speeches. Addressing the 8th convocation of Vikram University in January 1967, he expressed the following ideas on education: “We have to overthrow the attachment to conventions, so far it is nothing but a worship of orthodoxy. We have to create an environment favourable to the growth of technological know-how whether it is Agriculture or Industry, we have to evolve new Scientific techniques. We have to make necessary arrangement to help people learn new skills. One should not forget that the traditional society showed a total disregard for labour only because it implied manual work. Production, in the traditional society was based on empirical knowledge rather than that on Science. Both Science and Technology are closely related in our modern society and education forms the basis of these two. We may say that education today is science oriented. We cannot apply science in solving the problems of our physical life, unless we orient the whole social thinking in the direction of science. The physical nature of science is no proof that it is opposed to the spiritual science in a search for truth, on unceasing exploration. Science is not passive acceptance of conventions, fate and blind faiths. It is not faith of ‘Dogma’. It is an effort to understand nature. How can it oppose spirituality which is an endeavour to understand the man, and his place in this Universe. We have to correlate the two. We have to establish a synthetic relationship between education and society, spirituality, and science, and democratic and socialistic values. We, today are imparting a formal education in a state of void. We isolate our children in some respects from the social life and educate them in an artificial environment. We train and equip them for a predetermined role. Equipped with his training and education, he comes out only to find there is no room for him in society. Quite naturally he repents as to why he wasted so much of his
labour. He feels disgrunted, dissatisfied. The responsibility of this state of affairs lies on society, not on the student. The practical world and domain of education being set apart, and having no interaction for years, shall naturally lead to these consequences. The society has turned it back on the student and he arrests its attention only when he creates disturbances, and indulges in destructive activities. To a large extent even the family is not before him, nor is the country. What lies before him is an uncertain dark and grim future. In such a state of affairs out of despondency he loses faith. The student goes to school at an early age when he is just a clay in the hands of others. Our failure to mould him into a pattern to inspire noble ideals in him, is some thing for which we are to blame, not he. A society clamouring slogans of socialism should first look at its system of education”.

The primary aim of education is all round growth of personality. He has always insisted on the point that the whole society is to be re-organised. With this aim in mind the society divided by castes has no national ideals but is involved in group interests. People do not understand that the universal national feeling is not something which can prosper without deriving its nutrition from its roots. How crudely have we imitated the English ways and manners. We have introduced the public school system simply because it prevails in England. And we were ruled by the English. After all what is the necessity of opening public schools. What he wishes to emphasize is that we must not sow the seeds of disintegration right from the beginning in these primary and secondary schools. The trouble is that on one hand we create disparity and on the other cherish a noble aim of integration. The equality of opportunity is the soul of democracy. By denying due facilities of education to all those who deserve and by creating a situation where facilities of better education could be brought and are available only to these who can afford enormous fees, we are doing nothing but creating inequality in our so-called socialistic pattern of society, establishing aristocracy and spreading the feeling of
disunity and disintegration. The equality of opportunity in the field of education is the first test of society based on democratic socialism. Education to all these deserving students should be provided free of cost irrespective of their religion, caste and community, and financial condition of their parents.

Babuji wants a revolutionary plan, which will make radical changes in the very system of our education. He does not criticise the English language. Every language has a genius of its own. There is never the conflict between languages. Educationists all over the world are of the opinion that education should be imparted through the medium of mother tongue. But even after 25 years of our independence we have not been able to implement it. He says that English should be as a foreign language only. He is mainly in favour of Hindi. He says, "I am pained to say that many scholars in our country still doubt about potentiality of Hindi language. Hindi like the river Ganga has its source in Sanskrit, the Mansarover, and it flows through villages and towns of this country".

One thing we have always to keep in mind is that the high human values in the life of nation emanating from any source or channel are never debased or polluted. Let us not discard technology, modern science, modern Indian law, modern medical science and many other human values which simply because we have received them through the medium of English which has been the language of conquerers, he says.

In the last, I would like to say that Babuji's concept of education is based on democratic socialism. Though his concept of education is not unique but slightly different from Gandhian thought. Exhorting the youngmen of India Gandhiji said: "Go to villages, India lies there. Do not engage yourself in speech alone. Translate it into your actions". Gandhiji conceived of a healthy and industrious rural society tied with the bonds of human values, where the needs will be limited and all will work to produce what they need. Some of the Gandhian values are also to be found in democratic socialism. But here there is no question of limiting our needs.
However the country has gladly accepted this to be her aim and we have initiated a programme of planned development. For historical reasons we remained untouched with scientific and industrial revolution taking place during the last 200 years. This disparity between the standard of living in India and that in advanced countries was so great that the phase of accumulation of capital and its investment in industries in our country has been very slow. We have not been able to achieve integration either of Indian society or of the nation.

Thus it is obvious that our country is still faced with serious challenges. They can be met successfully only under the leadership of a man like Babu Jagjivan Ram who, while dealing with the immediate troubles at hand, has also a vision of what India’s future and destiny shall be. He is one of our greatest national assets and we pray to God that he may live in our midst for a long long time.
Jagjivan Ram as an Educational Reformer

R. E. THAKUR

It is really an irony of fate that India whose cultural heritage once served as beacon light to numerous countries of the globe in ancient time has been suffering from innumerable maladies of incurable nature for centuries and even after twenty-five years of her independence she has not been in a position to cast off her old and rotten social, religious, superstitious, psychological, economic and undesirable traditional evils which have stood as stumbling blocks in the path of her progress and prosperity. From time to time great men of light and learning were born on her sacred soil and showed her people the destination of peace and plenty but the instructional values of their teaching and exhortation ended in smoke as soon as they reshuffled their mortal coil. The factors which are responsible for such an ill-fate are varied in nature. But, however, the defective system of education can be pin-pointed as the root-cause of backwardness of our country which by all means, needs renovation and reorientation in its basic and fundamental outlook.

The Present age is the age of science and technology. The world as a whole has been witnessing changes in different spheres of human life. Man has discovered the surface of the moon which was until now considered to be a mystery existing beyond the horizon of human thought and theme. Science has proved this mystery futile. The U.N.O. as a global Organisation of Nations has been trying to hammer the
differences which did not allow the nations to be tied together to the cordial cord of friendliness and fraternity with the full recognition of human rights. Even in these days of humanitarian worth and approach, we, the Indians observe the distinction of caste and creed, the high and the low, the poor and the rich, the king and the beggar, the literate and the illiterate, the touchables and the untouchables, and thus embrace and harbour in our head and heart the heterogeneous social elements which do not allow us to construct a socialistic pattern of society leading to a solid and sound Indian nation of strong footing and fortitude. To tell the truth, the system of education is wholly and solely responsible for such state of affairs.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is a great exponent of that system of education which is socialistic in pattern and secular in nature and based on equality, fraternity, equal opportunity, equal responsibility and common social interest. This pattern of education will be based on practical experience. This type of educational set-up will create such a society in which people of all walks of life will be getting equal opportunities to develop their physical, mental and spiritual faculties. There will be no exploitation, no communal disharmony and dissonance, no caste feeling, no hatred towards any section of the society, no red-tapism, no favouritism, no nepotism, no personal discrimination, no self-interest and no self-assertion. Every member of the society will think for common good “Live and let Live”-will be the watch-word of his social philosophy. Such society will be ideal in theory and practice and will lead to the advent of democratic socialism which has been cherished by all since the dawn of freedom. This will be the true meaning of socialism in whose absence democracy will always be ridiculed.

Babuji has drawn the attention of the teachers and students on so many occasions through convocation addresses that the education of today leads us nowhere. It gives us only theoretical bookish knowledge and deprives us of the actual
stand. We have not shaken off our social abuses and absurdities which fettered us in the shackles of slavery. For centuries we lost ourselves in deep slumber of humiliation and humility. We have altogether forgotten our reciprocal love and affection. We have remained disintegrated. The literate people, even after Independence have not been behaving wisely and judiciously for strengthening the national integration. Our national dreams and deeds are not woven together. We, even now, live in the dead oblivious past and do not allow the modern social upheaval smile on the horizon of our social socialistic developments on which depend the future destiny of our country. This is really very pathetic and painful. This type of our mental bankruptcy is due to defective system of education. Babuji advocates a total change in the educational outlook. The change must bring an all-round development in our social behaviours, thoughts, actions, beliefs and dealings which may go to the solidarity of our national ultra-modern understandings.

The Present system of education fails to provide us with a balanced economic structure which may give people of all spheres of life bare necessaries of human existence. The faulty economy of the country has allowed one section of the society to wallow in wealth while another section goes even without food and drink. Thus approximately two-third of the entire population is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. How can such a nation aspire to reach the pinnacle of glorious achievements of human subsistence and sustenance? How can India feel herself proud of her citizens who are leading a life of drudgery and deprivation? India needs such system of education which may keep her citizens above wants and allow them to divert their attention towards the attainment of national achievements and enable them to make contributions towards the culture and civilisation of the world which may once more sing the glory and glamour of human beings.

Babu Jagjivan Ram gave clarion call to the educators and educated, many a times that the existing pattern
of education is the torch-bearer of western culture which does not allow our educationists to probe into the countless problems of our social, religious economical and political life and find out their permanent solutions. Our educated planners try to solve our problems with western remedies and thus create intricacies in complexities. We have to study our problems and potentialities with Indian mind and mood. If we look into our affairs with western eyes we are sure to go astray. Our education must be imparted in tune with Indian atmosphere matched with our own cultural heritage which pulsates in the veins of our countrymen. Our ways and means of life are quite different from the ways and means of western life. The life-philosophy of the western people is based on materialism whereas ours is based on spiritualism. How can the western mode of education be applicable to our country in toto? No doubt there are certain common traits of character. For their study a common mode of education may be devised. Babuji has always laid stress on a revised system of education which may serve as a panacea for different ills of our country, which in fitness of things is always commendable and deserves all appreciation.

Babuji is a great admirer of character-oriented education. Character is the very blood of human life. Life without character is just like a body without soul. Our ancient culture has always been the core of admirable conduct and character. Good and strong character breeds great personalities of astounding genius. Great geniuses sow the seeds of marvels into the hearts of coming generations and thus a pageant of marvellous epoch-makers is formed. The birth of such epoch-makers becomes cyclic in nature. Thus the people of the country are always awakened in their consciousness and keep their nation prosperous and progressive in all phases of development. Such nation is a boon to mankind. It is very discouraging to note that the education of today has banished the lessons of character-building from its curricula and as such the students are devoid of the very essence of good citizenship leading to the consolidation of our nation and nationality.
The Government and those who are at helm of educational affairs should rise to the occasion and come forward with constructive programmes of character-building education.

Babu Jagjivan Ram, while delivering convocation address at Kashi Vidyapith pointed out to scholars that the literate people of the country form a class of their own and show hesitance in mixing up with the common mass. The reason is obvious. A large number of public schools are even now allowed to exist in the country which impart education through the medium of English language which spreads the germs of westernised social and cultural habits. Such educated persons are great liabilities to our country and countrymen. They can never be faithful servants of the society. Such persons can never form a classless society which is the crying need of democratic socialism. The democratic socialism is supposed to lead us to "Ram Rajya" for which 'Father of the Nation' lived and breathed his last. The emergence of socialist "Ram Rajya" can only be possible if education is imparted through the medium of mother-tongue. Persons educated through the medium of mother-tongue will fully understand the basic problems of the masses and will try to solve them heart and soul for the good of the people at large. Such persons will actually become true assets of the country. Such education will undoubtedly bring social uplift. People at large will take advantage of such education. Hence, the place of Mother-tongue in education is inevitable.

Babuji is a great hope for the down-trodden people of the country. He has been giving them lead and light in the days of trials and tribulations. He has devoted his entire life for their good causes. He fully realises that the so-called privileged classes of the society have been showing towards them disaffectionate behaviours which go to show injustices done to them. Unless the society as a whole gets rid of this step-motherly treatment given to the weaker sections of the society, any planning made for socialistic education in the country will prove abortive. It has been minutely observed
that the forward classes of the society show affection towards the depressed and backward classes when they have to fulfil some desired ends but as soon as their interests are well served they again begin to walk on the beaten path. Even if they are changed temporarily they are changed outwardly. Inwardly they remain the same. Education can become meaningful when this heart-rooted hatred is done away with for ever and a perpetual feeling of oneness is implanted in the heart of each and every individual of the society. It is needless to say that if the proposed reforms of Babu Jagjivan Ram are given practical shape by the educational planners, India will become a nation of great worth and worship.
The New Leadership in India

Dr. K. KAMALANATHAN

India's resounding triumph over Pakistan in her recent war with the latter, followed by the emergence of Bangla Desh as an independent, sovereign and democratic republic and the Simla accord between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan for peace and amity and for the settlement of all disputes through direct bilateral talks, not only heralded a new era of cordial and friendly relations between two neighbouring countries, but also represented the grand success of the new style of politics and diplomacy of the present leadership in India. The Lok Sabha elections of 1971 and the State Assembly elections of 1972 proved beyond doubt the enormous hold of the present leadership on the masses of India and its passionate appeal to and powerful impact on the common people with its imaginative and popular policies. Students of Indian Politics were, indeed, wonder-struck with the unpredictable course of events that took place since the Great split of the Indian National Congress in 1969, resulting in the massive mandate of the electorate to Babuji and Shrimati Gandhi as well as leading to the return of the one party dominance of the Congress at home and the restoration of India's military and diplomatic prestige abroad. All this was, in no small measure, due to the dynamism, initiative and courage of the new leaders of the ruling Congress, of whom Jagjivan Ram and Shrimati Indira Gandhi would deserve naturally special mention, on account of their key positions both in the Government and the Congress party.
IDEAL COMBINATION:

Shrimati Indira Gandhi’s team, consisting of veterans like Jagjivan Ram is, from every point of view, an ideal combination. It was, after all, not an accident that several ‘strongmen’ like Jagjivan Ram, Chavan and Ahmed preferred to remain with Indiraji when the Congress was split into two. Nothing else could happen, because it was company of dedicated souls with deep-rooted convictions and clear ideas on the type of the new society to be built in the place of existing order based on injustice, inequality, exploitation, tyranny and oppression. Surely, nothing would have prevented seasoned politicians and statesmen like Jagjivan Ram to opt for the line of the ‘old guard’, had there been no ideological affinity with Shrimati Gandhi on basic policy matters. It is, therefore, incorrect and misleading to talk day in and day out about the so-called ‘Indira wave’ without noting the undeniable fact of the existence of a collective leadership in India, comprising Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Babu Jagjivan Ram, Y. B. Chavan, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and a host of others. ‘One does not, therefore, see any possibility of either ‘Indian dictatorship’ or ‘Congress leadership’ or ‘Military dictatorship’, in view of the harmonious blending of the old and the new, the liberal and the progressive, the moderate and the radical elements within the fold and framework of the New Congress leadership which is, no doubt, at least in certain respects, not very dissimilar in its nature to the United Congress Leadership before the split.

UNTENABLE COMPARISON:

But, then, to contend that there is virtually no difference between the United Congress Leadership and the New Congress leadership of to-day is wrong, and to stretch and comparison between them after a point would be quite untenable. It is because there is a fundamental, qualitative difference between the two. First of all, it should be recognised that even if the Congress politics has always been essentially one of power-seeking, the fact still remains that the power-struggle in the United Congress Politics was based on compromises not only with
persons, but, often, with principles and policies whereas the very existence of the New Congress depends on the ideological fervour of its leaders, who are firmly committed to democracy, socialism and secular State. Hence it can be safely presumed that, devoid of principles and policies, the New Congress ceases to remain in the public eye for any length of time, and that, sensible and wise as they are, the New Congress leaders would spare no efforts to safeguard their public image as representatives of the depressed and down-trodden, in view of their strong claims to political power in any election. Those seriously concerned with holding the reins of Government at any time cannot be expected to act differently. Irresponsibility and recklessness always arise from sheer desperation and cynicism. The New Congress leadership may not run the risk of losing its monopoly of power by indulging in petty squabbles and dissensions.

POLITICAL SAGACITY:

The firm determination with which the Prime Minister went to Simla to sign an agreement with the President of Pakistan in a dramatic mid-night meeting and the readiness, with which our leaders belonging to the New Congress are eventually reconciling themselves to the socio-economic reforms being introduced by the ruling party, are indicative of the remarkable political sagacity demonstrated by the New Congress leadership. It has succeeded in convincing the electorate that the only alternative to the Congress rule is anarchy. Similarly, it has persuaded Mr. Bhutto to stop thinking in terms of endless confrontation with India, for the very survival of Pakistan as a nation depends on durable peace with India. Can there be better examples of enlightened politics and diplomacy in the national and International spheres?

Let us hope and pray for a bright and prosperous future for the Indian sub-continent under the dynamic and collective leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Babu Jagjivan Ram, Y. B. Chavan and other illustrious statesmen.
Jagjivan Ram: A Labour Leader

M. C. SAKSENA

Shri Jagjivan Ram is known as the political leader of our country. But the fact that he is also a Trade Union Leader of our country is not so well known. The epic struggle of working classes in Bihar started under his leadership. He came in the limelight as labour leader in 1940 when he was elected the Vice-President of Bihar Trade Union Congress. From the very beginning Mr. Ram has abiding faith in Gandhian way of life. Hence, he encouraged the working classes to achieve their just demands through dignified methods peculiar to the Indian traditions and genius. On Mahatma’s call, at the time of ‘Quit India Movement’, Mr. Jagjivan Ram successfully mobilised the labour force in Bihar to strengthen national liberation front. Workers in Bihar joined the ‘Quit India Movement’ and rallied round his leadership. He was imprisoned with all leading Congressmen who were active in Trade Unionism and participated in this movement. Agricultural workers in Bihar also owe to Babu Jagjivan Ram as he initiated a number of improvements and changed their working conditions by cracking the monolithic structure of feudalism in his home state.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was very much impressed with invaluable services of Mr. Ram, rendered to working classes in Bihar. He took him to Delhi and included him in his Interim Government as the Minister for labour in 1946. Thus Babu Jagjivan Ram has the privilege of being associated with the
Trade Union Movement in this country both as an active field worker and as the first Labour Minister of Independent India. His contribution in the field of industrial relations has been focussing the attention of all those who are interested in labour disputes. It is important to note that most of the present labour legislations were passed during his tenure in office. He always stood for increased representation to labour in management and Legislative Assemblies. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, thirty eight seats were allotted to labour in the Provincial Assemblies and ten in the Federal Assembly. As against this, employers belonging to Commercial Industrial, Mining, Planting and Land Lord groups were allotted 93 seats in Provincial Assemblies and eighteen seats in Federal Assembly. Therefore any increase in the representation of workers in the Provincial and Federal Assemblies under this Act had no commensurate effect as there was a big representation of the Capitalist Classes, Mr. Ram expressed his utter dissatisfaction over this Act when he was the Vice-President of Bihar Trade Union Congress. He initiated the idea of 'Industrial democracy' for maintenance of good industrial relations.

In order to settle industrial disputes most effectively, Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 was passed by the Central Legislature in his time. It replaced the Industrial Disputes Act, 1929 which was modelled to a large extent on the British Industrial Courts Act which led to victimisation of working classes in India. Besides, Mr. Jagjivan Ram successfully worked out 'Industrial truce' between the workers and the employers. 1947, created peaceful industrial atmosphere in which the concept of economic planning could succeed.

Last but not least Babu Jagjivan Ram headed the Indian delegation to International Labour Organisation for the first time in 1947. There he was unanimously elected the President of this Institution and commanded world wide respect for Indian working classes. His thought provoking lectures in this International Forum are often quoted. He wanted that I.L.O. should aim at creation of conditions in which
freedom and dignity of working masses could be more truly enjoyed. He had warned in his presidential address that I.L.O. must function as an integral part of U.N. system. He pleaded that economic growth should not take place at the cost of wasted opportunities of employment and the remedy prescribed by him had a Gandhian flavour. Thus his services rendered to working classes are in no way less important to those in other spheres of his national life.
A Valiant Fighter on Many Fronts.

Dr. P. C. BAJPAI

Affectionately known as Babuji in his family and close circle and formally and fondly addressed as Mr. Ram by the press, Babu Jagjivan Ram is an idol adored by many and scorned by few. Though Jagjivan is the main part of his name, yet as a matter of fact appealative truly depicting the mission of his life and what he is. He has occupied a high place among the public workers of the country and is one of the exponents of the Gandhian philosophy and the translator of the ideology of his great master in actual deeds.

The other day Babuji was to come to a mofussil town to address a public meeting in regard to his election campaign. He was late, rather unduly late to arrive as is the custom with the Indian leaders. That chagrined the most of the audience that turned up to hear him. The out-burst of one of my companions was, ‘These Netas are purposely late to show off their importance as they are never even apologetic for being late. They think it their birth right to keep the public waiting to hear them’. We decided not to stay there. The organisers pressed us to stay on a little more. When he came he offered an apology in the sincerest possible words fully saturated with humility. The reason, as Babuji gave, was how he could ignore and by pass those who thronged and stopped his car and did not allow him to budge an inch until and unless
he succumbed to their entreaties to talk to them also. To atone for that delay he had put off his noon meals. If any other punishment is in store for him he was ready for that too. That not only disarmed us but we felt that we were unkind to him and were ashamed of our conduct. But still he was putting on his usual smile, one inch smile, always displaying on his countenance whether facing tumultuous success or worst adversities.

To a casual observer, it would appear that he is happy-go-lucky type and is intent upon having a good time. Since the declaration of Independence most of our countrymen feel that these big leaders have been contriving to lead luxurious life and engaging themselves in the pursuit of pleasure and happiness. But his euphoric mood is not due to that. It is due to this conviction that life is something real and every moment of it must be lived. He feels that life should be more than a struggle for survival and that it should be a joyous experience. Composed mind is one of the foremost essentials to achieve that in life. One cannot enjoy the beauty of life when one is depressed as one cannot enjoy the fragrance of rose when one has a cold. No one can remain in that mood for all the time unless one has the motivation and the incentive for a creative approach to life. "Every creative act begins with a pleasurable excitation, goes through a phase of travail and culminates in the joy of expression". Creative approach to life produces a conception, or a vision, which in turn takes a form which ultimately annihilates tensions and causes a deep sense of satisfaction, a feeling of fulfilment. This is the means and not in the ends. Life is a continuous process of going on doing and doing alone. Probably, this is the cause of radiance on his face and an aura around Babuji.

His creative approach to life has done miracles for him. People say that whatever may be committed to the care of Babuji it would be gone through with as little blemish as possible. All those ministerial assignments which had invariably brought disrepute and doom even to many of his predecessors,
were discharged and are being carried out with marked degree of success by Babuji. Food & Defence bear witness to that. Whatever may be the causes but the fact remains that as a Minister whatever portfolio he might be holding he has been second to none.

Food Ministry has always been a headache to the Minister concerned. Nobody could enjoy the reputation of solving the problem, except late Rafi Saheb. To many a brilliant and top Congress leaders Food Ministry proved a graveyard not only to their fame but also to their career. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi once said, 'I do not think one can overestimate to the importance of solving our food problem. In my view, our honour is involved, our security is involved, the lives of our people is involved.' She was true in her remark as the key to economic recovery lies in the solution of the food problem. The rise in food-grain prices has been the most important element stocking the fires of inflation. But what was the difficulty that the centre experienced in tackling this issue.

As in a federal structure like ours and with the primary responsibility in the matter of food production, procurement and distribution vesting in the federating states, the Centre can only work on a mutually agreed general approach to the problem and cannot lay down a rigid law which, however sound in principle, is difficult of being enforced. The potency of the Centre can be visualised. But when the portfolio was handed over to Mr. Ram, all these hurdles were set aside. He got the faith in the National Food Policy revived. A National Food Policy is easier said than done. And also, when the reins of this Ministry he took, the country had already passed through two consecutive difficult drought years. He did not like to preach sermons to the grain dealers against hoarding, profiteering, blackmarketing but he acted with tenacity without much publicity in removing those causes which were responsible for all that. He had difficulties to surmount ‘reports coming from various States, particularly, the surplus ones, indicate reluctance of the State Governments to fall in line with the Centre’. He is
of the conviction that, if inevitable, the fight should be fought. He took the Chief-Ministers of the States by surprise by suggesting that the Zonal System was to be done away with and with it would go the smuggling which had reached disturbing dimensions. He was and is of the firm opinion that the problem of low productivity is closely linked with the land reforms, small irrigation schemes etc. His natural optimism paved his way to success when in the coming years, bumper crops were there. Green revolution changed the complexion of Indian agriculture. P. L. 480 Food imports would no more be needed in future as he was positive that the country would achieve self-sufficiency by 1970-71. In the years to come, the marketable surplus of food-grains was so much that the prices of food-grains sagged down and the Government had to come in the market to step up Government purchases to arrest the steep fall in prices of food grains so that the prices might not continue to be unremunerative to the cultivators. Agriculturists and farmers flourished. The precious foreign-exchange could be saved because since 1971 we were to pay in dollars for food imports from the U. S.

Babuji is a hard headed realist and conservative in the sense that he can not be easily swayed by slogans and catchwords and can not be misled by mistryst ideas in the name of socialism and progressive views. His resolution in the recent AICC meeting held at Induchacha Nagar amply demonstrate that. While rejecting the demand for the elimination of private trade in many other essential commodities and the demand for enlarging the scope of the wholesale trade by the State and nationalisation of sugar and textile mills, he remarked that those persons “who wanted to force the Government’s hand to doing much more than it could, betrayed ignorance of the agrarian economy and were against the interests of the farmers.” This is the reason why he could come out with flying colours and a bouquet be presented to him for making the most unsuccessful job a success.

The latest feather to his cap is his achievements as the Defence Minister. A sword of honour together with a copy of
the Gita also, was presented to him on behalf of Delhi citizens by the Mayor, Shri Hansraj Gupta who said that the role played by the forces in 'the liberation of BanglaDesh', would be remembered by the generations to come. Never in the History of the world had a country made such sacrifices to help millions of suppressed and exploited people to attain them freedom. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri said, 'Mr. Jagjivan Ram had fulfilled all his pledges made to the people of BanglaDesh and India'.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram became the Defence Minister on the 29th June, 1970. His period would be remembered as a glorious one if we just compare his period with that of his predecessors. A journalist wrote, 'The nation has come a long way since 1962 when, in the face of an attack on its Northern borders, it was shaken out of its moorings; the men at the helm of affairs lost their nerves; the Government was badgered day and night, often by its own members, and every one tried to blame everyone else for the disaster. Even in 1965 it did not feel as sure of itself as it does today; the army did fairly well at the time but there was an undercurrent of fear of the pressures that might be brought to bear on the country. There is not such inhibition today. There is a firm resolve to see the business through. No one has got cold feet just because the U.S. has frozen the economic aid—in the pipe-line or is going to lose his sleep just because together with China, it has been able to mobilize so large a number of votes in the U.N. Assembly in defence of the status quo'.

Another writer said, 'India has now come of age'. The main source of its self-confidence is display of army-men and the persons who handle their affairs. India's victory not only liberated BanglaDesh but also East Pakistan from the shackles of military rule. The Defence Minister spoke on the 27th December, 1971 in this respect that the Pakistan would discard theocratic concepts and become a modern, secular, democratic and socialistic country. He further said that never before had India won such a decisive victory. Even Pakistan had to admit that. The secret of this grand success lies in his unique modus operandi.
He visited fronts to boost up the morale of fighting Jawans. Newspaper excerpts are as below:

'Tucked away on the eastern bank of the river being stand compact tiny village of Raipur about 18 kilometer inside Pakistan territory, Mr. Jagjivan Ram visited today', reports U. N. I.

P. T. I. adds: 'Mr. Jagjivan Ram was accompanied by his wife during his tour of forward posts in the Sialkot sector. He addressed officers and jawans at about a dozen places up to 16 km. deep in Pakistan territory.'

'At some points he spoke just within 200 yds. of Pakistan posts'.

'The Defence Minister visited hundred odd Pakistani villages. At number of places, heaps of captured arms and ammunitions including stenguns, rifles and American and Chinese made anti-aircraft guns, burnt out tanks, jeeps and heavy armoured vehicles, were shown to the Defence Minister.'

'At Amritsar the Defence Minister was given a hearty ovation. Various organisations presented three swords to the Defence Minister.'

'At Odhra village, he said that although fighting this time was more fierce and on wider scale, the number of Indian troops killed, wounded or missing was 11,000 compared to 12,000 approx, during the 1965 Indo-Pak War'.

This, he said, was due to precision and excellent coordination between the three wings of Defence Services. That shows the way of working of the leader with the qualities of leadership. He was well conscious of properly geared coordination of these three wings of Indian Military Power. He got developed all the three wings in a balanced way and nothing could deter him from doing so. Sometime back he had said: 'Some friends used to ask: why do you keep an ornamental Navy? I told them that the Navy had never been given a chance to prove its worth'.
This very Navy, when given a chance, ‘bearded Pakistan not only in its home waters but also within its naval base at Karachi’. There was surprise element in what the Naval Task Force did and the booty was one Pakistani destroyer and one minesweeper sunk and another destroyer and a minesweeper crippled. Such was the confusion caused that the Pakistan sunk one of their own vessels mistaking it for Indian’. The oil installations at Karachi were totally blasted out. Pakistan’s largest submarine the Gazi met its watery grave.

In the East, the Navy did remarkably well to seal off supplies to Pakistan troops and the escape routes.

Pakistan Air Force in the East was put out of gear. This was what our Air Force achieved. When the Pakistan Air Force for giving a pre-emptive blow like the June, 1967 surprise attack by the Israel on the Egypt, struck us in the evening on the 3rd December, 1971, her designs were fully shattered. The Indian Air Force also responded to the call of the Army. It averaged 285 sorties a day. India used helicopters on a large scale and ferried troops across the rivers’.

‘Indian’ operations, on the other hand, reflected perfect coordination between three Services which functioned like a well oiled machine, unlike in 1965 when there was inter-service squabbles at the very top.’ (Distant Neighbours-Kuldip Nayar, P. 178.)

There lies the efficiency and statesmanship of this beloved leader of ours. This victory with the unconditional surrender of one lakh soldiers had no parallel in history. Should we also not ‘Salute’ The Defence Minister for his dynamic leadership through an unprecedented crisis to help the helpless of a country where lakhs of people were killed, a crore fled, forsaking home and hearth, to the neighbouring country to seek asylum, more than two lakhs women were raped regularly and thousands of intellectuals were butchered in a planned way to cripple the BanglaDesh.

He is a man who keeps the balanced mind and possesses the clear vision. He could show his grit and determination
when the Congress organisation split. There was an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion in the organisation prior to the split. Fault finding and rumour mongering characterised the goings on the rival camps. Everyday brought its quota of dramatic but unsavoury developments in the Congress. ‘Like minded’ politicians rallied around Shrimati Gandhi to cure the organisation of those ills which even her father late Pt. Nehru could not make bold to do. Polarisation was over due. President’s election afforded that opportunity. The struggle for power became intense and the Presidential election has been made the causus belli’. Messrs Jagjivan Ram and Fakruddin Ali Ahmed demanded the right of free vote’ obeying the dictate of conscience’ for the Congress Members in the Parliament and in the State Assemblies in that election.

“If there was a hero at all in this drama of the Presidential election it was probably Mr. Jagjivan Ram. He proved to be the most efficient angler of the Congress votes for Mr. Giri. Not only in Bihar, but also in certain other states, like Orissa and Andhra, Mr. Jagjivan Ram’s electioneering had been able to perform miracles of the last minute vote-getting. His detractors have always tended to question his claim to the enjoyment of allegiance among a certain section of Congress men. They have become wiser and sadder now. Incidentally, the fact that the other camp did not have a campaigner of the calibre of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, working for it as actively and openly as Mr. Jagjivan Ram was doing for his side could have a major influence on the poll results” (Eastern Economist).

Is this not a glowing tribute to him in performing the yeoman task of cleansing the Congress? This battle at the party front was decided in his favour enabling the party to work for socialism in the real sense. He has also been fighting on the other front—the front against social injustices i.e. against the centuries old shackles and social exploitation which have taken away the sap of a good portion of the Indian population.

The formulation of a ‘casteless and classless society’ for
India by her leaders is a momentous event indeed. The Constitutional abolition of Untouchability, the provision of social safe-guards for Scheduled Castes and Tribes are there to protect the down-trodden in the country but some thing more is needed to realise that. Babuji has been championing the cause of Harijans not as a matter of politics but due to deep rooted conviction to abolish the social system entailing gross injustice. He is determined not to spare any effort till he achieves the most cherished goal of his life. Inspite of so many provisions in the Constitution, exploitation is still there and the class as a whole can not fully avail itself of the opportunities offered to it by the Government. Old traditions die hard. But Babuji feels that the consciousness in that class is essential and the class with the help of legal provision is to assert and wrest their due from caste Hindus. But he is also not myopic to the fact that the so-called sympathisers use the class to grind their axe. They mislead the class sometimes. That is also not to be permitted.

To a question, put up by the Editor of Sainik Samachar New Delhi, and published in the Nav Bharat Times of Sept. 24, 1972: whether he is satisfied with what has been done for his own class so far, he replied, ‘how one can feel satisfied till the class does not come upto the level of the caste Hindus. Much is to be done to do away with the inequality.’ To another question whether it is possible to have the classless society, he answered that he knew that though it was very difficult to finish the inequality altogether yet he was not pessimistic about it. Caste system could go only when intercaste-marriage become in vogue without any hitch and hesitation from any party i.e. the things become of common occurrence and are accepted with the same jubilation as marriages in the caste are taken. He had one other suggestion too, to offer. People should drop the name of castes or clans written as surnames alongwith their names. Babuji has always been an ardent fighter against any social evil. He has got full faith in religion and therefore, he is against the caste system as such in the society for the tenets of the Vedic religion do not
recognise anybody as low or high. He is at the same time conscious of the fact that much has been done and still much more is to be done for this class. He is satisfied that the press and intelligentsia has not only shown the signs of taking interest in the uplift of Scheduled Caste people but have also taken up the cudgels to do away with this social injustice. Let us see how he fares at this front.

May God bless him with success rather an all out success in relieving a big chunk of Indian population groaning under the heavy pressure of social injustice and inequality.
Jagjivan Ram: The Ruler of Men

SRIKRISHNA TEWARI.

The manifold services of Shri Jagjivan Ram to the nation for which he rightly deserves rich appreciations, have also erected abode-permanent in the hearts of millions of his country-men. I feel highly indebted to have an opportunity of cooperating in the preparation of this volume.

Shri Jagjivan Ram is a steady politician, a dependable person and a warm hearted friend. As says Sir William Harcourt "To be firm when the vulgar are undecided, to be calm in the midst of passion and to be brave in the presence of panic—these are the characteristics of those who are fit to be rulers of men", and I am one of the fortunates who have the company of such a 'ruler of men' not since long but from when we have been 'child that lightly draws its breath'.

As the morning shows the day his capacity for quick, final and swift action left the impression on them who know him from early that he is a brighter star. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but he developed by and by and blossomed like a full lotus from beneath which as time elapsed turned as like of all who looks, the choice of those who desired and so pretty that all longed for his company, cooperation and close contact. That is how we find him so right from within the freedom struggle to the time of the present day pride.

He comes of a down-trodden family. He had no shelter.
In his early age, he was like an orphan. There were many odds. But he was firm when vulgarity prevailed. He got some blows by his teacher in the class once and in protest he ran and climbed a tree with a stick in his hands. He was meditating there, as to why ‘I have been beaten without fault. I should not read in this school. If anyone comes to persuade me to read in such a school, I must beat him with this stick’.

He was also calm when passions evoke. On the eve of his admission in High School, he was asked to submit application for exemption of his fees. But he did not do so. He took up the examination and got his fees exempted on the basis of his meritorious performances.

When he was in his early teens, his brother gave him money. He kept secretly the trust of his brother and buried in the surface of his room. A devastating flood visited that year surprisingly. The entire village was submerged in the water. He, like others, in the village also was very busy rescuing the family properties. It was a black dark night. He abruptly got remembrance of the trust and again entered into the house surrounded by baste sheet of water, dug out the trust and successfully returned in quickest possible time amazing all his village onlookers who stood stunned and were confounded on his deeds.

These quick, final and swift action, which are the hallmark of a master mind are there and now find more vigour in Shri Jagjivan Ram. Here, I cannot forget Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha who once remarked of him “Endowed with a keen intellect and over-mentally alert. .......This stood him in good stead in the stress and storm of political life even those who once differed from him strongly, have gradually learnt to appreciate his view points.”

The village Chandwa, where Shri Jagjivan Ram saw the first light, is just like one of the ordinary villages of India which has neither any natural speciality nor much historical importance. But the village, consisting of Brahmans mainly as the inha-
bitants, has some religious relevance. The 'Gwala' and the Harijan residents of this village also could not remain uninfluenced of the prevalent religious emotions. But the family in which Shri Jagjivan Ram was born has its own spiritual and religious identity.

Shri Shobhi Ram, father of Shri Jagjivan Ram was like a saint, a great devotee, fascinated to devote compulsorily his early morning and evening hours in the remembrance of the Deive power and offering the rituals etc. He was regularly devoting his evening hours with "Ektara" in his hands singing of great devotee poets of repute whose songs enlightened both the heart and the mind. He always used to keep Jagjivan Ram by his side. Thus, his house was echoing every day with the pious enchantments. The flow of the emotional spiritual enchantment and everyday religious performances in the family so closely influenced Jagjivan Ram from his very childhood that the God and the religion are now a more essential part of his life. After the death of his father, 'the hand that rocked the cradle', carefully inspired the child with the same purity of heart and mind.

The primary education to Jagjivan Ram was imparted in the village school, whereafter he proceeded for studies in the Mahajani Middle School of the Arrah Town in which only such intelligent pupils were reading and getting admission who were taught English from their very first stage of learning. This School comes as a matter of importance in the events-count of Shri Jagjivan Ram for the fact that the boys who had been coming here were not competing with that of the urban boys because of the fact that they were comparatively weak in English. Whatever knowledge of the English he could get at the village primary School, was considered deficient according to the standard maintained in this School and he felt his deficiencies too right from the beginning of his courses of studies in this school. He began to feel for the lassitude, but at the same time, he made a proposition to the effect that he will have overcome the destitutes in his
studies and the proposition he made so concrete, with the best of his honesty and devotion to duties that within a period of 6 to 7 months he made himself so and such a boy that the urban boys who were bit superiors to him began to surprise on the intelligence and preparedness of Jagjivan Ram which ultimately enhanced his importance in the eyes of his teachers and colleagues.

In his village also he used to read and write the letters of the illiterates. He had liberal concessions at his village for his cooperative impulses and for that reason he had blessings of all the elders in his village. This environment contributed considerably in moulding him as a social, mixing and a popular human being. But he was very much perplexed later when he was admitted in the High School. Pitchers of drinking water were kept separately there for each caste of students. His conscience revolted there—neither he was a Hindu nor a Muslim, Brahmin or a Rajput. Similarly, at the annual function of the school many boys were distributing sweets but he was a silent spectator as he could not do otherwise.

In the year 1926 while he was a young school boy, he was entrusted with a welcome address to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana M. Ali who were then due at Arrah. Panditji was very much impressed of his address and more for his intelligence and calibre. He suggested him to read in the Hindu University for his I.Sc. course. The attraction of such a leader of repute for Jagjivan Ram, made him a point of worth mentioning in the village and the town alike. Jagjivan Ram, after getting through his Matriculation Examination proceeded to Banaras accordingly in spite of the fact that his elder brother Shri Santlal was not in favour of the proposition.

But there was an open discrimination in regard to the 'ism' of caste and such a nasty and non-sense reluctance of the one specially towards the Harijan, which so far Jagjivan Ram did not witness.
While reading at Arrah in the Town School he was daily coming and going to the School from his village and whatever hatred and disfavour he was getting there were being compensated with the love and affection of his villagers, but he could not get any such inhibition at Banaras. Right from the college to the Hostel, he was only getting insult, reluctance, hatred and non-sense behaviours for the fact that he was a Harijan boy, an untouchable. He had to bear the burden. He left the hostel and started to live outside. He had to cook himself and then devote his time in studies. At Banaras, he fought so severely the fight of untouchability that his heart and mind got so much overwhelmed that he remained nearly a year in oblivion and rest. People were commenting of him that he had gone mad but who knew that this man was meditating whole-heartedly to cast out a noble path for the humanity.

Jagjivan Ram, whom we have known as an untouchable, had seen a brilliant career, and had been a bravenman engaged in his early pursuits, who remained so devotedly in religious and spiritual emotions, to outface from the very beginning the contradictory caste-conflicts.

Jagjivan Ram was living in the village and was keenly interested for the village songs too. These songs are actually the true representations of the core of hearts of the rural life and those were the days when the public opinions was surpassing sound waves in singing songs of the befitting brave sons of the motherland and mobilising enthusiasm to cast aside the English rule. The tales of bravery and heroism of brave Kunwar Singh, the noted freedom fighter, were getting ventilated through the "Bhojpurii" folk songs of the District, in almost all the houses of Shahabad through the lips of the children, youngones, oldmen, ladies and gents alike. How could Jagjivan Ram keep himself out of prevalent automatic influence. He too was very much interestingly singing and hearing and telling the most tasteful, encouraging and fighting events. Apart from it, he had been listening very aptly the tales of other brave freedom fighters of Shahabad who partici-
pated in the 'Sepoy Mutiny of 1857'. Jagjivan Ram got the impetus and stimulations from here to fight for the freedom of the country. Thus, the twin flow of religion and freedom fight by and by began to crop up in his heart. The praise for the patriots and national revolutionaries contributed in his courage to fight for the freedom of the motherland, while the gospel of the saints sowed the seeds of regard, devotion and an inspiration for love for the humanity. It was his ardent desire to become a saint and live solitarily in peace and tranquility, but he, all of a sudden became a soldier of the freedom movement at the call of the nation to free the "Mother India" from the shackles of the aliens.

Jagjivan Ram was very much fascinated to read books out of his courses of studies. Amongst religious books he was much interested in the 'Ramayana'. On holiday evenings, he used to read aloud the verses of the 'Ramayana' & deliver its meanings to the listeners also. Apart from reading the 'Ramayana' he used to read the Premsagar, the Sukhesagar, Baital Pachhisi, and the Chandrakanta. He had a keen interest to read the newspapers also. Fortunately, his teacher, Pandit Kapil Muni Tewari, was a subscriber to the 'Bharat Mitra' and 'Venkateshwar Samachar' and he easily was getting these two papers. He himself began to subscribe later on "The Young India" edited by Gandhiji. One can easily understand from his thirst for newspapers, the extent to which his curiosities arose for knowing the political events of the country. This was the time of the cruelties, unjustifications and forcible repression of the British Imperialism in India. This was too, the time of the incoming of Gandhiji in the political sphere of the country and the time of "Anti-English" and "Non-Co-operation" movement call of Gandhiji. Jagjivan Ram, in his school life came to know of these affairs through newspapers and in his within, he was understanding the implications and importance of these events. Thus the politics of the time, and the chain of events started influencing this student in his mind and heart and he wore the 'Gandhi Cap'
with the proposition that the importance of the cap was concealed in the fact that the country has got to be made independent from the clutches of the British Imperialism in all regards.

Jagjivan Ram, has exposed the futility of the casteism from his own life. He joined voluntary services from his student life for the cause of improvement of the conditions of Harijans. In the year 1932, when he returned from Calcutta after his B.Sc. Examination, he came in the public front for the first time in Bihar. By this time Gandhiji had started his movement for the improvement of the untouchables. 'Servants of the Untouchables Society' which later on was converted into Harijan Sevak Sangh had well been established. A meeting was organised under the Presidentship of Raja Radhika Raman Prasad Singh of Surajpura, Shahabad, Bihar to accelerate the activities as far improvement of Harijans was concerned. The homogeneous Hindus were inspired by all means to do away with their ignominious characteristics of untouchability at the root of which the fear of 'MacDonald decision' was working. They had seen how the said decision had devised to reduce about one fourth strength of the Hindus by virtue of its implementation, which was however, averted by the forceful intervention of Gandhiji. This meeting was organised in the "Anjuman Islamia Hall" at Patna and Jagjivan Ram had also been called there. It was the very first time of his life when he got the opportunity to associate with all the well famed leaders of the province and where his abilities, worth and influences were accepted publicity. He too, fully exploited the opportunity. Here he came across with Dr. Rajendra Prasad and his feelings got worthy praises. 'Servants of the Untouchables Society' was converted here into 'Bihar Harijan Sevak Sangh and he was elected a Secretary in this Sangh. He started discharging his duties whole-heartedly. He established schools for the Harijan children and got many wells dug for drinking water for the Harijans. Whatever were his remunerations there, he spent even the last farthing of it in
the noble cause of his Harijan improvements, as a Secretary-in-charge.

He met Gandhiji during the earthquake of 1934. In this year he was also elected President to the Ravidas Mahasabha in its Monghyr Conference. In the year 1935, a meeting at Kanpur was organised by the leaders of the depressed classes. He attended the meet but it failed to establish itself as a national organisation according to its propositions. However, the patriotic Harijans could establish an All India Depressed Classes League and he was elected General Secretary of this new wing of the Harijans and in this very year he was also elected the President of its Bihar Branch.

In the year 1937, there were elections of the Provincial Assemblies as per Govt. of India Act of 1935. The Congress decided to participate in this election-fight. Seats were reserved for the Harijans and the skilful performances of Jagjivan Ram came to light here. The Congress did not lose any reserved seat in Bihar. But the Congress did not also install its Ministry as it might have become a puppet Government. The British Government, were trying tooth and nail and in their utter bid to baffle the Congress and the general public of India, to make a doll show at least, they however, succeeded in the last. Shri Yunus, then, was made a Premier and Jagjivan Ram was offered Ministership, in order to attract Harijan majority in his own favour and divide the strength of the Congress into pieces. But he smelt the rat and refused the offer abruptly. He was heartily congratulated on this by Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Gandhiji and many others for his high ideals and noble causes in the best interests of the Congress, the Country and its freedom struggle.

In September, 1939, the world war began. During this period the Congress preferred to resign than to be at the dictates of the British India Rule. In the year 1940, Gandhiji started his Individual Satyagraha. He associated in it and went behind the bars being aloof of all his family attachments.
whereafter he again assembled with vigour afresh in the year 1941, after coming from the Jail in his noble cause of improvement for the depressed classes of people.

The qualities of his firm determination had so far been out of light. Mahatma Gandhi, when once delivered his address regarding the 'Poona Pact', Jagjivan Ram openly resisted against it. This, not only astonished all, of his firm determination, but expressly impressed upon all that he was such an young personality who regards principle more than the person and personal affection and regard cannot press or persuade him to come to terms with the principles. His leadership in the year 1946, scattered the claim of Dr. Ambedkar, which had been fully endorsed by the British India Government for its designed proposition, like the morning fog who had conceived that he had solely been the protector representative of the depressed people and the 'Scheduled Castes Federation' was the only representative institution of them. The skilful organisation, tactful leading and efficiency of Jagjivan Ram created such an atmosphere in the wake of the claim of Dr. Ambedkar against the British Ministry that they were left with no alternative on the basis to support their point that Dr. Ambedkar actually was the true representative of the down-troddens. Jagjivan Ram was then called upon before the Cabinet Mission in the capacity of a President of the Depressed Classes League.

In the year 1946, when Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, under his leadership formed an Interim Ministry, Congress High Command could not forget his services and abilities and he was entrusted with the labour portfolio, although he was only 38 years old at that time. India attained its long cherished achievement—the Freedom and Jagjivan Ram had the fortunate pride to become its first Labour Minister. In his capacity as a Minister of Government of India he not only led effectively the Indian delegation in the International Labour Conference in 1947 but he was unanimously elected the President in the International Conference on Labour held in

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Geneva in the year 1950. This itself speaks that Jagjivan Ram had not only been praised in the country for his services on the labour front but also his achievements and ingenuity on the front were of world fame which had duly been acknowledged.

So far Jagjivan Ram has rendered his services to the nation and his countrymen in various capacities not only to the best of his efficiency and skill but also to the best interest of the people and the State alike. Should we ponder a little for instance, the situation before he took over the Food portfolio and after that nothing remains to be uttered. The atmosphere of the country and the feelings of the people before he took over the Defence portfolio, that which followed immediately one fails to device, any way proper to express one’s gratitude to this mighty human-angel.

For the Ganges pious India it feels Himalayas peep them at to the heels Seas are roaring, O? Listen, the force Live long Jagjivan, whom India adores.
Jagjivan Ram: An Appreciation

PROF. K. MADHAVA MENON

To associate oneself with the life and work of great men is itself a pleasant privilege. Jagjivan Ramji, our Honourable Minister for Defence is one of the great men living today. This noble son of our motherland contributed much for the liberation of our country from foreign rule. He is a champion of the poor and down-trodden. The Scheduled Caste people who were kept at a distance from all active participation either in Political, Social or any other activity were brought to the forefront in all walks of life by the courageous leadership and neverfailing enthusiasm of this great son of India. He worked against odds and against giants but this mighty man never bows down before injustice no matter from what quarter it comes. He fights for the cause which he thinks to be right one, and that too when he is convinced that it is for the benefit of the poor and neglected. He is a tower of strength to all the freedom fighters and his courage and conviction has changed the image of free India both inside and outside during the recent years when he guided the destinies of this great country which was maliciously attacked by our neighbour. The clear orders from our Defence Minister were faithfully carried out by our brave officers and men in the theatre of war and the crushing defeat of our enemy in such a short time is a mystery in the history of modern warfare. We owe this tremendous success to the able leadership of our esteemed Prime Minister and Defence Minister and to the way in which orders were carried out by our services,
the Army, Navy and Air Force. All praise to Jagjivan Ram who stands high as a solid rock against which all enemies are smothered to pieces.

It will be interesting to look back to the life and work of this great man, the days when he was at School and College, the forces which shaped him and the circumstances which contributed to his growth, glory and recognition.

Shri Jagjivan Ram was born on April 5th, 1908 in the little village of Chandwa just a mile from Arrah in Bihar. His early education was in the village school and later in the Arrah High School. His organising capacity and intelligence even at the early age attracted the attention of the great Madan Mohan Malaviya and all facilities were provided for the young Jagjivan Ram for higher education at the Banaras Hindu University. He took his I.Sc. from Banaras University and then proceeded to Calcutta from where he took his B.Sc. in 1931. No doubt he had an ambition for studying higher but Jagjivan Ram was paying more attention to the service of this country and the down-trodden community. Even as a student he organised Ravidas Sabha which worked for the uplift of his community. He was an active participant in the activities of the Congress also. He made his first public appearance in Patna in 1933 at a conference convened by the Congressmen of Province for discussing ways and means for the uplift of the Harijans. Later on the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the All India Ravidas Mahasabha, the All India Depressed Classes Leaders Unity Conference, were all the venues where he worked very actively on schemes of social uplift of the neglected community. He was elected as the Secretary of the All India Depressed Classes League as early as in 1934 and his able leadership gave new life and spirit to the workers in that line. The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated the All India Depressed Classes League at Lucknow in 1936 and the young social worker and freedom fighter Jagjivan Ram was in the chair. In the same year he was nominated as Member to the Old Bihar Legislative Council. By this time
Jagjivan Ram was whole heartedly with the Congress and his unstinted service and sincerity of purpose brought together the Harijans to his fold. This was seen in later years providing as a mighty strength to the Indian National Congress. His loyalty to Congress was so great that he turned down many tempting offers of office made to him by the Ruling powers of those time. When Congress accepted office in 1937 he was made a Parliamentary Secretary in Bihar even though he was ripe enough to be a Minister. But as a disciplined soldier he accepted the mandate and discharged his duties well. He proved himself as an able administrator and efficient statesman. He has courted arrest along with other leaders in 1940 when the Congress decided to quit office following the unreasonable attitude of the Ruling class. As a fighter for principles, he never even hesitated to express his difference with the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi about the famous Poona Pact. We see him in 1947 leading the Indian delegation to the 30th session of the I. L. O. Conference at Geneva, so also the 33rd Indian Delegation in June 1950. As Minister of Labour in the Govt. of India we see him as a superb person devoting all his time working for the uplift and benefit of the working classes. Regulations about minimum wages, medical attendance, industrial disputes and a score of other matters relating to the labour classes were the products from his fertile brain. As an ardent believer in Gandhian ideals he always preferred to settle dispute by negotiation. As a recognition of his outstanding qualities of efficiency, leadership and administrative capacity, he was elected as the President of the International Labour Organisation Conference held at Geneva in 1950.

He is a voracious Leader. In spite of his multifarious duties he spends a good part of his time with his books on numerous topics. He keeps himself well informed about the events that are happening in the country and in the world outside. He is a great leader of indomitable courage. He likes opposition but his opponents cannot easily be a match to him. Even with the intervention of the mighty Churchill, the contro-
versial man Dr. Ambedkar was no match to Jagjivan Ram when Dr. Ambedkar’s claim to speak on behalf of the Harijans was put forth by the Ruling powers, when the Cabinet Mission visited India. We see him today as the Defence Minister of Free India discharging his duties most wonderfully and today Jagjivan Ram is not only known well in India but throughout the world as the most efficient Defence Minister of a major democratic country. We want his services for many more years to come and the spirit of dedication, devotion and service to the nation keep him young even today. His is a name that will go down in the annals of history and that name of Jagjivan Ram will have to be written in letters of gold. Let us wish for his long life and prosperity and may God Almighty give him the health and strength to lead our nation at all times to unveiled glory and splendour.
Jagjivan Ram: A Versatile Genius

BRINDABAN DAS

Besides other things Babu Jagjivan Ram is an impressive orator. Every time he speaks he gives us something original. His mind is very clear about issues facing the country or the community. He speaks with an ease all his own. He is unruffled by any disorderly behaviour displayed in meetings addressed by him. Recently he was the guest of honour in a function connected with the Silver Jubilee of Indian Independence in the University of Aligarh. Apprehending trouble from the side of students, the Vice-Chancellor dissuaded the honoured guest from addressing the meeting. Babuji disregarded the advice and gently said that he had heard much about Aligarh, he wanted to see it now himself. Inspite of continued interruptions, he continued his speech which was audible to the press-representatives sitting nearby. The astounding firmness with which Babuji dealt with the situation brought him the day's victory and the recalcitrant students had to withdraw from the meeting hall in utter despair and discomfiture.

Babuji is a man of vast learning. He has studied Hindu Shastras and quotes from them copiously. In fact he is an exponent of Hindu religion. Inspite of the fact that his own community has not received fair treatment from caste Hindus, he bears no malice or illwill towards any body. He is an embodiment of all that is bright in Hinduism. It is, therefore, while tackling problems affecting religion, polity or moral standards he displays a master mind. He has a clear picture before him.
as to how the Hindu Society should run in the new contexts of age. He has been often telling us that if Hinduism is to survive the down-trodden and depressed classes must rise, even of course, gradually. Though he is pre-eminently an All-India leader, his leadership of the depressed classes is unrivalled, undisputed and has no equal.

He is greatly attracted towards the hoary culture of Braj. He finds in it unparallel sweetness and harmony. Often he has given a very erudite lecture on Surdas, Tulsi Das or Mira. He speaks with equal ease to the occasion and gives an illuminating talk in a very lucid and convincing manner. I have held the office of the President of All India Braj Sahitya Mandal for ten long years and in this period I have found him adorning the principal chair about a dozen times with unique skill and distinction.

During the troubous war days he pilotted the ship of Indian destiny very courageously. If left to himself, he knows how to deal with such stubborn enemies as arranged against us during the last war. He possesses an indomitable will, firm determination and an unerring judgment. Though victories are won by the forces on the battlefield, the important decisions leading to those victories in a democratic set up are taken by the leaders of the country and in this sense the recent Bangla Desh victory can easily be attributed to the combined leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Babu Jagjivan Ram. As Defence Minister of the Central Government Babuji made statements from time to time which kept up the morale of not only the forces but the vast masses of people inhabiting this country.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is essentially a man of the masses. Whatever portfolio he had, he served for the best interests of workers, agriculturists and the down-trodden. He filled every post with utmost success and distinction and due to his vast knowledge and experience of men and matters no honour is too big for him. That he may continue to lead this country and serve it with dynamic personality for long years is the ardent desire of all his friends and admirers.
Jagjivan Ram: A National Leader

PRAKASHVEER SHASTRI

At different times, Bihar has produced many a leader, warrior and saint to the country and actually no part of the province is such as does not glitter with the ample memories of such men of history. The contribution of Bihar in the titanic struggle during 1857-1947 has been a fountain of inspiration to other parts of the country. While on the one hand, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as the first President of free India adorned the high office by his simplicity, modesty and brilliance, the Central Cabinet to this day bears the imprint of Babu Jagjivan Ram's foresightedness and pains-taking bent of mind. In the present Council of Ministers, he has the solitary distinction of having been associated full-term with all the three Prime Ministers. Wealth of experience and mode of working have left his footprints on all the three—Parliament, Government and the Administration. Ordinarily none can visualize the formation of any Council of Ministers by excluding him.

Jagjivan Ram is a seasoned Parliamentarian. I had the privilege of working with him successively in three Parliaments. His way of replying to questions in Parliament and dealing with contentious subjects in simple, sweet and clear-cut language is worth emulation. On his own he has never been found excited. At first he will reply smilingly to sharp and bitter questions but once doubts are cast on his sincerity, or opposition for opposition's sake is resorted to, he delivers such a pungent reply as will linger in memory. Even when the
opposition was at its glorious prime in the Parliament, he never sought the protection of the Speaker. He is capable enough to scotch the logic and arguments of the opposition by himself. That is why he is seldom interfered within Parliament. Members know well that any infringement of limits will find in him a Greek. Number of Central Ministers having experience of so many Departments is really few. In every Department entrusted to him, he has shown some miracle or the other. He is not one amongst Ministers who allow themselves to be dominated by bureaucracy. You can not find the files piled up on his table nor can any file escape his comments. He takes decisions promptly. He does not believe in stalling decisions for months. He records his decisions immediately as the file is placed before him. That is why none has even seen his face weary with work. During the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh in 1971, I saw him working in his usual care-free manner. Never a trace of shakiness nor a raised voice ever. During those days once I asked him how he was able to work in a carefree manner, being the Defence Minister of India, he beamed with smile and said that areas of work are clearly marked out, feel anxiety where anxiety is required and work while work is to be done. Does not Geeta exhort us that any crusade to banish evil should not take into consideration good or bad effects? Dutiful persons should behave above the notions of comfort and difficulties, gain or loss, victory or defeat. This was the reply by Lord Krishna to Arjun when he enquired about the sin of murdering those engaged in war.

Jagjivan Ramji is one of those national leaders whose belief in the new age without resiling from basic values continues from the very beginning. He is proud of everything—his civilization, his culture, his language and above all his country. He pities people running after glamour and European civilization devoid of honour. He is confident that sooner or later such people will certainly stumble and revert to our culture but by then they would have lost most of the values of life. It is really, derisive if the culture that dreams of the "greatest good of the greatest numbers" should have to knock at the door of
those who are unleashing the forces of destruction for their annihilation. Recently speaking at a function in Delhi he said, "Our ancestors never went to other lands in the world with the idea of expansion of empire. They were out only to win the world's heart and mind. If this is termed expansion or colonialism, the biggest empire is of such people. Message of Gautam Buddha never crossed the frontiers on the theory of force. The gospel of Buddha was spread to all the corners of the world by Rajkumari Sanghmitra and Prince Mahendra in the garb of mendicants."

He is baffled when he finds the country that gave the message of equality, amity and cooperation now surrounded by mean, selfish, and parochial elements. Right from Gautam Buddha to Swami Dayanand and Mahatma Gandhi, everyone struggled to liberate himself from this national curse but 350 years of Moghul rule and 100 years of British Raj have struck the roots of orthodoxy so deep that the rule of law is proving well high incapable of uprooting these. A strong social revolution is the only answer to rid the country of these. Then only the society will find correct direction. The social and political platforms which pass resolutions for eradication of the evil are really the breeding grounds of the fostering evil. Everyone in the society should be promised with food, clothing and roof over his head. It is natural for every citizen of a free country to nurse this ambition. Gandhiji had formulated some programmes to this end. This included the establishment and expansion of cottage and small scale industries. Government has been harping ever since Independence to banish poverty and remove unemployment but also even after 25 years, the desired success could not be achieved. Some propogate socialism, some communism and still others free enterprize for attainment of this objective. Every 'ism' has its peculiarities but Gandhism contained a synthesis of good points of each. Gandhiji wanted to bring a nonviolent revolution in the country. He wanted to start from the bottom upwards. Gandhiji did not wear knee-long dhothi or wrap a chadar around the shoulders not because he could not get enough cloth. He wanted
the country to breathe fresh air of simplicity and sagacity. He
very well knew that younger generation will emulate the
example of older generation. A member of the ruling Congress
Party in Parliament said that those who speak the loudest on
socialism come to attend the session in Impala Cars worth one
lakh each. Be it socialism or communism, its advent in the
country is difficult till it becomes part of one’s individual life.
India hardly needs import of any ‘ism’. A country which for
centuries has been exporting the gospel of peace and goodwill
to the whole world can not be expected to have its coffers so
empty as to necessitate the import of revolution of thought
from abroad.

Jagjivan Ram has equal command both over Hindi and
English. He accords top priority to Hindi when questions of
national prestige and unity of the country are involved. He
believes strongly that unless the work of people is carried out
in their own language, the independence will remain in-
complete. Hindi has been unanimously recognized as the
lingua franca of the country in the Parliament. The
reason behind this is not only the love of Hindi speaking
people but Hindi, being simple, plain and being spoken in large
parts of India has, as such, been recognized as the general
choice. In the minds of a few traces of slavery ridden days are
still lurking. They take pride in speaking and writing in English.
Fortunately Jagjivan Ramji is not one of them. It is understand-
able that English may continue to be the language for inter-
national communication like Russian, Chinese and French
languages till Hindi is able to carve its place. Hindi should
remain alien in the country of its birth belies understanding.

Like Hindi, his views on other national issues are also clear.
Be it education or defence, nationalism should permeate every-
thing. It has been his desire from the very inception. How
far the country has become self sufficient in the manufacture
and production of arms is such a matter in whose detail it is
better not to enter. There can be no objection to saying that
a time was when India had to depend for arms and accessories
on the producing countries, but now India is capable of manufacturing from Jet Planes to most sophisticated weapons. In times to come only those countries which are capable of defending their frontiers will be able to safeguard their inde-
pendence. Which country has profited from armaments received on loan or as 'gift'? A new upsurge of confidence has engulfed the country along with the armed forces by these achievements of the Defence Ministry. Science and Technology are advancing at such a pace as to mop the whole world, therefore, the objective is still far. That we are heading towards the goal with courage is in itself a good omen. Indian Nation will remain ever grateful to those who have kindled the flame of courage and heroism in the country.
Multifaceted Contributions of Babu Jagjivan Ram

P. N. KAULA

LEADER OF THE NATION

India attained Independence after a long and effective struggle by the people under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi taught us self-reliance, self-control, self-sacrifice, selfless devotion and self-less service for the Motherland. Several persons holding high and low positions, rich and poor, strong and weak, eminent and insignificant were drawn into this struggle to achieve the political goal. Babu Jagjivan Ram was one among the many. But in due course, he became one of the few who could reach the top as a leader of the Nation.

Babuji, as he is popularly known, had the rare qualities of head and heart. He had the understanding of men and matters. Coupled with courage, determination, and sacrifice, he continued to lead the people in his State in Bihar in particular and in India in general. He made a mark as a thinker and a speaker too. Above all, he became the trusted Colleague of the top leadership in the country.

MINISTER FOR QUARTER OF A CENTURY

Babuji joined the Interim Cabinet of the late Jawaharlal Nehru in 1946 and continued to be a Cabinet Minister from 1947 onwards, except for a brief break during Kamraj Plan. He has therefore the distinction of being the only Cabinet
Minister for the longest period (a quarter of a century). This shows that he has been both useful as well as trusted Minister in the Cabinet. He has held a number of Portfolios with distinction.

**WORK AS UNION LABOUR MINISTER**

Babuji's work as the Union Labour Minister has been of great significance. Soon after the Independence of the country, a number of legislative measures had to be taken to safeguard the interests of labour and the working classes. His work became so significant that in April 1953, Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Granth was presented to him under the Chairmanship of Kaka Saheb Kalelkar. It had 38 contributions on different aspects of Babuji's life and work. Most of the contributions highlighted his work in the field of Labour.

**MAN OF LEARNING AND WISDOM.**

My close contact with Babuji developed in due course of time. He had a good collection of books at his residence.

This aspect of Babuji was not known to many. I had the good fortune of organising this collection with modern system of classification and cataloguing. His interest in reading and education could be depicted by the rich personal collection of about 5,000 volumes that he had in 1953. This collection must have doubled or even tripled during the last 20 years.

**WORK IN THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.**

The work of Babuji as Railway Minister and Food & Agriculture Minister have also been outstanding. But his work as Defence Minister has been of primary importance at a time when India's frontiers were threatened by the Pakistani forces. As the Minister of Defence, he rose to greater heights. The 'Jaggu' of the Pakistan army, made them lose their territory under the able leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Our Prime Minister. He played a notable part in strengthening the hands of our Prime Minister at each period of crisis. He proved that he was an astute politician, a great leader and a depend-
dable person. The confidence that he created during the Indo-Pak war speaks volumes of his personal qualities. He had his share in creating a history and also the geography of the sub-continent. BanglaDesh emerged as an Independent Nation changing the course of history and geography which is unique in the history of the world. Leading the Nation to victory through a master-stroke policy, the high class military strategy, and the sacrifice and strength of our great armed forces, India became a powerful Nation overnight. It was no longer a sick Nation that could be brow-beaten. It emerged as a Nation which had its own strength, capacity, policy and vision. The contribution of Babuji in this political, historical and geographical change is a matter of both pride and satisfaction to one and all.
Jagjivan Ram: A Tribute

Dr. RAJESHWAR PRASAD CHATURVEDI

Some persons look more than what they are, while some are more than what they look. Needless to say that Shri Jagjivan Ram belongs to the later class of people. The more one comes into closer contact with him, the deeper he has to delve to know the real man latent in Babu Jagjivan Ram.

Shri Jagjivan Ram belongs to that generation of old stalwarts in the fight for freedom, who were known and worshipped for honesty of purpose and sincerity in action, who did not know what dual personality was and with whom service of the mother-land was creed and not merely a matter of policy or expediency. In those days i.e. the early part of the twentieth century, Babuji was a byword for loving respectability. Babu Rajendra Prasad, Babu Purushottam Das Tandon, Babu Sampurnanand and others may be recounted in the line of Babuji's, to which Shri Jagjivan Ram belongs. He is known and respected as Babuji by his associates.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is a product of the non-violent Non-cooperation Movement of 1920-21 and ever since he had been in the thick and thin of the fight for Freedom, courting imprisonment more than once. He has been at the top, both in the organisational wing and the ruling hierarchy. Shri Jagjivan Ram represents the Scheduled Castes and he represents them truly and effectively. He has often taught and gone out of the way to help the cause of Harijans in India. He is quite sensitive to react sharply at the slightest disregards of the
cause of the class he represents. It was he, who as the Railway Minister recruited Harijans in over-whelming number to serve water to the railway travelling public, and thus he killed two birds with one stone. He did his part in removing untouchability and go added, the members of the upper class to seek jobs better than merely remaining Pani Pandeys all their life.

As the Defence Minister, he has completely changed the complexion of the Indian forces and the Defence Ministry. The glorious victory of India on Pakistan in December, 1971 and the emergence of new Nation Bangla Desh were mainly due to the untiring efforts of our Minister incharge of Defence Babu Jagjivan Ram. The Rulers of Pakistan never knew that in so simple and innocent looking Jagjivan Ram, they would find such a hard nut to crack.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is extremely painstaking and hard working. As an administrator, his ability and integrity are indisputably matchless. He is not only himself honest, but he has unsparingly ousted dishonesty and corruption in the Departments under his charge. At the same time, he is a great patron of the honest and efficient. He has given shelter to many an underdog.

By nature, Babuji is very accommodating and compromising but in matters of principles, he is unbending. He refuses to do any thing under pressure or by the force of company. He knows his mind and he must do what he considers to be right.
Babuji—as I Know Him

S. M. BANERJEE

My acquaintance with Jagjivan Ramji is quite old one and from the period when he was the Labour Minister and Communications Minister of the country. I remember how most difficult problems were solved by him by peaceful negotiations and by asserting his ideas on some of the bureaucrats who thought trade unions were “unavoidable nuisances”. He was the main instrument in unifying the P. & T. Employees. I am sure the P & T Employees even today feel obliged to him. He stood for the uplift of down-trodden and championed their cause irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

As a Labour Minister his achievements were greater as he gave a sense of dignity to the working class of the country.

I have also dealt with him as a Railway Minister and see how he asserted himself against the mighty Railway Board. He always gave a feeling to the officials that in a Parliamentary democracy bureaucracy should be subservient to the elected representatives of the people. As a Food Minister, he tackled the problems in the most difficult situation but came out as a fortunate and successful Food Minister. Even as a Defence Minister he proved his worth during recent aggression and our countrymen will always remain grateful to him for helping the Mukti Bahini of Bangla Desh to liberate their country.

I wish him a long life with all success.
Soft-spoken and Friendly

FRANK MORAES

For so genial and mild-mannered a man, it is difficult to think of Mr. Jagjivan Ram as a controversial individual. Yet he is precisely that. Within his personality and outlook are many contrary tugs and pulls.

The accident of birth initially condemned him to a status which ran counter to his natural abilities and talents. Condemned by the orthodox hierarchy of Hinduism to a position of near servility he has surmounted this obstacle by the dogged determination innate in his disposition and character. Though Babuji has held office at the Centre longer than any of his contemporaries, success could not have come to him easily. He must have set his sights high from very early in his career, and worked steadfastly towards his charted goals.

Whether he will attain all of them, only time can reveal. Compared with the overwhelming majority of his colleagues Mr. Jagjivan Ram stands out for his intellectual calibre and his political astuteness, two qualities which do not always go together. In the writer's opinion Babuji is among the ablest and most adroit of our front-rank politicians. One of the hardest things in the world is to keep one's temper. Circumstances have called upon Mr. Jagjivan Ram to do so far more often than most of his political contemporaries.

In this respect he offers an interesting study in contrast to the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, that smouldering volcano apt
to erupt at the most unexpected moments and sometimes for the most inexplicable reasons. If Babuji carries a built-in volcano inside him, it is a contained volcano. A gentleman, they say, is one who is never unintentionally rude. On the few occasions when Mr. Jagjivan Ram has been known to explode one has a feeling that his outburst, if provoked by others, has a calculated timing and dimension of his own.

He is not the man to turn the other cheek to his detractors. But he will only join the battle at the moment of his choosing. When it comes, he will wait for the enemy to open his fire before loosing his own artillery which can often be devastating. This ability to hold his fire and keep his powder dry arises from the natural caution born of his background and his early circumstances.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram is soft-spoken and friendly, certainly one of the best-mannered of our politicians. Behind this blind front he packs a punch. He can forgive but, like the elephant, he rarely forgets. There is a hard core of purpose and resolution in this deceptively gentle individual which over the years has carried him far and may yet carry him further.
As if his ‘Shyam’ (Dark) Complexion is the Negative film of his Inner Pure and White

MATADIN BHAGERIA

Political hijacking or behind-the-curtain gimmickry is not his wont. “But why” I recently asked him, “After all politics is not done for the sake of grass-cutting, it is more or less a power-game; and even if one be an idealist, he must earn a position of power to provide wheels of dynamism to the abstract of an ideal, and supply an adequate transport to it.”

He smiled in his eyes, yes, his smile is a peculiar specialty of his own. Often his eyes wear a more intense smile than his mouth and one feels its somewhat refreshingly mystic lustre. What he serenely said can be put in the following terms — Truth is so simple and yet an infallable panacea of all ills and is perhaps the biggest and most effective diplomacy and also the most practical politics. Power is alright, but then sincerity to the cause and one’s own self, which again means manifestation and implementation of truth, is the supreme and superb power-house. Why then take recourse to or go for inferior weapons, when the ‘Vajrayudh’ (Omnipotent weapon) is at hand? Why not humbly, faithfully and resolutely try to tread the surest path of success? And he hurried to add, “Here I mean material success and not the mystic, spiritual thing, although according to me, it is equally necessary or rather more.”

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This prolegomenon aptly reveals an inner layer of the psycho of Shri Jagjivan Ram popularly known as ‘Babuji’. A logically evolved clarity of vision and a graceful simplicity and normalcy are two enviable assets of Jagjivan Babu, and to discuss these both will be a fruitful study of the twin of the man and politician in him. Of one thing I am certain that he does not grapple in the dark of socio-political confusion, nor has his ambition ever been a planned or unplanned political glutton. His dark complexion does perhaps represent the negative film of his inner pure and white, and the each first to last visitor who meets him will feel and see a ray of glitter and radiance around his dense eyebrows and face. About his human being aspect, I would like to deal in more detail, later. Let me first portray the politician, because many an observer, Indian as well as foreigner, are more interested in it. And it is easily understandable because in our present age the hand of politics influencingly reaches the remotest hearth and hut.

TRUE FRIENDS DO NOT CREATE DIFFERENCE

Some recent criticisms, reports and distortions appearing in a section of the press and more especially in some leftist papers about differences existing among leaders of the ruling party and about direct reference made to the allegedly by abortive attempts made by Babuji to form a mini-syndicate against the dynamic and progressive leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi, it will not be out of place to examine the motive and background of the vicious propaganda at some length. Reference to the C.I.A. and other foreign interventionist activities is also relevant.

C.I.A. or any other foreign agency cannot obviously operate in a vacuum. It must have a number of Indian quislings and hirelings to carry out its nefarious scheme of creating chaos and uncertainty in the Indian subcontinent. But India has strong enough and sinewy arms to ferret out those agents and put them where they belong. One can understand the parties of right-reaction who are interested in putting Babuji against his leader Indira. But one cannot easily understand why
should the leftist parties and the friendly ones and their progressive press should play this game of sowing seeds of split, distrust and malevolence among them. A very few of the party-men also, who sometime pose more radical and revolutionary than revolution itself, are at pains to abet the poisonous propaganda of the aforesaid left arm. It may be anything else, but how it is progressive or even Marxist, one wonders ! In the vocabulary of any sensible person the very first meaning and definition of any kind or brand of progressism is 'Unity'. The immortal Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels proclaims unity of the Universal proletariat as the first and foremost base of any progressive revolution. Babuji generally agrees with such an analysis and asserts that any suggestion of difference between him and the leader is mischievous propaganda.

The Prime Minister herself has repeatedly and emphatically denied the suggestion of a rift. She accused such elements of spreading despair, despondency and illwill to weaken the self-confidence and morale of the party. And even if there exists some difference, a real friend would exercise his utmost efforts to minimise and root it out. He who fosters and waters a sprout of difference among friends may be anything but is neither a friend nor a progressive person.

This is a bad strategy and surely un-Indian and unethical and is (undoubtedly) anti-Congress. To praise Indiraji and to downgrade her trusted and tested colleagues is cheap politics. No amount of character-assassinating tactics can deceive us, the leader or people. As of old, in the present historical context also unity of Congress does mean nation's unity, in the same way as the Congress leadership of Indiraji means nation's leadership. It has been the proven pattern of Indian leadership almost invariable. Our Nation adopts one leader at a time. Others may remain valued and indispensable colleagues and coworkers, but never rivals of the nationally accepted leader. Then how do some worthy people, the mudslingers who seldom come in the open think, that they know
more about Congress leaders than the leaders themselves or than the Prime Minister knows of her colleagues. It is enigmatic or rather ill-motivated. Political fools only would calculate that they could make tool of the Prime Minister. This is sheer under-estimation of the political sagacity and practical strategic talent of Indian leadership. Critics of the Congress never cease to prophesy one more split. They never feel tired to suggest the remedy of one more imminent purge. They safely forget that there can not exist a thing like purge in our system of parliamentary democracy. Purge is a pet art of dictatorship regimes. In a democracy no political “villain” can be weeded out without reference to electorate and only a majority vote based on adult franchise shall effect a purge. We know how recent History taught us a lesson. The high handedness of a few Congress Leaders, who had purged some of their colleagues, were itself democratically purged by the party and people. 1969 is not a distant past. This ever-flowing Bhagirathi (sacred stream) of international democracy is the life-blood of our body politic. Though generally its flow is slow, steady, non-assertive and non-assuming, yet when challenged by dictatorial despotocracy even of an individual, a group or an established syndicate, it becomes tidal and stormy.

PRO-INDIA-PRO-PEOPLE ONLY

Any sane Congressman can ill afford to be a mere power-hungry politician. Because power comes through the ballot-box and ballot happens to be the irrevocable fundamental right and valuable asset of each adult citizen. Neither the Prime Minister is “crypto communist” as insinuatingly propagated by ultra-rightists, nor the Defence Minister is pro-reaction or pro-West as branded by the progressive left. Please permit us to remain Pro-India and Pro-our people only. After all India’s Defence Minister is reasonably entitled to get a credit of knowing, at least a bit more than even our progressive friends, about the esteemed quality and quantum of the gains of Indo-Soviet friendship and the unfettered and dignified aid
so gracefully given by USSR in our grave hour of need during the last December Indo-Pak war. The Defence Minister, leave alone the politician, may also be expected to know that America has been following a dual policy towards this country of brow-beating through arms aid to Pakistan. When the war in Bangla Desh broke out and, when our brave Jawans were sacrificing their lives on the altar of democratic ideals, aims and values, the much-heralded American Seventh Fleet steamed into the Bay of Bengal, but it had to beat a hasty retreat. Insidious attempts were made to bring about mis-understanding between India and neighbouring countries like Nepal. In our north-east frontier foreign agent instigators have been active trying to instigate the unsophisticated tribals. It is no secret from where Naga rebels got the sophisticated arms.

The recent attempt of hidden hands to bring about a rupture in the cordial relations between India and Bangla Desh is a known fact. Every enlightened Indian recognises the aim of the hidden hand to break down the law and order situation in country. A deliberate attempt is describable to sabotage the economy of the country.

A BORN DEMOCRAT AND HUNDRED PERCENT INDIAN

Thus we see that Babuji is a born Democrat. He has fullest faith in the democratic institutions of Parliamentary system. He is particularly specific about the great purifying processes and effects of the internal democratic currents and subcurrents within the Congress party as well as the nation's body-politic. Similarly, his vision is transparent-clear regarding the concept of democratic socialism. According to my observation, he regards and sees it as an original, revolutionary and cent percent Indian conjecture. He often says that the Prime minister is rather more eloquent to persisting establish the originality of the Indian concept of Socialism with democracy, and even the concept of non-alignment in our foreign policy.

Jagjivan Babu is emphatically explicit in respect of this Indian assertion of its assimilating talent for revolutionary synthesis. He is an ardent upholder of non-involvement aspect
of our foreign policy. According to him, it is revolutionarily Indian and a great gift to the ideological history of the world. His India was and is ideopraxist since long. The Reporter of the contemporary history has already allotted a space of glory on its Pages of Gold to narrate the magnificent achievement of India's Foreign Policy. People know that resolutions on foreign policy by themselves do not increase prestige or credibility. It is the implementation or adherence that matters and our foreign policy has successfully established its claim of idealistic performance. Our policy is sober and has never been propagandist or distorted by ideological prejudices, irrelevant and meaningless inhibitions and demagogic considerations. Our charter of good intentions has been reaffirmed by hard and high actions like declaration of uni-lateral ceasefire, instant withdrawal of forces from Bangla Desh and taking initiative for Simla Agreement. Babuji's recent role has made a history.

OUR RAJLAKSHMI-DAMSEL OF PEACE

Perhaps history has taken a decision that the grave of war mongering monsters of our age should be in deep waters of Pacific Ocean. The Pacific, The Abode of Peace that bears the legendary lotus of the damsel Lakshmi, the blissful goddess of peace, prosperity and loving nourishment, as per Puran-Bharati of India. The forces of darkness seem to be purposely destined to always tread the doomed path of destructive evil by the very law of evolution. History prefers and chooses this course of action probably to accelerate and expedite the pace of development and growth of man's civilisation and culture. As such foxy acrobatics and the art of masked subtle propaganda donot pay in the long run. "Inscrutable are the ways of Providence", said Gandhiji and Jagjivan Babu is a staunch believer of the nature's scientific art and its deft doings. The Government of India, since the very day of freedom, have always promoted the cause of peace and have taken interest in initiatives directed towards bringing out definite and constructive cooperation amongst big powers.
India's contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security has been positive. India is an ardent adherent of the doctrine of bilateralism to solve all problems and disputes between nations. We should know that Babuji is a prominent part and parcel of our highest policy-making machine and he has also awarded that foreign policy cannot always successfully be made or unmade entirely unilaterally.

ARDENT UPHOLDER OF INDIA'S INDIVIDUALITY

Now, let me give a glimpse of the vision of Babuji, as I understand it, about India's home policy. Sometimes back a local journalist, hoping to provoke Jagjivan Babu, suggested that there were rumours about reshuffling of the Defence portfolio. Babuji calmly smiled and commented: 'What was dramatic about it? Change of portfolios and the cabinet reshuffling is the leader's democratic right. It had been done before and might be done again and again.' And the journalistic dig was disarmed.

Regarding our home policy Babuji is resolutely explicit that it is and must remain Indian in its operative application as well as in theory. India, according to him, is not arrogant and is modest and liberal enough to learn from the experiences, achievements and mistakes of the capitalist democracies and also from those of the socialist and communist countries. We should all collect lessons from the historical processes of the making and unmaking of various nation groups and also from fruitful experiences of non-aligned nations.

Babuji wants India to remain India and to preserve India's Individuality is an article of faith with him. He is confident that India has a superb and sublime message, and ever blossoming 'kalpa-variksha' (Eternal all giving tree) of her 'tapovan' (place of effort) which is at once secular, material and spiritual, a unique combination of body and soul like the human body itself.

He is also certain that big powers despite their international sphere of influence and ideological claims, determine their policies and actions by national aspirations.
Babuji believes that Bharat Mata is rich with her traditional heritage and continuity of Ritambhara (welfare of all) from Vedic period, Ramayan-Mahabharat epic age, Buddha-Ashoka time to this day, India has been researching painstakingly to pick up a common thread of human values and philosophies, which does exist in and pass through all global ideologies and 'isms' of humanity.

CHOICE TO CHOOSE MUST BE OUR'S

Babuji is an Indian to the core. He does not want to import any brand of foreign socialism of this or that colour. It is perhaps due to this that some persons and elements who are keen to smuggle this or that foreign make of ideology, do not regard Shri Jagjivan Ram as their dependable medium and accuse him either of reaction or of radical factionism, he is against all clandestine adulteration but is not against a rational adaptation and a free and unfettered selection, if the choice to determine (choose) the suitability and adjustability of a particular thing rests unconditionally and entirely with us. He is certain that growth development and revolution are not importable commodities, they should be nation's exclusively indigenous products. You will have to water India's growth by canalising Ganga-Jamuna and Narmada.

He is a staunch Gandhian and a tested follower of Rajen Babu faculty of Gandhi University. To him Gandhi means the treasure of Bharat's great tradition and culture and its modern interpretation.

He is democrat and humane to a fault. "Freedom from Fear" is his first and foremost Mantra from Gandhi-Gita. He believes that without freedom to dissent no corrections can be applied successfully in a democratic or socialistic society. He advocates more by practice and less by precept the Gandhian values of integrity and simplicity to re-establish a healthy and united image of our national character.

HIS SIMPLICITY NOT A SHOW-PIECE

But his simplicity represents a graceful dress of heart and mind and not shabbiness. Even the concept of simplicity (not
austerity) is normal with him, he does not stretch it to an extreme and does not play it to the extent of making a show piece of it. According to Babuji, Gandhiji is all the more relevant today because the fight in the post-independence period for power, authority and office is more menacing and fierce. Therefore, leaders at higher levels must let others at lower levels free to do as per their initiative, motivation and dictate of their conscience. Importation of foreign concepts may appear to be right for a little while, but in the long run Gandhian values will prove right and most natural to our conditions as when he said that universal suffrage and adult franchise were better than a selective one. Ultimately it is the common man—the people who constitute the real power house. He is and must remain the ultimate custodian and arbiter of the fate of the elite. He is also the watch dog and sentinel. He must compulsorily be accorded a full chance and sense of active participation, involvement and belonging.

LEADERS NEED COOL INTROSPECTION

"Do not mind, let him make mistakes and errors, but he will eventually and of his own accord indentify the mistakes and misgivings and rectify", said Babuji to me. He quoted Gandhiji "It is not a few talented men who are especially made or born to govern well; it is mediocre, the masses, if treated decently, trusted and given adequate latitude to function that can give a strong equality-based-socialist-democratic nation". The process may be a little longer, but it is a certain, flawless and the least hazardous path. National leaders require deep and frank heart-searching and a cool introspection.

Why the memory of some men is so short that they easily forgot this glaring facts of recent history? Everybody knows that during 1969, Jagjivan Babu cast his lot unreservedly, unhesitatingly and steadfastly with the leader of the party, Smt. Indira Gandhi and put his all-life-long name, fame, position, prestige and everything at stake and not as an obligation or as a bargain but for a righteous and just cause. He
and Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed were first and foremost to challenge the Syndicate in open. Had Shri V. V. Giri not won the presidential race, the present leadership would have been driven to the political desolation and wilderness.

GIANTS OF GANDHIAN ETHIC

This writer is personally aware that alluring temptations of the greatest magnitude and biggest office were put before Babuji. But he not only withstood but laughed them away because Opportunism and betrayal are unknown to his grand sincerity and Gandhian steel of conviction. A man of weaker build would have promptly melted. While, a little erstwhile we all know that our progressive friends and parties did not hesitate to join a State Government with reactionary junta to enjoy rotten crumbs of power. If not sheer opportunism what else was it? This happened because of their foreign-oriented unscrupulous mental make up. Did not they prove pygmies vis-a-vis the Giants of Gandhian ethic? They then had invented many a principled argumentative phraseology to camouflage their petty power-thirst. Later on, when Indian electorate entrusted supreme power to the Congress, the same chameleonic elements became enthusiastic admirers of the Prime Minister.

Babuji does not enjoy the privilege of having a split conscience or dual deceitful personality. Despite it, his erstwhile admirers started tricky propaganda and other similar stratagems against him for reason known only to them. Whether those elements like it or not they will get the treatment they deserve. Attempts to build a climate of panic is going to pay nobody either an electoral or political dividend.

None of the slogan-mongering gambits, either of the left or of right will solve the problems of unemployment and economic growth. Satyagraha "today means production and more production". The people's ardour for the ultra-left also has obviously cooled. Those who stand and agitate for nationalisation are duty bound to make the public sector an eloquent success. The language of action and achievement in the
people's sector will be certainly more impressive than even the most justified attacks on the profiteer, tax-evader, smuggler, black-marketeer and monopoly capitalist. These social evils suggest the necessity of more assertive vigilance.

A NORMAL COMMONER

As a man Babuji is a normal common man by temperament, bearing and upkeep. He is a stout Hindu in the same sense as Frontier Gandhi Badshah Khan and Bang Bandhu Mujib are Muslims. Babuji is an ardent believer in all religions having a subtle and sublime common thread. He insists to retain the Scheduled Castes and each and every backward class member as an inseparable part of the main stream of Hinduism, despite his direct experience of cruelties that are being committed by the age-old apartheid of casteism.

GREAT PATRIOT SEATED ON CHAIR OF HIS NOBLE-HEART

His burning patriotism and Gandhian devotion overpowers his natural hatred towards Hindus and converts it into a live current of love for the unity of his motherland on whose alter the Father of the Nation got redesigned his own crucifix. He would very much like the caste Hindu to experience at least some of the fiery ordeal which he has been experiencing for years and years. But the great patriot and real revolutionary seated on the impatiently revolving chair of his noble heart forbids and withholds him to carve out one more big piece of split and disunity, from the magnanimous union of his motherland.

Therefore, his considered and irrevocable decision stays to ever remain a Hindu, despite all odds. He also knows that apartheid of untouchability and the around heartless exploitation of his body and soul does not represent the true Hinduism of great seers. He is the great leader of the 150 million strong down trodden, yet he remains Hindu. Thus he becomes the fountain Head of Internal struggle and persistent agitation within the Hindu society. The silent fervour of his struggling forbearance has not only shaken the guilty conscience of the sinner caste Hindu, but has irrevocably endeared him to the
'Dwij' in this context also Gandhi had been the pacesetter by voluntarily adopting the Bhangi Caste. Babuji knows that Smt. Indira Gandhi also is performing her duty by feeling and working for the lowest and the most exploited dumb strata of the Indian society.

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALEBIT

Babuji has earned a colossal secret through his life-long struggle that goodness is so simple, normal and noble.

Self reliance is a man's virtue and not an elite's decoration. Gandhiji tried to teach his followers the truth that those who led the nation were content to love, act and think like the masses of the country. The arrogant new elite of India should be made to realise that its inescapable moment of truth is approaching with giant strides and that no amount of its irrelevant arithmetic of tabulated growth, glittering beads of superficial industrialization, stores of managerial expertise and imported and borrowed gimmickry, which in real effect is more political than scientific and technical, will avert the tide of history.

Normalcy of the common people is the natural life-force and power House of perpetual evolution. To my mind Gandhi was a normal human being who aimed at establishing his accredited claim for being an inseparable unit of the common man's virat (Infinite) universal brotherhood because his philosophy of life was well aware of the oceanic might of an intermingling drop. And being a perfectly normal person, his tryist with destiny could not be in the role of a revolutionary. This human world of ours is dominated, ruled and governed by a petty minority of haves pseudo-intellectual, resourceful and armed. In such a state of human affairs, an enlightened normalcy shall only tread the path of rebellion, revolt and insurrection. What else can he do? Would he be a part and parcel of the all engulfing class of exploiters? Or shall he deliberately and knowingly take up the perilous role of a constant challenger? The answer for a Gandhian is obvious and Babuji happens to be a Gandhian.
NO GIFT, HE EARNED IT

That Jagjivan Babu is but an off-spring of destiny, I do not feel like agreeing with this suggestion of many political commentators. It contains an indirect indication of a little disqualification. Even though the life, course and activity of every green leaf or the tiniest ripple is determined and governed by some inexplicable law of universal governance, call it nature or destiny; yet one is aware of a limited liberty of decision and action, like the freedom of expression of the fourth state, having been granted to our human species by the mighty evolutionary process. So the question arises: whether Jagjivan Babu’s slow, steady and constant uphill march is but a grant-in-aid of my lady Benevolence of nature or it is a logical earning of some qualitative attributes and ingredients contained inside of the specific human entity namely Jagjivan Ram. There should be something of an inherent bigness, some noble seed suitably adjusted in the very cradle of a person. Otherwise to remain on the chair almost throughout the quarter century of our freedom and in an honest democratic set up could not have been possible. Verily, he has earned it by his revolutionary and non-assuming goodness.

Chair never sat on his head and most probably this intrinsic qualification of Jagjivan Babu balances his central chair, the longest. Man is nature’s imperfect creation, perhaps to keep him ever moving and doing for perfection. I do not mean Jagjivan Babu is all virtue, not he claims ‘mea virtute me involve’. But I prefer to leave the other side for more competent experts of the art of sewage and gutter searching.

In his personal and social contacts my Defence Minister is not magnate-minded. He knows well that when ‘Karuna’—compassion wields a sword and ‘Sidhant’—principle becomes ‘Nrisingh’ man-lion mountains of dark melt and stroms of evil surrender.
Jagjivan Ram: Tower of Strength

TUSHAR KANTI GHOSH

The steadfast courage with which Shri Jagjivan Ram led our defence forces during the recent crisis with Pakistan is too recent and vivid to need any detailed recounting. The Indian people will long remember his cool courage even under the threat of interventions by U.S. Seventh Fleet in the closing days of the war with Pakistan over the liberation of Bangla Desh.

Those who know Shri Ram, however, can hardly have been surprised by his inspiring leadership in that moment of supreme national crisis. He has been the natural choice in moments of crisis, be it foreign or domestic, political or military. When the old Congress faced its crisis, and the obstacles in the way of radical socialist reform seemed formidable in the phalanx of the old conservative leadership, he was a tower of strength to the Prime Minister, when she eventually had to take the extreme step of purging these leaders out, no matter how well entrenched by seemed, and no matter what the unforeseeable political consequences were which seemed to loom so large over the political horizon of the country, and which would certainly have made someone, more compromise. Not so Shri Ram, he stood by the Prime Minister as a rock, and did not hesitate to shoulder the responsibility of the Presidentship of the New Congress, though this position, in those days of waverling loyalties of many a fence-sitter, and the prickly sensitivity of many others, must have called for all the tact,
daring and caution which went to the consolidation of the new party.

What is the secret of his unique leadership? A leadership where courage has never degenerated into flamboyance of those idiosyncrasies which have made many a courageous young potential leader an undisciplined liability to the party? Is it to be sought in the accident of birth: a freak gift of nature: the accident of being at the right place at the right time? A study of his life will show that it was none of these. It was the cool, patient hard work of the man born with those qualities of personality which nothing seems able to hold down.

He is no high born aristocrat thrown into a position of power by accident of birth. He was born into a community which was long the victim of social prejudice. Young Jagjivan Ram, however, was not the one to bemoan his fate and blame destiny. The same determination which gave the country his leadership during our hour of recent crisis, and which led him to shoulder the difficult task of rebuilding the new its fate seemed in the balance, pitted as it was against the entrenched giants in Indian politics, burnt in his youthful heart. Disdaining the prejudices and hostilities of those who would deprive him of the benefit of education because of his birth in a down-trodden community, he took himself to Banaras from the comparative obscurity of Arrah in Bihar, studied to some purpose, returning later to Calcutta to continue his education.

It was again, in keeping with the character of the man, that he was not content to merely better his own lot. He wanted the members of his under-privileged community to get the benefit of his leadership and education. And he achieved.

There is much to inspire the youth of the present day in Shri Jagjivan Ram’s life. The most important, perhaps, are his sense of discipline and his return to his native place again and again, rather than being lured into an easy life in the city, in furtherance of personal pleasure.
An Ardent Lover of Hindi

A. K. JAIN

Before Independence, when in September, 1946 the Interim Government was sworn in, top leaders of the Congress by inducting Babu Jagjivan Ram into Cabinet as Labour Minister, timely representing the down-trodden and backward classes correctly evaluated his ability and capacity to work. Till date, Babuji is the only person to continue in the Central Cabinet since the days of Interim Government and he has proven his ability by holding charge of many portfolios in a responsible manner. I was then working as a special correspondent and used to meet those Central Ministers who were interested in the usage and spread of Hindi. In this very connection I had my first meeting with Babuji. I very distinctly remember that in our first meeting Babuji had told that the Constituent Assembly will no doubt uphold the place for Hindi but we, the workers of Hindi shall necessarily have to strive hard for Hindi.

He said that the language which Gandhiji accepted as National language could not be prevented from occupying its rightful place but more mention in the Constitution would not help unless Hindi is brought in common use by the whole Nation. How true were the words, we are very well realising today.
And years after, when I was General Secretary of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi, I had the good fortune of meeting Babuji with the request to inaugurate the historic All India Kavi Sammelan at the Red Fort on the occasion of Republic day—which he very kindly accepted. However, due to certain urgent and special reasons he had to go out but returned to Delhi the same night by air. As his arrival was being delayed, the work of Kavi Sammelan was taken in hand. He drove straight to the Red Fort and complimented the organiser for starting the Kavi Sammelan as he thought that it was not good to keep the enlightened people waiting for much long. He, however, told that he would not deliver his inaugural address which he prefaced by the sentence that “Poets are known to their unique and topsy-turvy and likewise if the inaugural address is given after the start of the Kavi Sammelan it should not be taken out as one of the ordinary feature”. For half an hour, the public heard him with the same interest and attention as if they were listening to the beautiful verse of a poet and that day many people knew that Babuji can very well speak fluent, idiomatic and literary Hindi.

His is a story of great success as Union Minister for nearly 25 years. Today as Defence Minister he has made India strong. During the December 1971 conflict with Pakistan, Babuji has displayed unparalleled resoluteness. Readers of the history of Bangla Desh uprising will never forget the name of Babuji in this glorious context.

Either as a Minister or by gracing the Kavi Sammelan whenever and wherever the cause of Hindi is involved Babuji gladly accepts to participate and gives practical suggestions. He has more than proved that while he is opposed to religious staunchness, he also does not like orthodoxy.

I had occasion to hear his views on ‘Ramcharitmanas’, where he very splendidly analized the literary genius of Tulsi Das. In today's context when there is great urgency to create an
atmosphere of secularism, socialism and equality his understanding about Ramayan is very practicable. It is really strange that inspite of ministerial engagements he finds time to ponder over such matters.

Babuji is peoples' representative since birth. By views he is a socialist, by actions a democrat. And these qualities make him spoken too. At times people are hurt by his views but his personality is so humble and generous that nobody can ever have doubts about his nobility and I pray for his long life and continued leadership to the Nation.
Jagjivan Ram : A Tribute
S. K. BOSE

Shri Jagjivan Ram is known as a simple, unostentatious personality without much ado about himself. But there lies hidden beneath his outwards unsophistication a fire that flashes out in crisis. That fire burnt bright during the Indo-Pakistan war, the fire of patriotism, courage and determination, the qualities which make a really effective Defence Minister. And today it is not possible to isolate Shri Jagjivan Ram’s personality from the remarkable role he played during the last war as India’s Defence Minister.

In the short span of a 14-day war the Indian jawans completely smashed the Pakistani striking power in both the eastern and western sectors. It was the most shining hour for the Indian Defence forces whose matchless courage, skill and sacrifice went to the making of the victory. Behind them stood the solid, rocklike personality of Shri Jagjivan Ram. It is said that a man’s qualities are best tested in a crisis, and the Indo-Pakistan war was one such which brought the best out of Shri Jagjivan Ram and placed him in various nation-building roles; this time we saw him in a new context - at the helm of the nation’s defences against relentless enemy - under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of our Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Jagjivan Ram knows his jawans very well and trusts fully in their selflessness and spirit of sacrifice. That is why he had
the confidence to declare, retrospectively, on January 18, 1972, that the Indian armed forces morale was so high that “they would not hesitate to sacrifice a few lives to sink the U. S. Aircraft Career Enterprise if it had created any trouble”. This has since become one of the most memorable war sayings of those days.

Jagjivan Ram is no jingoist. He is absolutely in tune with India’s foreign policy of peace and good neighbourliness, as enunciated by the Prime Minister again and again. He declared that the war was not for its own sake but for securing permanent good relations with Pakistan and ridding this sub-continent of the scourge of conflict. As Defence Minister he was an effective interpreter of our war aims and foreign policy in action. The two are interlinked. A country’s foreign policy is formed by its Government and the Foreign Minister is the spokesman for it. In the present case our External Affairs Minister very ably projected our point of view before the world. But at time of war or crisis it devolves on the Defence Minister too to project it, where necessary. This Babu Jagjivan Ram did very well in his various statements during and after the war saying, among other things, that the Indian forces had a mission in Bangla Desh and that once the mission was fulfilled there was no need to march on in the western sector (Allahabad, January 7, 1972).

Out on a “thanks giving” tour, Babu Jagjivan Ram arrived in Allahabad early in January, 1972 and received a warm ovation. He said that in Bangla Desh nearly one lakh strong Pakistani army had surrendered. This, he said, was unparalleled in history. For this he paid a fitting tribute to the jawans. The part he himself played as Defence Minister was also significant.

Essentially a modest man, a man of the masses and a sympathiser of the down-trodden, Babu Jagjivan Ram has the boldness of vision and initiative.
Caste Through the Ages: An Interview with Babu Jagjivan Ram

Dr. SHYAM SINGH 'SHASHI'

Caste has been one of the important institutions in Indian society since early times. It has continued to be an important feature of Indian social life and an exclusive characteristic. In the Vedic age, there were three class divisions, called Varnas. They were Brahmins, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. The fourth, i.e., the Shudras was a later addition in the course of time. Senart* puts it between the four Iranian pistras, and the four Hindu varnas, the symmetry is significant.

Caste is a complex phenomenon. When the status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot in life without hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste. It is a complete barrier to the mobility of class. In principle, it involves an absolute and permanent stratification of the community.

Caste divides the Society into groups. The groups are ordered into a system of grading as higher and lower castes. In the modern age, the caste institution is treated as a part of the social philosophy of the Hindus.

Hayes says: "A social class membership which (a) is determined by birth and (b) involves particular customary restrictions and privileges implies the existence of another or

*Senart, E.C.M. : Les Castes dans l' India's P. 179.
of others distinguished by different restrictions and privileges based upon birth characterisation of a society.

Caste is immobile and impervious to modernisation. A society when it is dynamic, demands change but when it is threatened to outside dangers, the class becomes caste.

A complex social phenomenon can not be understood through a single formal discipline. In fact, it requires inter-disciplinary teams, inter-disciplinary projects in which each member can contribute a different point of view. Unfortunately, the psychologists have not evinced any interest as the sociologists and anthropologists have been holding the field of caste structure in India.

The origin of four classes is compared with the four limbs of the Creator of the World. The Brahmins were declared to be created from mouth "Mukha". The Kshatriyas from hand, the Vaishyas from belly and the Shudras from feet. The names occurring in Vedic literature viz, Chandals, Nishadas etc. were all degraded people. There was a working class mentioned in Rig Veda, viz, gold-smith, barber, physician, chariot builders etc. The chariot builder or rathakar possessed a high status among this class.

In the post-vedic period, there took place several subdivisions of these varnas and thus 'jati' came into existence. The Smiriti books codified the hierarchy of these castes. Manu, Yajnavalkya, Vasistha and some others wrote these books and thus decided the occupation, behaviour and social customs in their own.

The jati system became worse afterwards. There were new associations of untouchability and pollution with caste. The fifth varna of untouchables developed in South India. The Shudras were prohibited of studying the Vedas and entering into temples, bringing water from the caste Hindu wells and other public places. This resulted in mass conversion to Christianity, Islam etc.
When the social reformers, saw the decline in Hindu population, they suggested the priest class to change their rituals and inequalities in the field of religion. Consequently, the various Bhakti cults led by Saints like Gyaneshwar, Tukaram, Chaitanya, Kabir, Dadu, Ravidas from the period of 13th century A.D. onwards came up and reacted against the inhuman aspects of religious practices. The social reform movements also took place during the last 100 years like Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Satya Shodhak Samaj etc. Babu Jagjivan Ram took a drastic step to overhaul the entire Hindu way of life. When India got her independence, there were a lot of Constitutional changes.

We studied a few problems in this regard in an interview with Babu Jagjivan Ram, recently, a few portions of which are given hereunder:—

Q. Sir, there are news of atrocities on Harijans in the newspapers from time to time. Are you aware? Can you suggest some concrete steps to stop these atrocities?

A. There is no doubt that Harijans are still discriminated for one reason or another. There are news of atrocities on backward classes particularly on Harijans by the so-called high Castes. Casteism is the biggest shield of exploitation in our society and it is not so easy to remove it. It is a centuries old evil clung to the Indian society. To eradicate this social inequality both knowledge and logic are required which may change the inhuman tradition. The victims of these atrocities must know their rights and take shelter of the law. Remember, those who cannot help themselves, Govt. cannot come for their rescue nor even God. Babuji stopped for a while and again spoke: "I do agree that there are sometimes exaggerated news based on rumours too in the newspapers which are normally spread by the selfish elements in the society. They want to serve their political or personal pur-
poses”. Hence the affected classes or workers should not be misguided by such rumours.

Q. Do the political parties and some selfish elements really propagate such incidents adding fuel to the fire and misguide the masses?
A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Are you satisfied with the programme of socio-economic reforms implemented for the Harijans and other backward classes during the last 25 years?
A. These efforts cannot be called as successful unless there prevails complete equality in the country. The hierarchy of castes in Hindu society needs to be removed. There is a lot of work to be done and to eradicate this injustice we have yet to face a constant struggle too.

Q. On the one hand, there is the deep-rooted caste and on the other, a new class structure is coming up? Which one of the two would you prefer?
A. Both are not good. Class is inter-changeable but caste is not. A lower caste person can mix up with the higher class society if his financial condition improves but this is not so easy in caste structure. The caste is ascribed by birth whereas class depends on status. However, the class hierarchy is not so bad as the caste.

Q. Is the casteism increasing or eradicating in the Indian society?
A. Less eradication than consistency. There is a need of overhauling this entire social structure.

Q. How can the caste system be abolished?
A. It is a difficult task. But I am not a pessimist. I believe if the inter-caste marriages are made compulsory, this evil can be removed easily. It would also be better if the caste Hindus drop their caste names added with their birth names.
Like an Angel

SOHANPAL SUMNAKSHAR

Babu Jagjivan Ram is very simple. He spends much of his morning and evening times in meeting people from all walks of life and coming from every corner of the country. His popularity is like Mahatmaji and Nehruji. Whatever may be your problem, political, social or personal, he will advise like an old man in the family, himself take trouble as an youth and knock the doors to get you justice. This is his daily routine. He is not a political leader alone, he is a prophet and works like an angel. Such greatmen are born after centuries.

He is very shy of publicity. He is a practical man and works according to his plans. He gets full coverage in the Indian Press and is specially liked for his originality of ideas, frankness of views and depth in thinking.

However, a section of the Indian Press as well as few immature journalists sometimes, spread, baseless rumours about him, in order to create confusion and chaos in Congress hierarchy without assessing and providing full weightage to his sacrifices and achievements in whatever position and capacity he has worked during all these years. He is not afraid of any opposition or criticism if it is constructive. Now, he has become a symbol of aspirations and hopes of the depressed classes and oppressed masses of India.

As an unrivalled leader of the untouchables for nearly half a century, he has guided and shown them the right path,
about which much has not been written and publicised. He feels that our Press is much more interested in the Negro problem of America, racial discrimination in Africa and problems of South East Asia, but less interested in social isolation, brutal and inhuman treatment meted out to their own brethren, known as Harijans.

Jagjivan Ram believes that anything done by the caste Hindus to ameliorate the conditions of the Harijans, either on governmental or public level, is not a favour to them, but it is rather repentance of their sins, who were forced to lead a sub-human life for centuries and till date. Now, they cannot tolerate anymore.

His one time contemporary, Dr. Ambedkar, on account of his many impractical views and thinking in pre-independence era could not accommodate himself in the political and social framework of India. Out of sheer confusion, he and his followers changed their faith and embraced Buddhism. These converts still cry for concessions as ‘neobuddhists’. Many of the ‘junior messiahs’ in U. P. and Maharashtra later on deserted the R.P.I., led and started by Ambedkar. Was it not a victory of Babu Jagjivan Ram’s views?

Only the future historians and academicians will evaluate his might and worth.

We can simply pay our respects to this great noble soul who may live for many more years for the service of the motherland.
Interviews with the World Press and TV

A. DEFENCE MINISTER'S TV INTERVIEW FOR VIS NEWS, UPITN, GERMAN TV AND OTHER TV ORGANISATIONS.
(First Week of November, 1971.)

Q. During the absence of Prime Minister, how close is this country to war now?

A. You see, our intention has been always peaceful. We do not want to escalate war and that is why Prime Minister has decided to keep her engagements in foreign countries. If war comes, responsibility is entirely of Pakistan.

Q. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, in your public speech you said the other day that if a war comes, it will be fought on the Pakistan side. You will go straight to Lahore and will stay there whatever the consequences. Don't you think that this is, if I may say so, an aggressive remark you have put into the defensive posture of your Prime Minister?

A. Not at all. We are always defensive. But defensive does not mean that if our country is attacked, I will fight only on the border or on our soil. Defence means certainly I will push the aggressors and certainly when I push them, I will push them inside their territory and I will push them till the point where they surrender. It does not mean aggression. I have already said that we do not want war. But
in case we are attacked, certainly we will defend our country. But defence does not mean fighting just on the border but pushing the aggressor inside their territory.

Q. Minister, how do you view the present build-up of troops on the border?

A. You know the origin of the whole dispute and I do not know how we can be held responsible for anything that is happening or that may happen. The origin of the trouble is that after the democratic elections in East Bengal held under the aegis of the military regime of Pakistan, President Yahya Khan refused to implement the results of the democratic elections. Instead of permitting democracy to have its logical play, the undisputed leader of East Bengal, Mujibur Rahman was arrested and the Pakistan troops were let loose on Bangla Desh. Well I will say that it would have been none of our concern whether he implements the results of the election, whether he commits genocide in Bangla Desh, if he had not pushed out nearly 9.5 million of his citizens into India with a mischievous design to break the economy of India, to create social tensions in this country. We would not have minded what he had done. Apart from that, you remember, he threatened us a total war in case the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh succeeded in liberating certain areas of East Bengal. Now if the freedom fighters liberated certain areas, well it is we who are threatened to follow up his declarations, he sends troops from the Cantonments to the border areas, well any Defence Minister of any country in order to safeguard the security of his border will certainly take measures to ward off the threat. After that, I have also moved my troops on the Western border.
Q. May I ask you the combat strength of Pakistan vis-a-vis the strength of Army under your command?

A. The Combat strength of India is far superior to that of Pakistan.

Q. And in the event of war, how long do you think would it take?

A. Well, it is very difficult to say in these matters when Pakistan has always been preparing for aggression and has created so many obstacles there. In the present age, any decisive war, you know, is very difficult. When the war continues, the powers of the world come and try for cease-fire and all those things. And to say when the decisive war will end, it is very difficult to say.

I think that is all.

B. INTERVIEW TELEVISION BY CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION (November 9, 1971)

In an interview televised by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation the Defence Minister, Jagiivan Ram, said that the Danger of aggression from Pakistan and the whole situation developing into a conflagration was there. India did not want war but if attacked, she would defend her territorial integrity. President Yahya Khan had threatened India with total war for no act of omission or commission on her part but for what was happening in Bangla Desh. This meant that the threat to India continued. General Yahya Khan had backed up the threat by concentrating his armed forces on the borders. In a situation like this, there was no option for India but to send her troops to the border to guard against any eventuality.

Jagiivan Ram said that there were reports of large scale shelling of Indian territory on the Eastern Border. On the
Western Border, there had been frequent intrusions by the Pakistan Air Force. ‘We have been tolerating all this because we consider that war is not a desirable thing for India which is a developing country. These things cannot be tolerated for a long time’, he added.

Asked if India was supporting freedom fighters with arms and ammunition, the Defence Minister said there was a large number of citizens of Bangla Desh all over the world and it was known that they had raised large amounts of money and had been purchasing arms and sending them to Bangla Desh.

Jagjivan Ram said a virtual genocide had been committed. Innocent people had been massacred and millions had been squeezed out of Pakistan to seek refuge in India. But for this India would not have been interested in what was happening in Bangla Desh or how they were going to adjust things. Ten million people had been pushed out with the intention of disrupting the economy and social stability of India. It was like an aggression which was very difficult to meet. It would have been inhuman to refuse to give shelter to people whose nearest and dearest had been murdered and whose property had been looted.

Q. Mr. Defence Minister, it has been reported that you gave orders that if Pakistani troops attack Indian forces along the border your own troops would cross the border after repulsing the attack to attack the Pakistani’s. Is this correct?

A. Well it is a normal thing. If any country is attacked by an enemy, what will it do? Will that country fight on its own soil? Or will it try to have the fight on the enemy’s soil? What I said is the normal, simple strategy of any defence of any country against any enemy.

Q. How dangerous is the situation right now? How close is India to War?
A. Well it all depends upon the intentions of President Yahya Khan. We do not want war. We do not want to become an aggressor. We do not want to be blamed that India is the aggressor. But if any country attacks us, certainly I will defend my country.

C. TELEVISION INTERVIEW WITH EAST GERMAN RADIO AND TV AND ADN NEWS AGENCY (October 7, 1972)

The Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram has expressed the hope that the differences between India and Pakistan over delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir will be resolved.

In an interview with correspondents of East German radio and TV and ADN news agency, he said that most of the delineation work had been completed and with goodwill and mutual accommodation, it should be possible to resolve the differences in regard to "a few small areas".

Listing the difficulties in the way of early settlement, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said the terrain was not easy, survey took time and there had been some genuine differences of opinion.

He observed that it had not been easy for the Pakistani representatives to "rise above a past in which their minds were conditioned by feelings of hatred and bitterness".

GIVE AND TAKE SPIRIT

And yet, he noted, the bulk of the delineation work had been completed in depth and with accuracy. "With some interruptions the work has proceeded within the framework of the new spirit generated at Simla. Agreements had been reached through mutual discussions and there had been mutual give and take."
Restating that the Prime Minister had taken the initiative for the Simla Summit and the officials meeting in pursuance of India's desire for peace, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that he was sure the people of Pakistan were tired of "sterile confrontation" and were keen to achieve economic and social progress.

Describing the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty as "a factor for peace and progress", Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "leaders of some countries did not share this view and had differences with the Soviet Union. We asked them not to allow the differences to colour their views in regard to the situation on the sub-continent."

GENUINE INTEREST

He said, "the Soviet Union seemed to be genuinely interested in peace in the sub-continent and the progress of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh."

Asked if India favoured the idea of a collective security for Asian countries, he replied, "As security system based on military for Alliances had not contributed to peace anywhere in the world, genuine respect for national independence is a pre-condition for peace."

Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that mutual rivalries of big powers had complicated the situation in Asia.

"Those who are genuinely interested in Asian security should look with favour on the endeavours of Asian countries to help one another and grow together to find for Asia its due role in world affairs", he added. (With Courtesy of P.I.B., Defence Wing, Govt. of India.)
Memories of Hard and Sweet Days

Smt. INDRANI DEVI

It was in 1931 that I returned to my home-town Kanpur after completing the Normal Teachers Training Course at Lucknow. That very year my mother died. Father had already expired the previous year. Thus my younger sister, my younger brother and myself were virtually orphaned. I have an elder sister. Her husband was alive then. We started living under her guardianship. My younger sister and I started teaching in the Municipal Board’s School. My younger brother continued with his studies. As my brother-in-law kept ill health, he could not work. Therefore, my elder sister too had to take up teaching. In October, 1933, my brother-in-law also expired. Now we four brother and sisters were left alone without any elderly person to look after us. Two of the sisters were not married. We were facing a difficult problem Bhagat Dayal Das, a social reformer and an admirer of my father was the head of the community. He was our well-wisher. One day he came over with a lady who wanted to marry her only son with either of the sisters. We were there before her. She chose my younger sister and confirmed the engagement then and there by giving her a pair of Karanphool. Later we came to know that the boy had very little education and was also the victim of certain bad habits. We became hesitant about marrying our sister with that boy but people persuaded us by explaining that those people were very rich; they had 'Zamindari' and the girl therefore would suffer no hardship. In order to
relieve my elder sister of her worry, my younger sister Gargi expressed her desire to be married to that boy. She resolved to either improve him or die in the process. Left with no alternative my sister acceded to her request and was forced to marry her to that boy in 1934. Those people were from Gaya. Ultimately, my sister had to die. She died 4 years after the marriage. The boy did not improve.

Now it was my marriage that was to be arranged. One day in January 1935, Bhagat Dayal Das came again with the proposal of my marriage. This time, he had found a very able and highly educated boy. My elder sister had had one bitter experience, so now she wanted to proceed with caution. Some people suggested her to enquire about the boy's qualifications and character. My elder sister wrote to the boy asking him to send his B.Sc. certificate. The boy replied, "I have not applied for a job that I should send the certificate." My sister was silenced. She had to marry me off, so she asked for my opinion. I said, "whatever is in my fate would happen. You should not worry unnecessarily." The marriage was fixed. On 1st June, 1935 I was married and on the 2nd June, I left for Chandwa. I had always lived in a town and had seen villages only while travelling by train. This was my first visit to a village. I really liked it. I found their dialect Bhojpuri very sweet and loving. There I got everything i.e. the fond regard of the village women, the affection of Ma (mother-in-law), the hospitality and care of Bhauiji (elder sister-in-law), boundless love of my husband and the respect of Bhaiya (elder brother-in-law). I found them all very simple. I had all that I wanted and as I wanted.

I was in Chandwa for two weeks. My school was to reopen, so my sister came to fetch me. I went back to Kanpur with her. When the school reopened I resumed my work. My friends met me and wanted to know how I had found the village. I told them, "I liked that village more than a town. I liked it immensely. People there are simple and unassuming. I really became fond of that village." Bhaiya and
my husband did not want me to continue with the job, but Ma wanted me to. I had to teach for one more year and therefore I stayed in Kanpur. Meanwhile, my first daughter was born in February, 1936. On hearing the news my Jethji wrote that according to a pandit when the first child is born in the month of Phalgun either the father or the mother or the child dies within the year. I got extremely worried. The joy of having a child was marred. I prayed to God that I should be the one to die. If anything happens to my husband, of what avail would life be to me.

According to the Pandit, Ashwin (October 1936) was an auspicious month for going to Chandwa. My husband came to take me along with him. In my school when the students and the teachers learnt of my resigning from the job they arranged a grand farewell for me. It was a very touching farewell. I still possess the farewell poems. I reached Chandwa. All were delighted on seeing my daughter. We all forgot what the Pandit had foretold.

The baby generally suffered from mild cold. As the winter approached, her cold became worst. The village doctor undertook her treatment. Bhaiya kept her under that treatment but there was no improvement. The baby's condition deteriorated. Then he called a doctor from the town. But even he could not cure her. My husband mostly stayed out. He had so much work, that he had no time even to attend to his daughter. In January, 1937 she died. Later he was excessively grieved about her death.

He had begun to come in contact with people right from his student days. He did several welfare works like encouraging the untouchable children to study, providing medical facilities for the poor patients, collecting funds through subscription to enable the agricultural labours to see in the court of law those zamindars who exploited them and their families. In 1935 when I came to him, his field of activity had increased amongst the lower classes. He put an end to serfdom. He arranged for
free books, slates, pencils, full free-ship and medical aid for the poor and untouchable children.

In 1936, he became the Member of Bihar Legislative Council. In those days, I was still a new comer in his house. One day on seeing baskets of sweets in the house, I enquired from Ma as to why they had come. "Babua (my son) has become a Member so Barku Babua (my eldest son) has got these sweets to distribute on this happy occasion" was her reply. He was in Muzaffarpur that time. He had his office in Muzaffarpur as well as in Patna. Therefore he generally stayed in those two places. Off and on he also came to Chandwa. Whenever he came to Arrah the village children used to inform me before hand, "Jagjivan uncle will speak in Arrah town. Extensive preparations are going on. He would also come home". Deep within me I used to feel happy and horrified.

In those days, he was also working for the Harijan Sevak Sangh. There he was given Rs. 75/- per month. Out of this sum he used to send Rs. 40/- to a Bengali Harijan student who was studying Law in Calcutta. The rest he used as pocket money or even from that perhaps he gave some to needy students. He has always given financial help to poor students from his personal expenses. Once he visited a school where a poor student, who used to come walking to school from about 12 miles, did not have a shirt on him. He at once gave him the shirt he was wearing and some money too. He also promised to send him more financial help in future. I heard this instance from another person. It moved me deeply. How lucky I was to have such a husband.

One day after becoming a Member he had to attend the Governor's party. Some people told him that one should attend such parties in Sherwani and Churidar Pyjama. He only had Dhoti and Kurta. So he got a Sherwani and Churidar Pyjama stiched overnight from a tailor and wore it to the Governor's party the next day.

In 1937, Elections for State Assembly were to be held throughout the country. He was elected as uncontested
Member of the Bihar Assembly. One day he came to Chandwa and told me, "There is a great pressure on me from the British Government to join the Bihar Ministry. I would get Rs. 5000/- a month and would be able to live with much luxury and grandeur. I would also get as much money as we wanted. What is your opinion?" I told him, "This would be a treason of highest order. I don't want money". Then he confined to me, "I was expecting this answer from you. I was only testing you. I have already refused the offer". By now he was recognised as the Leader of the Harijans in Bihar. The news of his refusal spread all over the country. All the big leaders of the country were surprised at this decision. No one expected a Harijan youth belonging to an ordinary farmer family to make such a sacrifice. The leaders adorned him with adjectives. Gandhi called him the pure gold which had withstood the test of fire. His refusal shattered the plans of British Government. The puppet Ministry could not succeed in Bihar. This was the first victory of Congress in Bihar, and it was made possible by him. After a few months, i.e. in July, 1937 Congress Ministry was formed. In those days, Rajendra Babu was the President of Bihar Congress. He was greatly impressed by my husband's decision. He wanted him to be included in the Bihar Ministry. In the meanwhile, an active Harijan worker of Bihar Shri Jag Lal Chaudhary wrote a letter to Rajendra Babu impressing upon him the various sacrifices he had made for the country. He asked for justice and wished to be considered for the Ministry. Rajendra Babu was to be in a difficult situation. He sent for my husband and presented the whole situation before him. My husband told him, "Jag Lal Chaudhary is like an elder brother to me. His patriotism is praiseworthy and therefore he should get the preference in the Ministry". Rajendra Babu was too amazed to hear such a reply. His problems were solved. Shri Jag Lal Chaudhary became a Minister and my husband became the Parliamentary Secretary in the Department of Education and Development. The Harijan students were infuriated when they learnt the real story behind that arrangement. They wanted to take some drastic steps

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
but he succeeded in passifying them in time. Dr. Mahmood was the Minister for Education and Development. This is the incident of July, 1937.

He had brought me to Patna in May, 1937. We had rented a house in Machwa Toli. As the Ministry was formed in July, for months the Harijan Members had their meals in our house till they made their own arrangements. I used to spend the whole day in cooking for them. At times, so many people used to come without prior notice that we used to have no food left in the kitchen. He still teases me that I am an expert in mixing water in 'dal'. He was keeping the Government bungalow but I do not know why he did not take one. We rented a big house in Kadam Kuan when Bhaiya came from Chandwa, he was delighted to see us. In that very house my only son Suresh was born on July 17, 1938. There were many celebrations. Bhaiya could not contain himself with happiness. He himself was childless. The birth of a male child in the family assured him of the continuance of the family name. Ma started living with me. She loved me more than she loved Bhauji. She liked staying with me. In November, 1939, when we were in Ranchi we learnt of the outbreak of the Second World War. Gandhiji was against sending Indian Army in the war because in the previous German war the British did not fulfil their promise regarding India's freedom. The British Government could not easily give in to Gandhiji's opposition. They started sending the Indian army to participate in the war. To express their objection all Congress Ministries in various States resigned. We returned to Patna and he too sent his resignation. The question of vacating the house did not arise. He began participating actively in Gandhiji's creative programmes. We rented a small house in Kadam Kuan and shifted into that. Bhaiya was an experienced and prudent man. He knew that his younger brother would be living mostly in Patna. He also knew that his brother might be jailed, punished, fined or his property might be confiscated. He wanted to build us a house in Patna but it was not to be in my husband's name. In 1940 he bought a plot in Kadam Kuan in my name.
As he used to keep the income of the farm, he also gave the money for building the house. Meanwhile, Gandhiji’s movement gained momentum. To further strengthen the movement, my husband started touring from town to town and village to village. He was constantly followed by C.I.D. Bhaiya understood that he would soon be jailed in connection with the movement. In December, 1940, he decided to launch a individual Satyagraha. The construction of the house was left incomplete. We left Patna for Chandwa. After coming to Arrah he sent a notice to the Collector that he was going to begin the Satyagraha the next day. His first speech was in Arrah town. A huge crowd had gathered to hear him. He made a stirring speech and said much against the British. People were filled with enthusiasm. There were a series of speeches at various places. As it is, the police and the C.I.D. were following him. He was directly put in the Arrah Jail, before getting a chance to even come home. We only got the news of his arrest. For a moment, we all were stunned. Ma wanted to cry but courageously controlled herself. Bhaiya was too grieved. And it is pointless to describe my own sorrow.

In order to overcome my anguish, I busied myself with the domestic chores. My leisure time was spent in spinning over the Charkha. I enjoyed it. In a few days, I had spun enough to get a saree woven for myself. Although, it was a coarse saree I treasured it and wore it only on special occasions.

Thus, months passed by. In June, my younger brother Shambhu Nath came from Kanpur. He was married the same year and had come to fetch his bride from a nearby village. I wanted to go to Kanpur with him. With Bhaiya’s permission I left for Kanpur along with Suresh. In Kanpur I had my eldest sister Yashoda Devi. As I have stated before, her husband died a few years ago and she was teaching in the Municipal Board’s School. She was keeping our brother with her and also got him married. After reaching Kanpur I fell ill. Suresh, who was then three was very weak and
sickly child. Due to my own illness I could not properly attend to him. I was laid up for quite some time but I did not write of our illness to my husband or Bhaiya. When I started getting better, Suresh got worst. One day I found his entire body swollen up. I rushed him to the doctor. The doctor was very kind. He consoled me and gave some medicine for my son which was to cure him in a day or two. By that evening Suresh showed no sign of improvement, because the medicine not yet had its effect and we were very perturbed. So we sat down to pray to the Almighty. We performed a ‘havan’. As we chanted the ‘mantras’ and put the ‘ahuti’ in the holy fire, the child felt better. The medicine had probably begun its work. After a few days, I received the news that my husband was going to be released on the 10th of October. It was a very happy news but the happiness remained subdued due to Suresh’s illness. It was a queer intermingling of joy and anxiety.

I had run short of money. Knowing my sister’s financial condition I could not ask her for help. So I wrote to a friend of my husband. He immediately sent me a money order. Suresh’s swelling had not subsided. He was also running temperature. I decided to take him to Patna and show him to Dr. Vijai Babu, a Homeopath who had treated Suresh earlier. I wrote one letter to Bhaiya informing him that I was leaving for Patna from where I would go to Chandwa. The second letter I wrote to Yogeshwar Bhagat who had a shoe shop in Patna which my husband got opened for him. I wrote the third letter to Jaidev, a clerk in Patna who was my husband’s P. A. when he was a Parliamentary Secretary. I informed them regarding my arrival in Patna and asked them to come to the Railway Station.

In the second week of September, Suresh and I left for Patna. Suresh was still under treatment and he had to be given medicine every hour. I got into a Third Class compartment. It was choking with passengers. With great difficulty I managed a seat for myself. Throughout the night, I sat with
Suresh in my lap and I kept giving him the medicine every hour. Somehow, I completed the tedious journey and got down at Patna Station. It was drizzling. I looked around for Yogeshwar Bhagat and Jaidev. I stood in the rain and waited for them for some time but when no one turned up I took a rickshaw and went to Yogeshwar Bhagat's house. On seeing me he came out with many false excuses for not turning out to receive me. I realised the turn of time and therefore remained silent.

I took Suresh to Vijai Babu. He eased my worry and started the treatment. In a day or two the child's swelling subsided, but he still had fever. So I had to prolong my stay in Patna.

I spent that week in Patna and then left for Chandwa with Jamuna. Jamuna is my husband's sister's son and had come to Patna from his village for studies. When I had earlier left Patna at the time of my husband's Satyagraha, Jamuna had stayed back at Yogeshwar Bhagat's place. I went to Chandwa without informing Bhaiya so he did not come to receive me. From Arrah station, when we reached Chandwa on a rickshaw we found the entire village submerged in the floods. The approaches were too muddy and slippery. So we left the rickshaw on the main road and with great difficulty waded our way home carrying the luggage. Bhaiya, Ma and Bhauji were astonished to see us in that condition. They were too grieved when they heard of my plight. From that day Bhaiya engaged a maid servant for massage and forbade me to do any work. He said, "'Chotki' (me) should rest. What would Babua say if he sees her in this condition". But what could be done now. Babua did see me in that condition.

On October 10, he reached Patna from Hazaribagh jail. The next night when his car reached Chandwa at 10 O' clock, there was much commotion at the village and a crowd gathered at our door. Visitors poured in till very late. When he finally came in he was too shocked at the deplorable state of me and my child. "What have you done to yourselves,"
he enquired. He was too grieved when I told him the details. That scene still haunts him. After a few days he went to Wardha. He took us all to Patna when he returned. Three rooms had been constructed in my Patna flat. So we started living in it. There was the problem of his finding a livelihood. He conferred with his friends. They advised him to start a business in Gypsum which used to be brought from Rajasthan. The business was to be in collaboration with them. He liked the work. The business was conducted mainly by his friends. He received a share of the profit and we lived on that. He received some amount also from Rajendra Babu and Anugrah Babu which was spent on travelling and in helping distressed people. He helped some to get back their mortgaged land and enabled others to make them living by buying them a buffalo or an ox—or providing other financial aids.

Bhaiya wanted to complete the construction of my house. Spurred by his reminders the construction proceeded gradually. By the time the walls were plastered, the floor cemented, the kitchen and the toilet completed and a well dug, it was July, 1942. Then came the eventful month of August when Gandhiji launched his devastating movement thundering with the slogan of 'Do or Die'. How could he be a mere spectator. He eagerly joined the movement. The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay. All the great leaders of the nation attended it. He too was there. No longer had they passed the resolutions that almost all the big leaders were arrested. The delegates from Bihar were returning to Patna. The C. I. D. followed them. From Allahabad he sent me a message asking me to send Basudev Sinha (his friend and our neighbour) with his car to Sadisopur Station on the 11th August, at an appointed time in the night. He also asked me to request him to proceed with much secrecy and care. Basudev Sinha agreed at once. He had his car filled with petrol and went to the appointed place. When he saw my husband he had a good laugh. He was wearing no shoes, no cap, not even his jacket. He was clad merely in a dhoti and kurta. He promptly sat down in the car which raced away in the dark of the night.
He had sent his luggage earlier through a worker. He reached at around 10 P.M. He told us all that had happened on the way home from Bombay.

The students of Patna became too indignant, when they heard about the arrest of the senior leaders of the Country. The atmosphere became too tense and the Government started arresting people. Even Rajendra Babu who was lying ill in Sadakat Ashram was taken to the jail. A group of students, attempting to hoist the Congress flag atop the Bihar Assembly building were fired upon. As a result eight boys were killed, the youngest being a fourteen years old adolescent. The statues of those martyrs placed infront of the Assembly stand as a symbol of valour and courage. The youth would ever draw inspiration from those boys who sacrificed themselves at the altar of their motherland.

A day after my husband's arrival, a strange incident occurred. Now I can laugh at it but at that time I was too scared and nervous. At about nine in the morning a lady volunteer came from the Charkha class which was being run by Prabhavati Bahen (Shri Jaiprakash Narain's wife). She told me that Prabhavati Bahen was coming from Bombay that day and that she would give us the news from Bombay. She asked me to reach the Charkha class definitely by 11 A.M. Brajmandan Azad (the then Editor of Aryavarta and now the editor of the Indian Nation) lived next door. So the lady volunteer gave the same information to her. Shakuntala and I left for the Charkha class at about 11 A.M. after finishing our household chores. Four year old Suresh was with me. We reached our destination at about 11.30 A.M. We waited and waited till 1.00 P.M. but there was no sign of Prabhavati Bahen. Disappointed, we decided to return home. The other ladies living nearby reached their homes in no time. But we had to cover a long distance crossing Congress Nagar and Kadam Kuan main road to reach home. By the time we crossed the by-lanes to reach the main road, it was well past one. At the turning, someone warned us that the martial
law had been imposed. Terror seized us. The road was completely deserted. We decided to hurry up in the scorching sun, with Suresh in my arms and my thick sweat drenched Khadi saree clinging to my legs I could hardly walk fast. Shakuntala was sailing in the same boat. Somehow we were struggling our way home when a truck loaded with British soldiers appeared. Our hearts pounded. I clutched Suresh to my bosom and tried to conceal him with my saree but his long legs reached out. I had heard that the British used to mercilessly slaughter the children and dishonour the women. We were scared to death. The lorry passed us but then turned back and headed towards us again. By then we had reached the lane on which our houses were. There was police station at the crossing. The policemen standing there signalled us to hurry up, there was nothing to be afraid of. We collapsed on reaching home. My husband was at home. On hearing everything he told me that he had learnt of the martial law after I had left. "Doesn't matter, this is how one becomes more courageous", he added.

Rajendra Babu had been arrested eight days before my arrival in Patna. The other leaders had returned to their districts. He alone stayed back in Patna. Despite the curfew in the night he went door to door conveying Gandhiji's message to the people. He conferred with them and instilled them with enthusiasm. When he would not return till late at night, Ma and I would get restless with anxiety and would pray to God for his safety. At his return we would breath a sigh of relief. The same routine would begin the next day. He always gave me the latest information. Sometimes there were plans to uproot the railway lines; sometimes to disconnect the electricity (there happened to be no electricity in our house); sometimes to disrupt the telegraph system. The C. I. D. was constantly behind him and to make the matter worst the Tommies patrolled the streets after dusk. It is a miracle how he eluded them all. I have always had a firm belief that no harm can ever befall on him. Some unseen power always protects him like the guardian angel. That power
is the result of his mother's blessings and prayers. She would pray, "O God, protect my child every split of the second and crush his enemies under Your feet." God did listen to her prayer and her blessings have been with him thereafter. This faith has always strengthened me. God has always come to my rescue. My husband had done much for the movement within 8-9 days of his return from Bombay. A warrant had been issued against him when he was in Bombay. But he ignored the warrant and fearlessly worked to the 'Do or Die' movement. One day he returned home after a hectic day out and was resting for a while after lunch. Ma and I had just started our meal when Jamuna came running, "Mamy (Aunty), Mamy, the police is coming". I left the food at once and ran to give him the news. Despite all efforts to maintain my equipoise, I was trembling with fear. Ma, the poor soul, started weeping but he did not flinch. With perfect dignity he got up to receive them as if they were our well wishers. A troupe of armed Gorkha soldiers had come. The Additional District Magistrate courteously presented the warrant of his arrest. He said, "Please get your luggage ready. There is no need for hurry. You can have your rest." Asking me to pack up his clothes and bedding my husband told me, "I am going now. I don't know when I will return. Nothing is definite."

When I heard of the warrant on him I insisted, "I am joining you. Why should I stay back?" He replied, "Only one of us can go. Who will look after Ma?" I had no answer to give. I knew he was right. We would stay in two different jails to serve two different mothers—he, in the jail outside, and I, in the prison of home. Our duty was the same, serving the mother.

I mustered up my courage and packed up his things. Bidding us farewell, he left for indefinite period. Just before leaving he gave me an envelop and some papers and instructed me to keep them carefully in case they were of some use in future. I had remained calm and composed when he was there but as soon as he was out of my sight I burst into tears. Ma also started crying. When I saw her crying I
hid back my tears to console her. My four years old son also tried to comfort her in Bhojpuri, “Why are you crying Dadi, Babuji will definitely come back from the jail. Please don’t cry Dadi”. She took him in her lap and kissed him.

A frightful stillness engulfed the house. The atmosphere became saturated with gloom. For many days we remained disturbed, but gradually we did become our normal selves. Just three days after my husband's arrest Suresh got fever. When the fever continued for three or four days, I took him to a doctor. According to his diagnosis it was typhoid. I became worried. He was put under the treatment of Dr. Kohli, a Homeopath. The fever subsided in fifteen days, but I kept him on a prescribed diet long after he became normal. I did not inform my husband of Suresh’s illness because he would have been very much worried. In the meanwhile I opened the envelop he had given. There was some money in it. I told Ma about the money and asked her for a safe place to keep it because there was the danger of its being stolen. It was not proper to keep so much money in the house. I asked her if I could deposit it with Basudev Babu and take it when required. She agreed. So I handed over the money to Basudev Babu whose bungalow was just across the road.

We had a compound in front of our house. I had made a kitchen garden in it. A corner of the compound was given to a milkman so that Suresh could have pure milk. In those days wheat and rice and even kerosene oil were rationed. I used to send Jamuna to the ration shop where he would stand in the queue day after day awaiting his chance to get the things. Before leaving for jail my husband had asked me to stay in Patna. There was a rumour in the air that Congress Nagar would be bombed because the very name of the Congress infuriated the British. Many well wishers advised us to leave for Chandwa. Bhaiya held the same opinion. But I did not go. One of my husband’s friends even arranged for a carriage and requested us to leave. But I remained adament. “He has asked me to stay here”, I told him. One day I got a
letter from my husband asking me to call his middle sister’s son Ram Chhapit to study at Patna. I sent for him. He was older than Jamuna—about eighteen years of age. Anyhow neither of them were of any help in performing the outside duties.

The two nephews would never go anywhere. Instead my husband’s friend used to bring things like wheat, rice, ghee, oil, pulses without my asking for them. Off and on they also enquired whether I needed anything. They would say that Jagjivan Babu had not only helped them to live but had also fought for their rights. In 1934, he had formed an association called the ‘Depressed Classes League’ for the welfare of the distressed and the exploited. Later, its branches were established in all the States. It was through this Organisation that he used to place the demands of the depressed classes before the Congress Leaders. Due to his efforts the members of the Depressed Classes League joined the Congress afterwards.

One night a man came to my house and said, “Are you in need of money? I belong to the Congress Party. Let me know how much money you need, I will get it from the Party”. At once I refused him. I made it known to him that I needed no money. Afterwards, I learnt from my husband that many people had taken money from the Congress fund and other sources in my name.

My husband was transferred from the Bankipur jail at Patna to the Hazaribag jail. We regularly corresponded with one another. One day we learnt that Jaiprakash Babu and four others had escaped from the jail. A desperate search was being made for them. As a result of their escape the authorities became extremely strict with other political prisoners. They used to be locked in their cells much before evening. Their cells were so poorly ventilated that they barely got a whisper of fresh air. Those being summer days, the heat used to be intolerable. When I learnt of all this I was filled with anxiety. Thus I spent the days in never ending worry and agony.

One day I received a letter from my husband informing me that he had been keeping ill health lately. He had been
running temperature for a long time and had also lost much weight. My worries knew no bound. I did not know what to do. Previously, he had returned from the jail in good health. What had happened this time? A correspondence started for his release. In the meantime I got the news of a theft in our village home. Plenty of quality rice and other household goods had been stolen. It added to my worry but what could one do against God's wish. Anyhow, my main worry was his health.

On the 5th October, early in the morning Chitragupta, our neighbour Brajnandan Azad's younger brother came running to inform me, "Jagjivan Babu has been released. He would reach home by 10 or 11 A.M." A wave of joy swept through the house. I was both happy and worried. Suddenly, I found him standing before me. He had become painfully thin. I had never seen him like that. I was overcome by grief. Later, I discovered that he had not been well for three-four months but never wrote to me about it.

He was examined by many renowned doctors like Dr. Raghunath Sharan, Dr. T. N. Banerjee. They did not diagnose any particular ailment. Dr. T. N. Banerjee found it unnecessary even to have X-ray and other tests done. He said, "Now you have come out of the jail. The fresh air outside would cure you automatically. There is no need of any medicine". It was a consolation to hear this but his temperature would not come below 99°. Then he was put under the treatment of a Vaidya who cured his fever. The Vaidya also gave him a specially prepared 'laddoo', a tonic, which gave him energy. His weight also increased. This treatment continued for quite some time.

In June, 1944 we went to Simla for a change of climate. Again the C.-I.-D. followed him. The climate of Simla proved to be good for his health. When he regained his health we returned from Simla via Kanpur in October. He again began participating in public works.
Meanwhile, an interesting incident took place. For a longtime I had been wanting to wear gold bracelets but due to financial difficulties I never mentioned it to him. One day I was struck with the idea of getting my six gold bangles, which I had got made the year Suresh was born, converted into a pair of bracelets. I told him that I was tired of wearing bangles and asked him to get them converted into bracelets. He agreed at once but going to the goldsmith’s shop was a problem for him because he had never been to one. I had the bangles and a locket made through one of his friend’s wives. She was not in Patna then. One day two men came and said, “We are goldsmiths. We make ornaments in the client’s house. If you want to get something made, we will make it for you here itself.” This was exactly what my husband wanted. When he told me about it I was rather pleased thinking that I would get my bracelets made in before my eyes according to my taste. I readily agreed. They came the next day. It was the month of March. I was expecting Mira, my third child. I gave them the six bangles, which weighed five and a half tolas according to them. I gave them my locket also and asked them to make bracelets with all the gold. They took the bangles for making bracelets. Then, they prepared a furnace and put my bangles into it. It was afternoon by the time the gold melted. I saw that my bangles had turned dark after melting. I felt a little sorry that I had given them my bangles. Later on, they made two strips of gold and poured some chemical over them. Now the gold regained its natural colour and lustre. Just then, one of them went out to get ‘some bidi’. On his return they gave us the gold strips and said that they would come the next day with flame and would make the bracelets. My elder sister who had come to me those days sat there throughout. We told them, “Alright, you can come tomorrow. It is getting late today. Please get good designs”. They went away and never turned up, the next day. After a few days that is on the 21st of March, 1945 Mira was born. One day Ma asked me, “Bahu, the goldsmiths did not come for their wages”. I replied, “They have given me
the gold strips. I'll get the bracelets made from another goldsmith the next month." To reassure myself I opened the trunk and examined the strips. I was satisfied.

My niece had come at the time of my daughter's birth. After a month and a half she asked me to buy her a pair of anklets. When I went to buy the anklets for her I took the gold with me. I showed them to the goldsmith and told him to make bracelets for me. He tested the gold and asked me, "Where did you get it from?" "Is it not gold?" I enquired. He told me that it was not gold but brass. I was taken aback. I could hardly believe him. Somehow I reached home. When my husband saw my flushed face, he wanted to know the reason. I narrated the incident with tears in my eyes. He consoled me and said, "Take it easy. This time I'll surely get you bracelets made. I won't smoke for a year and with that I'll get your bracelets. He fulfilled his promise and got my bracelets within a year. But even today I regret the loss of that gold and brood over the way I was defrauded.

In 1944, the political activities were accelerated with the release of the national leaders. The Congress began to put greater pressure for complete independence. In 1945 my husband made an organisation of active workers and together with them he again started participating in constructive programmes. The same year in June the Viceroy called a conference at Simla in which the members of various organisations and parties were invited to discuss the Wavell Plan. The Muslim League frustrated the negotiations. After long deliberations and discussions the conference ended on the 14th of July. The conference was a failure.

My husband was elected unopposed to the Bihar legislature. The Ministry was formed but he did not join it. Everyone in Bihar knew that Rajendra Babu held him in great esteem. It seemed Rajendra Babu had visualised the political developments at the centre. He did not include my husband in the Cabinet. Many person summarised that he would get some higher post.
On 23rd March, 1946, three members of the British Cabinet Mission came to India. In May, negotiations started all over again between the Congress and the Muslim League but in vain. On the 5th of April, 1946 my husband received a telegram from the representative committee asking him to place the views of the Harijans before the Cabinet Mission in the Viceregal Lodge. He met the Cabinet Mission as the Chairman of the Depressed Classes League on the 8th April, 1946. He was accompanied by Shri Radha Nath Das, and Shri Prithvi Singh Azad, M.L.A. His talk with the Mission lasted for one and a half hour. He presented the views of the Harijans in the most straight forward and systematic manner.

By then, people had become sure that the future of Jagjivan Babu was bright. Sometimes they would say, "Now you will be going to Delhi". I used to laugh at it. I knew, sacrificing for others is his nature. When the opportunity comes he would shrink behind for others' benefit.

The British Government announced the 'Cabinet Mission Plan' in the later half of May. There were sudden changes in the political developments. The representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League met the Viceroy and accepted the proposals. At the announcement of the names of the members of the Interim Cabinet on the 16th of June, some trouble crept up again. Like other members of the Congress my husband also sent his refusal through a telegram. In the end, he had gone out of Patna to take part in some constructive programmes, of the Congress. In the afternoon of 30th August my neighbour Shakuntalaji came running to me with a beaming face and said, "Indrani Bahen, Jagjivan Babu has become a Minister. It was just announced on the radio. He has been included in the Interim Cabinet at the centre. Believe me". Just then I saw Bhaveneshwar Babu another neighbour and a few others came running and shouting with joy, "Suresh, your father has become a Minister. We must celebrate with sweets". They were keen to meet my husband. I told them that he was out of station. I was overwhelmed with joy and stood dum-
founded. I would laugh one moment and cry the next moment. I offered my grateful obeisance to God. I embraced Ma and said, "Ma it is only because of your blessings that we have seen this day". Ma could not control herself with happiness. She was reminded of the last words of her late husband. She said, 'At the time of his death, he called six years old Babua near him and while stroking his head he said,' I have given English Education to my elder son but I have not been able to give you any education. Now I am leaving this world but my blessings are with you. You will complete your education unobstructed and you will rise higher and higher in life'. Today, his words have come true and his blessings have born fruit'.

My husband returned the next day. He had already got the news. The first thing he did after reaching home was to touch Ma's feet with bowed head.

He told me, "Now you must come to Delhi with me", and fondled the children. But I expressed inability to go, "I will not be able to accompany you now. The constrution of the house is half way. I will come when it is finished. He replied, "Alright, I'll leave tomorrow morning so please pack my things". I packed up his things and he left Patna for Delhi on the 31st of August. A big crowd had gathered at Patna Station to see him off. The Cabinet at the Centre was formed on the 2nd of September. The oath-taking ceremony was held and he became the Labour Minister. From Delhi he wrote a letter to me. It moved me to tears.

A month passed before he fully took over the work of his Department and settled down. He came to Patna in the 1st week of October. On the day of his arrival the police guarded the way from the station to our house. The guard of honour stood at attention in front of our house. Our neighbours peeped from all sides and enquired, "why has the police come?" Those who knew answered, "Jagjivan Babu is coming today. They are standing in his honour". My sister-in-law had come to my place, she became nervous at the sight of the police. I explained to her, "There is nothing to worry
about. It is a joyous occasion. Your brother is coming from Delhi. These people have come to see him. They won’t take him to the jail”. After a little while he came with orderlies, bodyguards, a P. A. and so many others. The entire house rejoiced a sort of joy that I had never imagined. He was in Patna for five-six days. He met many people. Many people gave him farewell parties. I started preparing for going to Delhi. He would tell me, “The bungalow in Delhi is very big. It has a huge lawn”. I would ask, “Is the lawn as big as that in Bakhshi Saheb’s house”. He would reply, “No, much bigger than that”. I would wonder what we would do with such a big house and such a big lawn. But in the heart of my hearts I was very happy.

At last, it was time to leave, not for jail but for Delhi; not alone but with family. We were a family of five-Ma, my husband, myself and our two children Suresh and Mira. Ma and children had gone to the station earlier. The two of us came out of the house together. The neighbours had gathered there. The policemen stood at attention. I was too embarrassed to look up, he took the salute and we sat down in the car to go to the station. The station was also guarded by the police. The onlookers were curious to know why so much police had come. They were whispering to each other that they had come to present a guard of honour to my husband. Laden with flowers and garlands we entered the compartment. This, I was told, was a saloon. It was meant for Ministers to travel in. It had two or three bed rooms, one drawing room, toilet and other accessories. It was beautifully furnished. There was a kitchen also, where our food was being cooked. I was, suddenly reminded of my journey from Kanpur to Patna sometimes back and that scene flashed before my eyes, when I had spent the whole night sitting up in packed third class compartment with a sick Suresh in my lap, not finding place even to stretch my legs. And today, I was amidst a different scene. What a change, I wondered whether I was in a dream land. I was too puzzled at God’s ways. The train left the station in a little while and we began our journey for Delhi.
BABU AND WEAKER SECTIONS
Jagjivan Ram and 25 years of Tribal Development in India (1947-72)

Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi

JAGJIVAN BABU AND THE DOWN-TRODDEN

To respect Jagjivan Babu is to champion the cause of the down-trodden in India. It was in early thirties when, Jagjivan Babu on the advice of Rajendra Babu, after his studies at Calcutta came to Patna to join the freedom struggle. Soon he was elected the Secretary of Harijan Sevak Sangh and worked for decades for the down trodden under the presidency of Shri Bindheshwari Prasad Verma.

Jagjivan Babu could sincerely feel for the sad state of affairs of the Harijans of India and continued to work ceaselessly to uplift their socio-economic status. Though 80% of Harijan movement, awareness, and development work among them is due to him, he always took a balanced view and worked for their integration with the main stream of Indian society.

HIS SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

Jagjivan Babu has played a dominant role in the constructive politics of the country and as a great soldier of Gandhiji he has learnt the basic value of making sacrifices for the cause of nation and democracy. At this point I am reminded of the incident that made him so popular throughout the country. It was in 1937 when an independent party led by Mr. Yunus
offered him the Ministership of Bihar State to young Jagjivan of 30 years. But he flatly refused to accept it and asked them to meet his leader Rajendra Babu for it.

As a part of his life-long programme to serve the downtrodden, he has always supported the cause of the tribals in Bihar. At the institutional level, he has been the Vice-President of Adinjati Seva Mandal for the last 15 years. The Mandal, founded by Rajendra Babu has been engaged in the programmes of tribal welfare since June 1946. As I am specialist in tribal affairs, I will take this opportunity to write about tribal development with which Jagjivan Babu has been associated directly or indirectly.

INTRODUCTION : TRIBAL AFFAIRS

India is very keen in developing her weaker sections of the people by providing them a good living and due social justice. The Constitution of India envisages the safeguard that “the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustices and all form of exploitation”. At first instance a period of ten years was given to achieve the goal but as the problem is not of simple nature to be solved in a single decade, it is bound to persist through decades. We continue to guard the tribal interest even in this Silver Jubilee Year of India’s independence which reflects the sense of responsibility of the Indian people towards their tribal brethren.

CONSTITUTION AND THE TRIBALS

A number of Articles of the Indian Constitution provide proper safeguard to the tribal people. Though the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15), equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Article 16), abolition of untouchability (Article 17), prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour (Article 23), to secure a social order for the promotion
of welfare of the people (Article 26) and protection of interests of minorities (Article 29) are of general nature, they still incorporate in themselves the tribal people. The Articles of the Constitution which are directly related to the tribal safeguard offer them the promotion in respect of educational and economic (Article 46), other special provisions as to the appointment of Ministers to look after the tribal interest exclusively (Article 164), special administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas (Article 244), grants from the Union to certain States (Article 275), reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People (Article 330) and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States (Article 332), reservation of seats and special representation (Article 334), special claim to services and posts (Article 335), special offices for them (Article 338), control of the Centre over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes (Article 339) and special provision for Nagaland (Article 371 A). The Article 342 of the Constitution is on Scheduled Tribes themselves. Here mention may be made of some orders issued by the President specifying them like Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1953, Constitution (Scheduled Tribes-Part States) Order 1951 as amended by Modification Order 1956 read with the Bombay Re-organisation Act 1960, the Constitution (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) Scheduled Tribes Order 1959, the Constitution (Dadra and Nagar Haveli) Scheduled Tribes Order 1962, the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes-Uttar Pradesh) Order 1967, the Constitution (Goa, Daman and Diu) Scheduled Tribes Order 1968, and recently the Constitution (Nagaland) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1970.

THOUGHT TOWARDS THE PEOPLE

Since the inception of independence we are actively thinking for the uplift of our tribal people. Our beloved leader late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru gave a thought that the tribes should 'develop along the lines of their own genius and in no case there should be any imposition in the name of their development.' Nehru had great love for the tribals even in his

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
pre-Prime Ministership period and had all appreciation for their culture. In his own words: "I am not at all sure which way of living is better, ours or their. But in some ways, I am quite certain theirs is better. A great deal of things could be learnt from their culture especially in the frontier areas. They are people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life; not people who sit in stock exchange and shout at each other and call that civilization". At another place, he expressed his disapproval against our false idea “to call some people primitive and to think of ourselves as highly civilized”.

Addressing an All India Conference of the tribals held at Jagdalpur (Bastar district, Madhya Pradesh) in March 1955 he advised his tribal brethren in the following words:

"Wherever you live, you should live in your own way. This is what I want you to decide yourselves how you would like to live. Your old customs and habits are good. We want that you should survive but at the same time we want that you should be educated and should do your part in welfare of our country".

Another line of thought believed in the rapid integration of the tribal people with the general population and the pioneer in this regard is the Scheduled Castes Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. A study team on tribal development programmes felt the target set by the S.A. & S.T. Commission that the goal of total assimilation should be reached by the end of the Fourth Plan as somewhat optimistic, though this was in entire agreement with the view of the Commission that the social and economic advancement should be accelerated. The team considered the factors which militate against progress in large number and after reviewing the position it came on another line of thought more or less like the thought of the S.A. & S.T. Commission with slight modification.

The study team, therefore suggested that the aim of tribal welfare policy should be defined as progressive advancement, social and economic, of the tribals with a view to their integration with the rest of the community on a footing of
equality within a reasonable distance of time. The period should necessarily vary from tribe to tribe. While it may be 5 to 10 years in the case of certain tribes, more particularly the tribes who have already come in contact with the general population by living in the plains, it may be two decades or more in the case of tribals who are still in the primitive food-gathering stage.

HISTORICAL APPRAISAL

Origin of the term 'Scheduled Tribe' itself is the result of implementation of our Constitution on 26th January, 1950. However, the first serious attempt to list these communities as primitive tribe was made during the Census of 1931. In the Government of India Act, 1935 a reference was made to 'Backward Tribes' and again the thirteenth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies) Order 1936 specified certain tribes as backward in the then Provinces of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Barar, Madras and Bombay. In 1941 Census these people were recorded as "Tribes" and separate totals were furnished only for a few selected individual tribes.

In pursuance of the provision under Article 342 of the constitution, the President made an Order in 1950 specifying Certain tribes or tribal communities as Scheduled Tribes. This list of Scheduled Tribes was revised as the need arose in 1953, 54, 56, 59, 60, 62, 66, 67, 68 and 70. The detailed contents of the Advisory Committee of 1965 which was set up for advising the Government on the revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and had suggested the revised list and the Orders made in 1967, 68 and 70 are the result of the efforts made by the committee which is still currently at work.

The 1951 Census marked a complete departure from the traditional recording of individual tribes in pursuance of the policy of the Government of India to discourage community distinction based on caste and the only relevant information which was enumerated was if the persons belonged to
“Scheduled Tribe” group in general. The data in this respect gives a total number of tribal population and nothing else on individual basis. Thus the first population figure about the Scheduled Tribes was a total number without any detail which was 2,25,11,854 i.e. 6.25% of the total population.

At the time of the preparation of 1961 Census it was realized that the special detailed tabulations of the individual tribes, and of their social, economic demographic and educational details is essential. It was stated by the Registrar General, India that the statistics presented in the special tables of Scheduled Tribes were expected to serve as bench mark data for future evaluation, particularly in the context of the concerted efforts being directed towards ameliorating the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes. According to the 1961 Census they were having the strength of 2,98,79,249 which was 6.87% of the total population. More recently in the 1971 Census their strength rose to about 3 crores and 80 lakhs i.e. 6.94% of total population. So in this span of post-independence period the number of the tribal people became 3.8 crores from 2.25 crores and their percentage with respect to general population rose from six and quarter percent to nearly seven percent. The idea of tribal population growth in the post-independence period may be had from the following table (No. 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961 Population% Increase</th>
<th>1971 (Provisional) Population% Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General—</td>
<td>36,11</td>
<td>43,90, 21.58</td>
<td>54,73, 24.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51,669</td>
<td>72,582</td>
<td>67,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribe—</td>
<td>2,25,</td>
<td>2,98, 32.73</td>
<td>3,79, 27.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,854</td>
<td>79,249</td>
<td>74,953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics of population distribution of the Scheduled Tribe may be known from the following table (table 2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U.T.</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribe in each population</th>
<th>% of S. T. in each U. T.</th>
<th>% of S. T. to the State population</th>
<th>% of S. T. to the Total State population of India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh—</td>
<td>3,59,83, 447</td>
<td>13,24, 368</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>4.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam including Meghalaya,</td>
<td>1,22,09, 330</td>
<td>23,62, 983</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>19.35</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram and Arunachal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pradesh—</td>
<td>4,46,55, 610</td>
<td>42,04, 784</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>9.05</td>
<td>13.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar—</td>
<td>2,06,33, 350</td>
<td>27,54, 446</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>13.35</td>
<td>9.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat—</td>
<td>N. A</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana—</td>
<td>13,51,144</td>
<td>1,08,194</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh—</td>
<td>35,60,976</td>
<td>No. S. T.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir—</td>
<td>1,69,03, 715</td>
<td>2,12,762</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala—</td>
<td>3,23,72, 408</td>
<td>66,78, 410</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>20.63</td>
<td>22.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh—</td>
<td>3,95,53, 718</td>
<td>23,97, 159</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>7.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra—</td>
<td>7,80,037</td>
<td>2,49,049</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>31.93</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur—</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya—</td>
<td>2,35,86, 772</td>
<td>1,92,096</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nagaland— 3,69,200 3,43,697 0.08 93.09 1.14  
Orissa— 1,75,48, 42,23, 0.96 24.07 14.02  
846 757  
Punjab (including  
Haryana &  
Chandigarh) 2,03,06, 14,132 neg. 0.07 0.05  
812  
Rajasthan— 2,01,55, 23,51, 0.54 11.67 7.66  
602 470  
Tamilnadu— 3,36,86, 2.51, 0.06 0.75 0.85  
953 991  
Tripura— 11,42, 3,60,070 0.08 31.53 1.19  
005  
Uttar Pradesh— 7,37,46,401 No S. T. in 1961  
West Bengal— 3,49, 20,54, 0.47 5.88 0.82  
26,279 081  
A. & N. Islands— 63,548 14,122 neg. 22.22 0.05  
Arunachal Pradesh— N.A. N.A. 0.07 38.57 0.99  
Dar-Jang Haveli— 57,963 51,259 0.01 88.43 0.17  
Chandigarh— N.A. N.A. N.A. N.A. N.A.  
Delhi— 26,58,612 No S.T.  
Goa, Daman, Diu— 6,26,667 N.A. N.A. N.A. N.A.  
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi— 24,108 23,391 neg. 97.03 0.08  
Mizoram— N.A. N.A. N.A. N.A. N.A.  
Pondicherry— 3,69,079 No S.T.  
India— 43,90,72, 2,98,79, 6.87 6.87 100  
582 249  

ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP AND OTHER AGENCIES FOR TRIBAL WELFARE

We have discussed the important safeguard in the Constitution, the short history of past twenty five years and their population growth. Here an account of the machinery which is taking into account the stock of things in matter of safeguards will be relevant. The present structure of the administrative set up for tribal welfare has evolved through
interactions among the national leaders, social workers, tribal leaders and applied anthropologists. The President of India is primarily responsible and has been given powers to safeguard the interests of these communities and he has appointed the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at national level with special duties of investigating all matters relating to safeguards given to these tribal people. The Director General of the Backward Classes with the help of the Regional Deputy Director virtually handles funds and controls all the tribal welfare activities. The Commissioner’s report annually detailing all that has been observed by him personally and on the information received from the Director General and Regional Deputy Director is submitted to Parliament.

At the state level, the Governor has been made responsible and on his behalf the Chief Minister and Welfare Minister are in-charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. It does never mean that the general developmental work is dropped, they take their own course. In some majority concentrated tribal areas the State has an independent Tribal Welfare Ministry. The Welfare Ministry is advised by two bodies—Tribes Advisory Council and the Tribal Research Institutes in framing the policies and programmes for tribal welfare. A Deputy Director for Backward Classes is posted by the Centre and acts as liaison between the national and state levels.

Among the other agencies for tribal welfare the social welfare agency named Bhartiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh was started in 1948, at national level of which Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India was the founder President. The other voluntary organisations which needs our mention are, Bhartiya Depressed Classes League, Servants of India Society, All India Backward Classes Federation and Indian Council for Child Welfare. Pioneer in this respect is Shri A. V. Thakkar a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

Social worker agencies at State level also existed and Adimjati Sevak Mandal in Bihar is first of its kind and other is
Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal. These institutions were given grants to run schools, hostels, dispensaries etc. in the tribal areas. In Orissa, Adivasi Congress was a forum of the tribals for looking after their interest.

Religious agencies have been also active in almost all parts of tribal areas. The missionaries of various denomination, Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj etc. may be named in this context. The Christian missionaries were working well before independence e.g. in Chotanagpur Lutheran Church started its activities in 1845 and though they have been primarily interested in evangelisation and conversion of tribes to a new faith, the welfare work-educational, hygienic, medical and social called 'work of mercy' invariably followed.

Academic agencies have also run in the race of tribal welfare through anthropologists who have helped a lot. In the late forties and early fifties the anthropologists took a different view of the tribal problems. They were no longer emphasising the evil effects of contacts on tribal people, as they did in the past, instead they made themselves prepared to give advice for the end that had been fixed till then by the administration. Verrier Elwin* who took an extreme view and had advocated the National Park Policy for the tribes also modified his position and began to emphasise the need of careful planning for the uplift of the tribal population. Just after independence in 1949 some anthropologists came out with several papers and addresses, dealing with the importance of applied anthropology in tribal welfare programmes. They made a revaluation of anthropological position and came out with the theory of "planned occlusion". In 1953 a conference of Tribal Workers, in collaboration with some social scientists, was held at a tribal town of Lohardaga (Ranchi district) and discussed the line of action of the tribal people. Other anthropologists like Professor Majumdar*, Dube, Bose, Chattopadhyya, Vidyarthi and a few other anthropologists highlighted the various problems of adivasi and suggested ways and means to ameliorate their economic and social conditions.
OUTLAY ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND QUANTUM OF HELP IN THEIR WELFARE

In post-independence period much efforts have been made to alter the fate of the Weaker sections of Indian population, rather their assimilation with the rest of the population. What the Union and State Governments have been doing in the name of tribal welfare can be had from several reports like annual reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from 1950 onwards, report of the Backward Classes Commission 1955, report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes 1959, forty-eighth report of the Estimates Committee of Parliament 1959, report of Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks 1960, report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960-61, report of the Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker sections of the Village Community 1961, report on the Seminar on Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1964, report of the Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas 1967, report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes 1969, reports of the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1970 and so many reports of the State Governments.

The Government of India is too much eager to help the tribals and is going ahead with her programmes to safeguard the Constitutional safeguards given to these weaker people. After independence, Government has constituted or formed as many as eighteen commissions, committees, working groups or study teams on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the first of its kind being constituted as early as 1949 on the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry and the latest being the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which have submitted altogether nineteen reports in its two years period. This clearly reveals the good intention and efforts on the part of the Government welfare activities.

The large number of steps, programmes or schemes that the Government took or launched for implementation can be
broadly grouped into five—the economic, the educational, the health and sanitation, communication and housing, the sociocultural and finally, the political. The monetary expenditure that has been spent or being spent on them given below in the table 3 in different plans itself tells the developmental story of the welfare of the tribes.

### Table 3
**Plan Expenditure and Scheduled Tribes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>41.00</td>
<td>53.00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denotified Tribes</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for backward classes</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>78.00</td>
<td>102.00</td>
<td>23.65 20.82 24.21</td>
<td>142.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fourth plan outlay for Backward classes plan provision Rs. 142.40 crores.

### Rupees in crores

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Centrally operated Schemes—</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Centrally sponsored Schemes—</td>
<td>59.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) State sector Schemes—</td>
<td>82.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Till the beginning of Fourth Five Year Plan a total sum of Rs. three hundred seventy five crores has been spent by the Union and State Government on the welfare of backward classes. The State Government contributed nearly 100 crores from their own resources, during this period. Here the economic programmes include reclamation of lands, minor irrigation works, loans for cottage industries, distribution of charkhas for Khadi, opening of grain-golas, reservation of certain percentage of jobs etc. In the present context it is important to note the occupational pattern of the tribal workers (see table 4) which reflects the dominance of cultivators and agriculture.
Table 4

Occupational Pattern of Workers in Percentage in 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>India.</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator—</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture—</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining, quarrying—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock, forestry fishing, hunting and plantation, orchards and allied activities:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household industry—</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing other than household industry—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Negligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction—</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Negligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Commerce—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage and Communication—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRIBALS

For overall development of the tribals community development programme in general was introduced. For a programme to be known as community development in the real sense of the term, there must be active participation of the People themselves depending as far as possible on their own initiative. Here the views of late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru lie in saying, ‘develop along lines of their own genius’. Through these tribal development blocks monetary help were injected and many kinds of assistance were given. Efforts were made from time to time to improve the tribal life. From 1957, forty three special multipurpose tribal blocks on the line of community development with heavy allotment of rupees twenty seven lakhs for five years were opened throughout the country. Larger amount was made available for irrigation, soil conservation, communication etc. But the result achieved were meagre. Later Government of India constituted Elwin Committee. The committee recommended the policy of
hastening slowly in the matter of development in tribal areas as there was a chance of the tribal being bewildered by the multiplicity of schemes. So we must advance with caution and give the tribes a breathing space to adapt themselves to the fast changes.

In response to the main recommendations, in third plan a target of 300 tribal development blocks was set with an allotment of rupees twenty two lakhs. In this respect what we have achieved can be peeped through the following table (table 5) which shows a figure of more than five hundred tribal development blocks, of course, this includes the sub-block units too.

**Table 5**

Tribal Development Blocks (including sub-blocks)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U.T.</th>
<th>No. of tribal development Blocks.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam including Meghalaya and Mizoram</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>included in Assam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>included in Assam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 504
On these tribal development blocks union government has already spent Rs. 15.83 crores and Rs. 20.04 crores in third and three annual from 1966-69. The fourth plan outlay shows a steep rise in the proposed expenditure which goes to the extent of Rs. 32.50 crores.

General Uplift

Again the per capita expenditure on tribes on their development schemes may be easily assessed with the help of following table (table 6) which gives the details from five year plan to third five year plan. The figure does not include benefits gained from general programmes.

**Table 6**

**Per-capita expenditure on Development Schemes for the Tribal People (in rupees)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schemes</th>
<th>First Plan</th>
<th>Second Plan</th>
<th>Third Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic uplift</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Schemes</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Housing and others</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All schemes</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main schemes for the tribals, in the first plan (in the year 1951-56) undertaken were economic & educational development, improvement of roads and communications and the provision of medical and public health facilities. Though economic development fetched the highest financial assistance, "Health, Housing and Communication" got the highest per capita expenditure. In the second plan i.e. during 1956-61 the emphasis was on economic development-agriculture, cottage industries, forest cooperatives and a new programme setting up of special multi-purpose Tribal Blocks. During 1961-66 i.e. in the third plan, which was marked by an extension of the multi-purpose Tribal blocks, renamed Tribal Development Blocks, the priorities were again given to economic uplift, education and health, housing and communication schemes. The tribals have also been benefited by the general
funds but the study team\(^4\) noted with regret that no consensus attempt had been made by any of the State Governments in the exception of Andhra Programmes. The following table (table 7) presents the actual expenditure done under different schemes of the State Government and Union Government during different plan periods for the welfare of the tribals.

**Table 7**

**Plan expenditure under State and Union Schemes**

*(in crores)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schemes</th>
<th>First plan</th>
<th>Second Plan</th>
<th>Third plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plan</td>
<td>plan</td>
<td>plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>schemes.</td>
<td>schemes.</td>
<td>schemes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Economic      | 8.46       | 11.59       | 11.11      | 22.70      | 12.13       | 18.59      | 30.72      |
| Uplift—       |            |             |            |            |             |            |            |
| Education-    | 5.10       | 6.49        | 1.56       | 8.05       | 11.66       | 12.57      | 13.23      |
| Health, hous- |            |             |            |            |             |            |            |
| sing, com-    |            |             |            |            |             |            |            |
| munication    |            |             |            |            |             |            |            |
| and others.   | 3.81       | 4.45        | 5.31       | 9.76       | 6.17        | 0.93       | 7.10       |
| All groups    | 17.31      | 22.53       | 17.96      | 40.51      | 29.96       | 21.09      | 51.05      |

\(*\) Excludes grants of Rs. 0.68 crores to All India Voluntary Organisations.

\(**\) Excludes grants of Rs. 1.05 crores to All India Voluntary Organisations.

In this connection, it will be relevant to give some specific examples of some schemes and the funds consumed or anticipated. The following table (table 8) may give broad idea to the readers which appeared in the Fourth Five year Plan documents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Third plan (1961-66) expenditure.</th>
<th>Three annual plan (66-69) anticipated expenditure.</th>
<th>Fourth plan (69-74) outlay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Centre—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Tribal Development Blocks—</td>
<td>15.83</td>
<td>20.04</td>
<td>32.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Post Matric Scholarship—</td>
<td>9.48</td>
<td>13.01</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Girls Hostels—</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Coaching and Allied Schemes—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Research Training &amp; Special projects—</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Special co-operation schemes—</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) improvement in working and living condition of those engaged in unclean occupations</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Denotified and Nomadic tribes—</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) Aid to Voluntary organisations—</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. States—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Economic Development—</td>
<td>14.73</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Education—</td>
<td>32.70</td>
<td>19.22</td>
<td>77.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Health, Housing and other schemes—</td>
<td>11.26</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8
Expenditure on some important programmes (rupees in crores)*

*STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS*
3. Union Territories—
   (i) Economic Development—
   (ii) Education—
   (iii) Health, Housing & other programmes—
   Grand total (of 1, 2, 3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3·54</th>
<th>1·93</th>
<th>4·95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1·96</td>
<td>1·09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0·49</td>
<td>0·45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1·09</td>
<td>0·39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99·14</td>
<td>68·49</td>
<td>142·38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the nature of tribal welfare work that is being done, and the amount of money that is being spent on tribal uplift reveals the magnitude of the effort, and the development in post independence period of twenty five years.

Now a brief review of the developmental programmes will highlight the course of welfare that is taking place in the tribal life. It is now generally recognised that there is a marked imbalance in development among the tribals. A large number of tribal communities continue to be extreme backward and some of them are still primitive food gathering types. However the implementation of tribal welfare measures and the result may be assessed programme wise under five heads as earlier expressed in the outlay on tribal development viz. economic, education, health, sanitation, communication and housing, the socio-cultural and political.

ECONOMIC UPLIFT

Economic uplift comes first under our review which has many sections like agriculture and allied sectors, forests, tribal development blocks, co-operative indebtedness, industries, minerals and powers.

AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED SECTORS:

The tribals of more than seven-eighth of their strength are engaged in agriculture (see table 9) with their poor technology. A good number of them living in hilly areas do not follow the normal settled methods of cultivation and do the shifting cultivation. Steps are being taken to regulate this system of cultivation on scientific line as is being done in
Arunachal Pradesh to minimise its evils and help in building up of the fertility of the Jhum area. The colonisation scheme have a reasonable chance of success which have been introduced in tribal middle India, Kerala and Tripura. In Tripura out of about 27,000 families practicing shifting cultivation about the two third i.e, 18,231 families have changed over to settled agriculture. They had been allotted two acres of cultivable land, some cash for seeds, bullocks and implements. To make the project a full success the mechanised reclamation of hilly and forested tracts is being adopted. In Rajasthan high yielding varieties of maize and paddy have been introduced with a marked degree of success in the tribal area. Improved ploughs have been accepted by the farmers of Simalwara T.D. Blocks in Rajasthan.

MINOR IRRIGATION

Minor irrigational facilities are among the best irrigational resources for hilly region. In Chotanagpur area many schemes of minor irrigation have been taken up. The best example in this respect is the Bundu and Tamar area of Ranchi district. The people are being benefited by these minor irrigational schemes of small canals and big wells. In Mysore about 4,000 minor irrigation works were taken up in third plan in general sector. In Orissa the rural engineering organisation is entrusted with the project. In Andhra Pradesh loan are granted for pumping sets. In Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh a subsidy equivalent to 75 per cent of the cost of pumping set was given to the tribals.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND FISHERIES

Livestock in tribal areas is generally of a non-descript type and its productivity is poor. In some states under the programme of poultry development, improved cocks, hatching eggs and chickens are being supplied. Steps have been taken to grade up the local breed cattle. In Chotanagpur some bulls have been distributed by the T.D. Blocks free of cost for the purpose.
The tribals are fond of fish, but their level of production is very low and traditional in nature. Special steps have been taken in many areas of tribal Bihar by the fishery department under the programme renovation of tanks and bringing them under pisciculture needs our mention. In Kerala stocking of major reservoirs at different places is done.

FORESTS

The forest gives food to the tribals and provides materials to build home. Thus the tribal economy revolves round the forest in tribal India. The forest supplements the agriculturist tribes by produce such as fire-wood, leaves, fruits, honey, grasses and other products. In some states “forest village” have been established in remote areas to ensure regular supply of labour for falling the trees, road or building construction. In Suranda forest area of Bihar these forest villages are doing well. Forest labour co-operative societies are another institutions that have been constituted in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Bihar. The tribals get their reasonable share in the minor forest produce by supplying forest produce to these societies. In Andhra Pradesh a big federation of forest co-operative is running and helping the tribals.

CO-OPERATIVES

A special provision for starting co-operative societies in the tribal areas has been a regular feature in the Plans. Under the Backward Classes Sector a large number of co-operative societies have been started. Grain-gola co-operative, Multi-purpose societies, Market-cum-consumer societies, Forest labour co-operative societies etc. came into being. In Madhya Pradesh the Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation was set up to give technical guidance and financial help to the existing co-operative societies in the tribal areas. Andhra Pradesh has also started Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation with four fold objectives i.e. (i) to prevent the tribals from middle men, (ii) to provide credit facilities, (iii) procure for them their daily
requirements and (iv) arrange for the marketing of their agricultural and minor forest produce.

INDEBTEDNESS

In tribal areas throughout India often debts descend from father to son and are passed on even to the third generation. Improvident in his habits and always in need of money to fulfil social obligations and tribal rituals the tribals have become easy victim of exploitation by money lenders and middle men. They often loose their lands in the interest itself. In recent years inspite of expansion of cooperatives the professional money lenders are still dominating the scene. Steps have been taken in States and Union Territories to regulate money lending and provide debt relief. Legislative measures have been taken for protecting the interests of tribes. Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulation, 1960, the Bihar Scheduled Area Regulation, 1967 and the Madhya Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1965 are examples of such legislations.

INDUSTRIES : MINERALS AND POWERS

The industrialisation of tribal areas had not helped the tribals in permanent improving of their economic condition. Major industrial projects like Rourkela, Ranchi, Bokaro steel plants located in tribal areas have no doubt given some money on daily wage basis as unskilled worker and the displaced persons of the industrial areas have been given cash compensation which is squandered on drinks and rituals. This has made them a moving band of labourers from one industrial site to another. Some arrangements have been made through I.I.T's. to produce skilled workers among them. The following table (table 9) may present some picture about the craftsmen training schemes in the tribal areas. This clearly reveals that in India there are more than three and half hundred I.I.T. centres engaged in training these tribals along with the general trainess.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U.T.</th>
<th>No. of I.T.'s</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number of trainees:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Trainees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India—</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>1,03,897</td>
<td>2,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh—</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7,452</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam including—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya &amp; Mizoram—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,797</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar—</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9,197</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3,995</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana—</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3,901</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh—</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,063</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir—</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,170</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh—</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5,001</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra—</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13,283</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore—</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4,200</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,987</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab—</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7,518</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,138</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu—</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11,238</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh—</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14,984</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6,021</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi—</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3,583</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the minerals, the tribal hands are busy in exploiting the mines as mine and quarry labourers. 3% of the tribals are
employed in the mines which is at par with the All India figure (see table 4). Another industry, the cottage and village industries has been an integral part of the tribals welfare programmes in the first three Five Year Plans. During the Third Five Year Plan Rs. 2. 29. crores was made available for promotion of these industries. The power energy type has helped these tribals and coming up of hydel units in tribal area will certainly do good for them. At first instance they got labour employment as unskilled worker from these projects.

Education

Much have been done in the field of education to educate the tribal people. The literacy rate is really too high in their respect. This is revealed by comparing the two census figures of 1931 and 1961 in the following (table 10).

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Increased by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General population——</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>28.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribes (returned as——</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>8.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primitive Tribe in 1931)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While much has been done a great deal still remains to be done if the tribals are to be brought on a par with rest of the population. The state-wise distribution of literacy is given below in table 11.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U.T</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>28.29</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>24.62</td>
<td>4.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam (including)</td>
<td>32.98</td>
<td>23.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State/Union Territory</td>
<td>Tribal Population</td>
<td>Literate Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya &amp; Mizoram</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>21.75</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>36.19</td>
<td>11.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>19.95</td>
<td>8.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>55.08</td>
<td>17.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>20.48</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>35.08</td>
<td>7.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>36.04</td>
<td>27.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>29.80</td>
<td>8.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>24.43</td>
<td>14.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>25.24</td>
<td>7.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab (including Haryana &amp; Chandigarh)</td>
<td>28.77</td>
<td>16.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>18.12</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>36.39</td>
<td>5.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>24.34</td>
<td>10.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>20.73</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>34.46</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>29.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar</td>
<td>40.07</td>
<td>11.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>11.55</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>61.95</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa, Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. M. &amp; A. Islands</td>
<td>27.15</td>
<td>22.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>43.65</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tribals have been given special facilities right from the primary stage to the University for their education. A glance of their present educational level may be taken from the table below (table 12). All India figure in this respect is that tribals to the extent of 18,77,100 are literate without any
educational level and 641,000 have their primary or junior basic schooling and only 29,000 tribals have qualification of high school and onward. Six states have returned with the figure of more than a lakh as simple literates i.e. in descending order—Assam (including Meghalaya and Mizoram), Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra and Gujarat. Bihar is the only state which has more than ten thousand tribal matriculates or post matriculates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U. T.</th>
<th>Literate without educational level (000)</th>
<th>Primary or Junior basic level (000)</th>
<th>High School and above (000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>44·0</td>
<td>14·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam (including Meghalaya &amp; Mizoram)</td>
<td>394·0</td>
<td>85·0</td>
<td>7·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>282·0</td>
<td>93·0</td>
<td>10·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>110·0</td>
<td>211·0</td>
<td>1·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>7·0</td>
<td>2·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>28·0</td>
<td>8·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>271·3</td>
<td>68·3</td>
<td>1·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>126·0</td>
<td>46·0</td>
<td>0·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>53·0</td>
<td>14·3</td>
<td>0·8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>13·8</td>
<td>1·1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>47·0</td>
<td>4·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>267·6</td>
<td>41·9</td>
<td>1·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1·0</td>
<td>1·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>83·6</td>
<td>7·6</td>
<td>1·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>12·0</td>
<td>3·0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 12**

Statewise Educational levels of Tribal Literates in India in 1961
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Primary (100)</th>
<th>Upper Primary (100)</th>
<th>Total (100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa, Daman and Diu</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindiv</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>1877.1</td>
<td>641.0</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education at primary level is satisfactory among the tribals in States like Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, and Maharashtra which is revealed by the figures of enrolment collected by the Ministry of Education in 1964-65. The study team in 1969 suggested altogether 7 measures to accelerate the progress among them, establishing of primary school within one or two miles of the home of every child is the first and foremost recommendation. Figures of enrolment in middle school stage is much lower than that at the primary stage. Some Ashram schools i.e. residential type of schools under a group of teachers have been started and have caught the imagination of the tribals and unlike the single teacher school, have been a success. In India altogether 733 Ashram schools have been opened of which 362 were for Scheduled Tribes, 57 for Denotified Tribes and 38 for Nomadic and Semi-nomadic tribes, that is 457 Ashram schools were only for the tribes of all type. A detail of Ashram schools may be found in the following table (table 13).
Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U. T.</th>
<th>For Scheduled Tribes</th>
<th>For Denotified Tribes</th>
<th>For Nomadic &amp; Semi-nomadic Tribes</th>
<th>Total for general</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When secondary school education among the tribals is considered here again the coverage in all the States is very low. The Government is spending huge money on the tribals to raise their educational level. Post matric scholarship awards were started in 1948 with 84 students and now for 70-71 the figure is estimated to go up to 29,200. This shows the extent of Governments eagerness to raise the educational level of the tribes. Further details of post matric scholarships are given below (table 14).

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Award</th>
<th>Expenditure (in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>5.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>8.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>12.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>2883</td>
<td>13.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>3482</td>
<td>15.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>4300</td>
<td>18.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>4821</td>
<td>20.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>6112</td>
<td>23.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>6871</td>
<td>30.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>8548</td>
<td>36.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>10249</td>
<td>44.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>11836</td>
<td>50.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>13500</td>
<td>60.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>15925</td>
<td>70.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>17760</td>
<td>83.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>21261</td>
<td>106.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>26616</td>
<td>120.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>26621</td>
<td>136.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>29200</td>
<td>149.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are also provided with overseas scholarships. For the first time in the year 1954-55, two students were given this scholarship. Next year four were awarded the scholarship and for two consecutive years i.e. in 1956-57 and 1957-58 three were given the award. In 1958-59 again four students received the scholarship, whereas in 1959-60 none received the award. From 1960 onward to 1967-68 this figure varied in between two and five that is in 1960-61 (5), in 1963-64 (2), in 1963-64 (3), in 1964-65 (4), 1965-66 (4) and in combined two years of 1966-68 (5).

To raise the standard of education in tribal areas, efforts have been made in different directions such as primary education, middle school education, Ashram type schools, single teacher schools, girls education, post-matric education, education in abroad, vocational and technical education, industrial
training, with tuition fee facility. About 30 lakhs of tribals did some type of schooling in 1965-66. The following table gives the number of school going boys and girls of tribal communities in different types and stages of schools (table 15).

**Table 15**

**Scheduled Tribe students by courses and stages of Education in 1965-66 (Provisional)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages of Education</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) School for General Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Pre-Primary stages</td>
<td>3,968</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>7,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Class IV</td>
<td>17,34,472</td>
<td>6,70,172</td>
<td>24,04,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Class VI-VIII</td>
<td>2,27,653</td>
<td>62,252</td>
<td>2,89,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Class I and above</td>
<td>83,635</td>
<td>18,021</td>
<td>1,01,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) General Education (Collegiate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Pre-Univ./Inter (Arts &amp; Science)</td>
<td>4,329</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>4,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Post-Degree (Arts &amp; Science)</td>
<td>6,424</td>
<td>1,244</td>
<td>7,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Post-graduate degree (Arts &amp; Science)</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Doctorate</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Diploma or Certificate.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Professional &amp; other Education (Collegiate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Under-graduate</td>
<td>3,260</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>3,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Graduate</td>
<td>1,487</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Post-graduate/Research</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Professional Special &amp; other education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>21,72,613</td>
<td>8,06,878</td>
<td>29,79,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS.
A follow up programme of education has also been introduced for the tribal students who wish to join All India services through competition. Altogether four centres have been opened; one at Allahabad, other at Madras, third at Chandigarh and recently the fourth at Ranchi. These institutions train about 30 to 60 students each year. This scheme of pre-examination training was first started in 1959. The tribals are getting opportunities of finding jobs appropriate to their qualifications and attainment through these follow up programmes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, COMMUNICATION & HOUSING

There has been a considerable expansion of medical and public health facilities in the tribal areas during the three plans. The table 16 shows the expenditure in this head.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Provision made</th>
<th>Expenditure incurred</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>153.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>478.27</td>
<td>383.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>247.37</td>
<td>247.36 (Provisional)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the medical field more and more primary health centres are being opened with qualified doctors. In Madhya Pradesh Ayurvedic sections have also been opened in the remote tribal areas. But still much more has to be done in this field. The same is the fate with drinking water facilities. A start has been done by digging drinking wells hither and thither in Tripura, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Arunachal and so on.

Transport and communication has been lacking in the tribal areas. A small beginning was made in the First Plan and
a sum of Rs. 4.12 crores was spent in the construction of some four thousand Kilometers of roads including village roads, bridle paths. In Second Plan Rs. 7.29 crores were spent, and in the Third plan a sum of 5.1 crores was spent. Assam got the greater share in all the three plans. It is good that in recent years several States are undertaking road construction, and different agencies like P.W.D., C.D.D. and T.W.D. and F.D. are made the incharge.

Cultural Development

For promoting the cause of cultural development—dance, folklore, adivasi language etc. and another Board known as Cultural Board has been constituted and this Board has been recommending grants-in-aid for such cultural works. Some traditional schools like Dhukuria and Ghotul are given financial help to go on with their folk dance. Bharat programmes have also been arranged from time to time to enlighten these people.

Political

The tribal people are politically democratic in nature. Their leaders respect each of their fellow men. They have received a share in the Indian Republic through Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas. These people have been given reserved seats. Only tribal can stand for election on these seats. The following table gives the state wise figure of the reserved constituencies in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas which are in to 37 and 262 respectively (table 15).16

Table 17

Allocation of Seats for Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabhas of different States and Union Territories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/U. T.</th>
<th>Lok Sabha</th>
<th>Vidhan Sabha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa, Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laccadive Mincoy and Amindivi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our nation is on the threshold of the fourth five year plan and all round radical planning is envisaged to eradicate poverty from the every nook and corner of the country. In this sphere a great break-through is needed in the field of tribal development as their primitiveness and backwardness is the greatest black spot on the fair name of the Indian nation.
It is heartening to note that a strong steering group under
the Chairmanship of Shri Mohan Dharia, State Minister of
Planning, as well as a Member of Task Forces and Study Groups
are in action to suggest radical plans to eradicate poverty,
illiteracy, ill-health and illwill from among the tribal areas of
India. From the trends of discussion it is evident that during
the Fourth Five Year Plan the emphasis will be to level up
weakest section from among the tribals. There are numerous
primitive pockets which have been neglected in the course of
the previous five year plans. Such primitive and weakest
section of the tribals deserve nation’s first attention. The
desired results in the tribal welfare have not been realised for
want of the effective implementation of the plans. Efforts
should be made to recruit more trained and dedicated persons
to work in the geographically handicapped tribal areas. The
Training Institutes have failed to inspire the workers to take up
the challenge of the backwardness of the backward areas of
our nation and it would be perhaps the major efforts of the
Planning Commission to strengthen the established institutes
and further establish a network of institutes which may prepare
a band of workers and leaders to resolve the problems of the
tribal area.

It is also being felt that the tribal development Blocks
have failed to deliver the desired result owing to several
shortcomings. Need is being felt to replace it by the Tribal
Development Area in which the emphasis will be to make an
alround and integrated development irrespective of the grants
received from the "general" as well as "supplementary" or
"additive" sectors. In the Fifth Plan greater emphasis is
likely to be given on the integration of the tribals with the
mainstream of Indian civilization and it is hoped that under the
dynamic leadership of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi
and Babu Jagjivan Ram certain constitutional amendments
will be made to gain these objectives.
NOTES

1. Jawaharlal Nehru: Inaugural speech at the Conference of Tribes and Scheduled Areas held at New Delhi, June 7, 1952. Published in the proceedings as well as reprinted in Vanyajati Vol. XII, No. 3. July 1964.


5. Ibid. P. 11-12


15. Different tables: Have been prepared with the help of tables appeared in the Report on Study Team on Tribal Development Programme, 1969.
Jagjivan Ram and Status of Scheduled Castes In Indian Social System

AROON KUMAR

In his book, 'India: the Social Anthropology of a Civilization,' Bernard S. Cohn has recently opined: "Discussion of Indian Society and culture always begin with a statement about the complexities and diversities actually found in India today. The most frequent statement made about India is that it is a land of "Unity in Diversity".

While discussing about any aspect of our social system, it is essential to touch the caste system, a typical social stratification found especially in India. The present article aims to examine the status of Scheduled Castes in Indian Social System. I shall proceed to explain in brief about the origin of caste. Before explaining the emergence of the term "Scheduled Caste", I shall try to show the status of Shudra according to the "Varna System" which will make it easy to understand the status of Scheduled Castes which has been low since the very beginnings. To my mind, perhaps, it is Shudra who in course of time divided into many down-trodden castes and sub-castes. It is an established fact that these castes were and of course, are treated as untouchables. Therefore, I shall explain in brief about the concept of pollution. Further I shall present that how the term "Scheduled Caste" appeared for the first time. It seems to me that this term is exclusively official than anthropological. My next task would be to present the status of Scheduled Castes in post-Independence
days. This part is very essential, because a great change has taken place in the life of Scheduled Castes with the aid of Government of India and especially due to dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, on the one hand and Babu Jagjivan Ram on the other. At the end, I shall focus my attention towards the contribution of Babuji, especially in uplifting Scheduled Castes in India.

TOWARDS THE ORIGIN OF THE CASTE IN BRIEF

Cohn opines that the institution taken as the hallmark of Indian Society is caste. The study of caste, its origins, structure, history and functions had engaged scholars of India for generations. There is no generally accepted single definition of the caste system, but there is widespread agreement on its attributes.

Many attempts have been made to define this institution as it appears in Indian history, but given its manifold aspects and the great variety of forms and elements that it includes, the attempted definitions are more in the line of descriptions or explanations of the caste system.

Nesfield regarded caste as having its origin in the division of labour, and the occupation was the central determining factor in the system. H.H. Risaleley argued for a racial origin of caste. Lbbonston saw the major impetus to the formation of caste in tribal origin's. Crook and others came out for more eclectic theories of origin. The electicism reaches its final form with the last of the British official ethnographers and Census Commissioner, J. H. Hutton. He compiled a list of fourteen more obvious factors which have been indicated as probably contributing to the emergence and development of the caste system.

SOCIAL STATUS OF SHUDRA IN ANCIENT INDIA

The position of the Vaishya and the Shudra was correspondingly intolerable. A. Mitra explains that one should have no connection with Shudras. One may not even read before a Shudra, one must not travel with him. His travel will pollute
a Brahmin's food and even eat. Non-Aryans were not better than animals. Dark women, possibly Shudra women, are like bitches says Vashistha according to one version and fit only for enjoyment according to another. Only marriages by force or fraud are enjoined for Shudra. For them there was practically no justice and the cruelest punishment was awarded to the Shudra even for petty crimes. His life was of no value, killing a Shudra was an offence not more serious than killing a frog.

THE CONCEPT OF POLLUTION:

There are a great number of rules of purity and pollution but many are of minor importance and effect the status of only a limited number of caste groups. They are as follows:

(i) that distraction of the life principle for a living is polluting—a rule which accounts for the fact that the oilseed crushing section of the Teli (oilmen caste) is of very low status whereas the oil selling section is of relatively high status.

(ii) that death and decay are polluting, and therefore all occupational association with them is polluting—a rule which accounts as for the low status of all groups where duties include officiating at funerals (i.e., the low caste Mahabrahmin)

(iii) that all human grimision are pollution and therefore occupational association with these, too, is polluting—a rule which accounts for the low status of washerman, barbers and lavatory attendents.

(iv) that the cow is sacred above all other animals and that killing it or flaying it, or dealing with its skin or doing leather work, or eating its flesh is sinful, and therefore, polluting a rule which accounts for the low status of charankars and shoemakers and all the beef eating caste groups.

(v) that the drinking of alcohol is polluting—a rule which accounts for the fact that liquor selling has come to be almost exclusively low caste occupation and,
(vi) that marriage is a binding sacrament, and therefore, the marriage of widow is polluting a rule which accounts for the continued ban on widow marriage.

Toward the origin of the term "Scheduled Caste" which appeared for the first time in the Govt. of India Act, 1935. In April, 1936 the British Govt. issued the Govt. of India Scheduled Castes Order, 1936, specifying certain castes, races and tribes as Scheduled Castes in the then provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Orissa, Punjab and other provinces. Prior to that these castes were generally known as the Depressed Classes. The Depressed Classes were systematically categorised in 1931 by Hutton, the then Census Commissioner of India. The list of Scheduled Castes issued in 1936 was a continuation of the earlier list of Depressed Classes. The list drawn in 1950 was a revised version of the list of Scheduled Castes under the Govt. of India Scheduled Caste Order, 1936.

SOCIAL STATUS OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Although, the life of Scheduled Castes has remained the same as it was in early days, nevertheless, with the efforts of the Govt. of India as well as State Governments various changes have been taking place in the status of Scheduled Castes, no doubt the Government has tried to give proper place in Indian social system by giving social, economic, political, educational and other facilities. Owing to her effort the status of Scheduled Castes has changed very little.

The Constitution prescribes protection and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, either special or by way of general rights of citizens with the object of promoting their educational and economic interests and of removing certain social disabilities, the Scheduled Castes were subjected to so far. These are:

(i) the abolition of 'untouchability' and the forbidding of its practice in any form (Art. 17).
(ii) the promotion of their educational and economic interests and their protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art. 46).

(iii) the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus. (Art. 25)

(iv) the removal of any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment, the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained, wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of general public (Art. 15).

(v) the forbidding of any denial of admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or aided out of State funds (Art. 29).

(vi) the obligation of the State to consider their claims in the making of appointments to public services and reservation for them in case of inadequate representation (Arts. 16 and 335).

(vii) Special representation in Parliament and the State Legislatures for a period of twenty years (Arts. 330, 332, and 334).

(viii) the setting up of Advisory Councils and separate Departments in the States and the appointment of a Special Officer at the Centre to promote their welfare and safeguard their interests (Arts. 164 and 338 and fifth Schedule).

Although, untouchability has been abolished in India by law (Art. 17), but still untouchability is prevailing in some or other forms. The Scheduled Caste members are not allowed to take water from public wells. I have found in Madnipura, District Saharsa that Scheduled Castes are not allowed to take tea in the shop. They usually take tea in their own glass or earthen-pot. Several such examples can be cited from all over India. It shows that social status of Scheduled Castes is tragic. Dr. Dhansali, the famous social reformer pointed out that
"Harijans in India are deprived of social rights whereas Negroes are deprived of civil rights in America."

In recent years Gandhiji and Babu Jagjivan Ram had tried to give due social status to Scheduled Castes and to tackle this social evil not only on the religious and humanitarian ground, but also emphasised the removal of economic disparities. Babuji recently said that untouchability can only be removed when the majority of Hindus realise that it is a crime against God and men are ashamed of it.

To abolish the untouchability merely on paper and by wishful thinking and empty advice or slogans is sheer nonsense or bypassing. The only question of supreme importance to be considered is to device how to bring about the necessary reform of the Hindu social order.

But to bring about the necessary social transformation would call for wise leadership with a clear appreciation of aims and objects, a rational and experimental attitude of mind with confidence in the outlook of science and willing to pay the price of much painful adjustments.

Babuji admits that whole of India is backward with its heavy dependence on agriculture and low dependence on industries, but the vast majority of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes occupy a position still lower.

LEADERSHIP

The aim which the Constitution has set before the people of India has been 'the protection (of the weaker sections of the people) from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46). Everyone will agree that one part of a nation can not be freed from social inequality if other parts are allowed to remain in that condition. If a village is struck by an epidemic, it is never possible to save one house, or a number of houses belonging to a particular community, so long as the whole villages is not taken care of. Exploitation arises out of system and if it has to be ended for one community, it has to be ended for all.
And it is in this joint task of building up an exploitation free society that all leaders of the nation, whether they belong to the Scheduled Communities or not, must bend their wills and work together. It is only by such an endeavour to build up an equalitarian society that many inequalities inherited from the past can effectively be wiped out.

There is a rather unhappy confession which has to be made in this connection. Indigenous leadership has indeed grown to an appreciable extent both among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. On the whole these communities have so long been deprived of the benefits which, even under the existing social and economic systems, are being enjoyed by the privileged classes. And the first thing which the rising educated classes from among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes naturally demand is a share of those benefits right here and now. They don't want to be put off till the day when a society of socialistic pattern will come into being. The task of sacrificing immediate benefits for engagements in an enterprise which will bring equality and justice to all is indeed tempting, but not sufficiently attractive for which immediate gains can be sacrificed.

This is perhaps the prevailing mood among sections of the Scheduled Communities who have come forward in education. The indigenous leadership tends to be swept away, on the whole from the task of building up an equalitarian society, and yield even if it is only for the time being, to the pressing demands of their own community, which may be of a more sectional nature.

This is how the rise of an indigenous leadership has not so far succeeded in achieving the desired results. The special provisions of reservation were originally meant to come to an end in 1960. But they were extended for a second and third time for period of 10 years each, which is a proof that the task of eradicating inequality still remains unattained.
Compared to other backward communities, a vigorous and dynamic leadership is yet to emerge among the Scheduled Castes. True, the Scheduled Castes produced one of the giants of modern India in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. But Ambedkar was a rare phenomenon. There are Scheduled Caste Ministers at the Centre and the State Governments. There is also a growing educated elite coming up from among the Scheduled Castes. Yet, the basic weakness of this leadership is that it has failed to take up the cause of the Scheduled Castes where Ambedkar left it. The present leadership is more keen on getting coopted by the upper castes, then on getting coopted by the upper castes, then on standing with their feet firmly planted among their people and fighting for their regeneration and emancipation.

But the present Scheduled Caste elite alone should not be blamed for the lack of effective leadership. All political parties have to share the blame. It is a fact that no conscious attempt has been made by these parties to educate, train and build sufficient leaders from among Scheduled Castes. The general tendency, specially in the ruling congress, all these years has been to treat Scheduled Castes as Vote-providers. The Congress has a long way to go to achieve Gandhiji's fond dream of having a Scheduled Caste in Rashtrapati Bhawan. Which was symbolic of what he wanted for all Scheduled Castes.

The left parties and the communist movements also can not escape criticism in this regard. This failure estimated from the fact that till recently the communist movement had side away from except in isolated pockets. As a result Scheduled Castes in most states were deprived of even the meagre minimum wages fixed. It is only recently that agricultural labour unions have begun to be organised in many states.

Gandhiji was very conscious that the Scheduled Castes must assume the leadership in the fight against caste oppression. During the famous Vaikom Satyagrah in 1928 in Travancore,
Gandhiji insisted that it should be the Scheduled Castes and other so-called untouchables who should defy the prohibition against these communities walking the roads near the Vaikom temple. Unless and until the Scheduled Castes emulate the Negroes of America, who have risen against racial oppression with the slogan of Black power and launch something like a “Scheduled Power” movement, their conditions are not likely to improve.

To sum up, I would like to quote Prof. N. K. Bose from his paper, “The Scheduled Castes and their present condition”, he says, “the real problem which thus arises is, how to eradicate, the inequalities which grew up either through castes, economic organisation or on account of the re-organisation which arose out of the open, competitive system which grew out of the British Imperial System. The task of wiping away these inequalities is not one which belongs to the leaders of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes. It belongs to the whole nation and chief instruments, in the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, should be not merely, Constitutional reform but an organisation of the non-violent strength of the masses who will work through the twin programme of constructive endeavour and the assertion of their right of equality through non-violent non-cooperation”.

BABU JAGJIVAN RAM: THE CHAMPION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Since pre-independence days it has been a matter of hot discussion that who is the champion of Scheduled Castes in India? No doubt, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a rare phenomenon. His erudition and dynamic leadership made him the champion of down-trodden people in general and Scheduled Castes in particular. But, it has been a matter of controversy whether Dr. Ambedkar was really an uncontested leader or not? Mahatma Gandhi himself was a rare phenomenon and a distinguished leader after Lord Buddha. Gandhi himself tried his best to eradicate untouchability and uplift the down-trodden people in general. Babu Jagjivan Ram had also
emerged as a leader of down-trodden people. Dr. Ambedkar had always controversies on certain points with Mahatma Gandhi who realised and declared Babuji as an undisputed leader of the Scheduled Castes. It is said that Dr. Ambedkar was a bit radical in his thinking on the one hand and Babuji a polite in nature. This was main distinguishing feature between these two. However, to my mind Babuji has become the champion of the Scheduled Castes. The major contribution of Babuji is his practical thinking. Credit should go to him for it is he who made the dream of Gandhi true. Thus, I can say that is of immense importance from its applied aspect point of view. In the following paragraphs I shall make an attempt to examine the goals and achievements of Babuji in uplifting the Scheduled Castes.

Basically Babu Jagjivan Ram was a social worker rather than a politician. He was very much influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad while they were working in Bihar. Since his student life Babuji has been trying to eradicate untouchability and make social justice available to the Scheduled Castes. As a social-worker went to villages in Bihar and utilised the teachings of Gandhi against untouchability. He advocated that firstly leader should be good then his follower will be naturally good.

Being a Railway Minister he issued directives that in all big stations their would be Harijans in Hotels, Mess, Restaurants, Tea-stalls, Coaches, Dining Car and Pani Pandays (who serves drinking water to the passengers). Though it seems very simple thing but in fact, it was a great thought by which the Harijan could interact with other higher castes travelling from one part to another part of the country.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is the founder President of Dalit Varga Sanh, one of the biggest Organisations of Scheduled Castes in India. Presently he is the patron of this organisation. He is also the patron of almost all organisations concerned with the problem of down-trodden people in general and Scheduled Castes in particular. Philosophy behind forming
Dalit Varga Sangha was to bring all the down-trodden people to form small segments of this organisation in villages. D.V.S. watches that how different aids given to Scheduled Castes work. It helps in establishing night schools, financial aid during natural calamities, and other facilities.

It is due to his effort that the Scheduled Castes could get land near roadside, near channel, railway line etc. Harijans had to pay taxes only. At that time Babuji was serving as a Labour Minister in Centre. Labour Act was passed according to which the minimum wages was fixed for the labours. His idea behind this was that most of the labours belong to Scheduled Castes who can be benefitted by this Act. He arranged Provident fund for them. First organisation of this nature was established in Dhanbad—Coal mines Welfare Provident Fund. It provides loan to the workers on special occasions such as marriage etc. Babuji's success can be observed by the fact that workers of Dhanbad established a town—Jagjivan Nagar. It was he who had first of all appointed a Coal Mines Welfare Commissioner over their. He propounded housing scheme for the labours. He also provided houses to the nomadic or semi-nomadic Scheduled Tribes.

Babuji also served a lot to Scheduled Caste as a Communication Minister. He realised that economic crisis among the Scheduled Castes is still prevailing. He made a heavy expansion in the postal department. He issued directives that employees of 4th grade should be taken from Scheduled Castes only. This attempt gave a heavy job opportunities to thousands of down-trodden people. Babuji is the founder patron of All India Backward Classes Federation one of the biggest organisations of down-trodden people. It looks after the interest of Backward Classes.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is the pioneer in appointing the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is a Special Officer which has been appointed by the President under Article 338 of the Constitution to (i) investigate all
matters relating to the safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes provided under the Constitution and (ii) report to the President on the working of these safeguards.

In the above paragraphs I have tried to present a faint picture of Babu Jagjivan Ram's contributions for the uplift of down-trodden people. It is quite difficult to present his all contributions in this brief article. In its true sense Babuji is not only the leader of Scheduled Castes but of the whole nation. His basic philosophy revolves round the social activities rather than political. He also supported inter-caste marriage and unlike other leaders he does not believe in theory only. He settled the marriage of his children with other caste members; for instance this is a great example of his daring capacity.

Babuji is famous for his hard labour. This is the reason he always gets success in his work. It is said about him that wherever he goes he makes the environment dynamic.

We Indians, in general and weaker sections in particular are very much obliged to him.
Untouchability and Jagjivan Ram

Dr. (Mrs.) HEMLATA SWAROOP

Babu Jagjivan Ram is the Leader of Depressed Classes, which have been subjected to sheer inhuman treatment for millennia. As a young student who suffered the taunts and discriminatory behaviour of other boys in the school and even in Banaras Hindu University, he realised in his own life what indignity a whole class of people have been made to suffer through the obnoxious system of caste in India. Personal suffering made him a serious student of humanities too even though he was a student of science and his many utterances, writings and speeches are full of the fire which burnt in his young heart and which made him determined to devote himself whole heartedly to ameliorate the conditions of his people. Times out of number, he must have talked about all the disabilities suffered by them. He could understand the strange social and economic entanglement that led to discrimination, denial, deprivation, hunger, public insults and a nearly subhuman existence for about 15 to 22 per cent of the population of India.

"Social disabilities, which deprived them of opportunity for economic and educational advancement, were at the root of their backwardness. God or nature did not deny them either intelligence or willingness to pursue learning, but they were denied the opportunity to prosecute their studies in public institutions. It was impossible for these backward
people to make their own arrangements for educating their wards and children. They were condemned to live in segregation, and eke out a miserable existence as village servants, landless agricultural labourers or as tenants at will.*

It has to be understood that through centuries of social and economic oppression, the problem is neither wholly social nor economic. The social problem is bound to be the economic and even attempts at economic emancipation are thwarted by social backwardness.

History of Tribes is the Story of Mankind. As D. D. Chattopadhyaya thinks that food gathering tribes may become hunters and hunters may become agriculturists, centuries after centuries.

Kosambi, the great historian of ancient India observes, "What has fossilized them is refusal of each tiny splinter to take to regular food production, to acknowledge and utilize the productive, systems of encircling society. They cling desperately to primitive outward forms of the superstructure as well as to the food-gathering basis, for their superstitions weld them together to the old life. Yet it is not only in these deeply forested portions of India that the mark of tribal society is found but in every locality, even in the neighbourhood of well-developed modern cities, one finds little bands of tribal people holding on to whatever they can of their ancient customs, under constant suspicion by the police and heavy pressure of the more advanced elements of society which live by a money economy. A striking feature of these groups is the relation between their social and economic status, both of which rise together whenever they participate in social production to the extent of becoming property owners. The refusal to produce anything useful for general society beyond the tribe entails rough treatment as potentially criminal elements. THE ENTIRE COURSE OF INDIAN HISTORY SHOWS TRIBAL ELEMENTS BEING FUSED INTO A GENERAL SOCIETY.

This phenomenon, which lies at the very foundation of the most striking Indian Social feature, namely caste, is also the great basic fact of ancient Indian history."

Kosambi has thus very clearly explained why some tribes which did not take to regular food production were left out of the mainstream of Indian society. He also explains the social and economic entanglement of their situation.

During the imperial centuries starting from the Magadhan Empire itself, when after the discovery of the iron plough the state itself took to the work of land reclamation for agriculture from the forests, these tribes living at non-productive levels of economy must have been forcefully brought as slaves to the sites of agriculture, made to do the most back-breaking labour, and because the population of the then agricultural site, later villages, was basically tribal, and tribes usually exclusive of this external element, became external for ever. With the fossilisation of the Indian society into a mainly agricultural society alone by the time of the Guptas, these trends must have become fixed.

What wonder that 'Manu Smriti' the arch document of the fossilisation of the Indian Society, made such a large part of the Indian population untouchable. The state pestered still by freedom conscious tribal elements was interested only in cowing down vast sections of the population by some means or the other. And what better means than the religious angle, the tried, centuries old panacea for all oppressive designs. The Brahmanical order, symbolised by the village priest, only helped in preserving these modes of life and thought sanctifying all kinds of exploitation through various religious and philosophical subterfuges. The mores of Indian society thus have become a strange mixture of social and economic oppression of quite vast section of the working force.

And the Indian society even to this day, is, by and large, tribal in its orientation, the tribal disease itself persists

any attempt to improve the conditions of the untouchables has thus to proceed on both levels, social and economic, and since politics is so pervasive today, political too.

Through his saintly father Shobhri Ramji, Jagjivan Ram knew that there was a whole humanistic movement which had gone on for centuries to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. But Mr. Jagjivan Ram feels:

"The teachings and preachings of all these Saints could not produce any lasting result. There was no political sanction, behind their precepts". 1

But Jagjivan Ram is a twentieth century man. Not only through the impact of the Russian Revolution, but as a widely accepted thought complex i.e. basic Marxist thought that generally social and political status and ideas are determined by its economic base is accepted by all today. And in a proper analytical statement about the history of untouchability in India he says; "The most virile section of the community performing functions essential to its very existence were condemned to lead a life of abject misery. It is no wonder that India could not preserve her independence against the onslaught of those who had no caste system amongst them". 2

Is it not a fact that when Ghazni attacked India, Indian society was passing through a phase where everyone who worked with his hands was declared an untouchable? How can a land which refuses to respect labour prosper? It is also not incidental that the Sikh religion, which was basically a reformed offshoot of the Hindu religion, being mostly a religion of the working people, has helped them gain a proper place in Indian society, even after the turbulence of partition, because they respected labour and did not deride and consider it derogatory.

Since 90% of the scheduled caste people are agricultural labourers Jagjivan Ramji found it important to organise the

1. Ram, Jagjivan, Speeches and writings. P. 9
2. Ibid : P. 9-10
landless labourers to improve their situation. With the rage of a humanist he says:

‘Ninety per cent of our people are agricultural labourers—rather agricultural serfs. If you have to see remanents of slavery you go to a village and see a ‘Halwaha’. For a few rupees he is forced to mortgage himself to a ‘Kisan’ and serve him on mere subsistence allowance. For his hard physical labour in the fields in scorching heat or torrential rains, a ‘Halwaha’ gets two and a half seers of coarse grains and that too during the sowing season, when there is a great demand for labour. These ‘Halwahas’ and other field labourers, practically belonging to the depressed classes, are not free to go over to other villages on higher wages’.

And therefore, as early as 1937, when Jagjivan was not yet thirty organised weaker and down troddens with the true zeal of a socio-political reformer; he arrived at the inevitable conclusion and said in his Presidential address to the Second Session of the Bihar Provincial Depressed Classes Conference, held at GopalGanj:

“Let us organise the agricultural labourers on this basis. We shall have to face heavy odds. We shall see many who profess to serve the masses ranged against us. But never mind. we will have to do this at all costs. During my tour in the villages I have noticed discontent in the heart of the labourers. We are only to organise them and carry on a constant agitation for the amelioration of their condition. Our slogan should be ‘Land to the actual tiller of the soil’.

He mocks at the anomaly of the situation by saying:

“In rural areas there were restrictions in certain parts of the country on scheduled castes acquiring agricultural land. The most astonishing feature of this restriction was that such castes without whom agricultural operations were not

1. Ibid.: P. 28
2. Ibid.: P. 29
possible at all, were treated as non-agriculturists. These restrictions were removed after the Constitution came into force, but now it is found that even arable wasted land is not available for them. Hence they have to eke out their livelihood as agricultural workers”.

So far as the depressed class agricultural worker is concerned things don’t sound much different in pre-independence or post-independence India.

He has found that these are no safeguards for his brethren though many have been created for the factory workers. He does not understand how the mere proposed abolition of Zamindari will “stop the exploitation of the labourer by the ‘Kisans’.”

One can see that this question asked by the young Jagjivan Ram in 1937 is still valid today after nearly one third of a century, when the country is all round rocked by the movement of agrarian reforms and land to the tiller. The problem exists today even after 25 years of freedom, and is still unfortunately being hedged all round without being solved effectively, though efforts have been made in Kerala, and have succeeded to a very great extent. There, the landless Harijans have not only been given land to plough after taking the surplus land away from the rich peasants, but have also been given land for houses.

In a land where such sanctity is attached to property, the possession of property of some measure at least can alone put the poor ‘Harijans’ on some kind of sound basis, so that they can stand on their own and face the onslaughts of the oppressors.

In his address to the Harijan Legislators convention at Nagpur on October 30, 1952, Jagjivan Ramji pointed out the gap between professions, law and reality. Even though the Constitution through Article 17, banned untouchability, and inspite of guarantees in the Constitution, he pointed out,

1. Ibid: P. 37

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"poverty and pestilence continue to be the "chronic and constant companions" of the scheduled castes". He therefore warned all concerned:

"If communism ever spread in the country, it will be due to miseries and sufferings of the poor and down-trodden classes. It will not come from any other source or any other country. I really fail to understand under what code of morals or ethics the present treatment is meted out to the scheduled castes".\(^1\)

Further he adds: "A classless society providing equal opportunities to all has got to be created". What else is that dream but communism and why should the depressed worry about it for they have nothing to lose but their chains.

However as a leader of the depressed classes, with unerring instinct he exhorts those who smart under ‘disabilities, humiliations and contempt’ heaped upon them for so long a time.

"No class which struggles to break off its shackles of bondage has ever been able to do so without passing through intense pain and agony, cause by the oppressing party. It has always to pay a heavy price for its freedoms".\(^2\)

He knows fully well that only those who are becoming conscious and refuse to play the expected roles of dumb-driven cattle, are being subjected to social boycott, mockery, economic sanctions and inhuman treatment.

And so for Jagjivan Ramji, the real solution of the problem lies in radical agrarian reforms:

"A bold and determined step towards the rationalization of the land system will have to be undertaken even in the face of opposition from vested interests which comprise mostly big cultivators. "Land to the actual tiller of soil" is the only solution".\(^3\)

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1. Ibid: P. 35
2. Ibid: P. 36
3. Ibid: 38
But he also knows that agrarian reform can’t come about in a vaccum, but is correlated with the entire socio-economic set up:

"The economic policy relating either to land or to industry should be such as may change the existing socio-economic set up and lead to the realization of the objective laid down in the directive principles of the Constitution. Only such a policy can end exploitation and in-equalities and generate a feeling in all those engaged in productive labour and social services that they are working for the nation and not for the private gain of any individual. It will give them the status and dignity which they deserve by dint of their work and which will ensure to them a reasonable share in the fruit of their labour. It can be possible only when the outlook of the society towards those who are engaged in productive labour in fields or factories or in social service changes. It is therefore, necessary to take positive steps to change the present socio-economic set up".¹

It is this outlook which let him cast his lot with the progressive forces of the Congress led by Smt. Indira Gandhi when the great moment came which led to a heart search for all Congress people, so far as their basic socio-economic faiths were concerned. Even before the split in the Congress materialised, exhorting members of scheduled castes and tribes, as, Union Minister for Food, Jagjivan Ramji asked them “to join hands with progressive forces which wanted to establish a casteless and classless society in the country and spearhead the movement for the abolition of caste system and establishment of social and economic equality”.²

In a speech delivered at Anantpur city in 1968, the honourable Minister gave a clarion call for the establishment of democracy and socialism and for the abolition of caste and the liberation of 75 million people of India.

"Today, I have only one message for you, prepare yourself for great sacrifice. For the liberation of 75 million people

1. Ibid; P. 38
the price will not be very heavy when several people are prepared to lay down their lives. And this Movement, I may tell you, will be for the establishment of higher human values in the Indian Society. We want democracy and socialism. We dream of establishing a socialist society in the country but we forget that caste and democracy cannot exist together, either caste will exist or democracy will exist, but both cannot exist. So long as caste continues, any talk of socialism is empty talk. Caste and socialism are incompatible and so long as socialism and democracy are not established in the country, it is very difficult to establish human values in society”.

Jagjivan Ramji found it necessary to examine Gandhiji’s attempts to eradicate untouchability. He, therefore, points out that as early as in December 1920, Gandhiji made the removal of untouchability the first condition of achieving ‘Swaraj’ when he wrote in Young India: “If Hindus do not remove the sin of untouchability, there will be no ‘Swaraj’, whether in one year or in one hundred years”. According to Gandhiji it is a reform not to follow ‘Swaraj’ but to precede it. Jagjivan Ramji has described the untiring efforts that Mahatma made in this direction. His epic fast and then the ‘Untouchability Abolition Week’ from September 27 to October 2, 1932, during which some temples were thrown open and some caste Hindus took food with ‘Harijans’, were not entirely satisfying to him. Jagjivan Ramji has quoted from Gandhiji’s article in ‘Harijan’ of March 23, 1934:

“In my opinion, untouchability is a wholly artificial product. It has no connection with moral or intellectual development of people for the simple reason that in Hindu society there are to be seen men described as untouchables who are in every way equal in moral and intellectual development to the highest among caste Hindus and yet who are treated as untouchables”.

Jagjivan Ram never had any doubts about the sincerity of Mahatmaji, but he was rather disillusioned early by the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and he found it necessary
to organise a more purposeful and class based organisation of the depressed classes.

He realises that due to the untiring efforts of Gandhiji, other reformers and the movement of the depressed classes themselves, the Constituent Assembly adopted Article 17 of Constitution of India which runs as follows: "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of the disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law".

That law has been passed in 1955. Jagjivan Ramji finds that "the law is stringent. But it is difficult to root out a long standing social custom by legislation alone".

But his conclusion, based on the reality of the situation is: "The attitude of the orthodox people towards the Harijans has not undergone much change. It appears that the forceful pleading of Mahatma Gandhi has not touched the heart of the diehard conservatives. The citadel of the caste system has got to be broken to pieces if the message of Mahatma Gandhi is to be translated into a reality".

Even though Jagjivan Ram very well, and with bitter experience understood the evils of the caste system and is all for eradicating it but he never favoured the movements of conversion as started by Dr. Ambedkar. His feeling was that even after conversion the condition of the scheduled castes did not change much. He thus helped the fight against separatist movement but fought the battle of reserving seats in Assemblies and Parliament and of a certain percentage of reserved employment.

Jagjivan Ramji, thus has been in the forefront of the fight against oppression and exploitation of the most depressed humanity in India.

An added emphasis on scientific thought with his present emphasis on socialism and democracy will go a long way to materialise the dreams of so many saints of the mediaeval period and Bapu.

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Typical Gandhian

TULSI PRASAD SAHYOGI

Today, Babu Jagjivan Ram is our top-most national leader. He stands as a symbol representing the exploited masses and weaker sections of India. For over four decades, he has been serving the motherland in many capacities. As a fearless fighter for the country's freedom and a dauntless champion of the submerged sections of people, he has always been held in high esteem by all the people. Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Nehruji and others liked him very much and appreciated his calibre and capacity as well as determination and devotion to duty.

Always happy and unruffled in demeanour, persuasive in talk, penetrating in argument, deep in thinking, conciliatory in attitude and confident in the success of the cause he holds dear, Babu Jagjivan Ram stands as a typical Gandhian busy building up a new socialistic society, classless and casteless, as Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhiji so wished.

On one occasion Gandhiji said: "I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony". Our planners and top leaders should realise and work according to the desire of Gandhiji, if at all they want to build up a new society. But one thing is clear even today that both our Prime Minister
Indira and Babu Jagjivan Ram are busy in shaping and moulding the country as Mahatma has dreamt.

The four-fifth of the Indian population constitute the weaker sections of society including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes as well as other economically exploited sections. Recently in a meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Babuji has rightly pointed out and focussed the attention of the Congress hierarchy towards the plight and miseries of the so-called weaker sections in an extreme pensive mood, to which the whole Indian press immediately reacted sharply.

He has rightly observed that they are the people who cultivate the land, who toil in farms and factories, who produce on which depend the country’s progress and prosperity. In the true sense, they are the sons of the soil who defend the frontiers and borders of the motherland in hour of peril and external danger. They are the backbone of the country. Their fore fathers, grandfathers and parents have led a subhuman and miserable life for centuries, and even today they themselves are forced to live in ever-increasing miseries. Proper care and opportunity for their development is the great need of the hour.

Even after 25 years of independence untouchability is rampant in the country, though it is a cognisable offence. Time and again, Babuji has called for the Harijans to arm themselves against all social evils and fight against injustices as this problem is much more psycho-social.

It is true that we talk loud, we think broader, rather very big, but very little is done. We enact laws and regulations but lack character and firmness of action. Mere slogans and platitudes will not solve the problem. In his presidential address to the Bombay Plenary Session of the Congress he rightly observed that the social, educational, economic and employment problems of the weaker sections, specially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes deserve immediate attention.
He is of the firm belief that control and rationing be rather imposed on governmental jobs and poor and needy be provided priority in services. He advocates that each family should get one Government job. This will be, he thinks, the beginning of a true socialistic society and a one more concrete step towards equality and social justice. Unless the employ mentability of the weaker sections is increased, the powerful and influential sections will be getting much more, marring the prospects of the poor.

I remember one incident, while addressing an All India Convention of Scheduled Castes Government Employees at Vithal Bhai Patel House, New Delhi in 1971 he took the Harijan Officers and others who were present there to task, who are emerging as a class in themselves and not paying proper attention towards their own neglected brethren. He in a voice almost choked with bitterness asked the audience that while they are fully aware of the fact that their own brothers and sisters are subjected to all sorts of tyrannies, oppressions and maltreatment at the hands of the militant caste Hindus in villages and towns, why they did not rise in revolt in an organised way? Those who are enlightened enough among them should tell the civilised people of all these beastly behaviours and brutalities as committed in no other parts of the world and rather present and plead their case before the concerned authorities. At least heavens are not coming to guide and help them. It is you and me who are to help them, he had pointed out.

For ruling communities, political feuds and king makers, essence of Machiavelli's doctrine is that morality consists in the consolidation and enhancement of one's power through all possible means. But Babuji is just opposite to this thinking. As a firm believer in democratic values he has never tried to build up his image, rather whole-heartedly worked and helped the Leader of the Party, once so decided, as a typical Gandhian and humble servant of the poor, exploited and so far neglected masses of the country.
I had little personal acquaintance with Babuji until recently when I approached him with a request to write a foreword to my Doctorate dissertation 'on Industrial and Agricultural Development of India since 1914'. He readily agreed to my request, though he was very much busy in party affairs during the great upheaval days of split. This provided me with an opportunity to know him and his social philosophy from a close angle. I found in him keen desire for ameliorating the conditions of vast majority of backward people, consisting of those engaged in the traditional village and small industries, landless labour, small farmers and isolated untouchables. He felt that not enough has been done for improving the economic and social status of these classes but expressed his determination to continue the march towards socialism, to attain equality of status, opportunity and fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual based on guaranteed social justice by eliminating all discriminatory monopolistic traditions in social and economic fields. He emphasised the need for accelerating the tempo of development to meet the basic needs of the weaker sections of the society by ensuring equitable distribution of the wealth produced in our country so that more avenues of employment may be provided. A strong
nation, he rightly asserted, cannot by built unless poverty has been banished.

Being true Gandhian he did not want to achieve these ideals through violent revolution and believed that Parliamentary framework of our secular democracy can be geared to meet this challenge. From a humble social worker of 1930’s to a top leader as Congress President in 1970 and Union Minister for nearly 25 years, he had never forgotten the millions of Harijans and economically exploited people of this country even for fraction of a second. He, therefore, as a true socialist believes that greatest good of the greatest number should be the aim of our nation. Like acute poverty India is also suffering from a social disease of casteism leading to untouchability. The social structure is based on Castes. This age long caste ridden social system has hampered the country’s growth. A poor Brahmin engaged in menial job will always like to match with a richer Brahmin and find a place in his society, mix up in his class and develop relationship with him. So is the case with other caste fellows. Caste and class are two different sections having different modes and ways of living and thinking. He therefore, strongly condemns caste system prevailing in the society, which is not only anti-national but unscientific also.

He rose to prominence as a leader of the Depressed Classes whose unshaken faith he has enjoyed ever since he started his political career. The circumstances under which he passed his early days convinced him in such a way that unless freedom is achieved problem of untouchability can not be banished and the lot of the poorer Harijans improved. He therefore threw himself heart and soul in the liberation movement and brought millions of Harijans and weaker sections in the Congress fold.

He saved Hinduism from disintegration otherwise millions of poor people would have embraced either Christianity or Islam. He is a saviour of Hindu religion and his yeoman
service will be very well remembered in the annals of the nation.

During the British rule not only innocent Harijans and poor people changed their faith, but highly educated upper caste Hindus also out of allurement and attractions of service and other economic benefits embraced Christianity. He always opposed such moves.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is a born rebel. He had rebelled passionately well over forty years against complacency, against indignity, against injustice, against tyranny and mis-behaviour. He speaks resolutely and with firmness whether it is a mammoth gathering or a village meet, a grand rally or a meeting of the Congress High Command. His voice is heard, and heard patiently.
Babu Jagjivan Ram: An International Personality

Dr. B. D. DASHAIRYA

The year 1957 is a constant reminder and an ever-shining torch in my life. I was a student of B.Sc. class at Allahabad University and also a student of life observing the new environment thinking to shape up my future line of action. These were unknown days and nothing was definite in this indefinite world. Every moment there was something to learn, something to observe and something to simply pass by. Yesterdays of social service to the downtrodden were inspiring me to choose a definite career to continue efforts to uplift the masses. The new environment was forcing to shape a career where some individual recognition can be rewarded. These were days of probabilities within probabilities. If a cherished desire is to be fulfilled, efforts have to be put in right direction but when the objective is not a definite entity how could the efforts be imparted. When there is no definite destination which way one can move. It was this year of struggle when a classmate invited me for a Delhi visit. I gladly accepted because I knew someone is there at Delhi who can really understand my problems and with whom I can have an education of feelings. Came to Delhi and saw the man I wanted to see. The cherished desire was fulfilled. The problem was solved within a few minutes. Certainty of goal was achieved and a constant inspiration was woven with the
faculties of thoughts. This was a historic meeting which shaped the future, rationalise the thoughts and gave me definite objective. The secret of success is the constancy to purpose. “Educate yourself in institutions and outside, develop character and mould your senses to feel the downtrodden masses, have experience to mature decisions, and sacrifice for the noble cause. Come back and see me when you think you are trained. There is lot to do. The life is short, but the objective is large. Many more have to follow the same path,” The mission was over and the light was lit in the heart. It was beginning of the never ending road, the first phase of life struggle and the first ladder for the noble cause.

Came back to Allahabad, joined diploma course in social service and village uplift work. It is only due to his inspirations that I studied B.Sc. Mechanical Engineering at Banaras Hindu University, M. S. and Ph. D. (Engineering) in United States and came back to my motherland to start the second phase of my life. A new chapter has begun, the promise has to be kept. I feel ever fresh to achieve the target, to complete the lot of work allotted. These words still keep me inspiring in the right direction.

You may wonder who is this man who can lit the fire in first meeting. Is he God sent messenger who is giving us the message to rise up and work according to His wishes or is he the Messiah, who has risen again to keep the promises? Is he the Almighty who has come to earth to save Humanity or is he Lord Buddha who has come to teach the world new gospel of life? Is He Lord Krishna who came again to stage another Mahabharat of 14 days in Bangachhetra to create new nation and to write gospel of new Gita. Is he ‘Anna Devta’ who has come to feed the millions, who within two years could show the magic of producing that much which can prevent famine and food import. He does not care for recognition or Bharat Ratna though he has changed the world maps, avoided chaos in the country, created surplus in many areas.
wherein he went. Now you know pretty well, he is our dearest BABUJI.

During my 5½ years stay in United States, I got opportunities of meeting top political leaders like Kennedys, Nixon, Humphery, Johnson, George McGovern, great social reformers and civil right workers like Rev. Martin Luther King and Jassie Jackson, had associations with many social, political and cultural organisations as well as many individuals of known and unknown distinctions, visited many education and non-educational institutions and travelled over most of the States to have first hand experience of American life. It is surprisingly true that almost all of them know three great personalities of modern time—Bapuji, Nehruji, and Babuji. They know our social system and have much knowledge of Harijan class for which these great men have sacrificed so much. Some of them even went on saying that Gandhi is not dead but alive as Babuji. In Institutions like Howard University where majority of student population is Negroes, many students worship Babu Jagjivan Ram as much as they worship Rev. Martin Luther King. They have photos of Babuji and Rev. King hung side by side. The problems of Negroes in America have parallels with the problems of Harijans in India. Both are untouchables and have parallel history of past sufferings, present uncertainties and future struggles. Both have risen at the cost of great sacrifices. There are associations which have common ideals for propagating and promoting goodwill and friendship among Negroes of America and the Harijans of India. They want to share the feelings and tune themselves so that hearts can beat in harmony with same frequency. These groups know that there is only one and only one figure who can deliver the goods to the downtrodden Harijans, is Babu Jagjivan Ram.

Babuji is worshipped not only in India but abroad alike. He is a living symbol of humanity, love and sacrifice. Masses worship him today and will continue to do so in future for all that what he has done.
Lead Them on

RAM PAL SINGH

Pigmy stretching his hand to measure a giant, it is what I feel when writing about Babu Jagjivan Ram. I have only watched him from a distance, never tried to be too close. And I can assume that whatever I feel about the man—not the Minister—is a dispassionate account of him. Though he is a single leader of 15 crores of Harijans and Tribals but he is loved by the rest also in the same way throughout the country.

He appears to me a living symbol of white, green and saffron, the fluttering tricolour, the real embodiment of awakened India. He talks of the poor, the underdog, not because he should as a political leader desirous to grind his axe, but because he is sincere to play his active part in saving Indian tri-colour becoming blood red. He talks of impending violence because he is anxious to save and uphold the philosophy of non-violence which he learnt at the feet of the Mahatma.

Himself son of a Mahatma, started political life after getting initiated at the workshop of India’s great saint—Mahatma Gandhi.

Shri Jagjivan Ram tasted the bitterness of being Harijan. But this bitterness did not drive him into the arms of terror and violence. The teachings and life of a saintly father tempered his outlook with compassion, love and sacrifice with
hatred to none. Even as a boy he could understand that social evils are not rooted in Indian soil neither they are inherently woven in the fabric of Indian life and philosophy; but they have been transplanted by the alien rule. Dependence to foreign dictates, will and thought has fortified them. To support his argument, his friends reveal, he quotes avidly from ancient books that Indians believed in KARMA and believers in KARMA cannot deprive a man from his right to choose his path of KARMA. KARMA-philosophy was polluted by those who plotted to tear off to shreds the rich and tri-colour fabric of Indian philosophy which shielded the body and soul of this country. ‘SHUKRANITI’ lays that none except the Brahmins should live on alms and upholding Shukracharya Jagjivan Ram wants that conditions should be created for all to work and live honourably. As per dictates of Shukracharya he hates the idea of a man living on the crumbs and mercy of others. He wants to see the growth of an enriched and free man.

This abiding faith in KARMA has turned the young lad from a village in Bihar into a great KARMAYOGI out to perform KAYAKALP to the aged and shrunken body of an old country bubbling with an ever young, ever growing immortal soul.

He has developed an egalitarian approach by his KARMA and is moving in the direction of ‘SAMATAVAD’. This knowledge of equality among living beings is true ‘JNYAN’ and he by his thought and action has qualified himself to be a ‘PUNDIT’ as defined by Lord Krishna Himself:

“Vidya Vinaya Sampanno
Brahmano Gavi Hastin
Shuni Chaiva Swapake Cha
Panditah Sam Darshinah”.

(One who has attained knowledge treats alike a well-read Brahmin, cow, elephant, dog and a downcaste chandal, because knowledge makes him ‘SAM DARSHI’—Seeing all as equals).

This in a nutshell is the philosophy of Jagjivan Ram’s life which he wants to make a symbol and common heritage of all men living in this holy land.
He has political opponents and has a host of critics. But as one of his friend confides, he is more happy among critics and opponents than in the company of vain admirers. He recites a couplet of Saint Kabir, who was a favourite of his father:

Nindak Niyare Rakhiye
Aangan Kuti Chhawaye
Bin Paani Saabun Bina
Nirmal Kare Subhaiya

(Build a thatched hut and keep them lodged nearby who speak ill of you, because they cleanse your thought and action (nature) without using soap or water).

But this does not mean that Jagjivan Ram is the type of man who wants to carry with him on amorphous lot with heterogenous and often contradictory aims. He cannot compromise between good and evil, Indian and un-Indian. He has thrown his lot with the first and vowed to oppose the second in the groups. There are times when he finds himself forsaken by friends and sullied by supporters. Yet unmindful of lonliness and dreariness of the path, he moves on confidently humming the favourite song of Tagore—

Jab Tomar Daake
Kyav Na Aashe
Tumi Ekla Chalo
Ekla Chalo, Ekla Chalo Re

(When none comes near you, you should move on all alone, all alone, all alone).

It is because he knows that the path he is treading on is the only accepted path by all Indian saints and seers through the ages.

And no wonder, as Jagjivan Ram moves on, a human swarm rushes behind him. The creseendo rises—

Lead kindly light
Amid the encircling gloom
Lead thou me on.
ACTIONS

The Congress split on the issue of H.R. 1, which calls for the impeachment of President Clinton. The legislation was passed by a narrow margin, with Democrats supporting it and Republicans opposing it.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The Congress also took steps to implement the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Deficit Reduction Act. The act requires the federal government to reduce the budget deficit by $1.3 trillion over three years. The law was hailed as a significant achievement in reducing the national debt.

The Congress also passed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which is expected to boost trade and economic growth in the region. The agreement was signed by U.S., Mexico, and Canada, and it aims to eliminate trade barriers and tariffs between the three countries.

In addition, the Congress approved the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides federal funding to schools for educational programs. The act is expected to improve education standards and help students from low-income families.

The Congress also passed the 21st Century Cures Act, which provides funding for medical research and development. The act is expected to accelerate the development of new treatments and drugs for various diseases.

Overall, the Congress made significant progress in addressing key policy issues, including the economy, education, and health care.
Presidential Election and Party Split: Role of Babu Jagjivan Ram as Saviour of Congress*

HARBANS LAL GUPTA

The Congress Split or the Great upheaval days of 1969 have not come all of a sudden merely on the Presidential election issue. It rather took shape as a power-game by the so-called Syndicate bosses and other fellow travellers. It was something more than an ideological crisis and a conflict of mere personalities, which Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, had put in the following words, on November 8, 1969: "There is a crisis in the Congress and in the nation. It is not a crisis which has come about all of a sudden. It has been building over a long time. What we witness today is not a mere clash of personalities, and certainly not a fight for power. It is not as simple as a conflict between the Parliamentary and Organisational Wings. It is a conflict between two outlooks and attitudes in regard to the objectives of the Congress and the methods in which the Congress itself should function. It is a conflict between those who are for socialism, for change, and for the fullest internal democracy and debate in the organisation on the one hand, and those who are for the status quo, for conformism, and for less than full discussion, inside the Congress".1

*Author is highly thankful to the timely help rendered by Shri K. L. Chanchreek in preparing this paper.
Shri S. Nijalingappa, Chief Minister of Mysore took over as Congress President in the Hyderabad Session of the Indian National Congress on 8th January, 1968. In his presidential address on 27th April, 1969 at the Faridabad Session of the Party he made a frontal attack against the socialist policies of the Indian National Congress especially the public sector undertakings. This confused the minds of the progressive Congress leaders. Y. B. Chavan clarified the 'politics of commitment' stressing the need for the speedier implementation of socialist policies. The Congress Working Committee formed by Shri Nijalingappa virtually isolated Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, still more that she was practically unable to exercise any influence in the nomination of the members, and the AICC Secretariat. The political atmosphere thus became rather vitiated.

The situation came to surface when suddenly President Dr. Zakir Husain died on 3rd May, 1969. Vice President V. V. Giri was immediately sworn in as Acting President and a national mourning was declared. Thus preliminary discussions started on the choice of the Presidential candidate. Both Nijalingappa and one time 'king maker' Kamraj wanted to impress upon the Prime Minister to accept their candidate—N. Sanjiva Reddy, who was then speaker of Lok-Sabha. Morarji Bhai also argued and tried to persuade her to accept Reddy as the President capable of dealing with the disruptionists in the country.

Speculations went on for quite sometime. Finally on July 12, 1969 the Congress Parliamentary Board by a snap-vote of four to two, nominated N. Sanjiva Reddy for Presidentship. This was taken as a defeat for the Prime Minister's Camp.

Acting with stunning speed and boldness the Prime Minister relieved Morarji Desai of the Finance portfolio on July 16, 1969. Same day the news flashed across the country and it was announced that Giri had decided to resign from the offices of Vice President and Acting President to contest the election of President as an independent candidate.
The Congress crisis deepened. The Prime Minister got 14 major banks nationalised through an Ordinance, which the Acting President Giri signed minutes before he resigned. Both Giri and Reddy filed their nomination papers on July 21, 1969 for the Presidential contest. Babu Jagjivan Ram stood with the Prime Minister, calm and quite.

Babu Jagjivan Ram assessed and weighed the whole situation and rose to the occasion as a tower of strength to the Prime Minister in particular and Congress in general.

The correspondence which took place between him along with Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Congress President Nijalingappa just before Giri’s election, is a vivid account of the whole situation.

When on August 11, 1969 Babu Jagjivan Ram and Fakhruddin Saheb wrote a joint letter to the Congress President, it not only surprised the whole nation but virtually isolated him:


LETTER FROM Mr. JAGJIVAN RAM AND Mr. F. A. AHMED TO Mr. S. NJALINGAPPA.®

NEW DELHI, August 11, 1969

Dear Nijalingappa,

As loyal and devoted Congressmen, we deem it our duty to let you know that considerable confusion exists in the minds of numerous members of our Parliamentary Party regarding the talks that you had, on your own initiative, with some of the Leaders of the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party. It is claimed that as a direct result of your talks, the Jan Sangh Executive has decided to extend support to Shri Sanjiva Reddy.

What is agitating the minds of the members of our Party is the basis on which you could possibly have had these talks. All kinds of ugly rumours are afloat and the situation has worsened because those whom you have approached and their respective parties have openly demanded the removal of

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
the Prime Minister. It is difficult to appreciate the desirability, or indeed the necessity, of these talks by you on a personal level with parties who themselves have an official candidate in the forthcoming Presidential election. Moreover, these Parties are wholly opposed to the accepted ideology and policies of the Congress and particularly the nationalisation of banks which they have even challenged before the Supreme Court.

We fear that unless the whole position is fully clarified, and the basis of your talks and their readiness to support Shri Sanjiva Reddy is satisfactorily disclosed, it may have grave repercussions on the Presidential election. An immediate reply is required.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

JAGJIVAN RAM
FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

Before Congress President Nijalingappa could reply three M.P.'s, known as Young Turks, Chandrasekhar, Mohan Dharia and Shanti Kothari also expressed their serious concern over the Congress President's meeting with leaders of the right reaction Swatantra and Jana Sangh and justified the stand taken by Babu Jagjivan Ram and Fakhruddin Saheb.

In the meanwhile Nijalingappa expressing surprise hurriedly sent the following letter in reply:

LETTER FROM MR. S. NIJALINGAPPA TO MR. JAGJIVAN RAM AND MR. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

NEW DELHI, August 12, 1969

Dear Shri Jagjivan Ramji, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmedji,

Thank you for your letter of August 11.

I am surprised at the contents of your letter. You met me only yesterday afternoon and on that occasion you never
raised the points made in your letter. I do not know how these points have suddenly cropped up.

Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy is our candidate. Each one of us have to work for his success. As in all elections, we have to approach everyone in the electorate—in this case, composed of Members of Parliament and Members of State Legislatures. As per our usual practice, I have been approaching every party for its support and requesting every voter for his vote. This was done in the past by all of us, including the Prime Minister, even when the opposition has its own candidate in the field. Not to make such an effort would be dereliction of duty. Incidentally, all my colleagues in the Parliamentary Board, at its meeting on 1st instant, had advised me to approach various parties for support.

All the opposition parties have often moved motion of no confidence in our Government, that has not prevented us from seeking their support on national issues.

I am surprised at certain sentiments in your letter, “What is agitating the minds of the members of our party is the basis on which you could possibly have had these talks. All kinds of ugly rumours are afloat and the situation has worsened because those whom you have approached and their respective parties have openly demanded removal of the Prime Minister”. I fail to understand the meaning or relevance of these words.

On two successive occasions, the Prime Minister was elected the Leader of the Congress Party with our support and goodwill. How then can anyone entertain any doubts about mutual faith in the Congress? What do you mean when you say that I am carrying the talks at a ‘Personal Level’? Are not such talks carried on by you every day, with the opposition leaders for work of the Government and work in the Parliament? Because the Communist Party issues certain circulars of support to some Congress leaders, should I start doubting the loyalty of these leaders to our organisation. I am not accustomed to function on such a level.
You are among our senior leaders and distinguished colleagues of the Prime Minister and me who have jointly to carry the onerous burden of this country and our party. May I, therefore, request you not to permit baseless confusion to spread and devote our combined energies to the success of Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy.

Yours sincerely,

S. NIJALINGAPPA

But Babuji was not satisfied at all with the reply of the Congress President, so he and Fakruddin Saheb further asked for clarifications of all the important points as raised in their letter dated 11th August, 1969:

LETTER FROM Mr. JAGJIVAN RAM AND Mr. F.A. AHMED TO Mr. S. NIJALINGAPPA.4

NEW DELHI, August 12, 1969.

My dear Nijalingappaji,

Thank you for your letter dated the 12th August.

We regret that your reply leaves all the important questions raised by us unanswered. We have not been told as to how or why you had approached the Leaders of the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party when these parties:

(i) had set up their own candidate against Shri Sanjiva Reddy;

(ii) had openly demanded the removal of the Prime Minister;

(iii) had openly characterised the Prime Minister; as a person having communist leanings;

(iv) had openly opposed our socialist policies including the nationalisation of banks; and

(v) had written to the President to withhold consent to the Bank Nationalisation Bill thus seeking to pro-
ound a new and extraordinary theory of the powers of the President in respect of a Bill duly passed by Parliament.

You have also not enlightened us as to why or on what basis after your talks with these two parties they had decided to support Shri Reddy.

Under these circumstances how was it wrong on our part to inform you as loyal and devoted Congressmen that it was necessary for you to satisfactorily clarify these points to prevent grave repercussions on the forthcoming Presidential election?

It is clear however from the tenor of your letter that you have avoided dealing with or clarifying these vital matters.

It has, therefore, become difficult for us to convince our Members in Parliament and the State Legislatures that it is not a matter of conscience for them as to how they should vote in the coming Presidential election. The basis on which Shri Reddy was nominated and the Prime Minister filed his nomination has how completely disappeared in view of the above points which unfortunately still remain unanswered.

Many of us are now convinced, more than ever, that the future of our socialist policies and our secular democracy as well as all other cherished ideals of the Congress are in grave jeopardy and only the exercise of the right of free vote in the coming Presidential election can avert this danger.

We regret that we are unable to accept fully many of the matters mentioned in your letter under reply and as such to avoid any public controversy we do not propose to deal with them except saying that during the last Presidential election the Prime Minister had tried to obtain the views of various political parties for the purpose of obtaining a national consensus in favour of Dr. Zakir Hussain before any party had set up a candidate against the Congress nominee but when the opposition parties set up their own candidate she did not approach, as you are well aware, any other political party.
Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, Shri Kamraj who was the Congress President at that time had never approached any other political party.

We fail to appreciate the reference made by you to some alleged Communist Party circulars. We know nothing about them and no Congress leader had ever approached the Communist Party to support the Congress or any its policies in any manner whatever. It will be unfair in this connection to lose sight of the fact that if the Communist Party had ever supported any Congress measure, such as the bank nationalisation, it was because they felt that they should do so in their own interest. In the case of Presidential election, however, two opposition parties agreed to support Shri Reddy because the Congress President approached them for the purpose.

In the circumstances our Members of Parliament and the State Legislatures should be entitled to exercise their votes in the coming Presidential election according to their conscience and we expect there will be no objection to this course.

In conclusion may we add that in suggesting this course we yield to none in our loyalty and devotion to the Indian National Congress and its ideals and it is only for their preservation that we have moved in the matter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

JAGJIVAN RAM

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

Though the response and reply was quick but still it was too vague.

The whole country watched the political developments at both the ends with great curiosity:
LETTER FROM MR. S. NIJALINGAPPA TO MR. JAGJIVAN RAM AND MR. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

NEW DELHI. August 13, 1969.

Dear Shri Jagjivan Ramji, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmedji,

Thank you for your letter of 12th instant which I received late in the night.

The various points made by you in the letter I hope to reply to in the course of the day. I would, at this moment like to hasten to write to you briefly about the penultimate paragraph of your letter. Therein you assume that the Congress voters in the Presidential Election are free to vote according to their conscience and, you add "we expect there will be no objection to this course". The Congress position has been repeatedly made clear. There is every objection to the course you advocate and the Congress Members in Parliament and State Legislatures have to vote for the Party's candidate. In the concluding paragraph of your letter you have reaffirmed your loyalty and devotion to the Congress. The loyalty and devotion require that the discipline of the Party be maintained and upheld. To a distinguished and senior colleague like you, it should not be necessary to remind that neither the integrity nor the ideals of the Party can be preserved if every Member of it acts of his own. The long and rich history of the Congress teaches us only one lesson—and that is to subordinate differences, if any, to decisions democratically and collectively arrived at. As devoted and loyal colleagues I expect you to cast your vote for Sanjiva Reddy and to work for the success of his candidature.

Yours sincerely

S. NIJALINGAPPA

Babu Jagjivan Ram was the man who first advocated this right of "free vote", which led to the ultimate victory of the Congress socialist forces. The path he chose and the action he took rather proved to be perfectly right.
Here are few more letters exchanged between them, which clearly shows the foresightedness, boldness and firm determination of Babu Jagjivan Ram, even in the hour of great peril:

LETTER FROM Mr. S. NIJALINGAPPA TO Mr. JAGJIVAN RAM AND Mr. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

NEW DELHI, August 13, 1969

Dear Shri Jagjivan Ramji, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmedji,

Thank you for your letter of 12th instant. You must have received the brief reply that I sent to you earlier in the day.

In your letter, you write, "Many of us are now convinced, more than ever, that the future of our socialist policies and our secular democracy as well as all other cherished ideals of the Congress are in great jeopardy and only the exercise of the right of free vote in the coming Presidential Election can avert this danger".

Does this mean that the defeat of the Congress candidate in the Presidential Election, in your opinion, is the one way to save the ideals of the Congress? How does Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's defeat help to dispel the threats you entertain?

The ideals of the Congress have been evolved by millions of Congressmen inspired by a galaxy of leaders and only determined indiscipline can put them in jeopardy. As late as the Bangalore Session of the AICC that supreme body in the organisation approved a programme of economic and social transformation. How have threats to these ideas suddenly emerged?

I have already told you that it was my duty, and I had been asked, to approach every voter in the Presidents' Election for his support. Accordingly, I have met or written to leaders as well as Members of every party in Parliament and State

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Legislatures. Precisely the same thing was done by the Prime Minister at the time of election of Dr. Zakir Hussain. Shri Kamraj, the then Congress President, had also approached the voters. If I have had to exert more than Shri Kamraj had to, it is because from the beginning the Prime Minister, guided, mistakenly in my opinion, by a Judgement of the Supreme Court, had kept aloof from her share of efforts.

What the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party stand for is nothing new to us. We are equally aware of what other opposition parties stand and work for. But so long as the Parties are legally functioning and are represented in the Legislatures it becomes necessary to seek their cooperation in elections that involve members of Legislatures. It was but natural that the Prime Minister had recently to hold discussions with these two very parties before bringing up her proposal for the Vice-Presidentship.

You also mention in your letter “the basis on which Shri Reddy was nominated and the Prime Minister filed his nomination has now completely disappeared”. Is this the way one can function in public life? Can other decisions, collectively, arrived at unilaterally disappear in this manner? Do you realise the consequences of your strange thesis? You claim to seek enlightenment from me, but I am unable even to understand what precisely you have in mind.

You write, “you have also not enlightened us as to why or on what basis after your talks with these two parties they had decided to support Shri Reddy”. Surely there is no mystery about this. I pressed for the claims of our candidate and the positions taken up by the two parties are not unknown to you. Is there a suggestion of any political collusion between me and these parties? Are discussions to descend to this unworthy level? I at least am not accustomed to exchange innuendos.

It is obvious that it is not I who has failed to “enlighten” you but you have failed to “enlighten” any one. You, as a valued colleague, are always welcome to meet me and discuss
anything of mutual concern. It is disservice not just to the party but to the country to spread confusion in our ranks at this critical hour. The discipline of the party, built on devotion and sacrifice of generations of Indians, cannot be permitted to be played with by anyone, howsoever eminent.

I have no doubt that you will abide by the decision of the Party already taken in the ensuing Presidential election.

Yours sincerely,
S. NIJALINGAPPA

LETTER FROM Mr. JAGJIVAN RAM AND Mr. F.A. AHMED TO Mr. S. NIJALINGAPPA.†

NEW DELHI, August 15, 1969.

Dear Nijalingappaji,

We are in receipt of both your letters of the 13th August, 1969 and have carefully considered their contents. It is quite clear from these letters, however, that the issues raised by us remain unanswered and unexplained and that persistent doubts and misgivings continue.

2. We feel it would be a travesty of facts to compare the general appeal issued at the time of Zakir Sahib’s election with the sustained negotiations which you have carried on with opposition groups of the type of Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh and which have resulted in elements diametrically opposed to the Congress Party’s ideologies, policies and programmes coming out openly in support of Shri Sanjiva Reddy despite the fact that they have set up a candidate of their own. We consider it extremely regrettable that you have sought to justify your own actions on the ground that the Prime Minister has kept aloof from her share of efforts. If it was your expectation that the Prime Minister should also approach the Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh, then she has certainly not fulfilled your expectation and correctly so. You have sought to make out
that your discussions and negotiations with the Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh are comparable with the Prime Minister's efforts to achieve a consensus on the Vice Presidency. We consider this argument to be wholly untenable. To achieve a consensus in respect of such offices between various political parties prior to the announcement of candidates is completely different from attempting and bringing about doubtful electoral alliances with parties having candidates of their own. We feel that your actions are all the more difficult to comprehend and appreciate in the context of the fact that these groups, particularly the Swatantra Party, have left no stone unturned in maligning and seeking to denigrate the Leader of our Party and its programme of economic reforms unequivocally adopted in Bangalore Session and which has found reflection in the historic legislation for bank nationalisation.

3. You have raised the question as to how Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's defeat would dispel the grave misgivings voiced in our earlier letter. We feel that this is not a question of any person's defeat or victory. The issue involved is one of basic principle as to whether the success of the Congress candidate is to be ensured and assured with electoral arrangements with Parties whose thinking and policies are hostile to the accepted policies and programmes of our Party. It is perfectly legitimate for our Party members to question the circumstances in which such support was asked for and obtained and obvious repercussions that such electoral arrangements have had on the future programme of our party. It would be pertinent in this context to the statement made sometime ago by another senior member, whose name has been closely associated with yours in respect of 'like minded' parties and who has made no secret of the fact that his views are completely at variance with the Party's accepted policies and programmes. Members of our Party are justified in asking if, in your view, the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh are 'like-minded' parties and whether it is in consequence of such 'like-mindedness' that electoral arrangements with these parties have been conceived.
4. We, whose lives have been dedicated to the Congress ideology for over four decades, are fully conscious of what loyalty demands of us. It is that loyalty which necessitates our consideration of this issue in terms far wider than the question of a vote for any particular individual. The Congress Party has survived through the decades, because it has stood unflinchingly for certain aims and ideals which we cherish and hold sacred. It is these basic aims and principles which are threatened today in the understanding that appears to have been arrived at with political parties representing interests which our Party is committed to fight.

We have already brought to your notice the grave doubts and misgivings shared by a large number of MPs of our party which have also found expression in a joint representation signed by considerably more than half the Congress Members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and forwarded to the Prime Minister.

We hope, in these circumstances, that you will appreciate the correctness of the stand adopted by us and the majority of Congress MPs and that even at this late stage, you will express your agreement with these views, in the larger interests of our Party.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

JAGJIVAN RAM
FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED.

LETTER FROM MR. S. NIJALINGAPPA TO MR. JAGJIVAN RAM AND MR. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED.8

NEW DELHI, August 15, 1969.

My dear Jagjivan Ramji, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmedji,

As usual your letter has reached me after 11 p.m. Normally, I would have gone to sleep by now and would have,
therefore, read your letter only tomorrow morning in the newspapers. It is only because I am slightly unwell that I am able to attend to your letter here and now.

You want me to express my agreement with your views. Your view, if I understand it correctly, is not just for a free vote in the Presidential election but a vote against the Congress candidate. I regret that no man of honour and sanity can subscribe to such an act of betrayal of the party, its plighted word and its distinguished representative in this case, Dr. Sanjiva Reddy. I have no doubt that despite pressing into service your livered colleagues, the Congress voters will stand firm by the party.

Because you have no case, you have been trying to put across a smokescreen. Let me reiterate for the last time that there is, as there can be, no political understanding with the opposition parties of the extreme persuasions on either end of the political spectrum.

I am happy about the nationalisation of fourteen banks carried out recently. The history of Congress programme, however, did not start with it. It has a glorious past and more resplendent future. Perhaps you are aware that even this nationalisation did not spring Minerva like, fully armed, from the brow of Zeus, but was hammered out at meetings of the Working Committee and the AICC.

I am distressed that for reasons best known to you, you are determined to work for the defeat of the Congress candidate and in your pursuit of objectives only dear to you, you will not hesitate to inflict all the damage that you can on the great organisation that has nurtured us all.

I have faith in my comrades. Though I deplore your stand, I have no fears about the future of the Congress and the success of Dr. Sanjiva Reddy.

Yours sincerely,
S. NIJALINGAPPA
LETTER FROM Mr. S. NIJALINGAPPA TO Mr. JAGJIVAN RAM AND Mr. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED.*

NEW DELHI, August 18, 1969.

My Dear Jagjivan Ramji, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmedji,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with my letter of 15th August, 1969 on the question of a free vote to be exercised by the Congress members of the Parliament and State Legislatures in the Presidential election.

I need hardly recall that the decision to set up Shri Sanjiva Reddy as Congress candidate for the Presidentship of Indian Republic was taken by the Congress Parliamentary Board in your presence. Contrary to the attitude of the Prime Minister, immediately following the decision, there was no indication given by you that you remain unreconciled to it. In fact it was commendable that you expressed yourself in favour of complying with the decision. You will also recall that on August 1, 1969 at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Board I had enquired whether I could approach Parties in the opposition to support the Presidential candidate. All members including yourself agreed that I may do so. It is only thereafter that I contacted personally some and wrote to leaders of all parties. You will remember that when I addressed the Parliamentary Party on August 6, 1969 in the Central Hall, I categorically mentioned in my speech that I had approached quite a few opposition parties for support of the Congress nominee and enumerated these parties. Nobody said anything against it at that time. It, therefore came as a great shock and surprise to me that about a week later you doubted and distrusted my motive in having had discussions with them on electoral matters. What worse is that on not even a slender thread you chose to foist on me the charge that "The future of our socialist policies and our secular democracy as well as the other cherished ideals of the Congress are in great jeopardy". You also felt that "The basis on which Shri Reddy was nominated and the Prime Minister filed his nomination has now completely
disappeared”. I have already refuted repeatedly both these contentions of yours but you have chosen not to pay any attention and have reiterated that, “It is the basic aims and principles which are threatened today and the understanding that appears to have been arrived at with political parties representing interests which our party is committed to fight”. In reply to these contentions of yours I have already stated that “there is or there can be no political understanding with the opposition parties of extreme persuasion on the either end of the political spectrum”.

Despite these clarifications you have elected to persist in the course of organising opposition to the Congress candidate in the guise of pleading for freedom of choice to members knowing fully well that such freedom was sought for and only meant opposition to the Congress candidate. Whatever the result of the election may be, it is quite clear that your activities were calculated to sabotage the election of the Congress candidate. It is not necessary for me to go into the details of your contentions and my refutation. The fact remains that the so called awakening of your conscience came long after the relevant discussion and at such a critical juncture that your motives in sponsoring and promoting these moves must be suspected and your action must be construed as contrary to your obligations as member of the Congress.

Reviewing your attitude and conduct regretfully yet inescapably I have come to the conclusion that you have violated Congress discipline, injured the interest of the Congress, sought to damage the prospects of the Congress candidate and encouraged others to do the same. I shall have to report these matters to the next meeting of the Working Committee that will be held in the very near future. Explanations, if any, that you may have to offer be kindly sent to me in time to enable the Working Committee to take decision.

Yours sincerely,

S. NIJALINGAPPA
Meanwhile, Morarji Bhai said in a special interview that if any Congressman goes against the decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board in the election of the President, severe disciplinary action will have to follow. At the same time he realised that position was very serious and party in danger.

There was a large correspondence between Prime Minister and Congress President Nijalingappa also, full of charges and counter-charges.

At last, much awaited August 16 came when the Members of Parliament and State Legislatures were to cast their votes to elect the next President. In the final game Nijalingappa made preparations to initiate disciplinary action against Babuji and Ahmed Saheb, who in the eyes of Syndicate bosses were considered mainly responsible for the Congress split on the issue of Presidential election. This deepened the crisis much more.

Prime Minister appealed that if the Congress was to regain its position among the masses, it must create a leadership which thinks, speaks and acts with unity of purpose.

When Giri’s victory became certain and he was finally declared elected President, Babu Jagjivan Ram and Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed were warmly embraced by a large crowd of Members of Parliament. Babuji in a jubilant mood said, “Giri’s victory has shown that the whole country is with us.”

LETTER FROM P. M. Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI AND FIVE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE C.W.C. TO Mr. S. NIJALINGAPPA.19

NEW DELHI, October 9, 1969.

Dear Shri Nijalingappa,

On August 25, the Congress Working Committee, after reviewing the political situation, passed a resolution calling upon all the Congressmen to create an atmosphere of unity in the organisation. There have been complaints that the resol-
tion was not observed in its letter and spirit, by many important Congress leaders.

The President's arbitrary orders, removing Mr. C. Subramaniam from the Congress Working Committee and Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi and Mr. Kakani Venkataratnam and some others from various offices in the organisation on the basis of some resolutions passed two decades ago will aggravate the situation, making the implementation of the unity resolution more difficult.

The Parliamentary Board met on October 7 and these matters could have been mentioned therein or they could have been kept pending consideration by the Congress Working Committee which has been convened to meet later this month.

The action of the President is bound to have serious political repercussions and should, therefore, be considered by the Congress Working Committee at the earliest date.

We, therefore, request that the Congress Working Committee, which has been convened to meet on October 30, may be called to meet around the 15th of the month.

In the meanwhile, the orders issued by the President should be kept in abeyance. We feel that it is necessary also to have an early AICC meeting to consider the entire political situation.

The President may kindly take steps to convene the meeting of the AICC before November 17.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI, Y. B. CHAVAN,
UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT, JAG-
JIVAN RAM, C. SUBRAMANIAM,
FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED.

During November, 1969, Members of the Congress Working Committee belonging to rival groups held parallel meetings and accused each other. The Syndicate half of the C.W.C. adopted unity resolution, but at the same time warned
the A.I.C.C. members against taking part in the requisitioned meeting of the A.I.C.C. on certain issues, including failure of the Government to implement the economic programme of the Congress thinking to condemn the Prime Minister and weaken her strength. Both D. Sanjivayya and C. Subramaniam, criticised Nijalingappa for telegraphically directing A.I.C.C. members not to attend requisitioned session. This session removed S. Nijalingappa from the Presidentship of the Congress and elected C. Subramaniam as interim Congress President on 22nd November, 1969.

On 2nd December, 1969 Babu Jagjivan Ram was declared elected President of Indian National Congress. The 73rd Session of the Congress held at Bombay under the Presidentship of Babuji on 26th to 29th December, 1969 finally dig the grave of the Syndicate in which he called for a relentless fight against poverty, unemployment, casteism, communalism and an end to the exploitation of the have-nots at the hands of the haves.

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FURTHER READINGS


Towards a Socialistic Society

JAGJIVAN RAM

I am deeply grateful to you for the trust and confidence you have reposed in me by electing me the President of the Indian National Congress at one of the most critical periods of our country's history which synchronises with a turning point in the life of this great organisation. This synchronisation is not without significance and spells a period of very great stress and strain. But I am heartened by the belief that I shall receive your goodwill and support in abundant measure. It has been our bitter experience that abridgement or denial of internal democracy has inevitably resulted in the emergence of 'bossism'. Wherever such a development took place, many Congressmen found themselves in a position in which they were forced to shift their loyalty from the organisation to the 'boss'. This trend further weakened the Congress and led to the progressive erosion of its prestige among the people. In order to strengthen the Congress, the internal democracy of the organisation will have to be restored everywhere and treated as a sacred trust.

As you all know, recent events which have shaken the organisation and caused us intense anguish, have appeared differently to different observers, depending on where they

stood and the back-ground against which they perceived them. To all those who go by mere technicalities or by surface happenings, failing to see the working of deeper social forces underneath, the open revolt in the Congress, appeared reprehensible or bewildering. Equally reprehensible or bewildering was the fact that those who continue to swear by legality and constitutionalism are the persons who denied the right of requisitioning a special meeting of the A.I.C.C. to an overwhelming majority of its members, when the Congress constitution specifically conferred such a right and gave no power to anyone to refuse it. Those loudly avowing their faith in democracy and decency and calling the Prime Minister a 'Communist' and a 'Fascist' in the same breath, without even caring to understand the significance of the terms, are the persons who have made it clear by their actions that they wanted the party chief to behave in a manner which adversely affected the prestige of the Prime Minister. If the Government is to have any prestige, the Prime Minister's prestige must be kept inviolate. By upholding the true traditions of democracy against the trends of 'bossism' in the Party, the Prime Minister did set the proper perspective. I have no doubt that when the dust of controversy has settled, the Prime Minister will be remembered by the present generation, as by posterity, as the initiator of democratically healthier traditions.

Strong words have been used against us. Those who are conspiring with communal and conservative political elements, accepting them as like-minded parties, claim to be the monopolists of secularism, socialism and democracy. Those who would hand over the country to such parties rather than put up with a Congress Government, are claiming to be the country's Saviours. Let us not forget, however, that mud cannot be washed with mud. I shall not, therefore, meet ridicule with ridicule, insinuation with insinuation, abuse with abuse. I shall only remind our erstwhile colleagues of a saying of Buddha: abuse is like spitting against the wind, it comes back on you.

Notwithstanding all that has happened, there have been talks of unity and they persist. In so far as this desire reflects
a concern for the future of the organisation and of democracy, I welcome it. The question remains however, that unity must be related to the purpose for which it is meant and is to be achieved. The Congress has reached a stage when it must pursue radical policies or disintegrate. On my election as Congress President, I said that the door for unity is open. I reiterate that statement. Those who are unreservedly committed to our ideology, our policies and programmes are welcome to join us. This can be the only basis for unity; I see no other basis at this juncture. And it is not the Congress alone which is in the midst of a crisis. The country is passing through a phase in which practically all political parties are confronted with internal dissensions and divisions. These internal dissensions are but expressions of conflicting attitudes to the democratic functioning and the challenges of a developing nation. There is anxiety that this trend may lead to the break up of the democratic front and the formation of splinter groups posing a threat to democratic functioning and the stability of Governments. If, however, the internal conflicts and dissensions among the political parties lead to a polarisation of political forces, it would be a welcome trend and I would welcome such a development. I take this opportunity to invite all progressive forces believing in our ideology to join our organisation.

The associations of this great cosmopolitan city with the Indian National Congress are close as well as historic. It was here that the Congress was born almost 85 years ago. It was here that Mrs. Besant convened a secret conference of Congress leaders, among them Lokmanya Tilak and Surendra Nath Banerjee, to induce them to join the Home Rule League in December, 1915, a few days before the regular session presided over by Lord Sinha. It was here that the Congress celebrated its golden jubilee and one of the greatest sons of India and the gentlest of Congress Presidents, Deshratna Dr. Rajendra Prasad presided over the 1934 session. It was here again that Gandhiji gave his revolutionary 'Quit India' call in August, 1942.
An organisation of moderates wedded to the method of constitutional representation, the Congress underwent a transformation when Gandhiji emerged on the scene. It functioned since then till the advent of independence as a mass movement and a united anti-imperialist front. It developed a massive organisation conforming in structure roughly to the British administrative apparatus. Beginning at the village level and extending up through the district and provincial levels to the Working Committee which approximated to the Cabinet of independent India and a President who was a symbol of the people, it dominated the Indian political scene for decades. It was relatively easier during this phase to reconcile the varying and conflicting views of its highly differentiated following because of unanimity on the objective of political independence. After the achievement of this goal, however, in 1947, it had to adjust itself to a new situation in which the locus of power shifted from party to Government. The adjustment did not prove easy. Two Presidents quit office and some sort of a convention appeared to have crystallised. But it proved to be illusory. There was no convention; there was only an adjustment. Therefore, when Panditji passed away, instead of the Congress Parliamentary Party electing its leader through the established democratic procedure of a free election and the organisation accepting the decision without reservation, a reverse process was initiated which sought to circumvent the free expression of the will of the Members of the Parliamentary party, put it in the background and put the organisation chief in the position of a king maker. I want to make it clear that in saying this, I am emphasising a principle and no reference to personalities is intended. The reference is made only to underline that abridgement or denial of internal democracy invariably produces distortions.

As a matter of fact, post-independence Congress, in the form in which it existed even in 1948, had, according to Gandhiji, outlived its utility as a propaganda vehicle. He had, therefore, urged the initiation of popular activity on a different plane based on the concept of 'peoples committees'. The
cataclysmic events which followed this prognosis made a complete break with the past and the building anew from below humanly impossible. The organisation, therefore, continued in the form in which it had existed in the pre-independence era. The administrative apparatus was also left unchanged. The old procedures continued to hold the field. All this certainly made for smooth transition and continuity but it smothered that soaring spirit of freedom which political independence had given rise to.

This session fulfils, in a way, Gandhiji's wish, not fully, but partially, not in form, but in spirit. It heralds the beginning of a new historic epoch in the Congress. It marks another transformation. Just as Gandhiji's Congress in 1920 was a new Congress as also the old one, the Congress is a new Congress and still it is the old one. It seeks to transform itself into an instrument of revolution and change. It is committed, we are all committed, to democracy, socialism, secularism, unequivocally and irrevocably. Any law of the land which stands in the way of the realisation of these ideals must be repealed or suitably amened. Any power, social, economic or political, which comes in the way must be tamed and made to serve the common goal. The Congress must cease to be a loosely-knit heterogeneity riven by factions, by conflicting, even contradictory views about progress, bound together by the single obsession of political power. It can hardly afford to put up with the hesitations which stood in the way of formulation of bold policies and their vigorous execution. No quarter can be given to people paying lip sympathy to its ideals but acting all through the line to delay and distort the realisation of the objectives. Conflicts within us we will resolve. Contradictions within us we will remove.

It is true that the amorphous character of organisation enabled it to represent a broad spectrum of views. But it constituted alike, both its strength and weakness. Its mass character helped it to attain a certain dominance in political life which in turn imparted stability to democratic governments at
the Centre and in the States. This was no small gain. But the necessity to strike a balance between the views of growing radical forces who wanted to forge ahead and the views of those who failed consistently to understand the implications and the inherent imperatives of a policy of socialism, inevitably led to improvisations based entirely on expediency, or the adoption of resolutions which everybody knew would not be possible to implement.

It is sad to reflect that even though we had leaders who could compare in stature, dedication and ability to the best that the world ever produced, even though we had an organisation more massive than any political party in the world, the country has not reached anywhere near the goal which it set for itself. Many are doubting if it is on the right path. Is this debacle due to a confusion of ideas and ideals? Is it entirely because of the mass character of the Congress with its various pulls in different directions? Does the Congress have a philosophical framework with reference to which Congressmen can come to a definite conclusion in respect of matters which confront them? It is true that the nature and functions of the Congress organisation in the pre-independence era did not render a clear definition of the objective of political independence necessary. Many considered the matter to be of an academic interest only. Even then the resolutions passed in one session of the Congress after another indicated that the Congress appeared to be groping towards a clearer definition of independence, towards an integration of western industrialisation with traditional Cottage industries, towards a compromise between the scientific way and Gandhian thought. Even the pre-independence Congress talked of the necessity of revolutionary changes in the economic and social structure of the society, of fundamental rights which were to be guaranteed in the Constitution of free India, of reform of land tenure and revenue system, of death duties, of State ownership or control of key industries and services, of the regulations of currency and exchange in the national interest, of the most urgent problem of removing the appalling poverty, unemploy-
ment and indebtedness of the rural peasantry, of cooperative farming, of tax on agricultural incomes, of a statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working condition for agricultural workers. It held that cities were prospering at the cost of the villages and spoke of righting the wrong. It envisaged the development of India into a cooperative commonwealth. While the successive resolutions of the Congress in the pre-independence era reflected growing consciousness, the organisation could not be held liable because it did not have control over the governmental machinery. The situation changed radically after the achievement of political independance. Any country with well-informed and vigorous public opinion would naturally expect and demand of its political parties to fulfil pledges on the basis of which they fought elections. The post-independence Congress had in its election manifestos laid down as targets, the achievement of a national minimum standard, opportunities for full employment, a ceiling on personal incomes, not exceeding 40 times the national minimum to be brought eventually to 20 times and a very elaborate programme for industries, agriculture, village and cottage industries, industrial relations, cooperation, and recommended the appointment of a permanent Planning Commission to advise and assist the Central and State Governments in the practical steps that should be taken. Even before these resolutions could be implemented and the pledges made fulfilled, we set new targets. We declared that the objective of planning should be the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society and we envisaged achieving of full employment within a period of ten years. Within a few years, even before we were anywhere near these goals, we gave a call for a revolution to be brought about through radical changes in the attitudes, outlook and ways of thinking and living of the people through fundamental changes in the social and economic structure, and made a noble declaration that caste and class had no place in the social order. Karachi, Lucknow, Faizpur, Nagpur, Avadi, Bhubaneshwar are all important milestones on the road to socialism which has yet to be traversed.
If these resolutions mean anything, it is clear that the Congress does not lack an ideological framework, that it does not suffer from confusion of ideas and ideals. Those, who even today point to Gandhiji's teachings and try to relate every single programme of the Congress to Gandhiji's way of thinking, do not unfortunately realise that Gandhiji never bothered to develop a philosophy. There is nothing like Gandhism, though there is a way of life which may be called the Gandhian way. It is similarly wrong to maintain that Gandhiji was opposed to machines or to industrialisation. All he cared for was that machines should not be meant or used for exploitation. His advocacy of voluntary limitations of human wants, decentralisation based on dispersal of economic and political power, production by the masses as opposed to mass production, were just means to achieve a society based on truth and non-violence, equality and non-exploitation. When he emphasised economic equality he did so because he considered it to be the master-key to non-violent independence. To him, development was not just a problem of allocations and inputs and achievements but a human problem bearing vital relation to attitudes and institutions. Gandhiji believed that planning began when people started to act purposefully, cooperatively and creatively, to improve their living conditions and then to change their community so as to make these strivings more possible and effective. Gandhiji made the village the centerpiece in his concept of planning. He stressed as an imperative of planning, the utilising of un-utilised or under-utilised rural labour through organisation of agriculture and village industries. All this was related to his ideal of making a new man in a new society. A crusader for a more humane and just social order, he pleaded again and again for an economic revolution which would bring about economic equality and disappearance of caste and other social inequalities, warning that a violent revolution would overtake the country if there was no voluntary abdication of riches.

A ceaseless experimenter and innovator, Gandhiji's greatest contribution to social theory and practice is his
emphasis on the truth—that the way of life is the way of love—Secularism to him was not just non-communalism, or equal respect for all religions but a much wider concept, an integral part of a philosophy summed up in the two words, truth and non-violence. In line with Buddha and the great sages, he was pained by the suffering of humanity in any part of the world. His one ambition was to wipe every tear from every eye. "Nonviolence is the law of our species; violence is the law of the brute". "The laws of non-violence, of truth and love and charity are also applicable to groups, to the country and to nations". "We must change ourselves before we can change others". These were not just wise sayings but life principles by which Gandhiji lived and for which he died. Sometimes, Gandhiji used expressions and metaphors borrowed from sacred scriptures. Sometimes, he spoke in a context which was intimately personal. These sayings caused mis-givings. When interpreting his theory of trusteeship, for example, one has to remember that he sincerely believed that possession of property which one did not need was possession of stolen goods. "Since property tempted people to do wrong things", he wrote, "we should give it up and so long as we are not able to give it up completely, we should as its trustees, use it for the good of others and make the minimum use of it for our own enjoyment." He was perhaps not sure that the owners of property were behaving properly. "If the present owning classes do not, of their own accord, become trustees", he cautioned in May, 1947, "force of circumstances would compel reform or the alternative would be utter destruction". In the context in which Gandhiji spoke, there could be little objection to the theory of trusteeship, but as Panditji argued, such conversions were not feasible and the doctrine was likely to be mis-construed. Times have changed. It is now realised that State intervention in economic matters is necessary. It is now accepted as part of the duty of a welfare state to regulate the use of property to achieve maximum good of the maximum number and impose whatever restriction may be necessary to that end. Hence the demand for ceilings on incomes, on
urban property, on conspicuous consumption, and abolition of Privy Purses and privileges of the princes. Immediate steps should be taken by Government to implement all these measures.

The noblest Hindu ever born in India, Gandhiji made his Hinduism as wide as the sky. A traditionalist, he gave traditional concepts a social and vital interpretation which differed significantly from the original. Openly in words and actions, he defied widely accepted traditions and orthodoxies. He believed in fighting evil and not in transcending it. Starting with the belief that the ‘Chaturvarna’ system, which would also embrace the Harijans, was the most perfect ideal which human thought could devise, he ultimately came to the view that if untouchability had to be eradicated, caste ought to go root and branch. Panditji, who was in post-independence India the chief source of inspiration and the architect of our policies and programmes, was a fervent socialist. Just as Gandhiji had given a new meaning to traditional concepts and ideals, Panditji accepted some of the teachings of Gandhiji and endeavoured to synthesise them with modern science, technology and industrialisation. Panditji insisted that in building up a modern industrial society, India should retain Gandhiji’s values of life. The multipurpose river valley projects the steel, power, fertiliser, heavy engineering and machine building complexes, which Panditji lovingly reared and which he called ‘modern temples’, were concrete expressions of his vision of a great and prosperous India. The idea of furthering world peace was undoubtedly a Gandhian inspiration. The policy of non-alignment, apart from being idealistic, was the most practical in the circumstances. A country’s foreign policy after all is but the reflection of its inherent strength and weaknesses.

The humanistic strands in Indian thought which regard man as a part of divinity, as something sacred, are part of our heritage. Gandhiji’s teachings are there. Nehru’s vision is there. We have been able to synthesise these great strains of our thought with the humanistic strands of Western thought.
into our ideology of democratic socialism. We are committed
to democracy, socialism and secularism—the three pillars on
which the Indian National Congress stands. We all realise that
in a traditionalistic backward society democracy without socia-
lism implies the rule of the privileged by the privileged and for
the privileged and socialism without democracy implies totali-
tarianism. We know that secularism is in a way an old Indian
ideal and not just a Western inheritance. Equal respect for all
religions is ingrained in the thought structure of this country.
Unfortunately, the humanistic and liberal strands of Indian
thought never got integrated into the social structure, were
never practised in daily life. The West lived up to it. The
concept that man is born with certain inalienable rights forms
the very foundation of Western Democratic society. And the
West progressed. Indian society reared on built-in cumulative
inequalities and disregard of man, languished. The thoughts
are not new to us. The practice is. In any case modern man
is the inheritor of all that is noble and good in human thought.
And thus, our Democratic Socialism is a synthesis of all that is
best in the thinking of the East and West and provides an
ideology superior to other sectarian ideologies, which are
‘Communalistic’ or ‘Communitarian’.

I have spoken of the teachings of Gandhiji, of the vision
of Jawaharlal Nehru, of the many resolutions of the Congress
and of the objectives of planning. Where do we find ourselves
after all these and after 20 years of freedom? There is no
denying that the country has made progress. There has been
a tremendous growth of infra-structural facilities. There has been
a phenomenal increase in agricultural and industrial production
though considerably off-set by the population explosion.
These achievements made by a democratic society without any
coercion and without the tears that go with authoritarian
planning are creditable indeed. But that is only one side of
the picture. Social tensions and the spirit of violence are on
the increase. Every village is riven by caste tensions with
explosive possibilities. The monster of communalism has again
raised its head. Conspicuous and vulgar consumption goes on
unchecked side by side with abject poverty. A professor from Philippines said to me the other day how he found large number of women going about in tattered rags, in places where society ladies sported extremely costly saries valued in hundreds of rupees and he wondered why no revolution occurred in the country. Wealth has undeniably increased, but men have undeniably decayed. About a hundred million people in the rural areas, landless labourers, small peasants, village artisans are living on a consumption expenditure of a little over half of the average per capita national income of Rs. 300/- per annum. The casual workers and workers in unorganised industries are no better. There has been a breakthrough in agriculture. Arrangements for public allocation of inputs and credit have considerably improved but the beneficiaries are not those who are living on a pittance of a few rupees a month, but the privileged minority of substantial and middle cultivators. With 47% of farm-families owning only one acre of land and 22% owning no land at all, with only 3 to 4 per cent of big cultivators enjoying all power, wielding all influence, making all decisions in collaboration with the governmental machinery and appropriating to themselves all the skill, the resources, the expertise governmental agencies offer, the poor half of the villages have little to thank anybody for. Applying the Gandhian maxim that "it was our own imperfections and not British guns which kept us in bondage", we may even say that "it is the crying inadequacies of the rural social order which attract, sustain and encourage those who believe in solving these problems by violence". Once we have said that, the tremendous responsibility that attaches to us for all the tension and violence witnessed in the countryside should make us think furiously.

This is not the only disturbing factor. There has been, over the plan periods, an enormous concentration of economic power. Through devices known and unknown, certain groups of business houses have acquired a concentration of economic power which is alarmingly significant. There can be no denying the ominous social significance of the monopolistic trend. The glaring inequalities, the conspicuous, even vulgar,
consumption and the trend towards their continuance in a society which has pledged itself to socialism and which pursues socialist policies, give rise to the suspicion of 'double talk' and weakens the link between the people and the Congress. The continuance of this trend over a long period has so emboldened these monopolists that they are endeavouring to discredit the very concept of planning. They are waiting for the day when free-enterprise economy would displace planning and the accepted objective of socialism would stand disavowed. It is a pity that in spite of countervailing measures taken by the Government, the trend has not been halted. If the trend continues unchecked, the transition to socialism is likely to be full of trouble and travail.

What is to be done? Let us begin from the root—the reorganisation of agriculture and our rural economy. It is true that the method of production determines the method of distribution. If, therefore, there has to be an equalisation of economic power in the rural areas a new method of production must be adopted. Village leadership today consists of the substantial and middle farmers, and the small farmer and the landless labourer still has no place. It is still the old zamindars turned substantial farmers who rule the village. It is still the old dominant castes which continue to dominate the village life. The governmental machinery reflecting the caste, and class structure in the village, plays a supporting, if not a subservient role in perpetuating the existing order. All this has to change. A new leadership has to emerge and reliable agencies at the village level have to be created. These agencies must consist of local people who have a stake in development and who are dedicated. Such an agency must consist of all those who have hungry stomachs and willing hands, meagre or no land and no means of production. The agency must emerge in this manner, as it were, from the soil of the village.

The growing tension in rural areas calls for immediate solution, if progressively increasing agricultural production has to be sustained. Land reform shall not brook delay. Elimina-
tion of intermediary tenures, ceiling on holdings, distribution of surplus and Govt. land among landless agriculture labour should be expedited.

The problem of landless agriculture labour is creating an explosive situation. Available surplus land will not be adequate for distribution among all of them nor will all of them be absorbed in rural works and other agricultural operations, etc. Greater attention will have to be paid, therefore, to self-employment of these millions of the submerged section in productive effort. Today they cannot get any loan from any source for necessary capital for self-employment. This may be possible only under a new credit policy in which the criteria of credit-worthiness would not be the ownership of property but a unit of production. Perhaps such a development would attract back to the village enterprising youths of the submerged classes who have migrated to the towns and are living in a condition of semi-starvation of casual workers. Perhaps once these units of production get going, these men looked down upon for ages, will acquire a certain status and develop a certain respect for themselves. Millions and millions of idle hands, which are not producing anything today, which constitute a burden on the economy, can thus be turned into active agents of production. The countryside will have then witnessed an efflorescence which will radically change attitudes and outlooks. A limitless potential, a hundred million people, almost 1/5th of India, is available to us. We can realise this potential in a manner consistent with our democratic concept of human freedom and dignity. The nationalization of the 14 big banks constituted in this context a great revolutionary step which I suggest should be followed by more such steps.

Once a reliable agency emerges, the tasks necessary for the reorganisation of rural life may well be undertaken with greater confidence. Service co-operatives, co-operative farming, better seeds, irrigation, fertilizers, price stability, storage and marketing, animal husbandry, poultry, fishery—all the elements that will contribute to the new life in the village may then play
their proper role. Perhaps, the village industries may then come into their own and not run as they are being run today, more or less as relief operations, with the range of their production extremely limited, with their technology extremely crude; with their production lacking in diversity and richness, in brief as mere adjuncts or safety valves of the industrial economy. It is, therefore, not surprising that while the mass-production, modern-technology industries are adopting newer and better methods, the traditional rural industries continue to languish. The gaping hiatus between the obsolete technology of the dying rural industries and the latest technology of the mass-production industries, surprisingly enough, passes unnoticed. It is not an imperative of Gandhian economics to have poor technology industries with almost no potential for decent remuneration. We have to realise that if both these sectors are to co-exist, as they must, if full employment to rural labour is to be secured by providing on-spot jobs on reasonable remuneration, the hiatus in technology must be bridged.

The programme outlined will transform Panchayats into real organs of peoples’ will. Today, their structure, constitution, functions, powers, differ from area to area. To think in the existing context of effectively functioning Panchayats in rural areas where the majority live below the subsistence level is a mockery of the democratic idea of Panchayati Raj. It is true that Panchayats did function in the old days and survived where nothing else survived. But those were days when the starving and the poor were content to be poor and content to starve. They were content to accept the privileged or the affluent as their natural overlords. That past cannot be resurrected. All men are now equal. Men can now cooperate willingly and effectively only on a footing of equality. And, there will be no equality between a needy starving person and the privileged and the affluent. The new threads, therefore, that will bind the villager to the Panchayat must be different. Only when his proverbial apathy, his fear of the caste and money-lords of the village, his pathetic dependence on Government cease, that a new confidence will be generated in him. It has to be clearly
understood that the new life in the village can be built only on the foundations of productive employment for all—jobs which impart to one a sense of respect. On that foundation alone will rise the popular agency at the village level which forms the cornerstone of the policy of revolutionising the countryside. This village agency consisting of free men freely cooperating could then rekindle a new fire and turn our villages, torn and driven into caste and group factions, perpetually engaged in bitter feuds, into creative and cooperative communities.

Another vital item of our programme, cooperation, has not made much progress in all parts of the country. Its development has not been even. In our rural areas, loyalty is still to caste or some power-group rather than to any cooperative image. Perhaps the one form of cooperation which could have broken the barriers and contributed to optimum results from agriculture was the service cooperatives. In some areas it has made spectacular progress. But there also the small farmers have not benefited much. The growing disparity between small and big farmers continues to create social tensions. Efforts will have to be made by Congressmen to see that necessary credit flows to the small and marginal farmers also. Another marked development is the growing disparity between irrigated and non-irrigated areas. In order to avoid the accentuation of such disparity, scientific dry-farming should be introduced in non-irrigated areas.

Many of our erstwhile colleagues are afraid of the spectre of communism. The spectre of casteism is perhaps more dangerous, because it is a widely prevalent malady, inherent in our social order, in our attitudes, beliefs, behaviour. Inter-caste, inter-regional, inter-religious tensions are fundamentally of the same genre. The inter-religious tension which we recognise as communal tension is widely condemned. The others are no less condemnable. These tensions stem from lack of belief in and attachment to values inherent in the concept of individual freedom, of rational behaviour, of respect for the human person. They stem from a sense of belonging to a collectivity. These
suspicions and these group loyalties have their roots in history. They remained submerged during the period of foreign rule. The explosive communal clashes and unprecedented carnage on the division of India which cost us one of the noblest of human lives were inherent in the situation. The British certainly exploited it. Unscrupulous politicians benefited by it. To minds that have outgrown the medieval way of thinking, to minds refined and cultured, the natural sense of belonging to a community, religious, linguistic, caste or regional, does not imply the herd link, and the herd sense, so instinctive to animals. The end of the communal, caste, regional and linguistic tensions will therefore involve a cultural transformation, the replacement of the present mode of thinking by the scientific way of thinking. The disappearance of this mentality also involves the disappearance of poverty and ignorance, sectarianism and suspicions. It implies the emergence of a new man—the great goal set by Gandhiji before himself. To that noble task, let all Congressmen dedicate themselves, I propose to open a section in the A.I.C.C. which will be wholly non-political, which will create a forum for social scientists to meet and plan a campaign for the much needed mental revolution. Revolutions, even social ones, after all begin in the minds of men.

Indian society is a plural society. Social contact between various religious and caste groups are few and far between. Localities and habitations of these groups are also separate. In the new India that we want to create, it should be ensured that in all housing schemes, Government or otherwise, only mixed schemes are encouraged which include persons of various religions and castes. Similarly religious festivals of all communities should be collectively observed so that it may encourage greater social integration.

It was the Father of the Nation, who visualised as early as 1917 that if a democracy was to be effective, the people were to be enabled to participate in the political, social, administrative and cultural activities of the community, on a level of equality.
It clearly involved functioning through the medium of the mother-tongues. This was his basis of the linguistic demarcation of provinces by the Congress long before the States Reorganisation Commission was set up and the linguistic States were created. We had Andhra, Tamilnad, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Utkal provincial congress organisations as early as the early twenties. In this context of the imperativeness of the development of the regional languages in the different States of India. Gandhiji thought of a national language and that national language, he felt, could only be Hindi. While the various regional languages were the languages of a single cultural entity or of a single administrative area, Hindi was the one language which could not be so characterised. Even though it had evolved from Khari Boli, it covered a large land area in which the mother-tongues were varied and different people of the area spoke Rajasthani, Himachali, Braj Bhasha, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili in their homes and used Hindi for formal purposes. Hindi thus belonged to all or to none. It was one of the easiest languages to learn and was spoken by a substantial portion of the Indian people. It had direct kinship with Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Punjabi, Gujarati and indirect affinity with all the other languages. As a matter of fact, tens of thousands of students in the South took examination in Hindi every year and even without the language provision of the Constitution, it was making rapid, very rapid strides towards being voluntarily accepted as the National language. Unfortunately, the lingual issue got mixed up with various other issues and developed political overtones. The result was that Hindi which was intended by the Father of the Nation to be a binding link, became for a certain period, a factor of discord. I am happy to note that mis-conception about the role of Hindi have been removed after the acceptance of the three-language formula and the adoption of amendments to the Official Languages Act. People in the various regions of India now feel assured that there would be no imposition of Hindi against their will. Nobody ever thought of it. Nobody thinks of it. If the various regional
languages come into their own and the States start functioning through their medium, if education comes to be imparted through the medium of the respective regional languages, the need for an All-India language would be felt and willingly accepted. Hindi, which has undeniable affinity with all the Indian languages, will be learnt by people speaking different regional languages, of their own accord. All suspicion and distrust will disappear. It is having that possibility in view that the three-language formula was devised and has been more or less universally accepted. I feel that it is incumbent on the State Governments to do, all that they possibly can, for the growth and development of their respective languages and it is the duty of the Centre to assist them in this task. It is my feeling also that everything possible that can be done should be done to further the growth and development of Hindi which should draw liberally from all the regional languages so that every one of them will have the feeling of having contributed to the richness of Hindi. But Governmental efforts have their limitations. The Universities in the Hindi area, thirty or more of them, will have to make significant contributions. Gujarat, has adopted Hindi as its second official language and Maharashtra has taken up Hindi as its own. The lingual problem given continued goodwill, should present no further trouble.

We have had to depend all these years on an administrative apparatus which was set up for entirely different purposes. It was originally colonial and was meant to subserve British interest and perpetuate British rule. It did not have then the much-publicised civil services neutrality. It was very much a committed service—committed to the maintenance of British rule at any cost. In the post-independence era the administrative apparatus did undergo certain changes but the basic structure remained unaltered. The machinery, in the higher layers, is manned today by the best products of Indian universities and it swears by British principles and traditions. But at best, it may be said to be only a pale imitation of its British counterpart. Neutrality of the services, in a country
where social disparities are extremely glaring and where the
privileged classes control all the levers of power, invariably
operates to the advantage of the privileged and the disadvan-
tage of the have-nots. Moreover in a country which has
stagnated for centuries and where centuries of delayed
progress are sought to be compressed into decades, where the
pace of economic change has to be accelerated beyond
measure, the so-called neutral administrative machinery is a
hindrance, not a help. The theory, moreover of a neutral
bureaucracy is hardly relevant to Indian conditions. The society
in which the concept emerged and got institutionalised was
different and had a different background. To regard that
development, therefore, as an integral part of the democratic
structure is not wholly tenable, nor necessary. Has our
bureaucracy, particularly the lower echelons, that dedication
to duty and that pride of work which characterise its British
counterpart? Does it have that impartiality which is another
name for neutrality? We need, therefore, clearly, and
inevitably, an apparatus with a purpose, a mind. We need a
service committed to the ideal of democracy, socialism, secu-
larism. I know it calls for a major revolution in the thinking
of the services in the administrative procedures, rules, regula-
tions. The recruitment policy and the recruiting agencies will
have to be so reoriented that the personnel manning the ad-
ministrative machinery at various levels will be helpful in effect-
ing the social and economic changes required for the establish-
ment of democracy, socialism and secularism on a firm and
secure basis.

Confusion relating to the respective roles of the public
and private sectors persists even among some Congressmen.
Certain views were expressed at Faridabad from the highest
forum of the party organisation which have deepened doubts
and distrust about the capacity of the public sector to fulfil
its historic role. A plea was then made for giving a greater
opportunity to the private sector. It is clear to me that the
concept of mixed economy is becoming unfortunately very
mixed and confused. While the proposition that public sector
enterprises must be economically viable is unexceptionable, the tendency to apply the measuring rod of profitability to all such enterprises is not in keeping with the avowed objectives either of the public sector or of the Congress. The invisible costs at which some of the private sector enterprises make profits is seldom taken into account. It is clear that monopolistic trends are getting intensified, that money-power is creating big pockets of political pressure, vitiating and distorting the political life of the country. Time has, therefore, come when Government must state in unmistakable terms that opportunities given to the private sector to serve the people do not include the opportunity and the freedom to sabotage the national objective. It must be stated that there is only one sector today and that is the national sector and that both public and private sectors are there to subserve its purposes and the objectives—democracy, socialism and secularism. As a corrective to the existing trends, which are disturbing, the public sector must expand. More of the commanding heights of economy must be manned by the nation. To begin with import trade should be straightway nationalised. The production of consumer goods industries must be more stringently regulated and controlled. It is a travesty of social justice in a country where hundreds of millions live near starvation to allow a diversified production of consumer goods equalling the most developed capitalist countries. I do not plead that we produce only two or three varieties of textile cloth and other consumer goods. What I do submit is that there is a very strong case for regulating and restricting consumer goods production. Its uncontrolled diversification necessarily lowers productive capacity, constitutes a comparative waste of scarce resources and encourages conspicuous consumption. If luxury items have for some reasons to be produced they must be reserved for export or they must be heavily taxed if meant for internal consumption. Public sector enterprises will also have to be started with a view particularly to correcting regional imbalances which are proving a source of discontent.
and agitations. The industrial relations policy not only of the public sector enterprises but all enterprises will need to be reviewed. In a society building socialism there should be little scope for labour capital clashes, for strikes and slow-downs or for lock-outs. The class-feeling of employers and employees will have to be eliminated so that all those engaged in any undertaking regard themselves as workers in a common effort to enrich and serve the country. Workers' participation in management is one way of creating this feeling and should be introduced in all undertaking's.

The pervading sense of frustration among youth is directly related to our inability to provide education and employment opportunities, commensurate with the rapid growth in the number of those seeking education or jobs. Growth has lagged far behind need. The economy is unable to absorb even trained technical personnel in the present. The future does not promise a break. Naturally, therefore, frustration has deepened into cynicism, open disregard of authority, an unconcernedness with the present or future and perhaps a desire to avenge.

The emergence of Communist Governments in the two most populous States, with the highest percentage of literacy and un-employment, has its own lessons. And then, there is the generation gap, our inability in developing a dialogue with them, in making them feel that we have respect for them and that we are deeply concerned with their problems of the present and future. So youth protest continues. They raise a cry here, a rebellion there on passing issues, many of them of a trifling character, which could be easily settled across the table if handled with imagination and sympathy. Part of the disenchchantment of youth is a world phenomenon. But the airy manner in which even their pranks are condemned as villainy indicates that we need to attune our thinking to the psychology of the present-day youth. He is as idealistic, as brimful with energy, as sensitive as youth always has been but he is more mature also. We
have to learn therefore to respect him and treat him as an adult. Above all, we should ensure implementation, to start with, all those programmes of educational reform which have been hibernating for years. We have also to find out a way of offering the unemployed avenues and opportunities of gainful employment through all possible methods—cooperatively-run industrial estates and self-employment schemes. Employment opportunities for the rural population as also for the urban and educated and technical personnel should be largely expanded by works programmes and self-employment schemes. In this context, a new criteria for credit-worthiness will have to be evolved. Above all, youth participation on an intellectual plane in suggesting programmes of development should be encouraged so that he may have a sense of involvement in the mighty effort that is being made for the progress of the country.

I have always maintained that the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes cannot be fully appreciated much less solved except in the framework of a radical reorganisation of the socio-economic order. That will take long. But even the scope of welfare projects and the manner of their implementation leaves much to be desired. It was to be expected that when the condition of these communities improved they would aspire to live as decent human beings. It was equally to be expected that with the growth of consciousness and an understanding of their rights, they would refuse to be treated as before. But wherever this trend has manifested itself, particularly in the rural areas, oppression and harassment have been renewed. It is an indication of the fact that upper caste psychology has not undergone any real change, there has only been some kind of a grudging adjustment. Even the so-called liberals share the same attitude: only its expression is different. How else would one explain the much-vaunted talk of pity, the much publicised desire to do some good to the depressed and suppressed communities. I have no quarrel with them but I wish that they realised that, at root, their attitude is no different in kind from the
attitude of society at large. The extension of the Constitutional reservation of seats for these classes for another 10 years has been a step in the right direction. But many more steps, as I have indicated, will have to be taken. All practices which segregate the Scheduled Castes from caste Hindus and perpetuate the discriminatory attitude should be removed. Separate colonies for Scheduled Castes should not be established. They should be mixed ones both in urban and rural areas. For all students of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes liberal stipends should be provided, technical education encouraged and facilitated, and proper representation in public services ensured.

The country today is passing through a crisis which is inherently a crisis of growth common to all developing societies. Political parties are awakening to and coming face with the basic realities of political life. The issues must now be allowed to become clear. Caste and regional loyalties which are eroding social cohesion must be curbed. People should be educated into not putting up conflicting claims based on narrow loyalties and pressing them with utter disregard for the country’s future often with the aid of violence. State Governments which are after all limbs of the Central Government have to be persuaded to take a more rational view of things and not to allow themselves to be swayed by force of public agitation or encourage them making it extremely difficult for the Centre to take remedial steps in time. To a considerable extent the political crisis, the seeds of which were there in the social order, has been accentuated by the greater ‘politicalisation’ of the people and the desire of each segment to maintain or secure the benefits of political power—a necessary concomitant of the implanting of democratic institutions on a social framework premeated by cultural backwardness. The way out is not the restriction of democracy but its expansion and, if I may say so, ‘culturalisation’. Democratic institutions introduced into most of the former colonies have collapsed. In India they survive and the credit for it goes not to a small extent to our people and the Congress. These institutions will have to be strengthened and the party geared to meet the
challenges which are growing ever more ominous. The implementa-
tion of party policies and programmes requires a trained band of party workers to supplement the efforts of governmental machinery. At many places Congress Committees will need to be strengthened, party cadres created, training to workers imparted so that the party may undertake not only election work but also participate in constructive and development work as also keep a vigilant watch on the implementa-
tion of whatever beneficial programmes have been laid down for the people. To bring this about, the very first pre-requisite is that Congressmen develop real and intelligent conviction in the ideal of democracy, socialism, secularism and endeavour to bring about that change in the social framework which alone can sustain their beliefs and endeavours and make for con-
tinued growth and development. However, so long as the social framework continues to be curved no performance either by this democratic group or that, will be equal to the occasion. In endeavouring, therefore, to build a new leadership structure from the village level upwards, fully in accord with the objects of the organisation and imbued with revolutionary zeal, in trying to put a new content in the old form, we would do well to clearly visualise the nature and the inadequacies of the form, as also its social background. The Congress has arisen, as we all know, from the background of a social order which was and continues to be traditionalistic, heirarchical, and, even tribalistic in some of its traits. Such a milieu, if allowed to remain unchanged is likely to sustain and perpetuate the old way of thinking and the built-in social inequalities and orthodoxies and sully the content. The social order must, therefore, change fast to provide a base for the new ideas, the new policies, the new programmes. On the pace of this change will depend the development of the organisation into an effective instrument of social change and revolution. Mere profession of the Congress ideals hardly takes us anywhere. Almost every one talks of socialism. All Congressmen certainly do. But social-
listic policies either do not find sustenance or support or in the process of implementation get diluted or deformed. The time
has come to take swift and adequate action to end these contradictions.

A large section of society which stands to gain from socialism and will naturally be in the vanguard of any movement for its establishment, has not been drawn to the Congress. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes and all the minorities should be drawn in larger numbers into the Congress and involved directly in its activities. A sense of participation in the decision-making bodies at all levels should be ensured to them.

I have taken more of your time than I intended. I have traced part of the history of the Congress. I have repeated many things you all know. I have raised many issues which are fundamental. I have done all this because it is my sincere belief that the Congress can face the challenge of the times. We believe that a better India will emerge out of what appears to be a severe crisis. We have the necessary clarity of purpose and the determination needed for the task. History has given us a great opportunity. Today it is we alone who stand between the extremisms of the left and the right, between chaos and democracy. Your great enthusiasm bears testimony to your appreciation of your great historic mission. We are all fortified by the conviction that in the fulfilment of this mission, we have the support of our people. That is an unending source of inspiration.

We also know that there is nothing wrong with our people, they only want to move faster and still faster. They know that we are in tune with their urges and aspirations. We pledge our loyalty once again to the people of India. We shall permit nothing, to stand in their onward march. To that pledge we Congressmen re-dedicate ourselves. We rededicate ourselves to our ideology of democracy and socialism, and resolve to so refashion our organisation that it becomes in fact as in spirit an effective instrument of change, social revolution and service to the masses. We go from here with the full realisation that we are all committed to socialism and that commitment to
socialism implies commitment to the social whole, commitment to the equality-principle, commitment to a scientific way of thinking. The task is great and difficult but I am confident that we shall rise to the occasion. We will successfully face this challenge.

It now remains for me to express my sincere and heartfelt thanks to all Comrades and to this great City which has lavished its affections on us. I am particularly thankful to the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, the Reception Committee and to many of our friends of the Bombay Congress Committee and the citizens of Bombay for all that they have done to make this Session a great success.

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*We are meeting four months after Delhi A.I.C.C. Session here. It is of significance that we are meeting in Bihar, which has been the cradle of democracy in ancient India. Bihar is the land of Lord Buddha, who gave the gospel of 'Karuna' i.e. compassion to the world. It was again in Bihar in the district of Champaran that the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi launched his first historic struggle against exploitation in India. Today the Indian National Congress stands for just these ideals of democracy, of ameliorating the sufferings of the masses, removing tears from every Indian's eyes and ending all forms of exploitation. Patna was the seat of Ashok the great who ruled by non-violence and universal brotherhood beyond our border by sending his son and daughter to foreign countries. The Congress stands for social revolution, non-violent in character which the country so urgently needs. It stands for international amity and peace. Let us rededicate ourselves

*Address by Shri Jagjivan Ram, President, Indian National Congress at the All India Congress Committee Meeting, Patna, October 13-15, 1970.

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here to the Congress ideals of non-violence, democracy, socialism and international humanism.

The venue has been named after the great son of India, Babu Rajendra Prasad whose example of service, sacrifice, humility and simplicity should inspire every Indian. These virtues can solve many of our problems today.

The last four months have been eventful in many respects, with the Congress marching along steadily towards Socialism and in its wake generating new enthusiasm among the masses for the Congress as it has been able to assure them that the investment and fuller utilisation of human and material resources in a planned manner for self-generating growth and development, for progress and prosperity of the nation and for raising the standards of the people will lead towards socialism.

We face many challenges. There are many impediments in the path to be surmounted and numerous problems to be solved. The immediate task is to reduce economic disparities, enlarge the area of social control over means of production and distribution and fight the forces of communalism and casteism. These tasks cannot be left to the Government alone. The Party must take the initiative, mould public opinion, back the Government and act as a philosopher and guide so that work may be effective.

We have to remain alert about one thing. We should not allow ourselves and our poor countrymen to be carried away by those so-called socialists whose brand of socialism is to raise extremist slogans and make wild promises. The first and foremost thing which the country needs is to bring about a psychological change in the society. Such change can be brought about by infusing a sense of optimism and hope through dynamic and progressive measures.

If India is to regain her eminence, if India is to fulfil her destiny, we must first of all develop in our national life a sense of common citizenship. And for this we have to fight all parochial tendencies in the country, such as provincialism,
regionalism, linguisim and casteism and create a sense of oneness.

Even for economic growth of the country it is essential that the parochial conflicts in the society cease and a classless and casteless society is built providing full opportunity to each individual to grow according to his or her ability.

While we speak of regionalism and provincialism, we cannot lose sight of the most dangerous and poisonous evil—the menace of communalism which from time to time raises its ugly head here and there in the country. Communal violence is nothing but a colossal crime. Those who indulge in violence, in the name of religion, forget that basic principles of all religions are the same and service of humanity constitutes the backbone of all religions. There is no religion in the world which will accept a person as religious, who burns alive innocent children. If such a person claims to be a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian all good and true Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or Christians will undoubtedly refuse to fall in line with such a communal fanatic, because he is only a killer, a murderer, a criminal and nothing less. It is the prime duty of Congressmen to fight the communal menace in the interests of peaceful progress for the establishment of democratic socialist order in the society. Casteism is an equally dangerous and pernicious evil and has to be discouraged and eliminated from our society.

We have been witnessing a spate of violent activities in various parts of the country. The adventurist political forces are mainly responsible for these activities. In doing so they try to exploit the social and economic evils prevalent in our present social and economic setup. Anti-social elements also got a good field under such condition. This is no doubt an attempt on the part of interested elements in our society to effect a breakdown in the law and order situation.

In this context, West Bengal attracts our attention. The activities of CPM and Naxalites and also of anti-social elements are causing grave anxiety to all law-abiding peaceful
citizens of the State. Denegation and defacement of respected personalities, political murders, looting, arson and other lawless activities seem to be an integral part of their activities. It is however heartening to note, that in recent months the administration has taken adequate steps to contain such activities. These steps are now showing some results.

The Government has to maintain law and order, if necessary, through stringent measures. However, the problem has to be tackled at the ideological and political plane also. Socio-economic conditions often provide the breeding ground for all such lawless activities. The problem of poverty arising from unemployment and exploitations poses a great challenge and threat in this respect.

The unemployment problem has assumed an alarming magnitude in the country. Long period of unemployment sows the seed of discontent, particularly among the youth. Besides the vast number of unemployed persons, there are millions of under-employed or partially employed in the country. The number of persons without employment is increasing every year. Unemployment of a large number of young men, including educated and trained young men not only creates bitterness but is also a national waste.

We have to plan our economy to come to grip with the menace of unemployment. Unless it is done, our political and social life will be infected by undesirable activities including violence. We have to attack the problem from all sides and find an early solution. Congress Governments both at the Centre and in the States must adopt some special measures to solve this problem of unemployment.

On August 9, 1970 some political parties, namely CPI, PSP and SSP launched a movement which came to be known "as land-grab movement". The movement was motivated more by political consideration than with a view to benefit the landless. This is well-known that it is the Congress which has always advocated land reforms and has advocated provision of land to the landless by distributing all available Government
arable land and all land that may become available by implementing land reform measures including ceiling on holdings at the earliest. I have myself raised my voice against tardy implementation of land reform measures and against measures which leave lacunae for people continuing to have large areas of land. The Congress has permitted and even advocated agitation by Congressmen even in states where Congress policy in this regard is not being vigorously pursued. The Congress, however, cannot countenance violent movements or movements involving violation of law like land-grabbing, as in any such movement the poor and the weak are left behind and many times are made to suffer. Such movements, specially were directed against parties or individuals primarily, due to political or even personal differences or animosity are moreover self-defeating and may even boomerang against the landless and discourage them further. As was expected, the land-grab agitation has died its natural death, without any impact on the people. The Congress is aware of the urgent need for early and effective implementation of land reform measures. Early steps should be taken to this regard as the problem cannot afford to brook further delay.

At a meeting of the Leaders of Congress Legislature Parties, held on June 11, 1970 in Delhi, the progress of implementation of land reforms in different States, with special reference to ceiling on land holdings, distribution of land to the landless and provision of house sites to the rural landless was reviewed. The consensus at the meeting was that landless labour, specially scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, should be provided with house sites by December 1971.

It was also agreed at that meeting that existing land reform legislations should be implemented and distribution of surplus land to the landless should be completed as early as possible. It was, however, felt that action at the administrative level should be supplemented at the organisational level. The Congressmen and Congress Committees should take active interest in the implementation of land reforms. If necessary, Congress Committees should agitate for speedy implementation of these measures.

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It was also decided that Congress should take the lead in organising agricultural labour for effective implementation of Minimum Wages Act and other facilities.

At the Governmental level, a conference of Chief Ministers was held towards the end of September last, in which various aspects of land reforms were discussed in detail. At this Conference, the Chief Ministers agreed to review exemptions given under the land-ceiling Acts in various States.

The Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed announced after the Conference that the Central Land Reforms Committee constituted recently would examine in depth the difficulties pointed out by the Chief Ministers in lowering existing ceilings and in ensuring uniformity.

In the very nature of things uniform ceiling cannot be considered for the whole country. Uniform guidelines can be followed. Congress Government should immediately examine the possibilities of revising ceilings under the conditions prevailing in respective States. Exemptions should be reduced to the minimum and family should be adopted as a unit for purposes of calculation of ceilings instead of individuals.

During this period the Government took action for the abolition of privy purses and privileges of the princes. In this action, the Government has taken a historic step towards socialism for which it deserves all appreciation and congratulations. Abolition of privy purses and princely privileges was one of the items of the ten-point economic programme of the AICC and was also indicated in the Bombay Economic Policy Resolution. The Government, in order to honour the commitment made to the people by the Party, boldly brought forward the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill before the Parliament for abolition of privy purses and princely privileges. While the Bill secured more than two-third majority in the Lok Sabha, it failed to get the two-third majority required for a Constitutional Amendment in Rajya Sabha, which fell short by 0.33 votes.

The voting on this Bill exposed the Congress (O) generally known as the Syndicate before the public as a party which
stood for the vested interests. The Ten-Point Programme was passed before the split of the Congress. Some of the Congress (O) leaders, while masquerading as socialists were swearing by the Ten-Point Programme. By voting against the Bill for abolition of Privy Purses and privileges, these leaders not only identified themselves with the vested interests but also proved themselves as persons whose word could not be depended upon by the people.

However, in accordance with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of members of Parliament and our countrymen the Government by a Presidential Order de-recognised the former rulers, terminating thereby their privy purses and privileges with immediate effect. By this timely action the dilatory tactics of the rightist reactionary forces was rightly defeated.

Aggrieved by the Presidential Order some of the de-recognised rulers have challenged the validity of the Order before the Supreme Court. Their petition is at present pending before the Supreme Court.

During this period the Government took some other steps also towards implementation of Ten-point Programme and Bombay Economic Policy Resolution. In order to curb monopolies and concentration of economic power, the Monopolies Commission has been appointed. Similarly the Government has decided to take over import trade of cotton and also to control cotton trade in the country through the Cotton Corporation. Similarly cashewnut trade is being taken over by the Government. The Patents Bill has also been passed.

These measures amply demonstrate the earnestness of the Government to fulfil the promises made by the Congress in different resolutions and a keenness to move fast towards the establishment of a classless society.

The developments have naturally upset the vested interests. The rightist forces are trying to consolidate themselves. There was a move to form an alliance of Jan Sangh,
Swatantra Party and the Syndicate (Cong-O). This attempt by the leadership to align with the conservative parties like Jan sangh and Swatantra was rightly resented by the rank and file of the Syndicate. Tactically the leadership gave up the attempt, but tacitly the alliance is working in various fields. In the meantime the B.K.D. has also come out clearly as a party of reaction by voting against the Bill to abolish Privy Purses. The beginning of the grand alliance has been made in U.P. by the formation of a Samyuct Vidhayak Dal (S.V.D.) of Syndicate, B.K.D., Jan Sangh, S.S.P. and Swatantra. One has to watch and see in what way this amalgam of parties with contradictory policies and programmes works and how long.

These forces of reaction have also started a virulent propaganda against the Congress and the Prime Minister in the name of democracy. Those who were not willing to abide by the views of the overwhelming majority of AICC members, delegate as well as legislators are now raising slogans like “Save Democracy”. Really there is need to “Save Democracy” against these forces of status-quo, reaction, communalism and exploitation. In order to save democracy we will have to march faster towards economic equality and towards demolishing all citadel of vested interests.

In this fight against consolidated forces of vested interests, it is desirable that all progressive forces should coordinate their own activities. For successfully fighting this battle for socialism, it is essential to involve the masses of people. The Congressmen should spread out throughout the country and explain to the people the real nature of the struggle and the issues involved in it. We must take the workers in the farms as well as in the factories conscious that the struggle for socialism is their struggle. We must explain to the young men that this struggle for ending inequalities is a struggle for which no sacrifice can be considered too great. I am sure if we are able to carry this message to the teeming millions of India, the vested interests with all their vast financial re-
sources and all their control over vehicles of propaganda and all their experience in exploiting the natural human goodness of the poor, will not be able to stand against the March of Time.

I am happy that Pay Commission has been appointed and the Government has implemented the recommendation of the Commission regarding interim relief to Government employees. The interim relief it appears is not upto the expectations of the employees. But the whole thing has to be viewed in the context of the total economic situation. This interim relief itself will cost about Rs. 106 crores to the Government exchequer. This interim relief or any pay rise has any meaning only if there is no sudden price rise to take away from the real wages of the employees. The Government will have to pay greater attention to arrest any spurt in prices. The profiteering will have to be curbed with a strong hand. We need a realistic wage and price policy. At the same time we will have to evolve a policy which will regulate the wealth and income of individuals. Ostentatious living and conspicuous consumption do not fit in a developing country and more so with the concept of socialist society. Really the Congress will have to give serious thought to the concept of fixing relationship between the highest and lowest income of an individual, a concept which was accepted by the Congress at Karachi in 1931. In my opinion there should not be a wide gap between the minimum earning and the highest income per month. A realistic multiple may be laid down in the beginning. This multiple should be reviewed periodically with the rise in the minimum earning in accordance with the rise in national income.

In any case the more fortunate section of community who are in affluent circumstances should realise that besides measures to maintain law and order the only method to check violence of left adventurists is to generate more wealth by investing whatever they have in productive enterprise and making all sections share equitably in the national prosperity and additional wealth so produced.
The Government has taken another important decision, during this brief period, which relates to the Union Territories of Himachal, Manipur and Tripura. The decisions to grant Statehood to these three Union Territories has been lustily welcomed by them. Appropriate Bills in this regard will be brought before the Parliament in due course. The decision of the Government will meet the long standing aspirations of the people of these areas.

Looking to the political scene in the country, our attention naturally gets focussed on Kerala, where in the month of June, 1970, on the advice of the Chief Minister of Kerala, Shri C. Achutha Menon (CPI), the Governor has dissolved the Legislative Assembly. It was decided to have early mid-term election. Mid-term elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on September 17, 1970.

As a result of the mid-term elections in Kerala, the Congress has emerged as the largest single Party in the Assembly with 32 seats. The Congress and the Mini-Front, which entered into an understanding on adjustment of seats, thus got an absolute majority by securing 69 seats in the House of 133. The Kerala PCC and the Kerala Congress Legislature Party have decided to remain outside the Government and lend support to the Ministry formed by the Mini-Front parties under the leadership of Shri Achutha Menon of CPI. The Mini-Front parties have agreed to implement the programme enunciated in the Election Manifesto of the Kerala PCC along with the Front’s common programme. It has also been agreed that there will be a joint Committee consisting of 9 members—the Chief Minister, four Congress members and four members of the Front (one each from the Constituent parties) to help the Government in the matter of implementation of the various provisions of the Election Manifesto.

The mid-term elections in Kerala have been a significant event for the Congress during the period under review. The Congress achieved remarkable victory in these elections. It was victory for the people. It was victory for democracy. It
was victory for socialism. It was reiteration of the faith of the people of Kerala in democratic process for orderly development of the state.

The people of Kerala used the ballot in the mid-term poll judiciously. They rejected the parties of status quo and reaction—the Syndicate, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra—summarily and totally. Similarly, they rejected the Left adventurer, the ultra-leftists, and the self-styled liberators who breed nothing but disorder and violence.

The return of the Congress as the single largest party in the mid-term poll is in fact the endorsement of our policies by the people of Kerala.

In this context, it is heartening to note that the people of Kerala reiterated their faith in the forces of orderly progress. Our faith in political judgement of the people has been re-established. The Kerala electorate, with a high rate of literacy and an equally high sense of policies of the Marxist extremists, rejected out of hand both the representatives of a dead past and the forces of adventurism.

It was spectacular victory for the Congress. The Congress has regained its youthful look and vigour with the exist of the Syndicate Left free to forge ahead with its progressive policies to create a just society, it once again captured the imagination of the people. Their faith revived.

The people of Kerala realised that the Congress did not flaunt any doctrinaire socialism based on violent class struggle but followed a pragmatic course to usher in an egalitarian order through democratic processes.

The Congress had contested 56 seats and won 32. The percentage of votes polled by the Congress in these constituencies was 44.5, as against 38.4 polled by the party in these constituencies in 1967. Its percentage has thus increased by 6.1.

The Kerala elections demonstrated clear rejection of the 'Grand Alliance' of Sangh, Swatantra and Syndicate, who, it
may be pointed out, have failed to get even a single seat. The Sydicate, which had set up 39 candidates failed to win even in a single constituency. It certainly won unique distinction of forfeiting security deposit in 27 constituencies.

It was not only in the mid-term election to Kerala Assembly that the Congress achieved remarkable victory. In two important bye-elections to Parliament, one from Punjab (Gurdaspur) and another from Kerala (Mukundpuram), the Congress candidates have retained the seats with bigger margins than what the Congress had secured in the general election. In Gurdaspur the people rejected forces of communalism and reaction. Both Sant Akali Dal and Jan Sangh lost their security deposits. Since the split in the Party, the Congress has been marching from victory to victory in mid-term and bye-elections to Assemblies and Parliament.

A political crises developed in Uttar Pradesh towards the end of September last, when the Chief Minister, Shri Charan Singh (BKD) wanted to drop 26 Congress Ministers from his Ministry in apprehension of withdrawal of support by the Congress to the Coalition Ministry. He requested the Governor to dismiss the Congress Ministers and himself wanted to continue to hold office of the Chief Minister. The Congress being the major partner in the Coalition, such an unprecedented step on the part of the Chief Minister naturally led one to think of the constitutional propriety involved. The Governor after obtaining the opinion of the Attorney General of India came to the conclusion that the Chief Minister had forfeited his right to continue to hold Office. Many eminent lawyers of the country have also expressed the same opinion. The Governor asked Shri Charan Singh to resign from the office of the Chief Minister. It was only after tendering his resignation as Chief Minister that he was entitled to put forth his claim for forming a new Ministry on the basis of new alignment of Parties in the Assembly. Shri Charan Singh failed to comply with the request of the Governor. There was as such a constitutional breakdown and
the Governor recommended to the President of India for President's Rule in Uttar Pradesh, keeping the Assembly suspended. The State came under President's Rule on October 2, 1970. It is hoped an alternative popular Congress Government will be formed in U. P. in the near future and President's Rule revoked.

In West Bengal, President's Rule was promulgated on March 19, 1970, keeping the Legislative Assembly in suspended animation. Efforts were being made for the formation of an alternative popular Government by any Party or combination of parties. Inspite of best efforts, when it was found that no Party or combination of parties was in a position to provide an alternative Government in the State, the Governor on July 30, 1970 dissolved the Legislative Assembly. The question of holding mid-term elections has been discussed by the authorities and by various political parties. The general feeling is that unless law and order situation returned to normal elections cannot be held in a peaceful atmosphere. As soon as the law and order situation returns to normalcy mid-term elections will have to be held in the State, and I have no doubt that with unpopular elements having left Congress, we will do well in the election and will be in a position to provide a stable government dedicated to democratic socialism and solving the problems of the people of Bengal by peaceful means.

While we are meeting here in this background of national scene and are going to hold our deliberations and take suitable decisions, we should not forget that people in different parts of the country are facing a number of problems. Drought in some parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar has already taken its toll. Flood in Gujarat, Bengal, Andhra, Assam, Bihar and number of other areas has caused terrible havoc. People will be easily looking forward to us for solace and guidance. Let our sympathy go with those who have become victims of floods, drought and other natural calamities.

During this period the forces of peace suffered a grave setback in the sudden demise of President Nasser, who with
Pandit Nehru and Marshal Tito was the architect of the concept of non-alignment and a champion of the cause of underdeveloped nations. His death is mourned by Indians as the death of one of their own leader.

The people of U.A.R. have chosen an able leader unanimously and I have no doubt that the U.A.R. and Indian friendship will continue to grow for the cause of Peace in the world.

There is cease-fire in Western Asia and we hope that ultimately for abiding peace, the parties to dispute and the Great powers will agree to implement the Security Council Resolution on the subject.

In South East Asia also there are signs of realisation of futility of outside interference in the internal affairs of nations.

Another important and significant event in the international affairs has been the non-aligned Summit Conference held in September last at Lusaka. In all 63 countries participated in the conference The outcome of the Conference shows that India’s stand in international affairs has received wide appreciation and support.

The Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi on our behalf emphasised the need for the emancipation of developing countries in the economic and along with the political sphere. As we had said in our resolution in Delhi A.I.C.C. the Prime Minister expressed the view that the task of enduring peace in the world cannot be completed without ensuring that the international community takes concrete steps for the elimination of the wide gulf that separates developed and the developing countries of the World. She pledged India’s full support in building up the economy of developing countries. India extended her support to the freedom fighters in the African World and warned against the dangers of neo-colonialism.

The Prime Minister reiterated India’s view that the Indian Ocean should be an area of peace and co-operation
and that military bases of outside powers would create tension and great rivalry.

The Conference unanimously adopted a charter for peace, freedom, development and co-operation. It also adopted a blue print which set forth a strategy for economic co-operation between non-aligned countries. The Conference also strongly condemned the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa. Thus the Lusaka Conference was a success and we played a significant role in the success.

However during this period Britain has taken the retrograde step of supplying arms to South Africa, in place of severing trade ties altogether with the country.

Similarly U.S.A. has taken the unfriendly step of supplying bombers, tanks and other arms to Pakistan. This step of U.S.A. may serve the interests of American arms manufacturers, but is a great blow to our attempts at creating peaceful conditions in the region and improving Indo-Pak relations. This supply of American military hardware to Pakistan will only add to Pak intransigence. This action of Nixon administration fully exposes the hollowness of their claims for being champions of Peace. We in India will have to be more alert. No sacrifice can be too great when the integrity of India is concerned. We will have to take into account this addition to Pakistan’s Armed Forces. But I shall like to mention that the greatest strength for any country is the determination of the people to defend country’s honour and integrity at any cost and the willingness to sacrifice all comforts for the defence-preparedness of the country. This invincible determination to defend all onslaughts on the country comes when every citizen feels that he is an equal sharer in the prosperity of the country, irrespective of the caste or community to which he belongs.

Thus for the sake of motherland let us rededicate ourselves to the Congress ideals of democracy, socialism, secularism and non-alignment. The ideal of exploitation-less society is worth living for and is worth dying for.
Jagjivan Ram: Congress President of a New era.

MAHABIR DAS

The people of India in particular and the people of the world in general know about the affairs of the Indian National Congress which had been reduced at the end of the election of Shri V. V. Giri as President of India. Shrimati Indira Gandhi as leader of the Congress party and Prime Minister of India with the close co-operation of Babu Jagjivan Ram could successfully fight the worst situation prevailing then in the country. On the proposal of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Babu Jagjivan Ram became President of All India Congress Committee in the year 1969. And as soon as Babuji became Congress President, nature showered all her blessings on him and Babuji became hero amongst the Congress leaders of India and under his Presidentship, Indian National Congress fought the election of fifth Lok Sabha in the year 1971 and could win more than two third seats of total strength of Lok Sabha.

In the year 1971, during the auspicious occasion of Babuji's birth day, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, had mentioned in his message, "In Shri Jagjivan Ram India has a leader who had been in touch with masses all through his career. He grew up in a context which brought home to him the full impact of the social and economic anomalies of the traditional society. With any one else this could have been a handicap. In this case, it was a challenge which brought out a magnificent..."
response. He has made enormous contributions to the uplift of the rural peasantry which forms the great bulk of our population. He had been in the vanguard in the fight for the elimination of social prejudices and unfair stratifications. If this sustained campaign had made him a granite hard fighter, the miracle is that he has totally rejected all solutions to social and economic problems which seek to resolve conflicts through violence. This is why he has emerged as a great national figure inspite of the fact that he has not spared classes and groups which have tried to retain their traditional privilege. Sardar Swaran Singh, Cabinet Minister mentioned: "His stewardship of the Congress Organisation, at a crucial juncture, is a shining example of his courage of convictions and spirit of determination and devotion".

The world knows that after the Bangalore session the Indian National Congress passed through critical times. Babu Jagjivan Ram who was the President of the Congress Party during all this period had an important and difficult role to play. He could succeed as he is a dedicated leader of the country. His sacrifice in the Freedom Movement and efforts in years subsequent to independence to shape the destiny of the nation, his commitment to the accepted social and political ideals and service to the under-privileged will ever be remembered and will occupy a prime place in the Indian history. Undoubtedly he is an accepted fearless freedom fighter, an ardent patriot, an able administrator and a ceaseless public worker.

In his early youth, when Babu Jagjivan Ram attended the Calcutta session of the Congress in December, 1928 the restive mood of the country touched him. Shri Subhash Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru demanded action.

Forty one years later, in December 1969, the same restive mood touched him again and brought him to the helm of affairs not as a delegate but President of Indian National Congress.
The great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has died but his daughter Indira Gandhi is there as the Prime Minister of India, to pass on the torch of socialism from hand to hand as her father in 1929 had passed on the torch of Independence of India. Babu Jagjivan Ram had declared, "Socialism does not mean division of property. It is essential to create more national wealth and to provide for its equitable and fair distribution so that our people may reap the full benefit of political freedom by having economic freedom too".

During the past decade we, as a nation, have gone through a period of severe trial and tribulation which tested to the fullest measure our total dedication to the values we cherish as also our ability to rise as one to meet national challenges. The partition of Indian National Congress, drought in the country and Fifth Lok Sabha election was beset with critical problems. But, under the joint leadership of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and President of Indian National Congress, Babu Jagjivan Ram we have emerged from these trials not only decisively successful but with a newfound faith and confidence, to continue, with our fundamental task of giving to the poor and the neglected their rightful place in the social and economic scheme of our dream. It will not be wrong to say that himself confident, his faith in the destiny of the nation, his determination, gave birth to "Harit Kranti" in India and his cool composure in the midst of crisis and his ability to rise to meet the challenges rather than be cowed down by them, have been almost infectious not only for his colleagues but also to the people at large, with most gratifying results. His total dedication to the cause of the poor and the depressed and his determination to deal with the many challenges thrown up by the very process of social and economic reconstruction has given to the people a new hope and faith which brought about their increasing involvement in the national efforts.

Babu Jagjivan Ram had a first chance of meeting Indira Gandhi during the historic session of the Indian National
Congress at Lahore in the year 1929 and he very successfully worked as President of Indian National Congress while she became Prime Minister of India.

It is difficult to write in so short time and space about so great a leader. I may say that perhaps no other President of Indian National Congress had ever been confronted with so many challenges and problems in such quick succession. But, at the end of every crisis he came out with a great success.

Everybody can say that Babu Jagjivan Ram is indeed a glorious blend of Mahatma Gandhi’s feelings for the downtrodden, Pandit Nehru’s universal love and Sardar Patel’s steel mind.

Babuji as President of the Indian National Congress in close co-operation with the great Prime Minister of India, with clearly stated policies and personality, galvanised the entire nation and gave a new sense of direction and much more, a spirit of self-confidence to the people of India.

Babuji, as he is affectionately and popularly known all over the country, is admired for his nobility and strength of character and total devotion to the cause of the nation. He is known to the people of India and abroad as one of those dynamic personalities of Indian politics who have left their mark in whatever field they chose to serve their country. He has supported thousands of needy young men and students of all regions and communities and is willing to render assistance to all. I know very well that neither long spells in British jails nor the political pressures could ever deflect him from the right path. He possesses great political insight and he has heart of a philanthropist. His memorable role in handling the most difficult problem of food through green revolution and leadership to Indian National Congress as President have earned him a great name and popularity.

As President of Indian National Congress he was not only a valiant and front rank fighter with the unfavourable situation created by ‘grand alliance’ but he also contributed
his mite for the economic rejuvenation of the country. The common man is looking to him as an unfailing friend and an affectionate guide.

I agree with the opinion of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that "Each nation has produced its own saints, martyrs, and heroes, warriors and statesman. In India, we call our great men "avatars", men who descend on earth from heaven as embodiments of the divine, in order to protect virtue and punish vice". Hence, Babuji is one of the "avatars" who is serving his country as well as the mankind.

He is a product of the most revolutionary era of the Indian History, that is the period of British anarchy. He took active part in organising depressed classes and soon turned himself with the true patriotic feelings against the British anarchy and imperialism.

He belongs to that noble galaxy of leaders who dominated the firmament of Indian politics during the Presidentship of Indian National Congress. As a man of firm determination, highest courage and action he played a vital role in the history of Indian National Congress in particular and in the history of our great country in general. His achievements, first as a freedom fighter and then as a builder of the nation, and also as a President of the Indian National Congress, need not be exaggerated.

On account of his excellent organising capacity, he became President of Indian National Congress and proved a great successful President of Congress.

Over and above all, he is essentially a man of the masses, accessible to the humblest of his countrymen.

Only very rarely one comes across people like Babuji to whom there is no problem too small or too big which can not find a solution. Such rare soul is really a messenger of God. Actually true man of God has no need to proclaim himself as such. Temple-going or going to mosque or church has become more a ritual than a post of piety and pious living. A truly pious man or woman has not to go anywhere to get inspired.
Service of mankind is true service of God and this maxim Babuji practices every day, every hour and every minute of his great and glorious existence on this earth. His whole life constitute a Holy book of service and compassion to one and all without any distinction whatsoever.

In the Gita exhortation is to do one's or what he or she considers his or her duty without looking for results. I think, Babuji combined in his life all the great teachings of all religions and philosophies and put them to practice also to the best of his ability. In this respect he will be remembered as the truly great man in this country and loved, respected and remembered even after centuries.

For the first time, Babuji appointed in March, 1970 the Congress cells (1) to look after the problems of Minorities (2) to look after the problems of Scheduled Castes (3) to look after the problems of the people belonging to backward classes. (4) to look after the interest of the labour and (5) to publish literature on various aspects of the Congress ideology and programmes.

He wants to see casteless and classless society in India. He seeks peace and likes to see people living in amity and no one trespassing on another. He never submits to the aggressor. Whenever, the aggressor desists and asks for peace, Babuji always remains ready to comply with his request forthwith. He had kept his door open as President of Indian National Congress for those Congressmen who had gone out due to the reasons of the split in the Congress Party.

India has been the home of many religions and diverse Schools of Philosophic thoughts from time immemorial. As the great thinker, Havelock Ellis said, "Religion grows in India as wild flowers in the forest". But, it must never be forgotten that all religious thinkers in India have always propounded the unity of mankind, if not of life in its entirety and it is this basic fact Babuji always advocated in favour of secularism for the tolerance and harmony between various religions for which India has been known.
Babuji understands that the twentieth century is introducing, if we look at it objectively, a new all-embracing religion, the “religion of Science”. It is revolutionising philosophic thought and often giving rational support to some of the eternal truths discovered and enunciated instinctively by the sages of the past.

As President of the Indian National Congress Committee he presided the steering committee meeting of the 73rd plenary session of the Congress at Bombay on 16th Dec., 1969 and the resolutions were drafted on (1) economic Policy (2) political situation (3) sugar industry in Uttar Pradesh and (4) Science and Technology which were adopted in Subject Committee and in Open Session of 73rd Congress.

Under his Presidentship the Congress favoured dissolution of the Lok Sabha and decided to seek election when it could easily have remained in power for another 14 months. The Congress did not like merely to remain in office but to ensure a better life to the people and to satisfy their aspirations for a just economic and social order. That was an event which was unique in the history of India.

As in the year 1947 India was at the cross roads of history, the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and its fresh election have created a new era in India during the Congress Presidentship of Babuji. Our Constitution was based upon the Principle that the people were sovereign. It was so framed as to secure political, social and economic justice to each and all. In close co-operation with the Prime Minister of India, Babuji declared to fight fifth Lok Sabha election. Inspired and informed by a pervasive sense of national destiny, our people have evinced a remarkable will to change and shown an admirably capacity to absorb new ideas and adopt themselves to new conditions. They have demonstrated great political acumen and the determination to remove the ills of politics and society.

Only a genuine radical programme of economic and social development could meet the challenge of this new situa-
tion. It is in this context that the Congress formulated ten point programme and pledged itself to implement it effectively and speedily.

The Congress President Babu Jagjivan Ram therefore, appealed to the people to return Congress candidates to the fifth Lok Sabha and thus gave it a clear mandate to:

1. Continue the advance to socialism through democratic process and devise administrative system capable of speeding implementation;

2. Put down the forces of violence and disorder so that all our citizens can live in peace and harmony;

3. Defend secularism and safeguard the interests of the minorities and the weaker sections of the community, particularly the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the other backward sections so that they may attain "equality of status and opportunity and fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual";

4. End anachronistic privileges such as privy purses etc., and reduce glaring disparities of income and opportunity;

5. Accelerate efforts to provide basic requirements to our people by undertaking a dynamic programme of agricultural development by the application of science and technology and thereby usher in a new phase of rural prosperity, which will improve the condition of small farmers, farmers in dry areas, the landless, artisans and others who eke out their existence through diverse skills;

6. Provide fresh avenues of employment and thus widen the participation of our citizens in nation building activities;

7. Enlarge the role of the public sector and improve the performance;

8. Give scope to the private sector to play its proper role in the economy, while curbing the concentration of economic power and wealth;
9. Control prices and ensure to the people the supplies of essential commodities at reasonable rates;

10. Launch upon a programme of child welfare to provide nutritious diet to pre-school children;

11. Provide elementary education to all children and reshape secondary and higher education to suit the needs of the country, and;

12. For these purposes, to effect such amendments of the Constitution as may be necessary.

The attainment of India's freedom in 1947 and fifth Lok Sabha election in 1971 have made the Congress party as the largest political party in the eyes of the world politicians. In my tours abroad I have been greatly touched by the amount of goodwill and affection shown towards our great Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and Congress President Babu Jagjivan Ram in particular and our country in general.

As far as I understand Babu Jagjivan Ram was a great successful Congress President who has raised India's prestige and status in the eyes of the world. Let us thank God for this nobility of spirit. As the Congress opened the new era of Indian politics in the year 1971, and moral uplift of all our fellow citizens, let us cherish the hope that the poverty, illiteracy and unemployment will no longer have to be our main concern. Since the fifth Lok Sabha election of 1971, India is on her fast onward march.
Defender of India : Defender of Hindi

Dr. A. S. PATHAK

As early as 1904, the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language, if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a Mohammedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Mohammedans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagari characters. In order that the Hindus and the Mohammedans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And, if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time."

Gandhiji was right when in 1947 he advised Ministers not to write in English. Gandhiji also advised Babuji: Your's mother tongue is national language to me. Therefore why we should take trouble of writing in English? Though you may say that Ministers have more facilities of writing in English. But this argument is baseless. Hindustani knowing clerks can be appointed instead of English knowing. Expenses will be lesser and public will be at ease. After all there are handful of people who know English. The Indian Government should not run for them alone. Also remember, you have to serve the down-trodden depressed classes and have to adorn their representation."
Perhaps this was the reason that young Babu Jagjivan Ram of early 50's had championed the cause of Hindi in a vicarious spirit in Parliament, in Government and public forums constantly and tenaciously.

The great Hindi protagonist Babu Purushottam Das Tandon also appreciated the young leader in 1953 for his ardent love for Hindi.

Now, the time has proved that Babu Jagjivan Ram is an ardent lover of Hindi, like Mahatma Gandhi, Purushottam Das Tandon, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and many other great national leaders.

He is a very popular leader of the common masses consisting of Indian peasantry and working class who use to visit his residence from remote villages and cities throughout the country and discuss problems and seek his good wishes. Thousands of people gather when he speaks, whether it is a village in South or remotest North. He speaks the language coming out from the heart. Whenever he speaks the differences of language, casteism and provincialism vanish like morning stars. And under his towering personality they all emerge only as Indian with unity of purpose and oneness as well. Here the language of heart speaks direct with the hearts.

It reminds us of olden days, when despite the absence of countrywide communications there was the institutions of Yatras which gave rise to a people's language. Gautam Buddha travelled far and wide and preached the gospel of peace, truth and non-violence, not in Sanskrit but in the very language of the people, 'Pali'. Sanskrit was enjoying the patronage of the ruling classes and thus was pet language of academicians, great poets, dramatists, philosophers and geniuses of the age. Jainmuni Mahavira also preached in the language of the 'prajajanasa', the 'Prakrit'. The impact of these two great sons on the soil of India and mark on the soul of mankind is still a source of inspiration.
for the generations to come. During mediaeval periods all forms of ideology, thinking as well as struggle expressed themselves through religion. So much so that devotional songs 'padas' and 'bhajans' of saint-poets became a strong weapon of struggle against all sorts of oppression and dogmatic thinking and religious sanctity written in peoples language—the language of the farmers and artisans, which later on became the rich literary heritage of the Indian people.

Babuji, visualised the free India of his dreams as a land of the people, who toil in factories and farms, people who have been isolated from the economic stream of the country and thus reduced as mere slaves, and like other great national leaders thought for their economic emancipation; having Hindi as a common national language, which for him was the silken cord to tie up the country together.

Babuji's contribution to political life of India does not stop at bringing social revolution, eradication of untouchability and casteism, removal of unemployment and appalling poverty alone. In the field of language and literature also, his contribution will be very well remembered. His speeches and addresses delivered at the functions of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, All India Braj Sahitya Mandal, Gurukul Kangri, Kashi Vidyapith, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan and various Universities and colleges as well as numerous literary gatherings is a sound proof of his unbound love for Hindi.

Himself born in a humble saintly family of Bihar, he has always patronised many a great saints, poets, Hindi scholars and litterateurs of India. In the name of his late father, he has founded 'Sant Shobhi Ram Sahitya Sadan', which has brought out a great anthology of saint poets namely 'Janpadiya Sant' in Hindi under the guidance of Gandhian thinker Kaka Kalelkar.

Had he continued his efforts of writing in Hindi, he himself would have been the great litterateur of Hindi world, in
the same way as he had adorned the greatest seat of Congress Presidentship. Whateover, he had written in Hindi in shape of speeches, convocation and presidential addresses, introductions of literary works as well as other writings, is a glaring example of his literary genius.

During a period of 20 years, the Hindi literary world have, duly in recognition of his great services, presented him three commemoration volumes; the first in 1953 by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and edited under the guidance of Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, the second in 1958 edited by Shri G. S. Pathik and the third in 1972 by President V. V. Giri, on account of his meritorious services in liberating the Bangla Desh and India's great historic victory over Pakistan. The third volume "Ek Yug : Ek Pratik" was compiled by our friend Shri K. L. Chanchreek.

Inaugurating the Uttar Pradesh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Prayag on December 17, 1972 Babuji has rightly said: "Hindi had played a significant role in Indian politics. The innumerable books written in Hindi encouraged crores of people and gave inspiration to the freedom struggle. 'Bedi ki jhan jhan mein, vina ki laya ho; and 'Vijayi Vishwa tiranga pyara, Jhanda uncha rahe hamara (Tune of Vina in the jingling of handcuffs and our tricolour flag should remain aloft) etc. songs were of such type, which rather helped us in liberating the Motherland. In politics we have adopted ideal of democratic Socialism and established Republic for achieving this ideal, so that the public could participate in important decisions through their elected representatives. We expect from literature that it should be within the reach of the public life and represent it." He further suggested: "We should give up egoism and narrowness of 'isms' in the literature and try to depict the sorrows and sufferings of the masses. As far as Hindi's present position is concerned, it has got equal respect and suitable place in the Constitution and the social-political life of the
country. But this alone will not give due place to Hindi. For this purpose it is necessary that wide publicity may be given to Hindi by the voluntary organisations and non-governmental agencies engaged in the propagation of Hindi”.

Like pioneering efforts of Seth Govind Das, Hindi has many hopes from him. But he loves and respects other regional languages also which are duly recognised under the Constitution.

Articles 343 to 351 of our Constitution clearly provide proper safeguard to the proper use and development of Hindi, Article 343 (1) provides that the Official Language of the Union shall be in Hindi in Devanagri script. Under Article 344 (1) proper Constitutional safeguards have been given for appointing a Commission to make recommendations to the President of India in relation to the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union. Besides Hindi as being the Official language of the Indian Union, regional languages have also been provided due place in the Constitution. Under Article 345 subject to the provisions of articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State has duly been empowered to adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purpose of that State. There is also provision for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union as per Article 346. The Article 351 provides that it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in the Hindustani, and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

The Constitutional provisions and safeguards have no doubt given Hindi its due place, but still much more is to be
done. We should not rush through against the wishes of the South Indians, unless proper arrangements for Hindi teaching are made not forcibly but with their consent. The situation is somewhat now changing in south as Babuji has very hopefully said: “As a matter of fact, tens of thousands of students in the South took examination in Hindi every year and even without the language provision of the Constitution, it was making rapid, very rapid strides towards being voluntarily accepted as the National language. Unfortunately, the lingual issue got mixed up, with various other issues and developed political overtones”.

Further Babu Jagjivan Ram had rightly observed:

“I am happy to note that mis-conceptions about the role of Hindi have been removed after the acceptance of the three language formula and the adoption of amendments to the Official Languages Act”.

Whatever has been included in the Constitution or Official Languages Act duly reflects the views of Babu Jagjivan Ram when he said presiding over the function of the All India Braj Sahitya Mandal: “Our regional languages enrich the treasure of Hindi. Undoubtedly regional languages are the inexhaustible and incessant source to Hindi lexicon, and the very foundation of National and Official Language of India. They work as fertiliser and strengthen the root of Hindi in the same way as Sanskrit does”.

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad opening the Hindi Exhibition at New Delhi on August 12, 1955 observed: “As a State language the use of Hindi will be confined to certain well defined spheres of activity, leaving the other languages to have full sway in their respective regions. The burden involved in learning the language other than one’s mother tongue must, as far as possible, be distributed evenly among all the people of India. For the same reason I have often advocated that it is the duty of those whose mother tongue is Hindi, to learn at least one regional language preferably in my view a South Indian language”.

STRUGGLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS
Dr. Prasad further depicting the utility of the regional languages suggested: "I do not say so merely on sentimental grounds. It's practical utility is equally obvious. I take it that when the system of education at the various stages has been properly reorganised, the study of regional languages will be encouraged as a second language at the secondary or university stage all over the country".

Similarly, in his historical presidential address at the 73rd Bombay Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress Babu Jagjivan Ram said: "While the various regional languages were the languages of a single cultural entity or of a single administrative area, Hindi was the one language which could not be so characterised. Even though it had evolved from Khari Boli, it covered a large land area in which the mother tongues were varied and different people of the area spoke Rajasthani, Himachali, Braj Bhasha, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili in their homes and used Hindi for formal purposes".

India has all along had the singular pride of welcoming, developing and loving foreign languages also and in the due course with the passage of time, had assimilated a large number of words of the foreign languages and thus embellished her regional languages.

All that Babu Jagjivan Ram, wholeheartedly supports is India's culture, Indian languages, Indian people and India as a whole. So far as the weaker sections of the Indian society are concerned, he considers it one of his foremost duty, to get for them their due, help them in many ways actively and strongly; as also he stands for India's integration by supporting the cause of Hindi, whenever such an occasion arises.

After Shri Tandonji, Babuji's name is generally mentioned who speaks cut authoritatively in Parliament and elsewhere in favour of Hindi from the forums of Institutions and Organisations in India. In fact, he is a gem amidst Hindi speaking leaders and keeps the audience spell bound through his forceful voice and scholarly approach on problems. Babuji is well aware that
people in India can raise themselves to an status so as to be able to manage the affairs of the State, to be in a position to square up their own problems and finally overcome their difficulties which have persisted since long inspite of efforts made so far through democratic means.

Though a staunch supporter of Hindi, Babuji’s passion for Hindi is not that of a fanatic; but he loves Hindi so much because he thinks that it is through the medium of Hindi language, the country’s progeny can, in the real sense, develop its talents and be in a position to effectively manage their own affairs, both in the National as well as international spheres.
Jagjivan Ram: A Born Parliamentarian

M. N. KAUL

I have been asked by the sponsors of this volume to give my impressions of Shri Jagjivan Ram as a Parliamentarian and I am glad to do so. I have a clear recollection that Shri Jagjivan Ram first accepted political responsibility at the centre in the interim administration that was formed by Lord Wavell when he invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 2nd September 1946 to enter the Executive Council of that time with his colleagues. Mr. Jinnah at the start had refused to participate in this government and initially the oath of office was taken by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues in the Congress. By his inclusion in the interim government at that time Shri Jagjivan Ram at once came into importance and he was afterwards included in the Government at the centre after independence and continued to hold ministerial responsibility ever since except for the brief period when as a matter of Congress party directive he relinquished the office under the Kamraj plan.

I think, so far as continuity of office is concerned, of all the members of the present cabinet his is the longest tenure. He has held a number of portfolios and important ones, for instance Labour, Food and Agriculture, Railways and now Defence portfolio.

Shri Jagjivan Ram's record as a Parliamentarian, I think, is unique in the annals of Parliament. I do not recall a single occasion when in his long parliamentary career at the Centre
he has ever come into conflict with the House. Of course, he had one advantage in that, i.e. he had, I think, his lessons from Dr. Rajendra Prasad who himself was in his time not only an accomplished politician but a skilful parliamentarian. The impression that I have of Shri Jagjivan Ram is from the very beginning uniform. He knew that the key to success in Parliament is courtesy to the House. How often have Ministers under the excitement of the moment forgotten that. But, Shri Jagjivan Ram was never rude to the House. As soon as he entered the House to participate in a debate or to pilot a Bill, he would instinctively sense political currents pulsating in the House and form his own impression of the tone and tenor of debate. Initially he would on a number of occasions entrust the responsibility to his junior Ministers. He never suppressed them. He always gave them a chance to show their worth. Even when a junior Minister was in difficulty he would allow him to proceed for a while and intervene only when the House requested him to do so or he felt that it was necessary for him to retrieve the political situation and carry the House with him. He would hear all accounts about the feelings in the House, reports from the whips, but ultimately form his own judgment which was instinctive and I think correct. This is a very important parliamentary quality, because to the extent that you lack this quality you have to face the storms in the House. Shri Jagjivan Ram would move with the House, and ride the storm as it were without losing control of situation.

Another cause of success of Jagjivan Ram has been that he has always maintained good relations with the senior Civil Servants who are always close to the Minister. Much of the success of a Minister depends upon the civil servants and he would ensure that by never making it appear on files that there were differences of opinion between him and the civil servants. After all, good of the country and good solutions is the approach of all and his method has been to discuss with the civil servants and come to a sound decision. There are always two sides of a question and so long as civil servants are
fully heard and their points of view are appreciated, it is open to the Minister to take a different decision in some cases and issue necessary directions. In this method of approach he ensured the loyalty of the civil servants and I think he was always fully, honestly and properly briefed by them. But that by itself is not enough in Parliament. What the civil servants can ensure is that the Minister is the master of facts and he has in his brief the answers to all possible questions that may be raised in Parliament and that could be anticipated. There the role of the civil servant ends. Parliament, as I have always felt, is something which is on the move as it works. When a discussion starts it may be all calm and quiet but something happens and the House gets stormy. There it is the quality of the Minister that comes to his aid. I always found that except when formal statements like statements on war situation had to be made, Shri Jagjivan Ram normally spoke orally. He may make reference to the brief for particular facts or figures but the speech that he delivered was an oral one. It never appeared that he was wedded to the brief and therefore impervious to the arguments developed in the House. The House knows that the Minister has a brief as he must have, but the Minister has also to convey the impression that he has not come with set ideas which he wants to force on the House, because the essence of Parliament is debate and it is for the Members of both the parties, Government and Opposition, to influence the Minister and make their own contribution and the Minister should also naturally give the impression that he is prepared to listen to the House and change his opinion on good ground.

I think a great deal of the success of Jagjivan Ram in Parliament is due to the fact that he makes oral speeches, that he always listens to the debate in the House and does not engage in conversations with whips and other Members when important contributions are being made. He has never given the impression of being inelastic and wooden. If good arguments are advanced, if an amendment is properly supported,
he would be first to accept it.

Another thing that is important in Parliament is that the Minister should always give an impression that he is not keeping back anything from the House and that he is fully sharing with the House all the facts bearing on a particular situation because unless the House has all the facts it cannot come to a proper assessment and proper judgment. It must always be remembered that the Minister has the great advantage of having the whole paraphernalia of governmental machinery at his disposal which he can summon to his aid at all times and particularly in emergency, while individual Members and even Opposition Leaders do not have that advantage and have to rely upon their own knowledge and resources and such other information as they are able to get from the persons and institutions who are interested in particular matters coming before the House. It is true, as I have said, that Shri Jagjivan Ram always shared information that he had with the Members and never gave an impression that he wanted to keep back any information for tactical reasons or suppress any information because he had a weak case. Nevertheless, he was firm when some information, say on defence or other matters, could not be disclosed to the House in view of National interest and when Shri Jagjivan Ram said so, the House implicitly accepted his statement. So he was able to reconcile giving of full information to the House with withholding it almost with the consent of the House when he certified that such disclosure would not be in the interest of the country. What more can the House want from a Minister: the Minister gives full information; he listens to the House, he is prepared to mould or change his opinion according to the developments in the House and he stands up to his convictions and defend them vigorously.

Shri Jagjivan Ram maintained a pleasant disposition in the House but when occasion demanded it he spoke his words firmly and repudiated the allegations which were factually in-correct and were politically motivated.
During my parliamentary experience which stretches over a long period, I have formed the impression that Shri Jagjivan Ram is a born Parliamentarian and others may try to model themselves on him. Each Minister or Parliamentarian has his own qualities and he has to develop them in handling the House. It is in a rare case like that of Shri Jagjivan Ram that he has a combination of parliamentary qualities which has enabled him to be a signal success as a Parliamentarian.
An Effulgent Parliamentarian

Dr. VIRENDRA SWARUP

What goes to make a successful parliamentarian has differed from time to time and according to whether the member concerned is a Minister, a supporter of the Government or sits in opposition. There were times when Parliament was a place for sheer oratory during which the supporters or the main performers performed the function of cheering their leaders on their performances. Sentiments were aroused which led members to vote on the other side while the words of an orator still rang in their ears. Party loyalties were not so firm and the way to members’ vote on an issue was a display of skilful array of words and phrases and a booming or ringing voice, whichever, an orator was blessed with.

Today Parliament has to consider a number of issues other than mere law and order and national defence. All these issues are not capable of being debated on the basis of a few general principles or sentiments clothed in dialectical and impressive phrases but need a close study of various facts and figures which directly or indirectly tell upon the efficacy of the ultimate solution. Parliamentary government being a system wherein problems are to be solved by compromise after discussion or by sheer weight of numbers, if compromise is not possible, a parliamentarian has to be not only well up with all the relevant data bearing on the issue under discussion but has to appeal more to the reason.
than to the sentiments of members to carry them with him or, in any case, to prove that the better part of arguments is in his favour.

It is not necessary to dilate here upon how the tactics to be employed by members placed in different positions in the House differ. Enough to say that a Minister, besides being logical, has also to be persuasive and appreciative of the other side of the argument, a member on the government side has to be ready with suitable replies to minor points that arise in a debate and a member in the opposition has to be alert in finding loopholes and flaws in the arguments and contentions put forward by the ministerial benches, as also, if need be, to justify the stand of the opposition on finer issues when confronted with having advocated similar stands to the one adopted by the Government. Mr. Wilson's speeches in the House of Commons on the E.E.C. Bill are an instance in point.

Shri Jagjivan Ram is an old Parliamentarian having spent almost all his precious time as a Minister. As such, his parliamentary acumen has to be tested with reference to the performance by him of his Parliamentary duties as Minister.

The real test of a Minister's grasp of the affairs of his Department comes when he has to answer questions in the House, for on these occasions supplementaries are asked on a number of topics related to his Department, which, with the best of anticipation by the Department or the Minister cannot be fully predicted. On such occasions it is the general awareness of the Minister of the issues relating to a question that comes to his rescue. As a Minister Shri Jagjivan Ram was never at a loss to find a suitable reply to a question and has seldom had to ask for notice, a Parliamentary right which every Minister has in case he does not have the required information in his possession at the time. Of course, he would appeal to the Chair to disallow a supplementary question if it strays away from the original one or is patently outside the subject matter of the main question. Seldom
have such appeals of his been disallowed by the Chair. For instance, on December 18, 1969, when he was the Minister for Food and Agriculture a question was asked of him relating to the general food position in the country. On his reply to it, a supplementary question was asked about, among other things, speedy land reforms in the country to give land to the tillers of the soil. After some argument about the relevancy of the question, Jagjivan Ram quietly pointed out that the supplementary question related to the Ministry for Agriculture and not to his Ministry and precisely analysed the question as relating to land reforms, irrigation and land revenue which were not the subjects dealt with by his Ministry and thus silenced his opponents. Many similar instances can be found from the proceedings of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

His replies to questions in the House have always been brief and exact without any frills or unnecessary elaborations but without being unenlightening as is illustrated by the well-known anecdote of a British M.P. about what is a perfect reply to a parliamentary question. It is said that one M.P. was once travelling in a car with an American friend in the U.S.A. His friend somehow took a wrong turn and found later that he had lost his way. He asked a passerby "Where are we?" The pedestrian promptly replied, 'were, in your car'. The M.P. sitting beside his friend at once quipped, "That is a perfect parliamentary answer to a question. It should be brief, it should be true and it should not leave the questioner wiser than he was before!" Of course, when I refer to the brevity and preciseness of the answers to questions by Jagjivan Ram, I do not at all refer to the kind of brevity referred to above. What I intend to point out is his power to resist the temptation of adding to his replies unnecessary facts, figures or elucidations which every seasoned parliamentarian knows, only provides to the members a larger target to aim their supplementaries at, because supplementaries arise out of the whole original answer given.
As a debater Jagjivan Ram has consistently displayed that calm fortitude and self-assurance which are an asset to a Minister at all times and specially when feelings run high and tempers get frayed. To refuse to be provoked or to enter minor or major wordy duels or even to score a point over the opposition which may not be of any consequence in the general context of the debate is one of the most desirable qualities in a Minister whose sole aim should be to carry as much part of the House with him as he can on the strength of his side of an argument or through an understanding of the difficulties of the opposition in seeking eye with the Government. It has seldom, if ever, happened that Jagjivan Ram has adopted an aggressive or challenging posture on the strength of numbers or facts and figures that may be available in his support. On the most provocative and stormy occasions he has sat quietly in his seat either wistfully watching the event just as anticipated another upheaval or waiting for the upsurge to subside before he could expect the House to be in a mood to listen.

Another quality of a Minister as a Parliamentarian is to give opportunities to his deputies in the House to learn as well as to show their parliamentary abilities. Jagjivan Ram has always encouraged his junior Ministers to face the House and show their mettle. Days after days he has sat in the House allowing his Minister of State to act on his behalf, intervening only on the most crucial occasions. Such willingness to train one’s juniors to take up the mantle when necessary is in the best traditions of parliamentary democracy which envisages the existence at all times of a number of persons who are capable of successfully filling the gap whenever necessary.

In general debates, Jagjivan Ram has always depended on facts and figures rather than on emotional appeals to score his points. His mainstay has been a precise and objective narration of arguments in a persuasive manner without being rhetoric or expansive.
His statements to the House as the Minister for Defence during the last war with Pakistan are an example of lucidity and candour. He would hide nothing that can be revealed in the public interest. Taking the House into confidence is at all times best way to carry it with him. Evasiveness produces just the opposite result even in the most favourable circumstances. Even on occasions when he could have justifiably ridiculed or twitted the opposition on account of their weak or frivolous arguments, he has chosen to reply with all seriousness without hurting the self respect of those who might have advanced even the most untenable arguments, and in this way has earned the respect of all sides of the House. Of course, on occasions he has taken light flings at members without meaning to hurt them; but that is all in the game and it is these touches of humour that add spice to the otherwise dull proceedings in a House of Legislature.

Shri Jagjivan Ram has all the qualities of an effulgent Parliamentarian and had made his mark even in 1946, when he was first included in the Government formed by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru with Lord Wavell as the Governor General. Thus, he is one of the oldest Parliamentarians in the Parliament with a continuous tenure of more than 25 years. He has been a Cabinet Minister all this time except for a brief break when he had resigned under the Kamraj Plan. To have ridden all the storms that raged in the Parliament during this long period without ever coming into unpleasant conflicts with Members is itself a tribute to his Parliamentary success.

I wish him a long life to enable him to continue to guide the younger generation.
Babu Jagjivan Ram and Indian Labour

D. K. JAIN

India is the world's second biggest country having 567,338 villages and nearly 3,000 towns and cities. About 82 per cent of the people out of a total number of 524 millions form the working class and live in small villages. Under the Constitution several fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy require Government to promote the people's welfare in a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

The very first meeting of the All India Congress Committee after the attainment of freedom, in the month of November, 1947 gave top consideration to the question of economic freedom: "Political freedom having been achieved, the Congress must engage itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality". Regarding the role of industries and workers the resolution further said: "In the case of industries, which in their nature must be run on large-scale and on centralised basis, they should be so organised that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of the industry".

As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in a convocation address at Nagpur: "We never envisaged freedom as something legal... we thought always in terms of raising the standard of living of
hundreds and millions of our people and of giving them the
necessities of life as well as those other equalities and oppor-
tunities that should be provided to every human being”.

These were rather some of the guidelines on which Babu Jagjivan Ram, the youngest Minister in the interim cabinet
thought to plan and execute through legislative measures for
the economic betterment of the working class.

Holding labour portfolio in the interim cabinet, he went
to Gandhiji first to seek his blessings. Gandhiji knew that the
fittest and the ablest man in the country available that time
was Jagjivan Ram alone, who was quite familiar with the suf-
ferings of the poor workers and the oppressed masses of India.
Gandhiji blessed and instructed him to take good care of those
workers who were the most neglected. Since then he has
been working very hard to advocate the voice of the labour in
Government and had implemented several constructive mea-
sures through various labour legislations.

Before joining the Labour Department, he was an acknow-
ledged trade union leader of Bihar and had organised several
Associations and Unions of landless labour, village artisans,
depressed classes, industrial as well as factory workers.

During ‘Quit India Movement’ he was holding key posi-
tions in several trade unions having Headquarters at Patna,
which when called upon paralysed the British administration in
Bihar.

It was during this time he realised and felt that the
Indian peasantry and workers were being exploited by the
British through the Indian feudal landlords, capitalists and
mill-owners, who were getting complete protection from the
masters.

Marxism is the philosophy which guided Lenin and other
greatmen who built and restructured the socio-political life of
Soviet Russia.

Gandhism or we may say the Congress guided our
National Leaders and masses as well, who fought against the
British Imperialism and ultimately achieved independence in 1947. Marx and Lenin are rightly called the liberator of the world proletariat. But in India's case it is Babu Jagjivan Ram who can be called the saviour and liberator of Indian working class.

Study of Trade Union Movement and Trade Unionists is a matter of academic interest. We are not concerned with that here, but one point can be mentioned that whatever Babu Jagjivan Ram had done for the labour is a matter of great satisfaction and will be written in golden letters in the history of the Indian Labour Movement; when assessed properly.

Inaugurating the Session of the National Commission on Labour at Bombay on January 18, 1967 Babu Jagjivan Ram said: "To me this is a day of personal gratification. I had the privilege as free India's first Labour Minister and had a hand in formulating a Five Year Plan for labour even before the Planning Commission came into existence. It is that Plan which laid the foundation and basic structure of the Government's labour policy. As I now see in retrospect, the passage of series of legislation in implementation of the Plan has, undeniably helped labour in bettering its lot and in wresting many concessions, but has not, as was apprehended in certain influential quarters then, brought about a collapse of industry."

Series of labour legislations not merely bettered the fortune of the working class but also made them to realise their fundamental rights. They learnt to live honourably in society. Babu Jagjivan Ram had rightly assessed the awakening and consciousness in them in the following words: "It is a moot point, however if the totality of their impact has led to greater consciousness and made labour realise its own creative role in the building up of the new social order. I am not a believer in the monopolistic position given to labour in some social theories and I realise that Indian labour, numerically poor, ideologically immature, lacking unity, consolidation and strength, can by itself hardly hope to provide even hegemony, let apart leadership, and has to develop a broader outlook and a proper
perspective before it is able to make its creative contribution to the pool of thinking and knowledge responsible for the shaping of the country's policies”.

In his presidential address to the 73rd Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1969 he observed and hoped: “The Industrial relations policy not only of the public sector enterprise but all enterprises will need to be reviewed. In a society building socialism there should be little scope for labour-capital clashes, for strikes and slow-downs or for lock-outs. The class-feeling of employers and employees will have to be eliminated so that all those engaged in any undertaking regard themselves as workers in a common effort to enrich and serve the country. Workers participation in management is one way of creating this feeling and should be introduced in all undertakings”.

Under the collective leadership of Smt. Gandhi and Babu Jagjivan Ram the Congress have taken measures to improve the condition of the working class and country is fast progressing from a caste ridden society and a colonial economy towards an industrially advanced nation, in order to achieve the objectives of secularism, socialism and social justice.
Jagjivan Ram as Labour Minister

S. D. NIGAM

Versatility is the virtue of a selected few, but the cosy manner in which it has descended on Shri Jagjivan Ram is unique and unparalleled. Whether it is a Ministerial charge or an organisational challenge, his claim of versatility has been firmly established in all fields and activities with which he has been associated. There are a very few in our country who have outshone with dexterity in the understanding and handling of intricate and complex problems and Shri Jagjivan Ram is one of them. During last year's armed conflict with Pakistan, he displayed rate qualities of head and heart in building up the morale of armed forces who gave a crushing defeat to the enemy.

Scheduled Castes and backward classes constitute the majority of industrial and agriculture labour in our country and it was therefore appropriate that a leader of their own community who understood their problems intimately, was made Labour Minister in 1946. In Shri Jagjivan Ram symbolised the hopes and aspirations of backward and downtrodden classes, which he fulfilled with spectacular success.

As Labour Minister, from 1947 right upto 1952, Babu Jagjivan Ram piloted various labour bills in the Lok Sabha which directly contributed to the welfare of labour. Before 1947 whatever labour laws existed in our country, largely protected the interests of industrialists and capitalists with...
clandestine support of the Government. Unfair labour practices were rule of the day and exploitation was rampant in all spheres. Labour enjoyed little protection and sympathy of the society and lived in chaotic conditions. The labour movement in our country has eventually been a part of the larger political movement. When therefore in the wake of World War II, inflatory trends and economic maladjustments were experienced, an unprecedented labour unrest broke out. During this period, a record number of strikes and lock-outs took place with the result that industrial production was greatly hampered. By now, the moods of labour in our country also underwent a tremendous change and they now demanded a fair deal at the hands of National Government.

The first legislative step aimed towards minimising the industrial disputes was the enactment of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946 which extended to the whole of India, except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, this Statute did not produce the desired results in meeting the situations squarely. The Government had therefore to come forward with a comprehensive piece of legislation known as the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 which came into force on 1st April, 1947. Babu Jagjivan Ram while commending the bill to Lok Sabha for consideration, showed exemplary courage and conviction and while a few opposition members cast doubts about the measure fulfilling the objective, he fervently made an appeal to support the bill. The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 was a part of the Five year programme for labour of the Government of India which preceded the advent of economic Five-Year Plans. It introduced compulsory conciliation and gave a well spread and exhaustive definition of 'Industrial dispute'. It regulated strikes and lockouts and afforded an opportunity for Labour and Management to meet for settlement of differences and disputes. Works Committees, Conciliation Boards, Labour Courts, Industrial Tribunals and Awards are the main features of this Act. The monolithic character of Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 which was followed by enforcements by various State Governments
on similar lines heralded an era of hope and mutual goodwill for settlement of disputes in India.

However, even this comprehensive legislation had to be supplemented by various Ordinances and Amending Acts to meet certain special requirements, important amongst which is the Industrial Disputes (Banking and Insurance Cos.) Act, 1949.

With influx of time, and with the experience gained, the working of Industrial Disputes Act further revealed certain legal defects and the need for a Central Appellate Authority to complement the conflicting decisions and differing views taken by Tribunals appointed by Central and various State Governments in case of undertakings which had branches all over the country, was strongly felt. Thus by passing the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act, 1950 a provision of a Central Appellate Authority was made. By a further amendment carried out in 1951 in the Act, the legal flaws regarding such matters as filling of vacancies in the Tribunals were plugged and with yet another amending Act of 1952, State Governments were authorised to include even those units for adjudication where no industrial dispute was apprehended.

Another legislative measure of far reaching importance to the labour class was the passing of the Factories Act, 1948. A close examination of the working of previous Acts of 1881, 1891, 1911, 1922, 1934 and even the amendment of 1946 revealed latent defects and difficulties in its administration. An urgent necessity was therefore felt to introduce a new legislation embracing all the radical provisions. The Factories Act, 1948 came into force on 1st April, 1949. It brought within its ambient establishments with 10 workmen where power was used and 20 workmen where power was not used. This Act prohibited the employment of young persons below the age of 14 and restricted the employment of women and children in certain dangerous occupations. This Act also regulated the hours of work, payment of overtime wages, weekly holiday, leave with
pay, etc. The accumulated effect of all these provisions was to give the working class a sense of security in the absence of which increased industrial production would have been a far cry. The efficiency of labour was also sought to be improved by this Act by laying down specific and standard provisions concerning safety, health and welfare of the workmen. It was for the first time that industrial workers were rescued from innumerable health hazards to which they were previously exposed.

The idea of fixing minimum wages in certain industries where labour was very ruthlessly exploited was first mooted at the Tripartite Labour Conference in 1943, 1944 and 1945. Employers naturally resisted the move on the so-called practical grounds in evaluating a minimum standard of living for workers employed in these industries on the plea that no data was available on the subject. Moreover employers raised the bogey of financial difficulties which stalled this legislation by a few years. Shri Jagjivan Ram boldly refuted all the claims and pleas put forward and saw to it that the Minimum Wages Act was passed in March, 1948. This Act created statutory provisions and vested in the appropriate State Governments a right to fix, review and revise the minimum rates of wages payable to workmen in specific industries. This was an extraordinary step to help the disorganised labour in the industries. The agriculture labour was also covered under Part II of the Schedule of this Act but due to the peculiar and casual nature of its employment and working, an All India Agriculture Labour Enquiries was appointed in 1960-61 to give its recommendations.

The enactment of Employees State Insurance Act, 1948 is yet another landmark in the direction of social security and welfare measures taken by the Govt. of India. The necessity of introducing a Health Insurance Scheme was first discussed by the Government in 1927 and the Royal Commission on Labour also recommended the adoption of such a scheme. However, the financial difficulties and the migatory character
of Indian Labour stalled further progress in the matter. It goes to the credit of Shri Jagjivan Ram who accepted the challenge and introduced the Workmen's State Insurance Bill on 6th November, 1947 which was passed into an Act in April, 1948 known as Employees State Insurance Act. It was amended in 1951 to overcome certain difficulties and objections. The administration of the Insurance scheme framed under this Act is the responsibility of an autonomous body known as the Employees State Insurance Corporation. The scheme is financed out of the Employees State Insurance Fund consisting of contributions from employers, employees and grants, donations and gifts made by the Central and State Governments.

The health and sickness insurance scheme first started of its kind in Asia proved a great boon to the working class as it endowed them and their dependents with sickness, maternity, disablement and medical benefits. The monetary relief during sickness safeguarded the workmen against depletion of their incomes. Another redeeming feature of the scheme was the payment of compensation to an employee sustaining personal injury caused by accident or an occupational disease arising out of and in the course of his employment in factory or establishment which is covered by this Act.

Still another measure of social security undertaken during the time of Shri Jagjivan Ram was the enactment of The Employees Provident Fund Act of 1952. It was being felt for quite long in the past that some scheme of providing protection to the labour in his old age should be initiated. In the first instance, this Act covered only six specific industries where 50 or more workers were employed viz. Cement, Cigarettes, Engineering products, Iron and Steel, Paper and Textiles. Later on gradually the scheme has been extended to other industries and undertakings employing less than 50 workers.

The scheme calls for compulsory and equal contributions both by employers and employees to a fund which is invested in Central Govt. securities and the earnings so made are also credited to this fund. The total amount is payable to the
employee after he attains the age of retirement or to his heir nor nominee in the event of premature death.

Other social security measures initiated by the Ministry of Labour under Shri Jagjivan Ram was the establishment of welfare funds for coal and mica mine workers under the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act of 1947 and the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act of 1946 for dispensing medical, recreational, educational and housing facilities to the workers. With a view to speed up welfare activities in these industries where the labour was not very assertive and organised, the Govt. of India passed a Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Scheme Act of 1948. It provided for the setting up of funds and out of which two accounts viz. Housing A/c and General Welfare A/c were to be maintained. A cess was imposed on coal despatches from the mines which was credited to the Fund. This resulted in the opening of various welfare centres in the coal mine areas for the benefit of workmen.

The appalling working conditions of port labours also attracted the attention of Shri Jagjivan Ramji. The employment opportunities offered to port labours being of a very casual nature, great hardships were encountered by the labour and it was therefore decided to grant legislative protection by enacting the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act of 1948. It empowers the Central Govt. in respect of major ports and State Govt. in respect of other ports to chalk out schemes for the registration of dock workers, regulating their recruitment, training, health and safety measures and payment of minimum pay for periods during which they were unable to find employment or were partly employed. An advisory committee was also set up to review and recommend the improvements in the working of Act from time to time.

One of the great achievements of Shri Jagjivan Ram as Labour Minister was the initiation of legislation in the Plantation Industries for the first time in India. Surveys and investigations had proved that labour engaged in plantation was most disorganised and the working conditions called for immediate
improvement. The scant earnings of plantation workers hardly constituted a living wage and on the top of it owners of plantations indulged in most unfair practices. It was the foresight of Shri Jagjivan Ram who thought of regulating the working conditions of Plantation workers as he could foresee the export potential of their produce like tea and coffee to earn the much needed foreign exchange in the years to come.

The Mines Act of 1952 is a very remarkable labour legislation also enacted during the tenure of office of Shri Jagjivan Ram as Labour Minister. The object of this Act was to upgrade the mining legislation to the level of factory legislation. It is a consolidating and regulatory type of legislation laying down provisions for the improved working conditions of the labour in respect of their safety, health, hours, overtime pay, holidays etc.

It was really unfortunate and sad that the efforts and pains undertaken by Shri Jagjivan Ram in bringing forth the Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Act, 1947 eventually lapsed without being enforced. This amendment interalia provided for the compulsory recognition of Trade Unions by Management and Labour Courts. Though the Labour could not reap the fruits of this revolutionary measures, it nevertheless proves the sincerity and earnestness of purpose on the part of Babu Jagjivan Ram who courageously managed to get the Amendment passed in the Lok Sabha in the face of stiff opposition from the vested interests.

Shri Jagjivan Ram for the second time became Minister for Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation from January, 1966 to March, 1967. During this brief spell of his stay in the Ministry, he was responsible for moving the Contract Labour Bill in the Lok Sabha on 1st November, 1966. It aimed at abolition of contract labour from certain categories of trade and regulating the working conditions where the total abolition of contract labour was not possible.

In December, 1966, not content with the progress made in the conditions of labour brought about by a host of legis-
lative measures, Babu Jagjivan Ram felt the pressing need of appointing a National Commission on Labour to review the whole subject of labour welfare and suggest improvements. As such a National Commission on Labour was appointed under the Chairmanship of no less than a person than Shri Gajendragadkar, the Retired Chief Justice of India. Other members of the Commission were drawn from acknowledged social, industrial, trade union and academic fields, like Prof. Raja Ram Shastri. The terms of reference of the Commission were elaborate and so extensive as to cover all related activities and practices. The Commission's report was made public in April, 1969 by which time Babu Jagjivan Ram was called upon to shoulder still greater responsibilities in the Govt. leaving the task of implementing the recommendations of the Commission to his successor.

A fair appraisal and evaluation of the welfare measures undertaken by Babu Jagjivan Ram as Labour Minister will fully convince anyone of the deep concern he felt for the cause of labour. It was his firm conviction that unless labour got its due share and was kept in a mood of willingness to give his best, exercise at increasing industrial productions would be in vain. His pioneering work in this direction laid solid foundation for further legislation and for creating a new consciousness amongst the labour. He deserves rich tributes for his splendid work from labour class which would always be indebted to his bold and courageous stands taken for their cause.
Achievements in Ministry of Transport, Communications and Civil Aviation

K.L. MISHRA

Few are blessed with the gift of attaining the targets and to come out successful from any arduous and challenging situation; and Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of those gifted and distinguished sons of India who has always and throughout his career achieved utmost success and enjoyed admiration of millions of people.

When Bubuji took over the charge of the Ministry of Communications from May 1952 to December 1956, he generated new hopes in the service cadres and improved the working of the Department. He started to confer with all the Heads of the Administrative Units of the Ministry to discuss various problems confronting them and to find ways and means to take quick decisions and implement them within no time. These meetings became a permanent feature of the Department resulting in improvement in Posts and Telegraphic Services.

Credit also goes to him as the first Minister for Communications who took the Postal services in the remotest areas by opening post offices even in villages within a radius of five miles. This was marked as a new era in the Postal History of India.

New Training Centres were also opened for the cadres and cultural and sports activities started for the benefit of the
P. & T. Employees, which has now become an annual feature.

Babuji himself had been a Trade Union leader of Bihar and for the first time organised the Depressed Classes of India and got the appreciation of Rajendra Babu, Sardar Patel, Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. He therefore thought it proper to create a healthy trade unionism among the Post and Telegraph Employees, so that they may not become an instrument in the hands of opportunists. It was at his instance that a National Federation of P. & T. Employees was established in 1954 resulting in the merger of various conflicting and small isolated unions into single representative body of the employees which may contribute to the cause of building a strong and prosperous nation.

Even the national language Hindi could not escape Babuji’s attention and a Hindi Journal ‘Dak-Tar’ was started. P. & T. Guide was translated in Hindi, so far available only in English. Arrangements were made to accept and transmit telegrams in Hindi also at 615 Telegraph Offices in the country. The Policy regarding opening of new Telegraph Offices, New Telephone and Public Call Offices at least in cities, was given shape irrespective of loss to the extent of Rs. 1,000 per annum.

Forms & Seals Organisations at Aigarah and Calcutta under the administrative control of Controller of Printing & Stationery were taken over in order to expedite and rationalise the supply of forms to P. & T. Offices.

Greater emphasis was laid on replacement of Runner’s lines by Mail Motor Services and Urban Mobile Post Offices were provided on a more liberal scale.

The Department got popularity as a whole not only from the public but also from specialised agencies and sectors such as the Commercial Class, the Press, the Railways, Central Administration and the Defence Services.

In principal cities spacious and adequate office buildings for Post and Telegraph Offices with better housing facilities
for the employees, were constructed, P. & T. Workshops were modernised. Number of Telegraph Offices during 1954 rose to 8,620 as against 2,700 in the beginning of First Five Year Plan.

For the improvement of Telecommunication services a large number of centres were opened and a sum of Rs. 50 crores was earmarked. To achieve this target the biggest scheme was taken in hand, such as Automatisation of the Calcutta and Bombay Telephones which further resulted in completion of the automatic telephone exchanges for the coal fields in Jharia, apart from expansion of Telephone services in Madras, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Delhi and Lucknow.

As more than 80% people live in villages, therefore rural areas were also provided with a large number of public call offices and connected with the trunk net work to cater to the needs of the villagers. The growth can very well be appreciated from the fact that while during 1947 the number of public calls offices was 338 it rose to 1961, while Babuji was the Minister for Communications.

To save foreign exchange and to utilise the Indian talents, indigenous manufacture of telephone instruments was undertaken during his Ministership. The Indian Telephone Industries, set up by the Government in the public sector produced over 50,000 units a year and during 1952-53 the factory earned a net profit of about 14.50 lakhs.

A wide network of not only the Postal and Telegraphic services was laid in the country, but also the overseas communication services marked tremendous improvement during this period, which later resulted in founding independent Radio centres, viz. Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras, to ensure average normal working to supplement each other and also to be powerful enough to cater to any emergent situations.

Radio telephone communications with various countries like Iran, Japan, East Africa, Hong Kong and Switzerland,
Wireless Telegraph service with Thailand, USA, Indonesia and the USSR etc. are now available apart from Radio Photo service being extended to several European Countries, were all started in the regime of Babu Jagjivan Ram.

Nationalisation of Air Transport Services in the year 1953, by an Act, marks a very important step in the reorganisation and development of this service. This had two aspects, i.e. (1) provision of increased aerodromes and auxiliary facilities, and (2) reorganisation and development of the air services.

In regard to the former, the plan provided for the construction of new aerodromes, improvement of the existing ones and completion of works which were already in hand. The latter were completed during the first two years of the plan, comprising of a number or landing strips on the new aerodromes, construction of a number of administrative and technical buildings at a number of aerodromes, improvement of runways and taxi-tracks and the construction of a new runway at Dum-Dum. The progress up to date, has been rather satisfactory, irrespective of some delays on account of acquisition of land and procurement of technical equipment etc. For want of requisite quantity of equipment the target of setting up 82 aeronautical communication stations, could not be achieved in entirety. Irrespective of short-comings, an appreciable progress has been noticed during this period.

With the nationalisation the several air companies have been taken over by two Government Corporations, i.e. (1) The Air India International, and (2) The Indian Airlines Corporation. While The Air India International Corporation operates our long-distance international air services, the Indian Airlines Corporation has taken over air services within India and to neighbouring countries, to complete the task of integrating the activities of the eight air companies which these corporations replaced. The latter, which had taken over air services within and nearby countries, organised its operations on the basis of a strong centralised administration and a rationalised
network of air services and engineering bases with a view to eliminate uneconomic operations.

Meteorological services are indispensable for air transport, as also for river valley projects, irrigation projects, defence services, navigation and agriculture, since they have their own importance in development of a country. Thus for the development of this service, provision was made in the plan for an amount of 62 lakhs, out of which Rs. 30 lakhs was earmarked for purchase of capital equipment from abroad, and Rs. 32 lakhs for the construction of offices—Observatory Buildings and Residential Quarters for the staff, mainly at air-ports. Instruments for Central Seismological Institute at Shillong, Workshops, and Laboratory equipment for Alibag and Kodaikanal, equipment for ionospheric studies at Kodaikanal, 12 Radio Theodolites and two ceilometers for airport observatories were arranged. In order to complete the scheme in view, modernisation of the observational devices at the principal airports, two storm Detecting Radars were purchased, apart from 3 ceilometers for automatic recording of the height of the clouds, one self-recording lug-in equipment for measuring the direction of atmospherics at Dum-Dum.

In order to conquer the vast distances of our great country and make personal contacts easier and swifter to the millions, the only media, i.e. telegraph and telephone lines and the post offices were set up to the remotest hemlets, as planned.

The growing requirements of air transport necessitated the use of more modern and faster types of aircrafts. The Dakota aircraft, which was then in use in India, had proved its worth beyond doubt, with an excellent safety record. Still it was to be replaced by larger and more faster aircraft, particularly on trunk routes and on our services to the neighbouring countries, in an endeavour to keep abreast the developments in other advanced countries.

Further with a view to maintain the position of Indian Air Services on long distance international routes, it was
thought desirable to operate with the types of aircraft which can compete on equal terms with the aircraft of other international operators.

To meet the above ends 2 Lockheed Super-constellation Aircrafts were procured during 1954 to cover India-United Kingdom route. Super-constellation is an improved version of the constellation type of aircraft, and has more power and speed and a larger seating capacity. During 1955, 5 Viscounts and 3 Additional Sky-masters for Indian Airlines for operation on the major routes and night air services respectively, were obtained. During 1956 three Boeing-707 Jet planes for Air India were purchased. Moreover, three Caravelle aircrafts for Indian Airlines were procured.

Telecommunications, so far had been dependant to implementation, of the results and findings of the technical research carried out in foreign countries. In order to achieve self-sufficiency, it was thought to carry out research work ourselves in our own country, keeping in view the special problems peculiar to our circumstances, which can hardly be expected to be solved by outsiders, or persons not conversant with the conditions prevailing in the country.

With the achievement of freedom, and India having acquired a special position in the sphere of international activities it held a position of a prominent member of the I. T. U., and had been participating in a number of international conferences. India had been taking a leading part in presenting the problems of telecommunication developments peculiar to the tropical and underdeveloped countries. In order to maintain our position, Babuji thought it fit that we undertake considerable research work so that we can put forth our views with some assurance and confidence. Thus it was thought inevitable to set up a body which will act in an advisory capacity to help our research and development in the field of tele-communication. And as such, an Advisory Committee was set up.
Jagjivan Ram: As Railway Minister

SARDAR BAHADUR KARNAIL SINGH

Shri Jagjivan Ram’s rise from humble origin to a position of eminence in our national life is a story of sustained hard work, fight against an unjust social order and resurrection of the country from a deep abyss of economic dependence. His association with the Government dates back to 1946, when he was invited to join the Interim Government as Labour Minister at the age of 38 only. After the first general elections in 1952, he became Union Minister for Communications. He was appointed as Minister of Railways in December, 1956 and held this office till April, 1962.

This period was indeed a momentous one in the history of Indian Railways. The Railways had just embarked on their Second Five Year Plan, execution of which was fraught with innumerable arduous tasks. The system, which had been battered by the strains and stresses of World War II and crippled by the partition of the country, had to complete its rehabilitation programmes. Increased industrial activity energised by the nation’s urge to make more rapid strides in the Second Plan made still exacting demands on it. Steering clear the Railway’s ship during such difficult times required a leader of Shri Jagjivan Ram’s stature, a man bubbling with exuberant energy and dynamism coupled with diligence and wisdom.

Modernisation of the Railways to deliver the nation’s goods was a watch-word with Shri Jagjivan Ram. A striking
feature of his tenure is that in all the five budgets that he presented to the Parliament, there was no hike in passenger fares in a single one even. And still the Railways progressed in all the fields by leaps and bounds. During this period, the passenger traffic registered an increase of about 25 percent. As compared to the Pre-Plan period, almost double the quantum of goods traffic had to be carried. This spurt in the traffic was handled very efficiently. The railways were set to task of developing capacity for handling nearly 165 million tonnes of goods traffic, a large part of which related to basic industries like steel, coal and cement. They attained this capacity through various measures taken under the guidance of Shri Jagjivan Ram.

Shri Jagjivan Ram laid considerable emphasis on construction of new lines, doubling of the existing single lines and modernisation of traction. During his tenure 1,450 kilometres of new lines were laid and opened to traffic and another 2,000 kilometres planned. Nearly 1,500 kilometres of single lines were doubled and another 1,500 kilometres came under various stages of doubling. It was during this period that many rail-cum-road bridges across many invincible rivers were completed, notable among them being Rajendra Bridge across the Ganges at Mokamah, Gandak Bridge between Sonepur and Hajipur and the main bridge on the Brahmaputra.

A very important decision taken during Shri Jagjivan Ram’s tenure was the Railway’s future planning for switching over to 25 KV AC electric traction, in line with the development in several foreign countries. He decided to increase the mileage of electrified routes to about 1,500. Important routes selected by him included Calcutta Suburban area, Howrah to Mughalsarai, Howrah to Kharagpur, Asansol to Rourkela, Igatpuri to Bhusaval and Tambaram to Villupuram. It was during his tenure as Railway Minister that goods trains hauled by diesel locomotives were introduced on most of the sections which were working to saturation.

Shri Jagjivan Ram had a keen eye on giving better
service to the railway users. He was instrumental in introduction of Super Express Goods trains, Container Services, Refrigerated Vans for perishable traffic, freight concessions for export traffic, and other innovations to benefit the trade. The Indian Railways assumed Common Carrier’s Liability during his Ministership. To augment travel facilities for third class passengers, he introduced third class sleeper coaches on Vestibuled Deluxe Express trains and a new type of 3-tier sleeper coach.

In order to increase the efficiency of the railways in the eastern sector also judging from strategic angle, Shri Jagjivan Ram decided to bifurcate the unwieldy North Eastern Railway into two zones. The new zone, viz., North-East Frontier Railway with Headquarters at Gauhati in Assam was inaugurated on January 15, 1958, with a mileage of about 2,000. His period as Railway Minister will also be long remembered for attainment of self-sufficiency in locomotives and passenger coach requirements and for promotion of wagon production industry in the private sector. During his stewardship, about 2,500 locomotives, 78,000 coaches and 99,000 wagons were added to the fleet on the Railways.

Satisfactory execution of the enormous task which the Railways faced during his tenure depended, to a large extent, on the full and willing cooperation of nearly 10 lakhs of railwaymen. Realising this, he paid special attention to the welfare and contentment of railway workers. To begin with, he instructed the Railway Administration to set up Joint Committees of Officers and Staff at all levels—even at small stations, workshops, running sheds, sick lines, and other places, “to make the staff feel as partners in common endeavour”. During his tenure, nearly 50 crores of rupees were spent for the welfare of the employees of which 35 crores was spent on the construction of about 65,000 staff quarters and the balance on providing hospitals and dispensaries, etc. It was during his time that the Railway decided to extend the pension scheme to their employees. Over a million railway staff was given an
option to come on the pension scheme or to continue with the contributory provident fund scheme.

In this scheme, special concessions were given to Class IV employees. Shri Jagjivan Ram initiated the idea of providing Holiday Homes for railway staff and hostels for their children. It was in March, 1959, that the decision to set up the first two Holiday Homes in Kashmir one at Srinagar and the other at Pahalgaum to serve the employees of the Railways was taken. It was during his tenure as Railway Minister that reservations were made for departmental promotions of employees from Scheduled Castes and Tribes and these were meticulously implemented.
A Pace With Speed

R.C. SHUKLA

The Railways today are such an integral part of the modern complicated society that there will be hardly any individual in India who could unbiasedly say that Railways play no part in his daily life and he owes nothing to them. Our houses, food, means of communication, standard of living all have changed and are in the process of further change beyond recognition. Millions of appliances and other things that we need today for our houses, offices, and society as a whole would no more be flowing in but for the Railways. In the circumstances even the imagination of an individual or a corporate life will be more than a mirage.

Railways are not only playing a vital role in our general life but have an unamputable contribution to the economy also. On the one hand, by carrying the agricultural products from the fields to the remote corners of the country, the fertilisers to the fields, they arrest the starvations, on the other hand by supplying raw materials to the industries, finished products to the distant markets, they make a large scale production and mass employment possible. But for the significant role of the Railways the country could have been constrained to confront many unsolvable problems viz. the poor utilisation of the natural resources, unmanageable localisation of the industries and migration of the labour force. The smarter size of the market on other hand could have made the production process
impracticable and the consequent increase in incidence on agriculture alone could have made impossible the break through this vicious circle of poverty, we are so enthusiastically striving to attain. Infact a modern society cannot even dream of its survival without an efficient system of transport. If any society stubbornly resorts to neglect it can only afford to do so only by switching over to an oriental pattern and its all inherent evils like frequent famines, endemics and epidemics.

A so important ingredient for the economic prosperity could not be neglected specially in view of geographical vastness of the country. Since the dawn of the present century and specially after independence, therefore, all the efforts were required to be concentrated to grow it up. The task was big and the resources too limited. The geographical unevenness was but another headache to expand the Railway tracks. Not only a perfect planning but an ingenuous implementation was invited. Under these un-animate circumstances the rein of this vital branch was handed over to Babu Jagjivan Ram to exercise, as Railway Minister, his whole skill, competence, organisational ability and dynamism to stand the acid test and give a footing and acceleration to the development to subsequently achieve self-sufficiency. The developments flowed in. The Indian Railways today have gone beyond recognition. If the passengers of the first train introduced in 1853, happen to visit the Railways now, they will fail to recognise it. Everything wears a new look. The tracks, the Railway stations, the signals, the shape of the compartments, the efficiency and the comforts to the passengers all have changed completely and the speed with which the pace is advancing is sure to bring even more revolutionary changes in future. "The Railways are more than ever playing a vital role not only in the economic but in the allround development of the country", stressed Mr. Ram in his speech on Sept. 10, 1959 and further substantiated: "In every single day, at present, the Indian Railways are running about 7,500 trains, 4,500 passenger trains and 3,000 goods trains, serving over 6,400 Railway stations. In this vast country, these trains
cover distances aggregating 5,62,000 miles or the equivalent of 25 journeys around the earth at the equator; every single day, one percent of the Indian people about 40,00,000 board the trains in India daily’.

EXPANSION OF THE TRAFFIC CARRYING CAPACITY

As the country was making rapid progress in the industrial sector, the increase of traffic carrying capacity to let the pace of progress go unstumbled immediately drew his contemplation. He made an all round effort to expand not only the goods and coal but the passengers carrying capacity also.

(a) GOODS CARRYING CAPACITY

The quick and efficient transport system is essential and a vital aid to the industrialisation of the country. The fact was realised by him in all esteem. The efforts were concentrated upon improving the goods carrying capabilities. In the year 1955-56, the Railway carried a total of 45 million tons or over 300 crore maunds of goods traffic or about one crore maunds every single day.

In the Second Plan it was envisaged to build up a capacity to 168 million tons. It was expected that by 1960-61, they would be carrying 4,60,000 tons (or nearly one and a quarter crore maunds) of goods in each 24 hours period.

(b) COAL LOADINGS

Coal constitutes a very vital item for the industries in particular and the individuals in general. A shortage of this item creates an industrial dormance and often paralyses the working of many important industries. The transhipment of the coal from the mines to the place of their requirement at a steady and fast pace is therefore, always needed. Thus the effort were concentrated to enhance the transhipment of the coal. As a result in August, 1956 the loading in Bengal and Bihar coalfields rose to a daily average of 4,824 wagons which was an all time record. The coal loadings at other
points also experienced a sizeable rise. Movement of coal beyond Mogulsarai during April-Oct. 1956 also showed an appreciable improvement.

The operational efficiency of a railway system is largely determinable by a wagon miles per wagon hours. A steady improvement was noticed in this direction also. On the broad gauge system which is responsible for 80% of the total traffic, the index advanced from 40.9% in Oct. 1955 to 49.9% in Oct. 1956, with an improvement of 9%. This index was highest during the preceding 17 years and exceeded even the best war time performance. Similarly the meter gauge system also experienced an improvement where the index was raised from 29.3 to 32.2.

(c) PASSENGER CARRYING CAPACITY

With a faster life the mobility of the man has also increased. The consequent over-crowdedness necessitated the expansion of the passenger carrying capacity of the Railways. The attention was focussed upon this problem also. As mentioned already, 1956 witnessed, 4,500 passenger trains and about one percent of the Indian people about 40,00,000 boarding the trains daily in India. A bigger task was envisaged in the 2nd Five Year Plan in the field of passenger transportation which required to increase the passenger carrying capacity by 15%. An increase of 15% sounds very nominal to the ears but in fact it meant to carry 20 crore more passengers annually than they carried in 1955-56. This was almost the half of the total population of Europe.

(d) EXPANSION OF OTHER OPERATIONAL AIDS

A large amount of work was necessary in order to gear up the Indian Railways to achieve the big task before it. While much was done in this side during the First Five Year Plan, the 2nd Five Year Plan out of foresighted sagacity stressed upon the higher achievements. The Railways Second Plan was nearly 3 times the First Plan with a total allotment of Rs. 1,125 crores, as against 400 crores during the First Plan period.
The Second Plan was made to aim at 826 miles of new Electrification, Construction of 842 miles of new lines and 1,600 miles of doubling, remodelling of 70 large railway yards, relaying of 8,000 miles of permanent way, construction of 6,000 railway bridges including four major bridges also, setting of six new workshops and expansion of 20 existing ones, construction of 34 new locomotive sheds, improved signal system at hundreds of stations, electrification of 900 and construction of 200 Railway stations besides many other improvements, for rail users at 500 stations.

BETTER AMENITIES TO THE PASSENGERS

No doubt, the first train in India was introduced in the year 1853, but the motive behind was essentially commercial. The amenities to the passengers were kept away from inviting the focus or attention of the alien rulers. This attitude towards Indian people can better be illustrated by an small incidence. There was no provision of latrines in the compartment as late as 1890. It was in the year under reference only that in the trains running a distance exceeding 50 miles a closet was attached to the compartment specially reserved for the ladies.

Mr. Durga Charan Lal, a member of the Imperial Legislative Council while thanking the Government for its measures in 1890, suggested the provision of latrines to all the male compartments also: "If regular latrines were found impracticable could not a similar provision (like that for women) be made for them (male passengers) at all events experimentally". His this genuine demand was turned down by the agent of the foreign Govt. with the remark, "if you put a latrine in every railway carriage the result will be that the space now occupied by the passengers would be curtailed and fare would be proportionately increased." This shows how averse they were to extend any amenity to the third class passengers and treat them anything above the level of cattles. Congestion in the circumstances may better be imagined, while the expectation of sleeping coaches etc., could just be nothing but the day-dreaming alone.
The moment Babu Jagjivan Ram assumed the charge of Railway Ministry, the first thing to draw his attention was the provision of needed amenities to the third class passengers. Considering the extent of congestion the electric fans were installed in all important trains. He also initiated the policy of providing sleeping accommodation to the third class passengers. The statistics reveal an enormous increase in the number of passengers. This increase cannot be accredited to the growth of population only. The rise in the percentage of the railway passengers has been far higher to the rise in population during the last decade. It clearly indicates that there has been a noticeable increase in the mobility of the common people and the improved amenities to the passengers have surely a share in it.

Of all the amenities provided, the most outstanding had been the introduction of sleeping accommodation to the third class passengers, to make their journeys more comfortable. His humane outlook did not stop here. He spent his energy in contemplating an improvement on 3-Tier sleeping berth system and found it out soon when he proposed to introduce a new type of sleeping coach having 76 sleeping berths on selected fast long distance trains for passengers travelling over 500 miles.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN RAILWAY EQUIPMENT

The Indian Railways happen to be one of the largest single buyers of different varieties of equipment and stores. Before independence all this material was imported. This vital point did not escape his attention. He decided to make his best effort to reduce the imports to the bare minimum. The extent to which he succeeded will be clear from the fact that while the purchase from indigenous resources amounted to only Rs. 63 crores during 1950-51, they rose to Rs. 158 crores in 1957-58, meaning thereby that the Railways purchased goods worth an average of about 43 lakh per day. These purchases not only gave a patronisation to the indigenous industries but provided employment also to a large number of
people. Probably the most outstanding development in the Second Plan period lie in the attainment of self-sufficiency in the matter of Railway Equipment.

As an unaltered step towards the self-sufficiency the setting of the modern factories like Chitranjan Locomotives in West Bengal was undertaken, Integral Coach Factory at Perambur, Madras is just another outstanding achievement towards self sufficiency. Chitranjan was producing 14 to 15 locomotives per month and the Integral Coach Factory turning out a complete passenger coach shell every six working hours. During the Third Plan period it was envisaged to double the production. The wagon building industry in India, too, made an outstanding progress, raising the production at least seven fold to that in the beginning of the First Plan period. This was not the end, certain new developments were further contemplated which included the manufacture of diesel locomotive, in public as well as in private sector.

No doubt, the Railway as a means of transport was introduced decades ago, but it was confined to selected routes only. He expanded it significantly enabling the larger population to come out of the bullock cart age to the age of speed while his over-emphasis on amenities made them feel that the Railway journeys were more a joy than adventures.
Babuji's Contributions To The Regeneration of Indian Agriculture

Dr. M. S. SWAMINATHAN

It is well known that when Babu Jagjivan Ram joined as Union Minister for Food and Agriculture the food situation in the country was one of great gloom. The country had gone through two very severe drought years and all over the world India was regarded as a land which can never produce enough food to feed its people. In fact, Paul and William Paddock in their famous book "Famine 1974" had predicted that the fate of Indians by 1974 will be similar to that of sheep being taken to slaughter house. In other words, death from starvation and hunger was the only fate which many authorities felt was awaiting Indians by the mid-seventies. Babuji therefore proceeded with vigour and determination to ensure the success of the high yielding varieties programme. He also introduced a sense of realism and a deep understanding of rural problems and outlook in agricultural planning.

He realized that the benefits of technological advance should not only accrue to those who are located in ecologically favourable areas but that the needs of those farmers who are struggling in arid and semi-arid areas should also be attended to. Above all, he emphasised the need for looking at the problems of soil fertility maintenance in an integrated manner by attending to the physical, chemical and biological
needs of the soil. Thus, he emphasised the importance of recycling of organic wastes through the conservation of cow-dung and other organic manure for agricultural purposes and warned against attention being given only to fertiliser use.

When Babuji left the Agricultural Ministry to take over the onerous task of the Defence Ministry, he left the country in a favourable situation as regards the national food budget. In fact when he left the Ministry, the problems which had to be attended to related not so much to those arising from scarcity but those caused by problems of storage, transport and marketing. It would be useful while paying tribute to so great a leader as Babuji to review briefly the agricultural situation since our independence.

Before 1947, the quantum of effort generated in agricultural research and education was microscopic in relation to the magnitude and diversity of the problems awaiting solution although as early as in 1928 the Royal Commission on Agriculture had laid considerable stress on harnessing science to develop and spread new technologies for the arid, semi-arid and irrigated areas. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research established in 1929 was itself an outcome of a recommendation of the Royal Commission. Nevertheless, the Council had neither the authority nor the resources to effectively stimulate and coordinate agricultural research and education in the entire country. Agricultural education enjoyed low social status because of the widespread prevalence of the view that agriculture was a profession needing only brawn and not brain. That is why Mahatma Gandhi attached so much importance to ending the divorce between intellect and labour in rural areas. As a result of the poor social status attached to agriculture as well as the poor returns and high instability of income observed in farming, only students who could not get admission in other professional courses like medicine and engineering as well as in honours courses in science and arts usually tended to gravitate towards agricultural
colleges. The manpower of agricultural departments was hence generally inadequate both qualitatively and quantitatively for facing successfully the numerous complex problems posed by the wide range of agro-climatic and socio-ecological conditions met within the country.

What work was done prior to independence in our research laboratories seldom found widespread adoption in the field, either because arrangements were not made for the production and distribution of inputs like seeds, pesticides and fertilisers and or because of very poor extension services. The extension worker by and large had very little to extend either by way of knowledge or of inputs and therefore became an object of ridicule and condemnation. The research workers were also condemned frequently as "ivory tower" scientists with little concern for the welfare of the farmer. Even as recently as ten years ago, the view that what the country needed was not more research but only extension of the known results of research was widely held. Thus, when India became independent we had inherited an agricultural research and education system which had neither the social prestige nor the self-confidence essential for helping to transform the agrarian economy. It is in this context that the call given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that "agriculture cannot wait" became so significant in ushering in a new perspective for agricultural growth.

Just before we became independent we had witnessed great human tragedy in the form of the Bengal Famine. Famines had been a recurrent theme in our national history for a long time and it is therefore, not surprising that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru announced that one of the first tasks of independent India would be the development of a viable and productive agricultural economy leading to self-sufficiency in our food requirements. Several steps were taken to give effect to this resolve and during the period 1947 to 1960 much progress was seen in infra-structure development through the community development and other programmes. The
infra-structure development made it possible for scientific results to strike roots and bear fruit quickly when they started becoming available in more relevant forms during the last twelve years. An index of governmental interest in agricultural research and education can be found from figures concerning the funds made available to the Indian Council of Agricultural Research for work in these fields. Today, we have 23 well-equipped and well-staffed research institutions all over the country directly supported by ICAR. In addition, there are 8 Soil Conservation Research Centres. We have 19 Agricultural Universities with nearly all States having one Agricultural University each and Maharashtra having four such Universities. Through the All India Coordinated Research Projects of ICAR an excellent machinery has been created for integrated research on all problems of national importance in agricultural, animal husbandry and fisheries. There are 69 such projects currently under operation and a unique feature of these projects is that they provide a mechanism for bringing together scientists working in different disciplines and under different administrative hierarchies into a common working family. Above all the most important strength of our agricultural research system lies in the national grid of co-operative testing programmes and the rigour of the screening programme of every experimental finding before it is passed on to the farmer. Since this aspect of our agricultural research system is not so widely known as it deserves to be, I would like to give a brief outline of the procedures followed.

Step 1—After years of research, scientists develop new crop varieties/agronomic techniques.

Step 2—New strain/practice is tested all over the country in coordinated trials for about three years or three seasons by numerous investigators belonging to different research institutions and agricultural universities.

Step 3—New strain and the appropriate package of practices tested under the All India Coordinated
Agronomic Experiments Scheme (step 2 and 3 may take place concurrently).

Step 4—Data from the coordinated trials are statistically analysed and discussed in annual workshops and recommendations made on the basis of such discussions.

Step 5—Significant results tested/demonstrated in farmers fields under the National Demonstrations programme and more recently also under the Minikit Programme.

Step 6—The Central Variety Release Committee of the Union Ministry of Agriculture or the Variety Release Committees of Agricultural Universities/State Governments consider all the available data (yield, fertilizer response, disease and pest reactions, quality characteristics etc.) and make recommendations about the suitability of a new strain for release for cultivation by farmers. These Committees also specify the area of adaptation of the new varieties.

In crops like rice which are grown from sea level up to nearly 3,000 metres altitude considerable variations naturally exist with reference to adaptation for different agro-climatic conditions and consumer preference and hence an intensive programme of minikit demonstrations-cum-trials have been initiated. No wonder that any variety or technique which has successfully passed through so many sieves becomes a success in the field. This does not mean that a new variety may not succumb suddenly to a new disease or a new strain of an already prevalent pathogen, e.g., this is what happened with the famous miracle rice varieties in the Philippines when they were badly damaged by the Tungro virus outbreak during 1971. This is only a warning that there is no room for complacency and no time to relax as far as agricultural research, education and extension efforts are concerned.

Agriculture is becoming an increasingly sophisticated
occupation. With the growing awareness of the ecological
dangers arising from the inappropriate and unscientific use
of agricultural inputs like pesticides, fertilizer and water,
steps are under way to develop techniques like integrated
pest control, watershed management etc., which will ensure
that productivity is continuously enhanced without any
danger to the long term production potential of the soil. We
witness today two major kinds of agricultural growth in
the world. In one system, like that prevailing in North
America and Europe, more and more land is being cultivated
by less and less number of people and farming is therefore a
labour-displacing occupation. This has been achieved through
extensive mechanisation and highly organised management.
In contrast, in our country, agriculture has not only to be
a source of food to the people but it has also to be for many
years to come the most important instrument of economic
growth and productive employment. To achieve agrarian
prosperity, an increase in the per capita productivity is
essential.

Modern agriculture rests upon four major revolutions :
(i) agronomic (including genetic), (ii) chemical, (iii) engineer-
ing and (iv) management. It is only when all these four
revolutions are synchronized in a perfectly coordinated manner
that agriculture becomes highly efficient and competitive.
While we may be justifiably happy at the progress that has
been achieved during the last 25 years, the country needs
even more significant results in the years to come. The
investment on agricultural research and education made in
the last few years will start giving a "pay off" only in the
next few years. A dynamic production programme can be
sustained only by a dynamic research and training programme.
Unless the many complex and urgent problems arising from
deficiencies in soil fertility, inadequacies in water manage-
ment, poor pest control, improper storage and marketing
arrangements and problems in animal health, nutrition and
genetics are all faced and solved soon, the euphoria caused
by the Green Revolution will be short lived.
Babu Jagjivan Ram And Agrarian Revolution
R.P. SRIVASTAVA

While India and agricultural country are identified as synonyms on the globe, nothing could be more satirical than the massive import of foodgrains, under most appalling needs and some time on most humiliating terms. Though a shrill truth, the country embraced it for decades, till the attainment of Agrarian revolution, affectionately recognised as green revolution. The hitherto controversial PL 480 agreement, on the import of foodgrains is regarded by many nationalists as an indelible smudge on the country's brilliant face and the most submissive compromise a country can be succumbed to strike for its poor bargaining capacity. While the drain of the limited resources for un-reploughable purposes viz., import of food-grains for a developing country like India and its impact on the economy could well be estimated, the stains inflicted to the image of a country with such a vast geographical boundries, to be rightly called a sub-continent, may better be imagined.

A vicious circle, the country with a major employment in agriculture was made to live in, needed a break through. Agriculture for years might have remained a way of life but it could not be allowed to perpetuate, when a planned course has been chosen for economic development. Agriculture as an integral part of the economic structure has to be an enterprise and the depression therein to be removed completely for an aggregate economic development.
With the emergence of the idea of a welfare state as the directive principle of Governance, the people cannot be allowed to live amidst, scarcity, destitution and poverty. The *laissez faire* and *laissez passer*, can not be the theme for agriculture. It can not be continued to be a speculation. Indra and Varuna may continue to be worshipped as mythical idols, but the agriculture can not be left on their imaginary whims. An incarnation of the saviour Krishna could be urged upon but his mode of action had to be quite different from mere holding of the Gobardhan on his small finger. A Krishna required for the era, was not the one, who could resort to such super human actions, to justify his incarnation and establish himself as God, but the one, from amongst the men of flesh and blood, who could completely rescue the nation from natural calamities, on a perpetual basis and extend it a confident footing. It is on this significant juncture that Babu Jagjivan Ram emerged as a Bright star on the clouded sky, to steer from scarcity to self sufficiency, the two successive drought stricken country. He paved the way to agricultural revolution and let the country witness, multiple petals of the blossoming lotus of agricultural self sufficiency.

Villages are the bowers of bliss. The peasants, obviously, the growth of these blisses. If one ever had an opportunity to go through the rural life and economy, he will willy-nilly exclaim, if the blisses means this life, he will prefer to be devoid of them. The poor level of nutrition, low per capita income, the increasing poverty and scarcity, the low level of sanitation, will sting to the conscience of every man and the grim faces of the peasants, will narrate silently as to how these sons of the soil are themselves always counting their means for making the both ends meet. Not that they don’t nurture the ambitions to move with the time, elevate their living standards, enjoy the best blessings of the science, bestow best nutrition and education to their dependents, but the crippled economic resources dampen their spirits and they desperately compartmentalise themselves to a conventional way of living. Right from the
achievement of independence, the efforts were let loose, through 3 successive Five Year Plans, to ameliorate the economic condition of the villages and take the peasantry out of the appalling poverty. Plans worked, the condition improved but the pace was slow. Actually the peasantry needed a man from their own class, who has himself experienced, the thorns of the rural economy, to come forward and hold the reign of economic, development for a positive and accelerated agricultural prosperity. The dawn of 3rd Five Year Plan, witnessed the galore of the sunrise in Shri Jagjivan Ram, who, hailed from their own clan, to enrich the rural life through his realistic approaches and confer the rays of agricultural prosperity to revitalise rural economy.

Babu Jagjivan Ram ever since he took over the bridle from 1967 and onwards tried to steep his all the actions with ingenuity and give a touch of his personality and organisational capacity to his plans for agricultural prosperity like he did for the other faculties during his long tenure as steerman of national matters. Babuji instead of making a shallow approach embarked upon striking at the very root of the problem and eradicate it on the war-footing. His analysis of the factors responsible for the depressed state of the rural economy convinced him that the problem needed the infusion of his personal dynamism, not only in his planning but in his actions also. The bold as he is, he resorted to a new form of the strategy with unconventional decisions regarding the elevation of the level of agricultural output through increased utilisation of the modern methods of cultivation, use of improved fertilizers, minor irrigation projects, launching of package programmes and better incentives to the peasants. Incredible as it sounds fertilizers worth dollar 265 million were imported in 1967-68, nearly 11 times the figure in 1960-61, obviously to confront the problem full-heartedly and undauntedly. A record fertilizer credit to the State Government were envisaged to the tune of Rs. 105 crore outside the Plan, The proportion of the Plan expenditure devoted to agriculture was also increased.
from 20% in the Third Plan to 22% in 1966-67 and to 23% in 1967-68 (Budget estimates). Such unprecedented decisions while reflect upon the tenacity of purpose on the part of the man handling the affairs, also lead to deduce that these decisions could flow from the person only with a transcendental history behind him like Babuji.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS STABLE ECONOMY

While a country aspiring a general planned growth of the economy cannot basically rule out the imports in order to fully exploit its natural resources and to put the multiplier factor to work in the growth but it has certainly to discourage the same for un-reploughable purposes, detrimental to the limited resources. Whatever achieved on other economic fronts if drains away as the import price of the food grains, the gross achievements are obviously nulled. This forms a simple example of quid-pro-quo. While such a state may not prove that significant in other spheres but it surely puts the economy to a perpetual stagnance. Economic stability in the democratic planning need not be equated with inflexibility or with complete absence of cyclic fluctuations. It is an economic phenomenon where the tempo of the economy is kept on an even level, and the fluctuations in the price level, employment, and investment etc., are reduced to the minimum possible. It is an established fact that if the investible resources are not coming forth in adequate quanta, the economic growth with stability is reduced to nothing but a slogan. If the past experiences are taken as a guide, the stability concept is entrenched in the stability of the food prices. The stability of the food prices can to a great extent be achieved by preventing the large fluctuations in the physical availability of the agricultural commodities and continuous inflationary rise in the prices with the help of buffer stocks of agricultural commodities. Babuji rightly visualised the significance of this fact in the aggregate network of the economic development. The three annual plans witnessed the record investment of Rs. 105 crore to check the price decline, when there are bumper
harvests and to arrest the upward price trends in times of scarcity.

The buffer stocks also ensure the uninterrupted flow of the supplies to the consumers. There has already been some investment during his 3 years' tenure, in creation of fair price shops and in Food Corporation of India. Annual Budget of 1968-69, envisaged the industries engaged in the manufacture of agricultural inputs to be treated as priority industries. The same for the price stabilization and to keep the foodgrains in the pipeline, provided an expenditure of Rs. 140 crore, for building up a three million ton of buffer stock. Food Corporation launched a vigorous procurement drive oft he purpose.

The germs of his aspiration for obtaining the stability of food prices, were also inseminated in the drafting of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Which envisaged an investment for Rs. 125 crore (and a Commercial Bank credit for the like amount) to build up a buffer stock of 5 million tons. An investment of Rs. 45 crore was further contemplated for providing the storage facilities, particularly in the Plan of plugging the motivated the Fourth plan, not to limit it to food-grains alone. It was proposed that other agricultural products must also be purchased, when the high crop yields create surpluses and thereby a price depression and be taken out during the scarcity and consequent inflationary pressure.

NEW ROLE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The community development movement came into being in Oct.2, 1952. After a significant interregnum, it was in the state of animate abeyance. A steady march towards agrarian revolution from 1967 onwards, gave the echoes of its reanimation.

Addressing a Conference of State Chief Ministers held in Madras in June 1968, Babu Jagjivan Ram, the Union Food Minister said: "While the bigger farmers have been quick to take advantage of intensive agricultural programme involving high yielding hyibride seeds, the poor farmer continues to
adhere to his ancient farming techniques. The community development programme can play a decisive role in rectifying this imbalance so that the benefits of modern agricultural methods are shared by the big and small peasant."

ACCELERATION TO COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The co-operative movement, besides other constructive objectives was initiated in India, to ameliorate the rural economy and to save peasantry from economic exploitation. The significance of the co-operatives in the agricultural development programme was rationally approved by Babuji, while addressing the Conference of the Chief Ministers in Madras, on 12th June, 1968. Giving a message of hope and cheers to rural communities, artisans and farmer, landless labours and social functionaries Babuji, described the agricultural development as the king pin for all this and consequently attached the greatest importance to the agricultural programmes to be undertaken subsequently. He emphatically earmarked the cooperatives as the main instrument for the purpose, besides the support of various other activities for these programmes:

"Cooperatives have been made the principle source for providing credit to the farmers. They are one of the important channels for distribution of agricultural input and supplies. The cooperatives also play a significant part in marketing of the agricultural product and enable the farmer to get a fair price." His affinity to the cooperatives was not only verbal but, could be well substantiated by the data given in his own speech on the occasion:

"Some figures may give an indication of the expansion that has been made during the last 15 years. The short term credit disbursed through cooperative societies has risen to Rs. 400 crore from about 25 crore, the long term credit advanced in 1967-68 has increased to about 80 and agricultural product marketed by cooperatives has been of the value of about 400 crore from 47 crore. The value of consumer goods supplied has also risen during the last seven years, from a level of 22 crore to about 300 crore. These figures are quite impre-
ssive and establish that there has been a growth of 15 to 20 per cent per annum in each of these sectors."

CREATION OF FARM CREDIT CORPORATIONS

Meeting of the agricultural programme, on the war level invoked him not to be contented by one sided effort alone. Consequently, while the cooperative banks were in animate operation to contribute their due, the idea of formation of farm credit corporation was initiated upon. The corporations were intended to supplement the efforts of cooperative Banks in the interest of agriculturists. They were more active in the areas, where cooperatives were weak. These agricultural credit corporations, were sought to be established in Assam, Bihar Orissa, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Manipur and Tripura, initially.

SETTING UP OF AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

About 40 years ago the Royal Commission was set up to study the agriculture net work. Vast and fundamental changes took place during this long interval. Agriculture till recently regarded a way of life, does not continue to be the same now. It is no more a mere means of livelihood but an enterprise instead. The production technique and resultant, farm output has changed considerably in quantity as well as variety. There has been, therefore a long impending demand for setting up an Agricultural Commission for examining the present condition of Indian Agriculture and rural economy and formulation of the directions, for steering the infra-structure of economy for its best blossoming.

It was only in 1969, that the formation of the farm panel was declared by the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture Shri Jagjivan Ram, to have attained the final stage. The Agricultural Commission complemented by the Irrigation Commission aimed at hunting a panacea for development of Agricultural Rural Economy.

TOWARDS THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The Kaleidoscopic structure of the economy witnessed the brightest spot, as, exceptionally good performance of
Indian agriculture during 1968, so much so that most stubborn critic was constrained to say that India was on the brink of Agrarian revolution, which may well pave the grounds for an imminent self sufficiency.

According to Union Ministry for Food and Agriculture review, India had an all time record of foodgrain production of 95.6 million in 1967-68. The Review also estimated that foodgrains imports during 1968 were 14% less than those in 1966. Compared with average in the first five year plan period the foodgrain production in 1967-68 75% higher. However biased one may be and whatever factors that culminated into unprecedented success, he is compelled to put the feather to Babuji's cap.

The well known economist, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao referring to all these commented," I have the feeling that IVth Plan will see a big break through in Agriculture and its modernisation will proceed at a pace that may well entitle this period, to become known as that of India's agricultural revolution."

The economic survey also describes 1967-68 as a year of Transition as far as the food policy is concerned. The main factors responsible for having brought about the improvements may in brief be laid down as:—

1. The adopting of the new incentive price policy for agricultural products.

2. Revolutionary increase of the facilities for increasing the agricultural output e.g. provision of high yielding varieties of Food.

3. Increased provision and use of Chemical Fertilizers.

4. Adequate credit as crop-finance through the expansion of commercial banking facilities.

5. Increased irrigation facilities, by encouraging and expanding the minor irrigation works and also the utilisation of irrigation potential built up through the multipurpose river valley projects. To educate the achievements on the agricultural front during the period 1967 to 1969 it is incumbent upon to
specifically analyse, the efforts and achievements for the period. At the outset, the proportion of the plan expenditure devoted to agriculture experienced an increase from 20% in the third plan to 22% in 1966-67 and to 23% in 1966-67 (budget estimates). The Fertiliser credit to the State Governments were envisaged to the tune of Rs. 105 crore outside the plan. Fertilisers imported were of the value of 265 million in 1967-68, nearly eleven times the figure in 1960-61. The budget estimates for 1968-69 were also laid with a significant consideration to agricultural sector. Out of an aggregate outlay of Rs. 1,859 crore, Rs. 50 crore were allocated to agriculture and Rs. 70 crore to Chemicals, including Fertilisers. Rs. 140 crore were proposed to be spent on a three million tons of Buffer stocks. A total investment of Rs. 150 crore was made during three annual plans. Based upon this the IVth Five Year Plan provided for a five million tons of Buffer stock and an outlay of Rs. 125 crore. The credit facilities and the crop financing too was stretched considerably during the period. Inspite of the Bumper Crop, the procurement price was kept quite remunerative as an incentive to the farmers.

As to why, this tenure should be named as the era of agrarian revolution, or the brink of it can be quite evident from the achievements in the different sectors of the agricultural front. For the assessment, let the selected crop production be taken first of all.

SELECTED CROP PRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Output 1950</th>
<th>Production 1968-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Foodgrains</td>
<td>Mn. Ton</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Oil Seeds</td>
<td>Mn. Ton</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
<td>Mn. Ton</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>Mn. Bales</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Jute</td>
<td>Mn. Bales</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of increase in production of foodgrains and
major non-food crops is much higher than that accomplished in the past.

Concentrating on the revolution of the foodgrains production alone, 1967-68 blossomed as a year producing 95.6 million tons, highest than ever before in the past. Obviously the year registered a 75% rise over 54.9 Mn. Ton produced in 1950-51. The economic survey estimated the availability for human consumption as 83 Mn. Ton. The leakage of 12 Mn. Ton was accredited to animal foods, seeds and wastage. This yielded a per capita availability of 435 gms. per day in 1968 or 8% above the consumption level in the preceding two years.

While the, Bumper crop did not completely rule out the import of the foodgrain, it certainly accorded a decline in the quantity and extended more sanctity to the purpose for imports. While the quantity of the foodgrain imported in the year 1966 was 10.34 Mn. Ton it was reduced to 8.72 in 1967 and further to 7.5 Mn. Ton (Approx.) in 1968. The fact noteworthy, was that while the food imports during the drought years were direct consumption, they were subsequently meant to create buffer stock for attainment of a stable price level and also for being pipelined to the scarcity areas.

Revolution is neither an overnight phenomenon nor a whim of sudden flight. It is in fact the culmination of the various forces which have been geared together a momentum to come out on the planned occasion in the planned manner. The forces so created do not get dissipated, out of any centrifugal force, depends upon, the personal dynamism, capabilities and skill of the organiser and his vigilance to counter any disintegrating element or the factor by his rational analysis and far-sighted sagacity. Any achievement within the shortest span of time and most economic utilisation of the resources may in general be termed as revolution. This check of extravagance of resources as well as time can be reaped through the infusion of the personal energy of the
leader. Like a gardener the role of a successful leader lies in the 
sowing of the seeds without being mindful to the possibility 
of relishing the fruits of his labour. Babuji also eversince 
he took the reins of the Food and Agriculture front put at stake 
his whole energy, capability and skill in analysing the derogatory 
fac
tors responsible for the dwindling state of the 
agricultural industry. In this quest for a complete cure, he 
infused vigour to all its anemic limbs to improve its restraining 
power and self generated vitality. He let the God Indra 
whimper, but, to the country and specially the peasantry return-
ed the smiles and the opportunity to witness this blood 
coloured multipetaled rose of agrarian revolution, grown 
through the Gobardhanian efforts of this Krishna of the 
present era. Of course, the task of protecting this smiling 
rose from weathering away, he left, for his successors.
As Defence Minister

Prof. BIMAL PRASAD

"The Nation can be proud of the devotion, the dedication, the determination, the skill and the efficiency of those of our citizens who fought, with all their might, on land, at sea, and in the air, the dark forces of aggression. Our military leadership rose to the occasion. The cooperation, understanding and cohesiveness achieved by the three services in planning and executing the joint operations have been gratifying. The Defence Forces of India are now a well-knit team, capable of guaranteeing the security of our motherland against external aggression."

These words of Shri Jagjivan Ram spoken in course of his report to the Lok Sabha on 18 December 1971, succinctly sum up the achievements of our armed forces in course of the last war with Pakistan which ended with the liberation of Bangla Desh and the surrender of all the Pakistani forces there on 16 December and the cease-fire on our western borders with Pakistan at our terms on the 17th. These achievements had been truly remarkable. Within barely fourteen days our forces had secured the surrender of more than ninety thousand Pakistani soldiers and officers, and liberated seventy-five million people living in a territory extending over fifty-three thousand square miles and criss-crossed by innumerable rivers and rivulets, which made it one of most difficult terrains for an advancing army. The people were, of course, in rebellion and
had their own army, the Mukti Bahini, which fought shoulder to shoulder with our forces. Even so the feat accomplished by the latter has rightly won the admiration of all unbiased observers and helped to create a new image of India as a country capable of taking care of its interests.

On the Western front our objective was limited to just a holding operation. But even there our armed forces made valuable gains of territory across the ceasefire line in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and occupied more than five thousand square miles of territory in other sectors. Our Air Force not only came out unscathed from the Pakistani pre-emptive strike of December 3, 1971, but was able to maintain a steady offensive with five hundred sorties a day. And our Navy was able to go right up to Karachi, bombard the port installations and set fire to oil depots there.

All this was achieved by the coordinated action of the three wings of the armed forces which had been fully planned before hand. Shri Ram put this matter in perspective in course of his reply to the debate on the budget demands of the Defence Ministry in the Lok Sabha on May 2, 1972. As he put it: "The naval operations which neutralised Pakistani advantage of interior lines, the role of the Indian Air Force in protecting Indian airspace against Pakistani air attacks and in destroying their tanks, armoured vehicles and storage depots, and the bombardment from the air of centres and lines of communication on the western front are examples of an endeavour which could not be attributed to adventitious circumstances. These were the end results of a reasonably well-developed system, which enabled the three services to integrate their plans and to function as a well-knit team".

Though, with his characteristic humility and regard for decencies in public life, Shri Ram did not say a word about his own role in all this endeavour, it is well-known in knowledgeable circles in New Delhi that the successful operation of the "system", referred to by him in his Lok Sabha speech, owed itself, in no small measure, to the qualities of leadership.
displayed by him. With his long experience of the working of Government at various levels he took no time in realising that apart from such variables as equipment, training and disposition of the armed forces, the most important factor necessary for the success of the latter was close coordination between their three wings: the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. As soon as contingency plans began to be made for possible operations in case of a Pakistani attack, he insisted on an integrated Armed Services' Plan instead of merely an Army Plan or a Navy Plan or an Air Force Plan. His deft handling of the senior officers of these wings including the three Service Chiefs enabled him to secure this objective without much difficulty. His task was made particularly easy by the fact that he never tried to build a group or coterie of officers around himself and dealt with all officers in a dignified but friendly way. His firm grasp over details of day to day work as well as his deep understanding of the long-term needs of the services were other assets which inspired confidence among the senior officers and facilitated his task.

Shri Ram also realised that his task was not merely to secure coordination between the three wings of the armed forces, but also to secure a similar coordination between them and the other branches of administration. This is clear from his speech in the Lok Sabha mentioned above. "It is not merely inter-Services cooperation, in peace time and in war time", he observed, "which is needed for safeguarding our security. Coordination is equally essential, at political and administrative levels, with those responsible for foreign policy, for internal public order, and for numerous activities connected with transporation, communication, supplies and production". Here again Shri Ram's close familiarity with the complex procedures of Government at all levels, his capacity to inspire confidence among senior officials of the different Ministries, his ability to get along with his cabinet colleagues concerned and the respect he enjoyed among them because of his seniority and personality, and, above all, his sagacity in always working
in close cooperation with the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, stood him in good stead.

Taking a broad view of his functions Shri Ram did not confine his attention to the dealings with the top generals, officials and ministers, but also took care to speak directly to the jawans and to the people at large, with a view to preparing them fully for the tasks ahead and strengthening their morale. This kept him constantly on tour and imposed a heavy burden on his physique, but, although past sixty, he bore all this without any murmur, nay, with great joy. Nobody ever saw him looking either tired or ruffled on any occasion while he was so busy working in the Defence Ministry, visiting the jawans on the frontiers and addressing public meetings in towns and villages. His reputation as a valiant freedom-fighter and staunch nationalist as well as his great skill as an orator were great assets to him in his encounters with the jawans and the general public. Wherever he went he was received with great enthusiasm and one could easily notice the close rapport between the speaker and the audience as soon as he commenced speaking. These tours not only added a new dimension to the functions of the Defence Minister, but also provided opportunities to warn the Pakistani rulers of the consequences of their folly if they dared attack India and to mould world opinion in our favour as far as possible. The speeches made in Parliament and interviews to foreign news agencies particularly served this purpose. Indeed Shri Ram now emerged as a leading spokesman of the Government of India, second only to the Prime Minister.

II

Soon after the military crackdown in Bangla Desh (March 25, 1971) and the beginning of the influx of refugees into India, Shri Ram warned Pakistan that if she dared to start a military adventure against India, she would receive due punishment at the hands of the latter. Thus, addressing a meeting in Bombay on April 23, 1971, he made it clear that although India was committed to a policy of peace, if Pakistan
launched any attack, India would retaliate in full measure. Addressing a meeting next day at Shivpuri (Madhya Pradesh) Shri Ram declared that India had to remain ever vigilant and poised to repulse any aggression on our soil. At the same time he repeatedly made it clear that as millions of refugees were pouring into India, the latter could not close its eyes to what was happening in Bangla Desh. This was the burden of his speech at Nagpur on May 5. Speaking at a meeting in Calcutta on June 2, Shri Ram went a step further and warned that if Pakistan did not see reason, India would have to take the necessary steps. Speaking the next day at the annual prize distribution ceremony of the training ship "Dufferin" in Bombay he observed that Pakistan was playing a "mischievous game" by pushing millions of refugees into India and declared: "We cannot remain silent spectators to this mischievous act. We have to think of some device to save our nation from the increasing burden of the refugees". He also took care to alert our officers and jawans quite early to the possibility of war being thrust on us in spite of our keen desire to avert it. Thus, addressing the officers and jawans at Jullundur on June 20, he observed: "We are a peace-loving country and we want to avoid war. But a war may be thrust on us". Leaving no doubt about the outcome of such a war he added that the Indian armed forces were better prepared than ever before to meet any aggression.

II

Soon the struggle in Bangla Desh entered a new phase. The Mukti Bahini emerged as a well organised force and launched a vigorous guerrilla campaign against the Pakistani forces. While the Indian people were providing relief to the refugees, they were also helping the freedom-fighters in organising themselves and carrying forward their struggle. As this struggle intensified Shri Ram came out openly in its support. Thus addressing a public meeting at Agartala (Tripura) on June 26, he paid glowing tributes to the freedom-fighters and declared that they were determined to attain their independence.
from the Pakistani occupation forces. He also solemnly affirmed that the millions of refugees who had poured into India would be sent back to the "Bangla Desh of Sheikh Mujib and not into the clutches of Yahya Khan". Speaking at Tura (Meghalaya) the next day he congratulated the people of Bangla Desh on their heroic battle for liberation and conveyed his greetings and good wishes to them.

The most forthright statement on this point was made by Shri Ram in course of his reply to the debate on the Defence Ministry's demands for grants for the year 1971-72 in the Lok Sabha on July 12 when he pledged India's full support to the Mukti Bahini. Dealing extensively with the situation in Bangla Desh he affirmed that the Pakistani military junta would not be permitted to crush the people of Bangla Desh and perpetuate military rule. "One thing" he asserted, "is clear. The indomitable courage of the freedom-fighters will ultimately succeed in establishing Bangla Desh": He further added: "In their determination to establish a democratic order in Bangla Desh freedom-fighters will have all our sympathy and support".

The Defence Minister also took this opportunity to allay member's apprehensions regarding the state of preparedness of the Indian armed forces to deal with the developing situation and declared that the country was fully prepared to defeat any evil design of its adversaries. He further informed the members that vigilance had been strengthened all along the western as well as the eastern borders of the country and instructions had been issued to the armed forces to deal firmly with infiltrators. Finally, he assured the House that every arm of the defence forces was in every way more than a match for the enemy's. "Our growing strength", he concluded, "has been such that our adversaries are disconcerted."

The Defence Minister went on to warn Pakistan and her friends in clear and unambiguous terms. He observed: "It is clear that the Pakistani army is engaged in a ruthless genocide of the people of Bangla Desh and is, in the process, mounting a
threat to our economy, our society and on the basic principles which our Constitution enshrines”. He further added: “The values we cherish and the commitments we have made for our own social and economic development are in jeopardy. The Government is alive to its responsibility to meet this threat”. Referring to the “frantic attempts” being made by the “Pakistani military junta” to raise new regiments, to conscript the youth and to procure military hardware, arms and ammunition “stealthily or through the agencies of their friends in some countries”, Shri Ram observed that those preparations were being made in order to “extinguish the flame of freedom and democracy in this subcontinent”. In view of this those who were helping Pakistan should be aware of “the purpose for which these death dealing weapons are being poured.”

This forthright speech was widely applauded in the Indian press. A write-up in the Indian Express published on the next day described it as “a clear warning to Pakistan that India’s patience is not inexhaustible.” The Patriot made it the subject of its leading editorial on July 14 and remarked: “Mr. Jagjivan Ram’s reply to the Lok Sabha debate on his Ministry’s budget demands was invigorating and self-confident. As was to be expected, he did not go into foreign policy which in the final analysis will decide the steps that this country will take ultimately with regard to Bangla Desh. But he did not spare words or hide Government’s sympathies”. The Hindustan Times commented in its main editorial on July 15: “Mr. Jagjiwan Ram’s statement would suggest a noticeable hardening of the Government of India’s commitment to Bangla Desh. President Yahya Khan and international opinion will have to take this factor increasingly into consideration.”

IV

The Government of India’s commitment to Bangla Desh had indeed hardened. On the other hand, the Mukti Bahini stepped up its activities and went on extending the area of its operations in Bangla Desh. All this made the Pakistani rulers
nervous and angry and they began to issue provocative statements and indulge in aggressive actions against India. On July 20, two aircraft of the Pakistani Air Force intruded into Indian air space over the Kashmir valley. A second intrusion took place north of Jammu the next day. These were detected, but no action was taken by the Indian Air Force because of the limitations imposed by the civil aircraft using Srinagar Airport. While explaining this to Parliament on July 29, the Defence Minister took care to alleviate member’s apprehensions regarding India’s preparedness to meet the Pakistani challenge. He pointed out that there was nothing very much to worry about in the Pakistani intrusions, which were acts of desperation by a regime rattled by the successes of the freedom fighters in Bangla Desh and anxious to divert from them the attention of the Pakistani people as well as the people of other countries. He also assured both the Houses of Parliament that orders had been issued to the Indian Air Force to shoot down all intruding Pakistani aircraft in future.

The Defence Minister followed up this assurance by making it clear more than once that India was fully prepared to meet any aggression by Pakistan, in spite of possible collusion between the latter and China. Thus on August 9, he declared at the Congress rally in the capital that any aggression on India’s borders would be repulsed with all the might the country could muster. Next day, addressing the Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament for Defence he stated that the Indian armed forces had been deployed in a suitable manner to effectively meet the dual threat posed by Pakistan and China. He also added that the Navy was strong enough to defend the country’s territorial waters.

In his broadcast to the Indian armed forces on August 15, he again referred to the dual threat from Pakistan and China and affirmed that steps were being taken to augment the strength of the armed forces and improve the striking power of the three services. Going into details of some of the recent improvements, he stated that the mobility and fire-
power of the Army, including infantry, artillery and armoured units had been enhanced. The anti-tank capacity of the Army had been increased by the introduction of missile units. The Air Force had been equipped with more modern and faster ground attack aircraft and interceptors, surface-to-air guided missiles, and a highly sophisticated and reliable air defence communications system. At the same time the anti-submarine role of the Navy had been further strengthened by the introduction of missile carrying naval craft and the acquisition of modern submarine hunting aircraft.

In an interview published in the Independence Day number of Sainik Samachar, armed forces' pictorial weekly, the Defence Minister again referred to some of these improvements and remarked, "Aggression will be beaten back; no quarter will be given to any aggressor." These statements were made with a purpose, namely to reassure the Indian people that their armed forces were ready to meet any eventuality. G.K. Reddy, New Delhi representative of the Hindu (Madras) aptly remarked in course of a despatch published in his paper on August 16, that "as Defence Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram had to speak through the barrel of gun to tell the people of India's preparedness to meet the dangers of Sino-Pakistan collusion."

At the same time the Defence Minister also reiterated his old stand that India would continue to support the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh. Taking the place of the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh (who had gone abroad) in replying to the Rajya Sabha debate on August 14, on the Indo-Soviet Treaty (signed on August 9) Shri Ram declared that there was nothing in that treaty to "bridge or restrict" the sovereign right of India to recognise Bangla Desh at the "appropriate time". He added that the solution India visualised was an "independent Bangla Desh", for the only condition in which the refugees would go back would be an assurance that Bangla Desh was not going to be ruled any more by the military junta of Pakistan.
The Defence Minister also took the opportunity to lend his warm support to the Indo-Soviet Treaty and declared that it would serve as a deterrent to any further "acts of madness" on the part of Pakistan. Pakistan, he made it clear, would pay dearly if she did not desist from such acts. He agreed with a member that by signing the treaty India had "moved a little" from the old policy of non-alignment, but emphasised that that had only demonstrated that non-alignment was "not a static, but a dynamic policy, with vigour and vitality". He further described it as "a very remote idea" that India had joined any bloc and stressed that the old blocs were crumbling and new alignments were being formed and it had been India's good fortune to have warned others that non-alignment was the right course to follow. Answering the criticism of some members that twenty years was too long a period to bind a country to such a comprehensive treaty, he said that it was not so considering the "enduring" relations of the two countries that were visualised in economic, scientific and cultural fields. India as a developing country had much to profit from these relations. He dismissed as groundless the fear expressed by some members that Indian culture and economy might be overwhelmed by the Soviets. He remarked: "Why be afraid of being swept away? India has the capacity to assimilate several cultures." In conclusion he stressed that while the Soviet Union had helped India in the past in several significant ways, the treaty would provide "a political and a legal base" for more such help, which would contribute to India's rapid development.

V

By now General Yahya Khan, the head of the Pakistani military junta, became so incensed by the advances made by the Mukti Bahini in Bangla Desh that he began to threaten India with a general war. As was to be expected our Defence Minister was not impressed by such threats and treated them with well-deserved contempt. Addressing a rally of homeguards at Bhavnagar on September 13, he characterised
Yahya's threat as "childish" and remarked: "We know what to do with a naughty child". Speaking in New Delhi on India's Defence preparedness on September 18, he explained that the repeated threats of a 'total war' against India if the freedom-fighters liberated any part of Bangla Desh only showed that Yahya-Khan was becoming increasingly conscious of the growing strength of the freedom-fighters. The Defence Minister made it clear that if ever the Pakistani ruler carried out his threat, he would receive a fitting reply. "I will not only protect my borders", he declared, "but thrust the enemy deep down into his territory." Speaking near Chandigrah on September 26, he again described Yahya's threats as childish and warned Pakistan that if it embarked on any mischief on India's borders, it would be taught a bitter lesson.

The Defence Minister also took care to reiterate his old view that a political solution of the problems of Bangla Desh could only mean independence. Thus addressing a meeting in Kolhapur on October 3, he declared that the Bangla Desh refugees who had come to India for shelter could return and would be sent only to a "fully independent Bangla Desh." Next day inaugurating a symposium on "India and her Neighbours" in New Delhi to mark the 67th birth anniversary of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sri Ram stressed that political settlement thought of by any one should be such as was acceptable to the leaders of Bangla Desh and they had declared in unmistakable terms that "nothing short of independence" was acceptable to them.

In his speech before the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Simla on October 9, the Defence Minister again stressed that while India was in favour of a political solution of the Bangla Desh crisis, the elected representatives of Bangla Desh had already spelt out what that solution could be by opting unequivocally for independence and sovereignty. Besides, no solution could be worth considering unless it permitted the refugees from Bangla Desh to return to their homes in safety and with honour, and that
would be possible only if the elected representatives of Bangla Desh were in full control of their country. Turning to the war threats of Yahya Khan the Defence Minister stated that they showed that the Pakistani Generals had lost their balance. They were talking of a total war against India in retaliation for the successes of the freedom fighters in Bangla Desh. That only proved that the strength and stamina of the freedom fighters were beginning to cause serious concern to the Pakistani Military junta. Finally he warned the latter that if they dared to violate the borders of our country, Indian forces would carry the war into the heart of Pakistan.

In the meanwhile Pakistan had stepped up its war preparations with a view to attracting international attention and securing great power intervention in the sub-continent and thereby retrieving the situation in Bangla Desh, where the Mukti Bahini's forces were forging ahead day by day. At various points on the western front the Pakistani forces were moved forward from their normal peace stations to the border and indeed to their battle locations. In the eastern sector also Pakistani forces were moved quite close to India's borders. And in both the sectors Pakistani soldiers began to indulge in various provocative actions in order to turn the Bangla Desh crisis into an India-Pakistan confrontation and thereby facilitate international intervention. Faced with this situation the Defence Minister took counsel with the three Service Chiefs and other concerned officials and ministers and arranged for the necessary precautionary measures. Indian forces were also now moved close to the borders. A Defence Ministry spokesman told the press in New Delhi on October 16, that the Pakistani army had moved in size very near to our border both in the east and west and added, "We have also taken adequate steps." The Defence Minister was reported that day to have given his cabinet colleagues a detailed picture of the military situation and assured them that India was "fully prepared" to meet any eventuality. He also conveyed to them his assessment, that Pakistan might launch an aggression against India in sheer desperation as it was becom-
ing impossible for her to stem the steady advance of the Mukti Bahini in BanglaDesh.

Next day the Defence Minister spoke publicly at Jullundur on the growing threat of Pakistani aggression and warned that if a war was thrust on India it would be fought on Pakistani soil and India might not vacate the territories occupied during the conflict. "We shall go right upto Lahore and Sialkot, he said, "and shall not come back whatever the consequences". Addressing a political conference the same day at Kapurthala he referred to press reports that people were moving out of Lahore and Sialkot and declared: "If war is thrust on us by the Pakistani military junta, our forces will march forward and occupy these cities and this time we will not withdraw from the occupied Pakistani territory, come what may". He also made it clear that India would not withdraw her forces from the border so long as the BanglaDesh issue was not resolved and affirmed: "India will not submit to world pressure in this regard".

VI

As tension mounted on the border the Defence Minister spelt out at length India's defence policy in course of an address before the National Defence College in New Delhi on October 25. He reiterated that India would not be satisfied with merely defending its territorial integrity in the event of a Pakistani attack, but would carry the fight into the enemy territory so that the war was not fought on Indian soil as far as possible. This offensive-defensive posture of the armed forces, he emphasised, was not aimed at provoking Pakistan, but only at ensuring that any attack by the latter would be resisted with full force for inflicting the maximum possible punishment on the aggressor. While India had no desire to take any step which could be regarded as aggression, she was fully prepared to strike back with devastating effect if Pakistani dared to attack her. The Defence Minister also repeated his earlier stand that, regardless of international pressure, Indian troops would remain in their forward positions on the borders
as long as the Pakistani threat continued to exist. "I am going to keep my troops there", he said, "as long as the Pakistani threat endures. If international pressure is exerted for the withdrawal of troops, India would demand that these nations assume responsibility for the return of ten million refugees to BanglaDesh". India was not going to be influenced by merely verbal assurances in this regard, but would demand positive action. "As a proof of this", observed Shri Ram, "the movement of refugees into India should stop and the movement of refugees from India to BanglaDesh should start. India would then consider the withdrawal of troops from the western border." Explaining India's difficulties on this point he pointed out that the Pakistani cantonments in the west were so close to the border that the troops could be brought back to the front at short notice. But the Indian cantonments were mostly a thousand to fifteen hundred kilometres away, and this place our country at a considerable disadvantage. Nevertheless India was prepared to consider mutual withdrawal if Pakistan created the necessary conditions for it and the international community assumed responsibility for the return of the refugees.

Next day, in course of an interview with the India based correspondent of West German Television, the Defence Minister reiterated his old stand regarding carrying the war into Pakistani territory and strongly denied that it ran counter to the defensive posture of the Prime Minister. "We are always defensive", he said, "but (being) defensive does not mean that if our country is attacked I shall fight only on the border or on my soil. Defence means that I will push the aggressors and, certainly, when I push them, I will push them to their country and I will push them to the point where they surrender. It does not mean aggression." He further added: "I have always said that we do not want war. In case we are attacked, certainly we will defend our country, but defence does not mean fighting just on the border, but pushing the aggressor inside (his territory)." In an interview televised by the Canadian Broadcasting Company on November 9, the Defence
Minister again explained his stand, describing it as normal for any one in his position. "If any country is attacked by an enemy", he asked, "what will it do? Will that country fight on its own soil? Or will it try to have the fight on the enemy's soil? What I said is the normal, simple strategy of any defence of any country against any enemy."

Around that time the Defence Minister undertook a tour of the border areas in the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan and visited the forward positions of the Indian Army on the western front, with a view to personally supervising all the arrangements and talking directly to all the concerned jawans and their officers as also the people living close to the border. Wherever he spoke he struck a confident, strident note. He repeatedly made it clear that India believed in peaceful co-existence and was keen to concentrate on the economic development of the country. But that did not mean that Pakistan would be allowed to attack us with impunity. In the event of war evacuation of civilian population would take place only on the other side of the border, for our armed forces would see to it that war was fought on the enemy's territory. While talking to a party of newsmen on November 10, at the end of his tour, the Defence Minister expressed full satisfaction at the state of defence preparedness in the border areas. Discussing his own role at that time he said that he was a "messenger", carrying messages from the general people to the jawans and back. The message from the jawans was that they were fully prepared and would give a fitting reply to Pakistan if it dared to attack India. The message he conveyed to the jawans was that the entire nation would stand behind them and sacrifice anything for the integrity of the country.

Shri Ram had indeed performed his duty as a "messenger" remarkably well and shown how effective a link he was between Indian civilians and soldiers. At the same time he had also made his mark as a spokesman for India in relation to Pakistan and repeatedly conveyed to the latter India's firm
resolve to defend her borders. His efforts in this direction were highly appreciated by the Indian people. This is amply borne out by some of the comments in the Indian press. Thus, for instance, wrote the National Herald (New Delhi) on August 3: "Mr. Jagjivan Ram has rightly said that President Yahya Khan's recent threat of war and other pronouncements are a true barometer, indicating the success of the Mukti Bahini in BanglaDesh." The Hindustan Standard (Calcutta) remarked on October 6: "What the Indian response to any military adventure by Pakistan will be has been amply made clear by the Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram." The Mail (Madras) commented on October 27: "India has been taken unawares by aggressors more than once in the past, and the Defence Minister's assurance that she is adequately prepared to meet any threat this time is heartening." It further added: "Mr. Jagjiwan Ram's announcement of what the Indian Army will do this time if Pakistan should attack this country marks a refreshing departure from the misconceived moderation of the past...Pakistan has been playing the fool with India all these years, and the only way of proving to her that she cannot do so without paying the fool's penalty is to carry out in full the Defence Minister's warning about fighting the war on enemy territory". The political correspondent of the Indian Express (New Delhi) wrote in his paper dated October 31: "For the first time since independence India's leaders have decided to back their political and diplomatic initiatives with adequate strength." Even the political correspondent of the Statesman who, in course of his commentary dated November 5, described Shri Ram's utterances regarding the occupation of Lahore and Sialkot as "untimely and uncalled for", conceded that "the Defence Minister was trying to boost the morale of the border forces and warning Pakistan that continued provocations would eventually force Indian retaliation."

VII

Some felt that the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister were speaking in two voices. Actually, as should
have been obvious to all shrewd observers, they were playing a complementary role to each other. While the Defence Minister engaged himself in boosting the morale of the Indian soldiers and keeping them in a state of maximum preparedness, the Prime Minister was busy mending the diplomatic fences and preparing world opinion for all eventualities. It was largely through her bold initiative that the Indo-Soviet Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was signed on August 9, 1971. Although not a military pact, it provided for consultations between the two countries in case of an attack or threat of an attack on either of them. At the same time two countries also bound themselves not to enter into any military alliance directed against either and to abstain from assisting any third party engaged in armed conflict with any of them. There is no doubt that in the situation then developing this treaty provided a great boost to Indian morale. The Indian resolve not to put up indefinitely with the ten million refugees who had arrived from Bangla Desh, but to create conditions for their safe return to their homes was very clearly expressed by Shrimati Gandhi during her talks with the Soviet leaders in Moscow in the last week of September. The communique issued at the end of these talks on September 29 noted: “The Soviet side took into account the statement by the Prime Minister that the Government of India is fully determined to take all necessary measures to stop the inflow of refugees from East Bengal to India and to ensure that those refugees who are already in India return to their homeland without delay”. That Shrimati Gandhi had succeeded in securing a clear Soviet commitment to cooperate with India in the solution of the Bangla Desh problem was contained in the following paragraph of the communique: “Taking note of the developments in East Bengal since March 25, 1971, both sides consider that the interests of the preservation of peace demand that urgent measures should be taken to reach a political solution of the problems which has arisen there paying regard to the wishes, the inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Bengal as well as the speediest
and safe return of the refugees to their homeland in conditions safeguarding their honour and dignity.

Not content with securing Soviet goodwill and support Shrimati Gandhi visited a number of countries between Oct. 29 and November 13, namely, Belgium, Austria, the United Kingdom, the United States, France and West Germany with a view to conveying to their Governments and peoples the seriousness of the situation faced by India as also India’s resolve to do all that might become necessary in order to project her legitimate interests. On her return, however, she sternly warned the Indian people that they must be ready to bear the burden alone. In her report on the tour presented to the Parliament on November 15, she observed: “I must make it clear that we cannot depend on the international community, or even the countries which I visited, to solve our problems for us. We appreciate their sympathy and moral and political support, but the brunt of the burden has to be borne by us and by the people of Bangla Desh who have our fullest sympathy and support.” She further added: “So far as the threat to our security is concerned, we must be prepared and we are prepared to the last man and woman, to safeguard our freedom and our territorial integrity.”

The Defence Minister was only echoing the Prime Minister’s thinking when, addressing a mass rally in New Delhi on November 12, he asserted that India would be forced to take “appropriate steps” to ensure the safe return of all the Bangla Desh refugees back to their homes if the world community failed to do so. Commending the efforts of the Prime Minister to create a climate of understanding, so far as India’s stand was concerned, in the countries she had visited, Shri Ram declared that she was returning from her foreign tour with “a great triumph.” He also contradicted reports that she had gone abroad in search of economic aid and pointed out that the sole objective of her trip was to remove misunderstandings regarding India’s stand on BanglaDesh crisis.
By the time the Prime Minister returned from her foreign tour the situation on both the eastern and western fronts had further deteriorated. Pakistan had begun shelling our territories in Tripura, Meghalaya and West Bengal. Our troops naturally returned the fire, but refrained from crossing the international border. Between November 4 and 6, there were twelve cease-fire violations in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan stepped up air-intrusion into Indian air space. On one single day, i.e., on November 12, Pakistani aircraft violated Indian air space four times both in the West and the East.

In view of all this the Defence Minister thought it proper to review the military situation at some length and he did so in course of an identical statement before both the Houses of Parliament on November 15. Giving the background of the crisis he held Pakistan wholly responsible for the growth of tension along the borders both in the east and in the west and described the situation on the borders as "very serious indeed." Assuring Parliament that all necessary steps had been taken to safeguard India’s security, he observed: "Today our defence forces are deployed along the eastern and western borders in a full state of readiness to meet all eventualities. The morale of our jawans is very high. The morale of the people in the border districts is very high; they have given their wholehearted support to the defence forces in organising our defence all along the border. Steps have also been taken to guard vital points and installations against air attacks. We are determined to defeat any attack on our territory and to carry the war to the soil of the aggressor."

Proceeding further Shri Ram hoped that Indian vigilance and preparedness would deter the military rulers of Pakistan from carrying out their threats and making war upon us for the third time. However, there could be no question of relaxing our vigilance or withdrawing our troops from the borders until a satisfactory solution was found for the problem of Bangla Desh, enabling the refugees to return to their homeland.
This could happen only if the solution was acceptable to the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh and their leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. "This," he concluded, "is the only course which will ensure democratic freedom to all people on this subcontinent, providing them an opportunity to devote themselves to the peaceful tasks of social and economic progress."

On the same day, speaking on calling attention motions tabled by several leading members, the Defence Minister said in the Lok Sabha: "If hostilities break out and aggression is committed (by Pakistan) the instructions are to carry the war into Pakistan." He also informed the House that the security forces had instructions to throw back intruding Pakistani soldiers and to silence their guns. The Air Force also had been instructed to shoot down intruding hostile aircraft.

The assertions of the Defence Minister were soon vindicated. On November 21, Pakistani troops supported by tanks and artillery launched an attack on the Mukti Bahini forces who were holding the liberated area around Boyra, eight kilometres from the Indian border. When the Pakistani troops moved towards our border, our soldiers crossed the border, repulsed the Pakistani Attack and destroyed thirteen of their tanks. When four Pakistani Sabre jets intruded into our air space, our Gnats intercepted them, shot down three of them and captured two of the Pakistani pilots who had baled out over our territory. Commented the Hindustan Times on November 24: "The Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, had earlier clearly stated that orders had been issued to bring down any aircraft intruding into Indian air space. The IAF has carried out these instructions." Addressing a public meeting at Rewari (Haryana) on November 25, Shri Ram took care to underline that the destruction of the thirteen Pakistani tanks near Boyra was a "sufficient warning" to the Pakistani rulers that "we really mean the battles will be fought only on their territory and not on Indian soil."

In the same speech the Defence Minister stated that the morale of the Indian troops was very high and whenever he
visited them they asked him as to when they were going to get an opportunity to teach Pakistan a lesson. He added: "I have always told the jawans and our pilots that it is for Yahya Khan to provide them the opportunity."

As war clouds gathered on the horizon and Yahya Khan followed up the proclamation of emergency on November 24, by declaring that he would be fighting a war within ten days. Shri Ram again thought it fit to warn him of the consequences of his folly and showed him a peaceful way out of the impasse. Thus, addressing a meeting in Calcutta on November 28, he affirmed that India did not want a war with Pakistan, but should the military junta there refuse to see the "writing on the wall" and force a war on India, it would be taught a lesson which would be remembered till doomsday. It was still open to Pakistani rulers to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and negotiate a peaceful, political settlement with him on the basis of a sovereign, independent BanglaDesh. In any case, solemnly affirmed the Defence Minister, India would never agree to make the refugees return to "Yahya's Pakistan". They could return only to "Mujib's BanglaDesh."

Answering questions from the press on television two days later, the Defence Minister again pointed out that war could still be avoided if the rulers of Pakistan conceded independence to the people of Bangla Desh in deference to their wishes. But if Yahya persisted in his folly and mounted an aggression on India, India would give him "a fitting reply." To a query whether the country was prepared to meet any aerial blitzkereing of the type launched by Israel against U.A.R. in 1967, Shri Ram replied: "We are India. If Pakistan dares do that our young men of the Air Force are competent to pay back with added interest in our favour." When it was pointed out by one of the interviewers that Pakistan had more modern aircraft like the Mirage, Shri Ram said the Gnat boys who brought down the three Sabre jets only a few days earlier over Boyra had told him during his last trip to Calcutta that they wished it had been the Mirages. Asked if the Gnats
would have another opportunity to shoot down Pakistani planes, Shri Ram observed: "It all depends on Yahya Khan."

IX

Yahya Khan did not take long to oblige. He had declared on November 25: "In ten days I might not be here in Rawalpindi. I will be off fighting a war." On the ninth day of this statement i.e., on December 3 at 5:47 P.M., while the Prime Minister was in Calcutta and the Defence Minister at Patna, the Pakistani Air Force launched a pre-emptive air strike on a number of Indian airfields—Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra.

The Indian response was swift and magnificent. Both the Prime Minister and Defence Minister hurried back to New Delhi within a few hours of the Pakistani attack and the cabinet met immediately thereafter. A state of emergency was proclaimed by the President. The Indian Air Force not only emerged unscathed from the Pakistani attack, but went into action by 11:50 P.M. with retaliatory attacks on a number of Pakistani airfields. In a momentous broadcast to the nation shortly after midnight the Prime Minister observed: "Today the war in BanglaDesh has become a war on India. This has imposed upon me, my Government and the people of India a great responsibility. We have no other option, but to put our nation on a war footing. Our brave officers and jawans are at their post mobilised for the defence of the country. An emergency has been declared for the whole of India. Every necessary step is being taken, and we are prepared for all eventualities."

Thanks to the meticulous planning in the Defence Ministry which had gone on for several months under the able guidance of the Defence Minister we were indeed fully prepared. He maintained regular contact on the one hand with the three Chiefs of Staff and other officials of the Defence Ministry and on the other with the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Secretary and other concerned officials. At the same time he also maintained close touch with the leaders of various sec-
tions of opinion in the Parliament. This enabled him not only to coordinate the efforts of the three Services, but also help the Prime Minister in coordinating the efforts of the Defence Ministry with those of other Ministries and to see that these efforts corresponded to the needs of the situation as well as the wishes of the nation as reflected in the Parliament.

The magnitude of the task faced by the Defence Ministry in planning out all the details of operations if a war was actually thrust on us is well brought out in the second chapter, entitled "Planning and Management", of the Defence Ministry's Annual Report for 1971-72. As the Report puts it: "Since the crisis was multi-dimensional and its impact ranged over a wide variety of levels and directions, our responses had to be carefully worked out anticipating, at each point of time, a whole range of contingent possibilities. As time passed, international, political and strategic factors, the evaluation of which called for careful analysis, had an increasingly important hearing on the choice of the options open to us. Consequently, the scale, pattern and timing of our defence preparedness were, of necessity, to be coordinated with a number of external developments and every effort was made to orchestrate our external and internal policies with activities intended to provide relief for refugees and to gear the administrative machine to the needs of the developing situation."

The main decisions regarding defence preparedness were taken by the Defence Minister's Committee which met regularly under the chairmanship of the Defence Minister and consisted, besides him, of the Minister of Defence Production, Defence Secretary, the three Chiefs of Staff, the Financial Advisor (Defence) and the Scientific Advisor to the Ministry of Defence. An ad hoc committee of senior officials, under the chairmanship of the Cabinet Secretary, looked after coordination between the defence services and the civil administration. That these institutional arrangements worked smoothly was due not only to their inherent soundness, but also to the leadership and guidance provided by the Defence Minister.
The result of all this effort was seen in the total victory of the Indian forces in the eastern sector within a period of just fourteen days and the liberation of Bangla Desh from the Pakistani yoke. At the same time substantial gains were made in the western sector, particularly across the old cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. Thus in Kargil, Guraiis and Uri Sector our troops had occupied nearly fifty posts. In the Tithwal Sector a substantial portion of the Liva valley came into our hands. Some commanding heights in the Poonch-Rajauri-Naushera Sector were also captured by our forces. So were the whole of the Akhnur Dagger salient and a number of border posts in the Jammu Sector. Besides our forces had occupied a vast area of Sind right up to Naya Chor and Umrukot.

For the first time since the achievement of independence we had won a clear and decisive military victory. As should be clear from the account given above this was in no small measure due to the ability and energy with which Shri Ram had guided the working of the Defence Ministry, though several other factors had also undoubtedly played a part. At the end of the war he naturally had a sense of fulfilment and freely expressed his feelings in course of a television interview on December 18. He was a happy man that day because his pledge that the refugees would be sent not to Yahya Khan’s East Pakistan but only to Mujibur Rahman’s Bangla Desh had been fully redeemed. He was also happy that the Indian forces had carried out his wish that if war was thrust on India, the fighting must take place on Pakistan’s soil. He said: “I have a sense of fulfilment. I am so grateful to the armed forces that I cannot adequately express my gratitude. All the three wings of defence forces have acquitted themselves so magnificently and all of them have tried to keep my word that if aggression takes place, the fight will take place in Pakistan.”

X

While during the period of crisis and conflict the Defence Minister was noted for his utterances full of daring and courage,
once victory had been achieved, he changed his tone and spoke with the vision of a statesman, looking forward to an era of peace and prosperity in the subcontinent. In his statement made to the Lok Sabha on December 18, 1971, just after the end of the war, he disavowed any territorial ambitions on the part of India and called for the evolution of a new pattern of relationship with Pakistan based on bilateralism, without any third party interference, ensuring lasting peace and safeguarding the legitimate interests of both the countries. As he put it:

"We have no territorial ambitions. Our jawans who have fought so bravely and who have sacrificed their lives at the call of duty will, however, need to be assured that the sacrifices will yield results of lasting value to the peoples of India and Pakistan. They already have the satisfaction that they have contributed to the liberation of Bangla Desh and to the emergence of a secular democratic state on our eastern borders. It will now be our endeavour to forge, through bilateral negotiations a new relationship with Pakistan, based not on conflict but on cooperation, guaranteeing to us the security or our borders and our vital road communications, and assuring to the peoples of the two countries freedom from fear of recurring wars and an opportunity to devote their full attention to economic and social progress."

At the same time he took care to warn the Indian people that they must remain vigilant and prepared to teach Pakistan even a bigger lesson if her new rulers refused to learn from past experience and again chose the path of conflict and war. This was the message which he conveyed to the troops stationed in various sectors whom he visited in December 1971 and January, 1972. He also warned President Z. A. Bhutto, who had taken over from Yahya Khan, that the consequences of another war would be even more disastrous to Pakistan than those of the one which had just been over. Thus in course of a speech delivered at Jullundur on December 25, 1971, he advised the new leaders of Pakistan to give up all talk of war,
become realistic and join hands with leaders of India and Bangla Desh in a common fight against poverty and economic backwardness in the subcontinent. Shri Ram, however, added that if Mr. Bhutto refused to listen to his advice and tried to do mischief he should be prepared for even a greater defeat. When the latter showed interest in following the path of negotiation and settlement with India on a bilateral basis, Shri Ram warmly supported the bold initiative of Prime Minister Shrimati Gandhi in convening the Simla Conference and signing an agreement with Pakistan in July, 1972 based on bilateralism and providing for a new ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and withdrawal of Indian force from the Pakistani territories occupied by them during the course of the war.

While participating in victory celebrations in different parts of the country and calling for the evolution of a new relationship with Pakistan, the Defence Minister did not forget the jawans whose sacrifices had made all this possible. In his statement before the Lok Sabha on December 18, 1971, he said: "The House owes its gratitude to the vast number of men and women whose exertions and sacrifices have contributed to the success of our arms. We owe a special duty to the next of kin of those who have laid down their lives and to those who have been disabled by the conflict". These words were not meant merely to be a formality, but represented the innermost feelings of the Defence Minister. He was most keen to see that the widows and children of the soldiers who had laid down their lives as also those who had been disabled did not have to depend upon public charity, but were looked after by the State itself so that they might be able to "live with honour and dignity and re-adjust themselves to the changed conditions of life."

With this in mind the Defence Minister took the initiative in securing liberalised pensions for families of servicemen Killed or wounded in action. The new scheme, announced by him on February 22, 1972 provided that the widows of
commissioned officers would receive a family pension at 3/4ths of the pay which the officers were receiving at the time of death, up to the time the deceased would have continued in service in normal circumstances. Thereafter the pension would be equal to what the deceased officer would be entitled to had he rendered the full normal service. In respect of all others, the family pension would be equal to full pay last drawn by the Serviceman at the time of the casualty. Under the rules existing till then, pension was available for the support of the parents and other dependents of soldiers for two lives. This concession was now extended to the parents of the young officers, who had died as bachelors. If one of the parents died while in receipt of the award, the other parent would be able to draw dependant’s pension. The rates of children allowance were also liberalised. The special gratuity payable on death due to enemy action was enhanced in all cases.

The Defence Minister further announced that Government had decided to retain all officers and jawans who had been disabled but who could be employed in “sheltered” appointments. Those who could not be retained in service would be paid a “War Injury Pay” the quantum of which would be related broadly to the extent of disability sustained. Thus a soldier who had been totally disabled would get for life an amount equal to his total pay and allowances which he had been in receipt at the time of his disablement. In respect of young commissioned officers, similar protection of total pay and allowances was provided in the event of total disablement. In the cases of senior officers, the War Injury Pay would be arrived at on a similar basis, but subject to a total monetary ceiling.

In addition to the above pensionary benefits, Shri Ram also announced the following measures:

(a) Widows of Servicemen who were killed in action would be provided with land free of cost. Arrangement were being made for financing the construction of a house on that land or renovation of homestead.
(b) Special arrangements for employment of widows and disabled servicemen were being made. Any training required for this would be arranged free. Various self-employment schemes were being formulated to enable widows and disabled men to supplement their pension. Two dependents of each deceased Serviceman would be given special priority by the Employment Exchange for employment in Government Departments. Medical standards would be lowered to enable re-employment in Government or semi-Government undertakings of disabled ex-Servicemen who were otherwise fit for employment. It was proposed to enact a law with a view reserving a percentage of vacancies in private and public sectors for employment of all disabled personnel, including ex-Servicemen.

(c) Families of Servicemen, killed or disabled, would be entitled to medical treatment in military hospitals.

(d) Full cost of education of all children of those who were killed or disabled in the last conflict, up to the end of the first degree course would be met by Government. This would include exemption from tuition and other fees levied by educational institutions, grants to meet hostel charges for those who were boarders, cost of books and stationery, and cost of uniform where this was compulsory.

The Defence Minister further said that it had been decided to set up a central organisation to be headed by a senior officer to ensure that the above benefits were made available to all entitled persons. This organization would also ensure optimum utilization of donations in cash and kind offered by State Govts., commercial organizations, associations and individuals specifically for the families of the dead and wounded Servicemen. It would evolve a programme of construction of low cost houses and flats for allotment on ownership basis.
These benefits were to be extended to all families of Servicemen killed and ex-Servicemen disabled in the 1947-48, 1962 and 1965 conflicts. Similar orders were to be issued in respect of para-military forces like BSF, CFP, Assam Rifles, etc., and civilians serving with the Defence Services including Boarder Roads personnel.

The orders were to take effect from the 1st of February, 1972. The payments of full pay and allowances made to the widows of those who were killed, under special orders already issued, would not, however, be disturbed.

These liberalised pension rules and concessions show Shri Ram's deep interest in the welfare of Servicemen and their families and will always be remembered as one of his major achievements as Defence Minister. At the root of this interest is the conviction that the jawan is the most valuable asset of the Indian armed forces and every thing possible should be done for his welfare. As the Defence Minister put it in course of his speech in the Lok Sabha on May 2, 1972:

"The members of our Armed Forces have proved to the world that in the final analysis it is the man behind the machine who counts. It is his valour, dedication, determination, morale and skill which brought success to our arms. It is his conduct and his regard for human values, which earned us and our forces a good name from our friends in Bangla Desh and from foreign observers... Some Hon'ble Members have given expression to the feeling that his problems receive attention mainly when the security and integrity of the country are threatened. Later they tend to be forgotten. I am determined to see that this does not happen."

Shri Ram has also been trying to bring about some long-term reforms in the organisation of our armed forces. He has publicly expressed his view that caste or community should not be a factor in the organisation of any regiment. Being careful not to upset or disturb the organisation of any regi-
ment, he does not want to bring about any radical change at one stroke, but is clear about the final objective and has already ordered steps in that direction. Recruitment practices have been liberalised and some members belonging to other communities have been included in a regiment ordinarily meant for a single community, such as the Jat regiment or the Dogra regiment. The Defence Minister has also been keen to strengthen the role of the armed forces in the field of national integration and has been trying to see that recruitment centres are evenly distributed in all parts of the country.

In the end it only remains to point out that so long as Shri Ram continues to function as our Defence Minister we can reasonably be certain that the formulation of our defence policy and its implementation will continue to be marked not only by unusual administrative skill and efficiency, but also by a rare combination of alertness to the immediate needs of the moment and a long-term perspective based on a vision of peace and stability in the Indian subcontinent. It is this combination which on the one hand leads Shri Ram to keep an eagle eye on all aspects of defence preparedness and to speak out boldly against any aggressive move of an enemy and, on the other, makes him support all moves for Detente and peace in the sub-continent. May his deft hands, courageous spirit, mature mind and statesmanlike vision continue to guide the destiny of India in the field of defence for many more years to come.
Science, Technology And Defence

Dr ATMA RAM* AND Dr. B.K. NAYAR**

We deeply appreciate the invitation to contribute to this volume which is to be presented to Shri Jagjivan Ram, the indefatigable, effective and inspiring Defence Minister of India, on the occasion of the first anniversary of India's victory in the 1971 war. The Defence Minister shoulders the crucial responsibility of ensuring that the defence apparatus of his country is kept in perfect trim, that the heads remain cool in the most provocative situation, and yet firm and determined for action in the hour of need. In the preparation for the defence of the country, science and technology play a vital role. This is an aspect which may perhaps be appropriate to discuss here.

The development of science and technology does tremendously influence the capability of a nation for ensuring national security, and is in turn affected by it. Significant break-throughs in technology, sooner or later, have found application in the development of weaponry, or counter-weaponry. The production of new weapons, or their more effective use, has often increased the lust for more conquests and aggrandisement.

One of the well-known objectives of science is the understanding of nature—of materials and their behaviour. Materials

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being the principal requirements of weapons, this knowledge, though never accumulated with any ulterior motives, as often led to the design of weapons more potent than any known till then, and ultimately used for the annihilation of fellow men, than to fight any other force, animate or inanimate.

Gone are the days of sheer brawn in military prowess. It is the brain power and its quality, ingenuity, and performance under strain, that counts. Superiority in science and technology has placed enormous power in the hands of even small nations to overrun, conquer, rule and or even destroy much bigger entities. Agonisingly, the big power status in the world to-day is a recognition of the inordinate capacity for colossal destruction.

If one studies the development of weapons from the ancient times, one will be struck by the tremendous impact of technological inventions and innovations. It is the scale of destruction, convenience of operations, and the extent of sophistication, which has continuously been increasing; the motivation has remained the same—quick and complete annihilation of the opponent at minimum expense of men and materials.

The early man fought with tooth and nail. Sheer physical strength was the determinant in the combat at that time. Narsimh, the indomitable half-man half-beast is symbolic of the earliest stage of human ferocity.

With the development of tools, and weapons wielded by hand, a new element was added. A weaker man could overcome a stronger adversary with the timely and efficient use of his implement. Paras Ram, with the murderous hatchet is symbolic of the second stage of weaponry. In ancient India, such weapons were referred to as Praharan Ayudh, weapons of manual strike.

The development of weapons which could be wielded effectively from a distance marked the third stage of the evolution of military technology. The flung spear, the javelin, the
boomerang etc., were weapons which were operated manually and could act like missiles that struck at a distance. These were a new class of **Hasta Mukh** or hand-released weapons, the projectiles.

The next stage of development was the release of missiles with the help of machines. The arrow, the harpoon, the sling, and the catapult belong to the class of **Yantra Mukh** or Machine-released missiles. Lord Ram, coming next in the order of Hindu Avatars, was an awe-inspiring expert in archery. The torpedo, ICBM (Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles) and other more modern weapons belong to this class of machine released projectiles.

To increase the ascendency of man, animals were harnessed which could take the fighter farther and faster, providing in addition great positional advantage. What an enormous difference, the introduction of the bridle, the stirrup, and saddle must have made to the use of the horse in combat. The soldier mounted on a war-horse or a battle elephant had tremendous ascendency. To prevent any accidental injury to the mount from impairing the capacity of the mounted soldier, and to increase striking capacity, mechanical horses like the giant tanks, and flying elephants like the enormous aeroplanes have been introduced.

It appears that the term ‘engineering’ was originally applied to the production of engines of destruction. Engineering was then in fact military engineering. That branch of engineering which did not have military significance was generally referred to as ‘civil’ engineering and that may be the origin of the qualifying work ‘civil’.

The explosives and the firearms introduced not only an element of distance—so to say **action at a distance**, but led to unprecedented developments. The misfortunes that befell Indian armies contending against invaders ever since the intrusion of Babur were largely due to superior techniques and weaponry. The defeat of the Indian defenders was not entire-
ly due to internal dissensions and treachery as some have tried to make out.

The coming into wide-spread use of chemical, bacterial and other implements of war, utilising not the force of impact but the slow erosion of the capacity of the adversary to fight, or the ability of the environment to sustain him, have added new dimensions to the havoc that man can perpetrate against man.

One of the consequences of these innovations on the traditional values of bravery is of great significance, both sociologically and scientifically. Before World War I, people in India were classified as the 'martial' and 'non-martial' classes. May be it represented the extrapolation of the 'varnas' system to the fighting forces. Many communities and even large parts of the country were designated as non-martial. Recruitment to the fighting ranks of the army used to be restricted almost exclusively to the martial classes. Others were taken in the auxiliary services. The large scale use of mines and other weapons led to the creation of Corps of Sappers and Miners whose tasks involved work in which education and training were of greater importance than physical attributes in tackling dangerous jobs.

The sophisticated techniques adopted in World War II, left no room for doubt about the ascendancy of knowledge over physical strength. Awards for gallantry and bravery came to be shared more evenly by people from different parts of the country, including those who could not be considered martial, but were technologists, engineers or technicians. To keep the modern defence apparatus in trim requires a highly sophisticated and efficient industrial base and to achieve this, a liberal supply of highly competent technical manpower is a sine-qua-non. Their work and accomplishments can make or mar the success of the combatants on the field.

It is said that at one time, the single strategic substance optical glass, often called the "eye of the army" for which till the beginning of hostilities, the Allies were dependent for imports from Germany, was going to make all the difference
between success and failure in the First World War. Scientists in the allied countries did a magnificent job, not only in organising its manufacture when not much information was available (the production of optical glass being a carefully guarded secret) but so well did they continue their work that they soon excelled in technology even celebrated manufacturers.

It will not be immodest to mention here that the Indian Scientists have established the production of optical glass in the country without any association of a foreign manufacturer. The country is now practically self-sufficient in this field.

The recent trials of strength between India and her neighbours have brought to light the role which determination, ingenuity and training can play in countering and successfully overcoming heavy odds of highly sophisticated equipment. Courage and bravery can no longer be treated as determined by race, clan or caste. Brain has now replaced brawn as the determinant in war. Motivation, training and sensibility can make any average human being a dangerous adversary.

The emergence of chemical and biological agents of destruction has considerably changed the picture. The destruction wrought by chemical and biological warfare is so widespread, and the methods of application so devious that outstanding courage, physical or mental, is no longer paramount in a combat. What is more important is to be cunning and callous.

The psychosis that has been generated as a result of large-scale use of insecticides and pesticides in the destruction of millions of living things in a short period of time, seems to have had a searing effect upon the human soul. Once a similar feeling of hatred and unwantedness is generated against a class of people, or a nation, extermination ceases to involve problems of conscience.

The application of science in defence first enhanced the ascendancy of mental qualities above the physical; but
today's insidious war involves a kind of dehumanisation through the numbing of human sensibility to sufferings. This will ultimately have its repercussions, as much on the victor as on the vanquished. The dehumanisation of man in combat is one of the greatest tragedies in the application of science to defence problems.

The responsibility for the misuse of science is a problem which has been subject of considerable discussion. Is the scientist who discovers a scientific principle, or its possible utilisation in peace time, to blame for its nefarious use in war? Is the parent to blame for the crime of a son who may act violently in the furtherance of the political objectives of the prevailing party? When does taking of life become murder? These are questions for which answers cannot be universal. Whether the use of science and technology for national defence is ethical or not, depends not so much on the content and character of science and technology, as on the definition of what constitutes defence.
Defence Industries: Their Role in Peace and War

C. B. L. TIWARI

It is really gratifying to me that Shri Shukla, Convener of Babu Jagjivan Ram Abhinandan Samiti asked me to write about Ordnance Factories for the Volume to be presented to the Defence Minister of our country. I know that Shri Jagjivan Ram is one of the few old guards who are still left to fill the content in the free India and its reconstruction. He has been doyen in our freedom struggle and inspired confidence in the grass root of our population and in his mission to emancipate the downtrodden and the so-called untouchables, he has on one hand created a sense of belonging in every section of our people without any difference between low and high, between educated and uneducated and those haves and have nots and, on the other hand, he strengthened the unity of our people without which great task of reconstructing this country would have been lost in the intersectional quarrels. He raised India’s stature in the World because with our old belief in caste system, we had hardly any face before the World to stand as champion of freedom and, therefore, his task and role in course of struggle for freedom has been a constant endeavour to build the unified image of this country.

In his role as Minister in the Department of Labour, Railways, Communications and Food, he has left his imprints on the people and the administration of this country. Who can deny that he was the only Food Minister in this country who
brought green revolution and ended our dependence on the affluent countries of the World.

Labour have always found him as a great friend and guide and, therefore, whatever I am writing about him is only a token of our gratitude for his immense services to this country.

The proper understanding of the huge organisation which he now presides will give the glance of his greatness and his immense capacity to tackle the problems of this country without giving the impression that he is really involved in serious task, for whenever, we have approached him and met him, a relaxed smile has greeted the visitors.

The Ordnance Factories, which are 28 in number are situated from the extreme north in Chandigarh to extreme south in Aruvankadu (Nilgiri) at the height of 6,400 ft., and in the West from Ambarnath to the extreme East near Bangla Desh border – some of these factories came into existence more than 100 years ago. It will be interesting to know the historical evolution of few factories.

Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore was established in 1801 and was known as Gun Carriage Agency, Cossipore. Its name was subsequently changed in 1830 as Gun Factory, Cossipore. Its name was again changed to Foundary and Shell Factory, Cossipore in 1862 and finally renamed as Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore in 1905.

Rifle Factory, Ishapore was erected on the old site of Gun Powder Factory in which Gun Powder was first manufactured in the year 1865 to 1869 and the work commenced on Rifles in the year 1904.

Harness and Saddlery Factory, Kanpur which is now known as Ordnance Equipment Factory was set up in 1859 and it is perhaps the oldest labour producing unit.

Gun Carriage Factory, Jabalpur came into existence in 1894 after merging of three carriage producing units which
were situated at Srirangaratlam (Madras), Colaba (Bombay) and Fatehgarh (Uttar Pradesh).

Ammunition Factory, Kirkee was commissioned in 1869 and was expanded after the First World War to meet the filling of detonators, percussions fuzes, primers, shells and other components of gun ammunitions.

The description of few factories above will give an idea of centuries old organisation which has grown during British regime more under compulsion than as a requirement for defence preparedness because alien Government never wanted to allow Indians to know the technical know-how of production of arms and armaments.

During Second World War and the entry of Japan in the war, the circumstances compelled the British Government to expand the Ordnance Factories, and new projects were set up in Kanpur, Muradnagar, Katni and Khamaria to produce mainly the ammunition stores and carry out the repairs of ordnance stores imported from other countries. The India became the feeder of war theatre of South East Asia.

Immediately after the war, the British Government closed the Ordnance Factories with the fastest speed and the strength of the factories was brought down from 250,000 in 1945 to 50,000 in 1947. This was done with avowed aim to deprive the free Government of India to get access to the organisation and technical know-how to the ordnance and technical production.

After freedom in 1947, there were two schools of thought. One, of course aimed to give priority to the defence preparedness because of constant threat from Pakistan and interplay the big power politics and the other that India has won freedom essentially through non-violent means and have hardly any sense of enmity with any country does not require to maintain the burden of big Army, Navy and Air Force.

However, the Government of India treaded the mid-way path and while acknowledging the need of maintenance of
efficient Army and progressively make the defence production self-reliant, it decided to give priority to the economic welfare of the people because the country was terribly confronted with the vast problem of refugees, rehabilitation with the problem of finding food to the traditionally scarcity areas of this country, to cloth and make arrangement of widest accomodation to the millions of people and therefore, decided to go slow with the defence production, nevertheless, a halt was made on the process of reduction of establishment and progressive attempts were made to increase and modernise the defence production, gradually decreased the dependence on foreign countries and proceed slowly and slowly on the path of self-reliance.

The Countries which are affluent, will never allow the developing countries to act according to their desires and to grow according to their craving and aspiration and they will never allow smaller countries particularly those in the process of development, to save their own institution.

Thanks to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was gifted to guide the destiny of this country in the difficult years of inception of our freedom. This country not only asserted itself but successfully thwarted the attempts to resile from building of this country on democratic lines with socialistic pattern as its aim.

India was attacked by Pakistan in 1947 on Kashmir, in 1962 by China and in 1965 and 1971 again by Pakistan.

The picture of Ordnance Factories reflect these years in its expansion and development and the nature of production, the layout of factories fully reflect these years. There is vast difference between 100 years old factories namely those which have been described above and such of the factories which came into existence during period of Second World War and those which came into existence after 1962. The only feature may be the distance from the cities, because essentially due to requirement of security and secrecy of the products, the
factories were always located at a distance from the population of cities.

Whereas the Ordnance Factories started mostly as the repair workshops and production of such items as were absolutely necessary for the army units in the years of continuous expansion since 1947, these factories have now grown as mighty arsenals capable of manufacturing arms and armaments, which have withstood the test with foreign arms in the struggles mentioned above.

The strong production base is the most imperative requirement for the development of sound defence system and greater is the reliance placed on the indigenous production and designs, the surer is the guarantee for efficient war any country can conduct.

Every household has now known the Bangalore built Gnat, the Indian built MIGs and the Vijyanta Tanks produced in Avadi. The adopter for MIG-21 supersonic fighter, the scare charges made for the Navy to scare away the enemy midgets and submarines, sneaking our shores and these are all now the products of our Ordnance Factories in our own country. The range of production now covers arms, ammunition, engineering items, chemicals, clothing and general stores. Manufacture of 7·62 ammunitions, carbines, automatic and semi-automatic guns, variety of new items such as solventless cordite, heavy cartridge cases and smoke ammunition, production of picrite, nitrocellulose powders and bonocord detonating fuze are now being manufactured in Ordnance Factories.

The value of issues in different years will give a fair idea about the progressive rise of our production:

1964-65 65·66 66·67 67·68 68·69 69·70
(in crores of Rs.)

Arms, ammunition and vehicles (including heavy vehicles) 63·75 78·06 83·73 79·31 85·00 90·00
(ii) Clothing and general stores  
37.74  29.96  20.14  17.86  23.00  
1969-70  70-71  71-72

(i) Arms, ammunition and vehicles (including heavy vehicles)  
88.57  93.65  118.43

(ii) Clothing and general stores  
20.00  18.65  20.00

There has been fall in the issues of clothing and general stores which represents the reduced demand from the Army and better utilisation of the items in the economic manner.

The Ordnance Factories in 25 years of freedom have raised the value of production from Rs. 150/-millions in 1947 to Rs. 1700/- millions in 1971-72. In 1971 war the production went even beyond the rated capacity. Production of semi-automatic rifles increased by 46% L.M.Gs by 50%, Carbine's over 80%, mortars by 200 to 400%. Production of Artillery weapons was kept up in the face of many difficulties, while artillery ammunition was raised by 20%.

Apart from 28 Ordnance Factories, Ministry of Defence is exercising direct control over Heavy Vehicle Factory at Avadi now engaged on production of Vijayanta Tanks, and accelerated Freeze Drying Factory, Hazratpur (Distt. Agra) which is engaged in production of precooked dehydrated meat for the requirement of the Army deployed at high altitude.

The Ministry of Defence has seven Public Sector undertakings under the Department of Defence Production viz.

1. Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Bangalore.
2. Bharat Electronics Ltd., Bangalore.
4. Garden Reach Workshops Ltd., Calcutta.
5. Praga Tools Ltd., Secunderabad.
The heartening feature, in all these public sector undertakings under Ministry of Defence, is the continuous attempt to reduce our dependence on imports and as the reports are coming to the light, indigenous contents in various items as given in Sainik Samachar of April 30, 1972; confirm the above conclusion. The report invariably states that the indigenous contents of HF-24 has already reached 20% and that of MIG-21 produced from raw material about 60%. The production of various aircraft accessories at the new accessories division of HAL will further help in reducing the dependence on imports and increasing the indigenous content in case of Bharat Electronic Ltd., the overall indigenous content for the year 1972-73 is expected to reach about 75% and this will further improve to about 82% during 1973-74. In case of some of the equipments, 88% indigenisation is expected to be achieved. In the Bharat Earth Movers Ltd., the indigenous content of Broad Gauge Rail coaches is about 95%, while in case of most of the heavy earth moving equipments produced at Kolar Factory, it is in the range of 60 to 64%.

The entire defence production is assured of its quality both in regards to specifications of material and requirement of the stores is assured by efficient inspection, which is working with about 7,000 of examiners of various grades attached with all Ordnance Factories to ensure that nothing is sent to Armed Forces which may betray their moral at the thick of the war.

Further, there is constant support by Department of Research & Development, attached to the Ministry of Defence, which with its 2,000 scientist engineers and scientific assistants as many as 1,100 in different research and development projects, are engaged to increase the operational efficiency and improvements of product to make it more effective.

The Defence industries in general and the Ordnance Factories in particular with established organisations are engaged in making the defence requirement of this country...
wholly-self dependent not only for the needs of this country but also to help other friendly countries at the time of their need, and in this task, we are greatly encouraged by our Defence Minister, Babu Jagjivan Ram because when he said, much to the surprise of our own countrymen and those abroad, that war with Pakistan will not be fought on the soil of this country but on Pak soil. He had, at his command, the fullest confidence on the available resources of our country and when the production figures as given above have shown, it only reflects the confidence reposed by the Defence Minister on our own workers engaged in various Defence industries.

It will not be complete before I narrate the industrial relations which govern the men-management relationships in various Defence units.

The Trade Union movements in various Defence Organisations have been somewhat different and distinct than other industries in public and private sector, because, unlike other industries the initial movement grew with the demand (in the Defence industries) for fullest utilisation of the available capacity for production of civilian goods in order to divert its production for purpose of war production during emergency. We call it industrially oriented movement which gives priority to the development of industries before development of increase in wages of workers.

This reacted favourably to the development of harmonious relationship between men and management. There has been a perfect regard and scrupulous observance of functional boundaries of men and management by both sides and has grown in the understanding in all these years. Even these boundaries disappear which has been sanctioned in 1962, 1965 and 1971 and the entire industry rose like one man.

Defence industries can take legitimate pride that the man hours lost have been the least in all the 25 years of our freedom period, as compared to any other industry in private and public sector. Not because their wages are higher, not
because their conditions of work are better or less hazardous and also not because of work and strain is lesser, but certainly because they have grown all these years in the industry and they feel a legitimate partner in their efforts to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our motherland, they feel as partner in ensuring peace and tranquility in the land and further they consider as partner in building up of this country as a socialistic society aiming to provide the minimum necessities of life and convey the meaning of his freedom to the farthest and the most neglected part of our countrymen and in this task we are happy to find a man of stature of Babu Jagjivan Ram, who presides our destiny.
Whenever the whims and ambitions of a few have been allowed to overwhelm the desire of the many, the history has been dented with the deepest injuries. Right from the period the history of humanity could be brought to epitaphs, the blackest spots donated to it in the form of the abhorrent wars may be accredited to the personal whims of a few only. Even the greatest epics substantiate it. Mahabharata the most fierce and extravagant war—both in man power as well as the national resources, was fought to satiate the unjustified and malafide whims of Duryodhan to dominate Pandavas, the rightful claimants of the throne. Same applies to the war between Ram and Ravan. Ravan, after being unsuccessful to rightfully win Sita, the most virtuous lady of the time, tried to apprehend her through unfair means, resulting in a tempestuous war that witnessed not only the extinction of an empire but a complete race. It is a strange sequence that whenever the disintegrating forces are let loose to deform the history, the latter brings forth its own forces to counter them and restore it to originality. The tempestuous days of war in general are alternated by a period of peace. The history to manifest it's desires has always given an embodiment to a saviour, a steerman whom world has subsequently been compelled to recognise as a great man. Whether or not these greatmen could be elevated to the level of incarnations, depended upon the extent to which the humanity was suppress-
sed and human principles outraged. Ram, though a man of flesh and blood, from the generations, is being recognised as an embodiment of God, and his actions are recited by us in the morning and on the holy occasions because he rescued the badly crushed humanity from the tortures, repacious whims and autocracy of Ravan, the proud ruler.

What happened in Bangla Desh, may be called the blackest spot not only in the history of the nations concerned, but the humanity as a whole. Spotting the emergence of the problem, it was a desire of the few to dominate the majority to exploit them for their personal prosperity. Ever since it's origin the West Pakistan had been refusing to extend the rightful representation to the East Pakistan in political as well as economic spheres inspite of latter's rich natural resources and intelligencia. The East Pakistanis, inspite of their sizable contributions, to the economy as well as the intellectual growth of the nation were subjected to the discriminatory policy and as a consequence were refused the bestow of power, even though they held the majority in the House. While a feeling of discontentment was percolating in their mind for a pretty long time, this served as a last bang on their back. A feeling of revolt and a desire to go to the extremes to fight for their rights, therefore, erupted out as a demand for a separate Bangla Desh. As this struggle for independence and liberty from the servile bondage was initiated by the civilians of East Pak, in general, the power ridden rulers of Pakistan tried to crush it by satanic power.

The inexpressible atrocities were, therefore, inflicted upon the civilian population of the East Pak just to terrorise them and dampen their zeal for the cause. Their suppressive measures brought to force the mass slaughters, the outrages, the massacre of the innocent children, arson and loot. The innocent and the armless human population cried for a help from not only the countries, in the vicinity, but the great powers of the world including the world organisations. While the other countries, because of their geographical distance
from the spot, were in a position to have some margin of time to study the situation, and frame up their policy with due regard to their foreign relations, India could not manage to afford sitting on the fence and hear the cry of the atrocities-torn humanity, as the refugees had already started pouring in overwhelming numbers. The oppression dented human figures were silently imploring for a dressing of their physical and mental wounds and then ‘Ram’ stepped forward as the Defence Minister with the whole nation behind him to give a healing and soothing humane touch to the broken population.

Bangla Desh comprises of a territory of approximately 55,000 sq. miles of mostly flat land interlaced by several large and stable rivers, which during monsoons get overflooded. The rain is no doubt plentiful and land fertile, but the area is frequently subjected to natural calamities also. The population of about 75 million is one of the highest densities of the world with about 80% of the population depending upon agriculture, mainly cultivation of rice and jute. Industrial activities concern mainly with the processing of the agricultural commodities, specially jute and cotton. These factories, employ about 4 Lakh persons. As far as the population is concerned, 4/5th are Bengali Muslims, the remaining being Hindus and minor communities.

Unemployment and the poverty had been domineering the country for the last many years. Real per capita income has been almost stagnant for the past decades, because the increase in total output, if any, has been offset by the increased population due to the higher rate of growth say about 3% per annum. Inflationary population rise obviously necessitated an increased employment opportunities but a failure to that gave rise to a large unutilised labour force. In agriculture also, the yields as compared to international standards have been very low and the deficit gap in the food grains requirement has been increasing steadily right from 1960s. Domestic resources mobilisation was another Himalayan problem. Not only that, the per capita income of
the East Bengalees was very low, but the policy frame work within which they were required to work and live, brought down the average saving rate in East Pakistan hardly sufficient to maintain the then existing capital assets. As the revenues from the Provinces, were inadequate to cater for the development needs, the marginal increase and investments by the Central Government of Pakistan in the later part of 1960s was absolutely insufficient to break through the poverty and depression in East Pak. The policies pursued in general were not very conducive to encourage the private investments. The bulk of these investments were coming from West Pakistan only, and East was to extend the raw material, cheap labour, the vital attraction and incentive for the West Pakistanis to enrich themselves on exploitation of East. While the Economic Advisors of International repute always emphasized the necessity of increasing per capita income, but considering the poor capacity of internal savings and the massive foreign aid was earmarked as the only possible remedy. This shows the extent to which the economy was depressed in East Pak.

No doubt, in stagnant society a man gets used to the living he is forced to live for a considerable time. This usually does not hold good in dynamic societies, with the world body operating in full bloom and many a philanthropist activities, resorted by different institutions and organisations for sweeping away the ignorance even from the remotest part of the Globe, no society continues to be stagnant now. People in East Bengal were not ignorant to the extent that they could not understand the discrimination being given to them in different spheres and exploitation inflicted upon them for West Pak prosperity. A discontentment was therefore, gradually gathering base in their hearts to subsequently erupt out as an endeavour for an independent state, where the full energy and resources could be best utilised for the prosperity of the whole population.

In the mean time the demand of the majority for a democratic form of the Government was getting overwhelmingly
predominant. The elections were therefore, conducted. The Awami League came in such a overwhelming majority that it was not only to hold the power in the Province, but in the Centre also. This created a bias in the mind of ever dominating rulers of the West Pak. This evasion to transfer of power to the legitimate majority with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its leader, struck the East Pak people with dismay and discontentment, as the discriminatory and arbitrary policy so far concealed came to the surface completely. This was the point from where the trouble actually started. The crushed inteligentia too joined the politicians in their fight. Gradually the entire East Pak rose to its feet to raise the voice for the award of their rights and their rightful representation in the Organisation of the country. The things did not end here. The crushed enthusiasm of the East Pak people burst forth to demand a separate Bangla Desh with their own Government. For getting the rightful claim Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman infused a civil disobedience movement and stressed to continue, until the goal of emancipation of Bangla Desh is achieved. “The people of Bangla Desh are united for emancipation. We are determined to live as free citizen of a free country. No longer Bangla Desh can be treated as a colony of others”, Sheikh declared. He at the same time warned those who could try to obstruct the movement saying that “people of Bangla Desh would fight against any brutal force and sacrifice everything until their cherished goal was achieved”.

In democratic country, power lies with the people, but a country which has faced suspension of the democratic norms anticipates that the power lies with the armed forces only and that any genuine public uprising can be suppressed by bonnets and bullets. In East Bengal also, therefore, the power ridden Pak rulers tried to strangulate the public awakening by application of the brutal force. The armies were mobilised, the atrocities inflicted and the facts twisted to give this awakening the label of an internal fight between the
East and West Pak. The hatred was given a free hand. The power was adamant to crush the humanity. Barbarism of the West Pak army could have made a Satan to muffle his face out of shame. The houses were burnt and looted, the men and children unscrupulously slaughtered. Every spot of the country was echoing with the cries of the women and children, helplessly appealing to the so-called emancipators of the humanity to come and save their chastity, but their cries were falling in the bewilderment, the only inanimate objects responding to it. Even the imagination abandons to think for the scenes where the daughters were outraged before the parents, the mothers before their kids, and the wives before their husbands. The mental agony of the people who witnessed the scenes is, therefore, beyond imagination. The irony of the incident was that all the rapacious acts were performed in the open, which to anybody's conscience can only be done after the complete deletion of the word 'modesty' from the human vocabulary. While the personal gratification and the contaminated whims of a notorious group just relished the scenes and tittered on the temporary success of their rosy dreams, the Almighty from the heaven could not bear the sight and wept bitterly on the unscrupulous destination of his creation. The prolonged rains in the area, specially, were nothing but the tears incessantly shed by His eyes. May be that the odour of the magnificent flower of liberty, one can smell today in Bangla Desh but the atrocities scattered mental faculties of the sizeable population and the restoration of the due social status to the virgin mothers and their surviving children in the post-war circumstances is a very moot point for which even a recognised sociologist cannot authoritatively claim to provide an answer.

It is the general psychology of the man to prefer to die heroically, if he is confronted with the danger of his existence at extremes. As the repressive measure of the Pak Army had convinced the civil population of the East Bengal that they were on the verge of extinction, if they continued to solemnly
submit to their evil desires, the able bodied people combined together under the banner of Muktibahini to resist the mighty forces and at least to make available the fruits of liberty to those who could survive by the blessing of that Almighty. The children and the old population who because of their non-resisting capabilities were destined to die in the hands of the savagious armies, and could only be an incidence on the Muktibahini, decided to flee and take refuge in any bordering country, where their lives and interests could be contemplated safe. India, because of its established devotion to humanity and coexistence was obviously struck as the first choice. The influx of the refugees for the fear of their lives continued on an ever increasing rate. While Pakistan was anticipating a discouragement in view of their overwhelming numbers and consequent adverse impact on the delicate Indian economy, India stuck to her old traditions and accorded shelter to the suffering human beings. India's step was commended by almost all the Nations except a bigoted few, who tried to link it with a country's interference in the internal matters of another country. This did not dampen the human principle of our country that the welfare and survival of human race is supreme to all the whims of the people in power. India as a policy never interfered in the internal matters of Pak, but the massive influx of the refugees and their deliberate pushing to our border by the Pak forces created a situation where a claimed internal problem of Pak also became an internal problem of India. The Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram in this context emphatically said: "the refugee influx is a humanitarian problem and we could not refuse shelter to the unfortunate people". "Without bothering the criticism that with the rampant poverty, the country should not have allowed the refugees influx", he stressed, that "the country could of course stop the influx but the point is should we? which civilized country, least of all, one with traditions like ours, could seal of the borders and allow innocent civilians to face the bullets", asked instead.
The fatigue and suffering strucken refugees needed the quickest mobilisation of the measures to provide them shelter, food, clothing, minimum level of sanitation, medical facilities and security. To face this challenge and make overnight arrangement, Mr. Ram along with his lieutinants and energetic Jawans behind, came forward to expedite the rehabilitation work. Needless to mention, while on the request of India the frugal aids from other countries were on their way only, the best possible arrangements were made available to all the scarcity strucken people. Frustrated by the compassion extended by India to the refugees, Pakistan started openly treating India its enemy and threatened a total war. Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram speaking at a special function at Moholi, Chandigarh, on September 26, 1971 called these threats against India as "childish". He further added that President Yahya Khan was threatening India because of the frustration caused by his failure to suppress the people of Bangla Desh, while India did not want to attach any undue importance to these desperate threats, it would thrash Pakistan if they embark on aggressions. "It is obvious that his is a frustrated mind", he added.

While speculations for an imminent aggression were in the air only, Pakistan on 3rd December, 1971 declared total war against India. The public unaware of the possibility of any such development was still sticking to its routine. The hawkers were still on the roads for earning a little more for their livelihood and the fatigue tormented people still busy in the picture houses and the places of light entertainment that sirens blew and puzzled them to speculate the truth. Before they could see a silver lining in the clouds, many parts of the Indian territory were heavily bombarded. Not only the points of strategic importance but the civil targets too were not spared. In their initiative they were probably inspired by the success of Israel over Egypt. The farsighted Defence Minister had no doubt spared the public from the strain of the expected insecurity, he himself kept drowned in scrutinising the day to day develop-
ments and out of his sagacity only got removed all the crafts from the points of their actual landing. The pilots of the Pakistan army could therefore, unload their explosives laden crafts on the empty runways and out of frustration on the civil targets only. The situation was reviewed urgently by the Defence Minister, Mr. Ram with the cooperation of all the three distinguished Chiefs of the Armed Forces, and the Plan to meet out the menace was outlined. Soon, an adequate reply was given to the war monger on the Eastern as well as Western Front. The Indian forces were corroborated with the zealous efforts of Mukti Bahini. The Pak forces faced a setback on all the strategic points in the wake of the declaration of total war by Pakistan. All the three wings of Indian Forces, viz., Army, Navy and Air Force, were brought to action. The Chiefs proved themselves more than worthy for the confidence that was bestowed by the Defence Minister. They most skilfully steered his defence plans. The 14-day war witnessed massive destruction of Pakistan’s strategic points, oil storages, warships and submarines and also on the eastern front, the disruption of the supply line. The bragging Pak steermen were humbled and a surrender draft was signed by Pak Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi. It was a Historic surrender in the sense that the number of the surrendering force was far above the winner force and also that the war material with them was still sufficient to continue the war for a significant period. It was actually the morale and confidence that won over the frustration and the weak cause. While the Generals and the armies were busy on the fronts, Mr. Ram was impatiently and enthusiastically analysing the situation and taking a bird's eye view of the war disturbed areas. In order to keep the morale high, he toured the fronts and patted the Jawans. The imposed war ended after 14 days and the suffered population of East Pak was blessed by the long cherished Free Bangla Desh.

If a menace was created it was to be met in all the circumstances, but surely, Babuji’s sagacity, organisational
capabilities, confidence, dynamism and farsighted analysis minimized the fierceness and lead the country to a glorious victory. "We really mean that the battle will be fought only on their territory and not on Indian soil" (Rewari, Nov. 25) and "if a war is imposed on us, we will give a death blow to the aggressor," (Agra, April 27). He did what he said. "I will fight to win", and he really fought to win.
The Progress of India in the Field of Defence During the Last Twenty-Five Years

JAGJIVAN RAM

As I rise to speak to you this evening, my mind is filled with memories of the late Lal Bahadur Ji with whom I was closely associated for many years. He looked a simple man but behind his simple exterior were qualities which made him what he was and which compelled admiration.

As an old colleague, I am happy to be called upon to deliver the Lal Bahadur Shastri lecture this year.

Sympathy for the poor as well as courage in the face of grave crisis were the characteristics of Lal Bahadur Shastri which often reminds me of Tagore's words, 'Give me the strength never to disown the poor or bend my knees before insolent might'. He demonstrated this quality in ample measure during the Pakistan attack on Chhamb in 1965. On hearing of the aggression, he ordered the Army to march 'बढ़े चलो बहादुरो' he exhorted.

Lal Bahadur was quick to realise that India could neglect the defence at her own peril. To his way of thinking, Defence and Agriculture needed the topmost priority. He gave the slogan 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan'.

*Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri III Memorial Lecture, delivered on 1st October, 1972 at New Delhi, organised by Chitra-Kala Sangam.
It would be appropriate on this occasion to deal with the progress of the country's defence development.

With the partition of the country in 1947, a proportion of the Army's strength and its institutions like training centres and cantonments went to Pakistan. The composition of the units suffered a drastic change and many of them remained under-strength. The officer cadre was badly depleted.

In the wake of partition came bloodshed, misery and disorder and the Army was called upon to assist the civil authority in affording protection to displaced persons and maintaining law and order.

Hardly had that been achieved when, in October 1947, large bodies of raiders, well armed with modern weapons, attacked Kashmir. The Army was rushed there on October 27. The fighting continued till the ceasefire came into effect all along the Jammu and Kashmir front on January 1, 1949.

Traditionally, the Himalayas guard the Indian sub-continent in the North. This situation was suddenly changed when the Chinese launched a sudden and massive attack on October 20, 1962. Notwithstanding tremendous problems of manpower, communications, logistics and acclimatisation, jawans of the Indian Army fought valiantly from Ladakh in the West to Arunachal in the East. The Chinese declared a unilateral ceasefire. The Indian Army suffered many setbacks during the Chinese aggression. An inquiry into the reverses brought out a number of useful lessons. These were weighed, assessed and assimilated. Improvements in training, equipment, communications, supply and logistics, tactics and strategy and the concepts of warfare were effected. Psychological conditioning of the man and physical conditioning of the body to the terrain and climate, peculiar to the northern border, were woven into the concepts of training.

After the Chinese aggression, the Army was expanded to a strength of 828,000. A Rs. 500 crore Five-Year Defence Plan was formulated. Among the new raisings were ten Mountain Divisions. These Mountain Divisions with the higher
mobility and greater fire-power were specially tailored to the needs of defence in the Himalayas. More and more stress was laid on training under actual field conditions. Both officers and men were given “battle inoculation” viz., training in the actual terrain and in conditions they could one day be called upon to fight in. Many training centres were opened and new courses of training introduced.

While the Army was preparing itself to defend the Himalayas, it had to face another attack from Pakistan. The attack started in the Kutch in April 1965. It spread to Kargil in Kashmir. Finally in August 1965, hundreds of well-armed Pakistani infiltrators, disguised as Civilians, crossed the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir at a number of points under cover of protective fire from Pakistani troops.

They did not stop at that only. On September 1, Pakistani forces crossed the international border at Chamb. Our troops crossed the Punjab border in the Lahore sector on September 6. Fighting continued on the whole of the western border till September 23 when a cease-fire between India and Pakistan became effective. Our Army blunted the Pakistani attack all along with border and captured important places like Burki, Dograi, Phillora, Haji Pir and a number of important communication centres. The 1962-65 operations served as a back-drop to the continued activity of reinforcing our Army to meet the dual threat from Pakistan and China. The decisive victory won by us in the 14-day war started by Pakistan in December 1971 proved that the Defence modernisation programme had been moving along the right lines.

During the 1960s; weapons and equipment were modernised. The Army has been equipped with self-loading rifles, small arms with a standardised calibre capable of taking 7.62 mm ammunition, lighter long-range mortars, mountain guns with the better range, medium and light tanks and light machine guns. All infantry units in the Army have now been equipped with weapons of post 1960 design and similar re-equipment of artillery and armour is nearing completion. The
modernisation of signal communication equipment had added significantly to the operational efficiency of the Service.

The Army has also been equipped with new Shaktiman and Nissan vehicles produced by our ordnance factories, as also the 3-Ton Tata Mercedes, one-ton Dodge wagons and Willys' jeeps.

I have already referred to Mountain Divisions. An answer to the complex problems of defence in the Himalayan terrain has been found in the newly-raised Mountain Divisions which are specially patterned to the needs of mountain warfare.

Each of these Divisions is intended to be as self-contained as possible. The emphasis is on extreme mobility, increased fire-power and rigorous training for the mental and physical fitness demanded of a soldier at high altitudes. They are equipped with animal transport and lighter vehicles, fewer and lighter pieces of artillery, and automatic weapons.

The problems of defence in the high mountainous regions, with altitudes rising from 1,600 to 6,000 metres, are many. There, the Jawans have to face many odds. Congealing cold freezes lubricants in guns and machines; rarified atmosphere makes bullets go awry; and soldiers find living and breathing at high altitude strenuous till they are acclimatised.

The mind and body have to be conditioned to endure these difficulties with determination. The human organism has to be trained and acclimatised to live in these arduous surroundings.

Emphasis is, therefore, laid on field training in mountainous terrain under actual battle conditions. "Battle inoculation" is given to all officers and jawans to make their training as realistic as possible.

The sustain troops under these adverse conditions, the Mountain Divisions need special types of snow clothing, high altitude tents, wind-proof jackets, capes and coats, boots and socks, particularly designed and manufactured for their durability, light weight and effectiveness under conditions of 20 to
40 degrees below zero temperature. Also required is food with high calorific value, nutritive yet palatable, easy to cook and light to carry. These requirements have been met through our ordnance factories and the Research and Development Organisation of the Ministry of Defence.

Expansion in the Army, which was necessary to raise the strength of our Defence Forces, therefore, called for an accelerated recruitment drive. The response from all over the country was indeed heartening.

Recruiting the right material is important. But this is not enough. Training a recruit to become a soldier, or a cadet to officer, is the more important task.

Training is a continuous, persistent and uphill job. It takes months to prepare and prime a soldier carefully, methodically and scientifically. This is achieved by regimental training centres through a strict schedule of training—drill, physical and weapon training, field-craft and outdoor exercises—which is intended to toughen the body, discipline the mind, educate the soldiers in the three R’s and make him proficient in the use of arms and weapons. Indeed, the metamorphosis of a young, raw recruit, after he has finished his training is striking. Even when he has become a full-fledged soldier, his training does not stop, as training in the Army is a continuous process and the soldier is constantly trained for higher and better jobs. There are a number of long and short courses which he has to attend in addition to passing various tests and examinations for promotion.

Similarly, preparing a cadet to become an officer needs time, careful planning and attention. His body and mind are trained to become strong and agile; leadership is cultivated in him and he is made to imbibe qualities of discipline and self-confidence. There is a lot to learn and for 17 to 18 years of his career as an officer, till he attains the rank of Lt. colonel, he attends a number of courses, passes various promotion examinations and receives advanced training in different specialist schools.
Consequent on the expansion in the Army it became necessary to expand training facilities. This has been done through an expansion of the existing institutions as also by opening new training establishments.

In the light of experience gained in the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965, battle inoculation training was introduced in the Army. This training, intended to make troops accustomed to the noises and shocks of war by simulating battle conditions as realistically as possible, has been imparted to all Army formations and units.

The Navy and the Air Force were small in size when independence came. They had to be strengthened, expanded and modernised. This process has been accelerated during the last few years.

The expansion of India’s Navy in the two decades since Independence can be described as ‘three-dimensional’. When freedom came we had a Navy which operated only on the surface of the sea. A little more than a decade later, the service acquired its wings as naval operations were expanded to the sky above the sea. At the turn of the second decade the Navy acquired submarines to extend its sphere of activities below the surface of the ocean.

In 1947, the Indian Navy had only some corvettes, sloops and minor naval craft. Today the Indian fleet consists of the aircraft carrier INS Vikrant (flagship of the Western Fleet), cruisers Mysore and Delhi, a submarine squadron, a submarine depot ship, two destroyer squadrons, three frigate squadrons, one training frigate squadron, one mine counter-measure squadron, one missile boat squadron, four survey ships, one landing craft squadron, one petrol craft squadron, a modern fleet tanker and some auxiliary craft.

In the mid-sixties, a defence plan, to be implemented over a period of five years (1966-71), was prepared. For the Navy, the plan envisaged a phased programme for the replacement of aging ships by modern ones, construction of various types of ships in Indian yards and development of India’s underwater capability.
Some conventional types of submarines, fitted with modern equipment, have since joined the fleet. To keep the submarines fighting fit with facilities for repair and supply of water, fuel and torpedoes, as well as to give the submarines the necessary flexibility of action, the depot ship, INS Amba, was acquired. Taking into account the threat the country is likely to face in future, the submarine arm is progressively being strengthened.

The Navy entered into the missile era when she acquired a squadron of missile boats. A new establishment, INS Agnibahu, which would cater to the logistic and maintenance requirements of the missile boats squadron will soon be commissioned. In addition, a few seaward defence patrol boats, constructed in Indian shipyards and a few police boats have been added to the fleet. An important landmark in the development of the Navy’s air-arm was the commissioning of 300 squadron. It was the first combatant fighter squadron of the Navy to be commissioned. In 1962, Dabolim Air Station at Goa was commissioned as INS Hansa.

In March 1969, 321 Helicopter Squadron was commissioned as an essential component of the Navy’s air wing. Apart from air-sea rescue operational work, ferry service, casualty evacuation and submarine detection, helicopters fitted with torpedoes could provide an effective answer to hostile submarines. Each of the Leander frigates under construction will have a helicopter embarked.

In April 1971, Indian Naval Air Squadron 330, comprising Seaking helicopters, was commissioned at INS Garuda, Cochin. These are the most sophisticated modern anti-submarine helicopters in the world. Seaking is a single package anti-submarine helicopter capable of going out to sea from a carrier or an air station to search and destroy submarines. It is capable of flying day and night and in any weather conditions. It has its own radar, underwater submarine detection system and all the modern airborne equipment.

The Indian Air Force suffered as much from the partition
of the country as the Army and the Navy. All the permanent bases of the Air Force were located in West Punjab, North West Frontier Areas and Sind. Two of its nine squadrons went to Pakistan and simultaneously most of the senior instructional staff, which was largely British, left the country. The solitary Dakota squadron which was still in the process of being raised, was divided. This created a vital gap which had to be filled immediately. Officers and men of IAF were not only able to save it from disorganisation but succeeded in putting it on a sound organisational and operational footing.

During this period, a major task assigned to the still half-formed and divided Dakota transport squadron was evacuation of refugees from Pakistan. The aircrew flew non-stop and evacuated 30,000 men, women and children.

 Barely two months after the mass evacuation, the Srinagar airfield had come within the firing range of Pakistani raiders. Prompt action by the Air Force saved the airfield, and the half-formed transport squadron ferried the first wave of troops to Srinagar. More reinforcements were landed later.

During these operations the Air Force proved to be of immense help to the Army. An important landmark during these operations was the historic landing at Leh by Air Commodore Mehar Singh on a semi-prepared airstrip. The landing opened the hitherto inaccessible areas of Ladakh to air traffic. This was precursor to similar feats by Air Force crew in the remote western and eastern frontiers of our country.

The next major threat to the country came in 1962. The Government decided to allocate only transport and logistic support to the Indian Air Force during these operations.

During the hostilities, the pressure on the transport and helicopter crew was tremendous. Under all weather conditions, transport aircraft had to fly in tortuous valleys to airdrop supplies or to land them at advanced landing grounds. They also had to ferry troops and evacuate casualties. All these tasks were carried out with the utmost efficiency. It was also
during this period that some notable feats in aviation were achieved by our pilots. A conventional transport aircraft landed and took off from a land strip at a height of 5,660 metres which probably was a world record. Helicopter pilots operated with load from altitudes extending upto 5,660 metres, which was another glorious achievement.

The teeth of the Air Force were not, however, tested till three years later. In September 1965, Pakistani forces crossed the international boundary in the Chhamb sector. It became imperative to stop the enemy armour. On September 1, IAF fighters flying 28 sorties in the hour-and-a-quarter that was available before sundown, destroyed 28 Pakistani tanks in their first strike. The first aerial engagement came on September 3, when Sqn. Ldr. Trevor Keevor shot down a Pakistani Sabre over the Chhamb sector. This marked the beginning of IAF’s supremacy over Pakistan which it maintained during the next 20 days. Side by side with aerial defence, IAF aircraft attacked enemy ground positions.

Starting from obsolescent piston engine fighter bombers and a small fleet of Dakota transport aircraft, the Air Force launched into a modernisation programme. In 1948, the Air Force acquired Vampire aircraft. This was followed by the acquisition of Toofanis, Mysteres, Hunters, Gnats, HF-24 (Maruts), MiG-21 and SU-7 aircraft.

The Liberator was the first bomber to be introduced into service. Many Liberator aircraft were left behind as scrap by the United States Air Force in India. A number of these were overhauled and renovated for service. A few years later, Canberra bombers were acquired and these still form the backbone of our bomber squadrons.

Dakotas were the only transport aircraft which IAF possessed at the time of independence. These were supplemented by C-119 Fairchild Packet aircraft, and then with increasing commitments in NEFA and Ladakh, Otters, Caribous and AN-12 heavy transport aircraft were acquired. In addition, the Air Force took up a project of manufacturing HS-748
transport aircraft as a replacement for Dakota aircraft. For the first time in the world, trials of Para-drop from this aircraft were successfully conducted early in 1971.

Helicopters were introduced into the Air Force in 1954 when Sikorsky S-55 and S-62 were acquired. These were supplemented by Bells. With increasing commitments in the mountainous area of our northern borders, the helicopter fleet has now been standardised to Mi-4 and Alouette III-B. Wing Commander K.K. Saini, one of our Air Force test pilots, flew an Alouette helicopter to a hight record when he landed at an altitude of 7,500 metres in 1969.

For communication work and important flights, initially Dakota aircrafts were used. These were supplemented by Viscounts and later by 11-14s. Now the indigenously manufactured HS-748 aircrafts have replaced the Dakotas. A few all jet TU-124 aircrafts have also been acquired for this role.

For maritime reconnaissance, Super-Constellations are being utilised.

Modernisation has meant the setting up of an efficient radar network and auxiliary communications system on a phased programme, and the acquisition and installation of surface-to air guided weapons around our vital complexes for our air defence needs.

Under the training programme of our Air Force, a great landmark was the inauguration of the first phase of the composite Air Force Academy near Hyderabad early in 1971. When the final phase of this Academy is completed, it will train Pilots, Navigators, Ground Duty Officers (non-technical branches), air signallers, air observation post Pilots and Navigators of the Fleet Air Arm of the Navy. The Academy will also train Pilots and Navigators from friendly foreign countries.

In the wake of the aggressions in 1962 and 1965, the needs of Air Force were studied in depth and it was decided to have a compact and hardhitting balanced force of 45 Squadrons. The task of expansion has been successfully
accomplished. Simultaneously, attention has been focussed on modernisation, rationalisation and standardisation.

With the programme of modernisation and re-equipment, many aircraft, armament and auxiliary equipment had to be acquired from various sources and these were of many different makes and types. This variety of sophisticated equipment created certain problems—problems of management, maintenance and repair, organisational structure and training. These problems were given urgent attention and diversity is fast giving way to standardisation of both equipment and procedures. This has been made possible through greater and more rapid reliance on indigenously produced aircraft and equipment.

Studies were undertaken by specially appointed teams at all levels of the Air Force with a view to improving all-round efficiency and effecting economy. Latest management techniques and systems analyses to suit the specialised needs of the Air Force were prescribed and enforced. Latest developments in the concepts and techniques of air warfare, particularly in relation to short and long term threats faced by the country, are constantly being evaluated.

Among the first major steps which the Government of India took after the Chinese attack was to set up, in November 1962, a separate Department of Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence to direct, co-ordinate and strengthen the production effort. Immediate steps were taken to modernise and expand the existing ordnance factories and set up new ones in strategic fields of production, to augment the productive effort of public sector undertakings manufacturing aeronautical, electronic and engineering equipment.

The requirements of the Army for armoured fighting vehicles are being met by the Heavy Vehicles Factory at Avadi which rolled out of the first Vijayanta tank in December 1965. The factory has been steadily building up its production. Ammunition for Vijayanta tanks is produced in ordnance
factories. Infra-red devices required for the night operation of the Vijayanta tanks have been developed within the country and their production has commenced. The indigenous content of the tank is now 65%. It is proposed to increase it progressively to 85% within the next two or three years. The Heavy Vehicles Factory has also to its credit the manufacture of armoured recovery vehicles designed and developed with indigenous know-how and talent. There is a proposal to build a lighter series of vehicles like armoured personnel carriers.

The Vehicle Factory, Jabalpur, with all modern facilities, went into production in 1970. It is engaged in the production of all 4 x 4 vehicles required by the army, namely the Shaktiman truck, the Nissan 1-ton truck and the Jongas.

A special Steels Project is being set up in the ordnance factories complex at Kanpur to provide 58 varieties of special steels of high specifications required for modern armament. Within the next four to five years, ordnance factories will be self-sufficient in respect of this important raw material.

To meet the gap between future requirements of propellants and the existing capacity, a new unit is proposed to be set up.

Besides these ordnance factories there are eight public sector undertakings which constitute an important base for the manufacture of equipment required for the Defence Services. All these public sector undertakings came into being after independence.

Foundations of the aircraft industry in India were laid in 1940 when the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., came into existence. An important step was taken on October 1, 1964 when Hindustan Aircraft and Aeronautics (India) were incorporated into Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. This measure was designed to secure better coordination in policy, expansion and production of aircraft in India. Hindustan Aeronautics Limited are currently producing jet ground attack fighter HF-24, the supersonic interceptor MiG-21, jet fighter Gnat aircraft, the trainer HJT-16
and the medium transport aircraft HS-748 for the Air Force and the Indian Airlines. The undertaking is also manufacturing K-13 missiles for MiG aircraft. The Hyderabad Division of the Hindustan Aeronautics produces airborne electronic equipment and instruments for the MiG.

It has also been decided to produce an improved version of MiG 21. The new aircraft will be distinctly superior to the MiG-21 in range, speed and fire-power. Delivery will commence in 1973-74.

A military freighter version of HS-748 aircraft suitably modified for para-dropping and supply-dropping role will soon be undergoing trials.

Concerted efforts are being made to establish indigenous source of supply for as many items of imported stores for the aircrafts industry as possible. Aircraft Accessories and instruments from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the cost of modern aircraft and these are presently being imported. With a view to achieving self-sufficiency in this area, a separate Division of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited has been established at Lucknow.

The design, development and production of modern aircraft is a long process and calls for large outlay. New types of aircraft have been taken up in accordance with the changing requirements for the Air Force and the resources available HF-24 and HJT-16 were designed and developed by HAL themselves. To meet the need of the Air Force in 1980s, a proposal to design and develop an Advanced Strike Aircraft incorporating the latest technology is under consideration. The design and development of a helicopter for meeting the future requirements of defence is also being taken up.

The establishment of Bharat Electronics in 1954 marked the first step on the road to self-sufficiency in the wide range of electronic and electrical equipment required by the Defence Services.

Another significant step has been the expansion and
modernisation of Mazagon Dock Limited. This ship-building yard is now capable of constructing destroyers, frigates, passenger ships, passenger-cum-cargo ships, dredgers, tugs, barges, trawlers, launchers, floating docks and assault boats.

Six Leander-class frigates for the Indian Navy are at present on order with Mazagon Dock, one of which has been commissioned into the Indian Navy. The Dock has also delivered one bucket dredger, two inshore minesweepers and two AVCAT tankers to the Navy.

I have given you a survey of the growth of our Defence Forces during the last 25 years. If I have gone into some detail, it was to show the enormity and complexity of the task and the success achieved by us. We have been the victims of aggression so many times that we cannot afford to neglect our defences any more.

We, however, remain pledged to the policy of peaceful co-existence. We want to live in peace and amity with our neighbours. We covet no one’s territory. It was in this spirit that our Prime Minister took the initiative for the Simla Summit and reached an accord with Pakistan. We want to rule out war as a method of solving disputes and we are prepared to go to any length to achieve this consummation.

Nehru fought for a world without war and Shastri died fighting for peace on the sub-continent. We remain the inheritors of their legacy.
INTERVIEW
Thoughts And Philosophy of Babu Jagjivan Ram*

A. C. SINHA

Sir, on my own behalf as also on behalf of the Abhinandan Samiti, I express my gratitude for your having been good enough to grant us time for ascertaining your valuable views on different matters. On most of these subjects, we have often heard you, or have seen your valuable writings; still, my apology for taking this time from you is that the Commemoration Volume which is being presented to you shortly in recognition of your versatile personality and services to this country will be a fit document, which should contain your valuable and authentic views on different matters which have become practically everybody's concern in this world today, mainly for the simple reason that this Volume will perhaps not only reach every hook and corner of this country, but also beyond the frontiers of this country, like a scripture giving the message of peace, consolation, faith and happiness for the mankind.

I would, therefore, request that you may very kindly give your attention to these matters even though, it will take away a good deal of your precious time. This is also my apology for placing before your goodself a long list of subjects so that those who may take care to go through this Volume, may easily get a complete picture of your views on many

*An interview with Babu Jagjivan Ram by the Chief Editor.
important matters concerning the growth of the mankind, the spirit of real brotherhood in the face of the multifarious and multi-cornered problems of man's life in the world as a whole. Sir, having had the opportunity to know some of your views in this regard, namely that of all lofty ideals for attaining a happy, prosperous and stable nationhood, we must start from man's origin itself and see what are the basic factors which contribute to the proper and orderly growth of the man, these concepts being suitable modified from time to time, according to needs and circumstances, I will begin with Culture, Religion, Science and Education.

**CULTURE, RELIGION, SCIENCE AND EDUCATION**

Q. 1. Sir, How can a casteless and stable society which is the most coveted object to achieve in India for a true and wholesome growth of this nation be brought into existence? In a nutshell, the greatest hurdle seems to be that virtues like integrity, service, and compassion are becoming greatly divorced from life and that this makes the solution all the more difficult.

A. The caste-system prevented social mobility, stratified occupational talents and obstructed the growth of national integration. India, therefore, cannot prosper unless the caste-system is abolished in a real way. The whole social system requires a change. That is the only way how a casteless society can be created. I am of the opinion that talk of democracy, socialism and a modern society is meaningless if caste ridden social structure is not changed. As society grows, more and more materialistic and modern, many of the old moral and ethical values will become scarced. A modern society however means a society free from superstition, rigidity, social prejudices and more scientific and liberal in approach and behaviour. Caste system has been sustained by prohibiting marriage outside the caste-group by ostracizing those who violated this prohibition and by depriving the offsprings of
marriages outside the caste group from the right of inheritance, a place in the caste group and an honourable position in society. Caste system can be destroyed by removing the pillars which sustain it. Its abolition can be expedited by prohibiting marriage within the same caste group i.e. by reversing the processes which sustain caste system. Intermarriage will no doubt help but if left to the sweet volition of the people it will take long time to effect the change.

Q. 2. By what means would it be possible in the present circumstances to create an atmosphere which will easily and quickly pour in these basic virtues in the life of our people, or atleast in a sizeable fraction of the people of this country?

A. Fortunately, India has accepted secularism as an important principle of State policy. It means that there will be no State religion and State will not patronize any particular religion. It gives every citizen the freedom to profess and practise his or her religion according to his belief. It also gives the freedom not to believe in any religion. All religions have the same basic tenets. These tenets contain the basic wishes and postulates like integrity, service and compassion in consonance with the demands of a modern society. I think, religion in a modern society will have to become more and more liberal. With the advancement of science and technology, industrialisation and its concomitants of urbanisation and intermingling of people, liberalisation of social and caste compartments are inevitable.

Q. 3. Can it be done by changing the pattern of education and if so, will it be possible to do so in the present state of our financial and other resources, or will it be an experiment worth trying piecemeal, i.e. in stages?

A. Reorientation of our educational system is imperative. Change at all stages of education—primary, secondary and university is urgently required. The purpose of education is not merely to turn out automatons for jobs but to pro-
duce integrated personality by developing the inherent qualities of an individual and further it should provide the basic infrastructure in the character of a future citizen to shoulder his responsibilities and discharge them in the context of the social objectives. As all citizens have equal rights and responsibility in our country, there should be no discrimination between the rich and the poor, the elite and the common in the system of education that he receives. The system of ordinary school and public schools running side by side catering to the needs of two types of citizens, imparting two types of education and producing two types of citizens is hardly conducive to the establishment of a socialist society. Then again, education today is a luxury for vast multitude of our people who cannot afford to pay for it. Therefore, the State will have to take the responsibility of educating all the children of the country and provide institutions for the same at all stages run by the State and not by private individuals or agencies. This is the surest way of doing away with diverse standard in education and introducing uniformity in standard. This should be done in a phased way over 5 or 6 years.

Q. 4. If this is neither possible nor desirable, can there be better and very practicable ways to achieve this end quickly and substantially?

A. I think, there is no short cut method to achieve this end quickly and substantially. Nation, however, cannot afford to postpone this reform indefinitely. It has to be done in a phased manner over 5 or 6 years.

Q. 5. History shows that in this country true spiritual leaders or saints like Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabirdas, Ravidas, Dayanand, Ramkrishna Paramhans, Vivekanand and Mahatma Gandhi have, in times of almost similar cultural and moral crisis successfully helped the people in general, in reviewing faith, spirit of selfless service, integrity and compassion by their selfless service and their truthful preachings, why should we not try to invoke the aid of such spiritual leaders and saints in India today and entrust the task to them to be carried
out by them in their own way. Do you think that in doing so, there is danger of institutionalized religion taking hold of the masses, creating differences and dogmas instead of the feeling of brotherhood, selfless service and compassion without distinction of caste and creed etc?

A. This is a very important question. Full justice cannot be done to it in a short interview. During the middle ages, India produced a galaxy of saints, spiritual leaders and social reformers who have rendered great services to the cause of humanity.

There is no doubt that saintly personalities can still do a lot. World today—India not excepted—is facing a crisis of confidence and character. Conflict between material and spiritual values is oppressing mankind today. A rational synthesis of material and spiritual value only can provide a solution to the crisis. This can be achieved by the example set by emancipated individuals who will influence others not by precepts but by practising what they preach.

Q. 6. What in your opinion, is the main cause of the cultural crisis and deterioration of the sense of higher or moral values of life?

A. For centuries, the 'Brahmins' and other caste-Hindus have exploited the working class and the peasantry and specially inferiorized and humiliated 'Shudras' or untouchables. I think, the cultural crisis and deterioration of the sense of higher or moral values of life began from that period in one way or the other.

Q. a) Is it on account of foreign rule in India in the recent past?

A. This may be one of the reasons.

Q. b) Whether the situation has further deteriorated during the past 25 years of independence?

A. There has not been any noticeable change for the better.
Q. c) If you agree that the situation has further deteriorated during the post-independence period, what are the main reasons for that?

A. I shall not easily accept the proposition that there has definitely been deterioration. The country has passed through many vicissitudes in post-Independence period. As a result of the pernicious two nation theory and partition of the country, we had to face the difficult task of providing relief and rehabilitation to millions of displaced persons from West and East wing of the newly created Pakistan. As a matter of fact we had to be constantly watchful and vigilant because of situations created in Hyderabad and Kashmir and threats to our borders from hostile neighbours. Thus we had simultaneously to plan for economic and industrial development of the country and to build a strong defence apparatus.

Q. d) Can it be said that it is mainly because of the fact that on becoming independent we have concentrated on attaining the economic emancipation of the people in every possible manner, ignoring the basic point that inculcation of higher values of life in the people is the sine-qua-non of real, orderly or purposeful growth of the nation?

A. This is not wholly true. Efforts have always been made for a planned and balanced growth of the country in all directions.

Q. e) Can it be said that even now it is not too late to turn to this ideal of creating a stable society where every child must grow with the spirit of service, real brotherhood, character, and compassion, whatever it may cost us, and even if we have to slow down the pace of our economic planning in the other aspects of this planning?

A. I do not see any conflict between economic development and development on integrated personality of our people. Along with growth of industries and agriculture which mainly contribute to economic development, facilities for all such social services which are necessary for physical and mental
development of people and not only for material comfort have to be provided. And that is what is being done. It however requires reorientation and restructuring of our educational pattern. Merely talk of lofty ideals and higher values of our great civilization and culture, will not help in creating a society enjoying the type of stability you have in mind unless all our people are involved in the massive development work and the underprivileged classes are not left isolated, ignored or neglected but are brought in the main streams of administration, judiciary, higher decisions and so on.

Q. f) Chinese war and the two Pakistani conflicts have proved that inspite of all this cultural crisis the people of this country have shown, almost en-mass, the best ideals of service, sacrifice and devotion to the motherland. Leaders like you and the freedom-fighters of the pre independence era, exhibited this position in your sacrifices while struggling for independence. How could it be possible for the people who were oppressed with cultural and moral crisis? Does this lead to the inference that the fact of the said moral and cultural crisis in this country is not correct? Sir, what really this anamoly is? Kindly enlighten?

A. Chinese invasion and Pak conflicts have opened our eyes. We have learnt the lesson of planning and industrialising the country in such a way that we may be fully prepared in hours of peril from the point of view of defence, as well as development. Our people have shown that inspite of differences they are one nation in hour of crisis and can sacrifice even their lives. Your opinion and estimation of our leaders is also correct. Three wars have alerted us to be more watchful, sincere, hardworking, united and patriotic. Sometimes, due to general dissatisfaction and economic depression, people use to think of moral and cultural crisis.

Q. 7. What in your opinion, is the position of this cultural crisis or the crisis of morals or higher values of life in the other countries. Do you think that a wholly materialistic approach towards human life in the western countries is mainly
responsible for this crisis in those countries and that India stands on the same footing in this regard?

A. The world is divided into two broad groups—Rich nations and poor nations or Developed countries and underdeveloped countries. This categorisation is mainly based on advancement in science, technology as well as industries and general economic prosperity. The rich and developed nations of Europe and America have been devoting their attention to material prosperity and consequently have become too much materialistic.

It is being realised now in a large measure that all the material comfort does not necessarily bring happiness. Even after all the requirement of his creature—comfort have been met, man needs something more to give him real happiness which flows from a sense of satisfaction and not from the meeting of insaluble demands. Such a sense of satisfaction can be achieved only when man rises above insaluble demand of creature comfort and develops a fair measure of strength to control his desires. Such a strength can be acquired by realisation that man does not require only material comfort, he requires spiritual bliss till such a realisation comes. Thus both in Europe and America men with all material comforts have no access to true happiness. India, though economically underdeveloped and not in a position to provide all the material comfort to her people has the capability to give the message of spiritual inspiration which none can deny.

Q. 8. What in your opinion, is the contribution to the creation of this crisis of moral values of life of those schools of thought which have an atheistic belief or believe in achieving ends by whatever means it is so possible? It however, appears that inspite of their materialistic approach and the philosophy of securing higher material benefits to men, the crisis of culture or that of moral or spiritual values is not so serious in the other countries, as in India today. Do you agree? If so, what may be the reasons for this greater deterioration in India today?
A. I do not agree that this crisis of culture or ethical or spiritual values is not so serious in West as compared to India. It is, however, a reality that life is becoming more and more devoid of all values. What has happened in India is that we are claiming to be clinging to old practices, conventions, traditions and values most of which have lost all practical implications in the present day society with the result that what survives is the emptiness, lifelessness and meaninglessness of rules and regulations. We see the futility of these old rules and regulations, we do not really observe them because we have no faith in those values and traditions. Such disintegration of values and beliefs has necessitated the quest for stability, and in the absence of any support we have taken shelter against the fourwalls of casteism which are themselves crumbling. There is no doubt that many youngmen and women in some of the Universities, also, out of a sense of sheer frustration, have taken recourse to narcotics with a wrong notion of happiness and at times of emancipation. Presence of a large number of Hippies and pornographic literature is viciating the Indian society. But this as yet is happening mainly in big cities and industrial centres. However, we need not become unnecessarily panicky as this will prove to be a temporary phase. The country is making rapid progress in all spheres—educational, economic, and industrial, and a good deal of re-thinking has started and awareness is noticeable for incalculating the ideal of moral and spiritual values in the lives of our people.

Our youngmen should be encouraged to engage themselves in improving their immediate environments and prepare themselves for larger and greater social and national tasks rather than pursuing the phantom of an indistinct and intangible ideal. The economic and social order should be so changed as not to permit a few to live in the midst of plenty, demonstrating their opulence with utter vulgarity while millions starve. We should remember that Indian heritage revived in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi were based on the principles of cooperation against conflict, on non-violence against violence,
love against hatred and of brotherhood against division of humanity in narrow water tight compartments. The so-called crisis of moral and cultural values can be, and I am confident, will be ended as the faith of people in India in these teachings of Mahatma Gandhi will be restored. Fortunately, in India even today people attach importance to the means to achieve an end. They hold that a foul means contaminates even a noble end.

Marxism and Gandhism were inherently similar so far as their ultimate objective is concerned. Ultimate objective of both was complete freedom of man which can be achieved only when State withers away. The only difference between the two was that of means. Marx believed in imposing it whereas Mahatma Gandhi wanted to attain the same thing by evolution from within. Mahatma Gandhi's concept of Ram-Raj, has a deeper meaning than what we can read in it as a mythological episode.

Q. 9. Sir, according to you "the society as described in the Vedas or Puranas cannot be re-created today but the lofty thoughts which have attained perfection in the Upanishads or Vedant can serve as inspiration to us." Will you very kindly explain some of the said lofty thoughts of Upanishads and Vedant and point out if these ideals can be applied in re-organising the society of today with those ideals as the basis?

A. In the Vedas we find an ambitious and healthy rural society struggling incessantly. It was an agricultural community. However, the currents of history having left behind that type of society had brought us to the modern age. Employment of science and technology as well as large scale industrialisation have naturally seen the birth and evolution of many other social systems. When we cannot attain that what is past, we cannot aspire for establishing that very type of society. That is neither possible nor desirable in the interests of the man or the society. Thoughts however are of somewhat perpetual nature. We find that type of thoughts in the
Vedas and Upanishads. The society as described in the Vedas or the Puranas cannot be and need not be recreated today, but the lofty thoughts which attained perfection in the Upanishads can serve as inspiration to us. When a Rishi says, 'O bright sun, I am what you are. The manifold nature, people of the world, you and I are hypothetically one.'

I feel that it is the climax of human spiritualism. When the Upanishads proclaim the entire universe is not a creation of any external God, It is self-manifesting, self-dissolving, self-begotten, self-created, self-acting, self-authority 'Brahma.' It seems that the creation of this universe is a modern concept. Can the resoluteness, disinterested action and human welfare described in the 'Gita' and summarised by Gandhiji in the two words: Truth and nonviolence, not serve as the motto of the modern scientific age.

On the one hand we have this great ideal of hypothetical unification in the human, manifold nature and all the human beings of the world, the extraordinary faith of the man in God, and belief in the uniqueness, divineness and greatness of the man, on the other hand we find the complete absence of these lofty ideals in the social life of the age. It is clear that these wonderful truths could not find a place in the social life. Possibly some of the saints might have put these truths into practice but the ordinary man accepted like, it the 'prasad' of 'Satyanarayan.' The truth in the shape of Narayana, could not find a place either in the heart or in the mind. These thoughts and faiths could not do much towards our social organisation, our social systems, manners and customs. These lofty ideas were like incorporeal souls having in the vacuum, and this was to happen. It is not necessary that the high ideals which in the form of saints' thoughts, are given to the society before the scheduled time should invariably find a place in the society. However, there is an urgent need of character building and cultivation of self-discipline. Self-restraint and breadth of outlook as essential condition for
the preservation and consolidation of our newly acquired freedom, of raising the motherland to heights of glory.

Q. 10. Vedant gives perhaps the most scientific explanation of the divinity of the soul and also the one-ness of the humanity. All religions seem to agree with this view in one or the other form. If this truth can be translated into practice, a universal religion will automatically be in existence, and if followed, it must remove all the cultural or crisis of higher values of life, and will perhaps remove all this tension and turmoil, which has taken hold of the mankind and will automatically make human life happy and perhaps blissful. What then in your opinion, seems to be the reason for non-creation of such a Universal religion in this world? Does the mankind have some paradoxical ingredients in his nature which stop from taking shelter under a roof which ensures all happiness, joy, and perfection, even though all efforts of man are proclaimed to be to secure happiness and joy?

A. That is true. All great religions and faiths lead mankind to oneness and towards happiness and blissful life. Shankar, the great exponent of the Vedant system rightly says, 'Brahman satyam, Jagan mithya, Jivo Brahmanva naparah'. In today's complicated world, the religion has got a secondary place. Politics is supreme. World Religions Conference have done a good work. But, still, it has not been possible to have one Universal religion, though certain international agencies like UNESCO are engaged in bridging the cultural gaps and bringing the humanity much nearer.

Q. 11. Kindly give your views on the merits and demerits of institutionalised religion. What is the substitute of institutionalised religion in India in case the feeling is correct that it has very often led to establishment of dogmas, diversity of views and quarrels in the name of religion?

A. The position has slightly changed now. People have become more rational and more liberal in their thinking and behaviour. I have already given my views on institutional religi-
gions in my answer to your question earlier (Question No 5 above.)

Q. 12. Do you think that the modern revolutionary discoveries in science and technology are responsible for creating an atmosphere of non-belief and indifference towards religion or spiritualism?

A. Science is search for truth. In India the science and technology have liberalised and humanised the religious thinking.

Q. 13. Science seeks to establish or find out the truth by investigation, experiment and analysis. Is it possible to apply this process of science for the discovery of truth in regard to man and his unity with God?

A. It will be interesting and perhaps fruitful if concrete efforts are made in this direction.

Q. 14. Why does science, with all its achievements and equipment, not make an attempt to discover the truth of the existence of man and for that matter the truth of all life as such, and that of its source?

A. I think something is being done by scientists and technologists. But it is too early to visualise results as the scientists have just begun to formulate a coordinated thinking in this regard.

Q. 15. Do you think that it is not possible for the scientists to try to discover this truth in his laboratory or by his scientific experiments and that is the reason why the scientist does not make any attempt on this account?

A. Nothing is impossible. One day science will succeed in its pursuit.

Q. 16. Modern science neither affirms its inability to devise experiments to discover this truth nor perhaps openly denies its ability. Will it not be proper for the leading scientists to sit together and decide this question finally so that the average man may become sure that the advancement in science or technology is entirely for different
ends and that man cannot afford to neglect concentrating on the truth of his own existence and his own self, and of his true relationship with each other?

A. This is a very good suggestion. If properly worked upon and practically implemented, it can save the whole human race.

Q. 17. Don’t you think that the time has come that science and religion should work side by side and supplement each other, when even a scientist like Eienstine had to say in his later days, ‘the religion without science is blind and science without religion is lame?’

A. We must take and make full use of whatever science can offer for socio-economic development and general welfare of the humanity and leave all destructive and disastrous elements. India, as you know, is using atom for peace and is deadly against all nuclear weapons. As far as religion is concerned, it is for enlightenment and elevation of the soul. One is aimed at exterior development while the other for the inner or spiritual progress. Eienstine’s remarks are really very sound and subject to any other views that may be held by scientists. I can say with confidence that it will be a great human success if both work together and come nearer. But I am afraid creation of this climate in the real sense will take its own time.

Q. 18. Don’t you think that the State should come forward to insist on this harmony between science and religion in the best interest of man’s proper and wholesome growth, joy and happiness? What, in your opinion, could be the possible objections of any State in this regard?

A. State cannot come forward. National laboratories, Research Institutions, and similar scientific organisations engaged in research cannot be compelled. It is all the more difficult in India having so many religions. However, scientists, technologists and religious heads themselves can take a lead and show a new path to the world, provided by religion you mean all high spiritual values of life, namely, service of the
humanity, sacrifice, compassion and pursuit of truth, and not rituals of any cult or creed or institutionalised form of religion as such.

Q. 19. The system of education in this country right from the primary stage to the University is being attacked from many angles. According to you the primary aim of education is all round growth of personality, but this aim is not to be realised unless the whole society is reorganised with this aim in mind. Sir, do you suggest, therefore, that the present educational system in India should remain as it is till the said reorganisation of the whole society is accomplished? In case you feel otherwise, what would be the guide lines for minimum changes in the system of education? Will it suffice for the present, if such changes are introduced in the secondary and higher education that it becomes mainly job-oriented?

A. It is a very vital and basic problem you have put before me in the form of a question. The society divided by castes has caste loyalty and is involved in group interests. Moreover, the present education system is defective. The so-called upper middle class and affluent community have initiated the English ways and manners. We have introduced the public school system simply because it prevails in English. In U.S.S.R. there is no public school system, nor it is in Japan, France, America etc. But they have their own educational systems. Since we were ruled by the English, so it got an easy access to this country too. When we talk of equality, democracy and socialism, then what is the need and utility of having such system of education. What I wish to emphasize is that we must not sow the seeds of disintegration and inequality right from the primary and secondary stage. The equality of opportunity is the soul of democracy. Where lies this equality when on the one hand we see a promising child reading in ordinary school and at home beside earthen lamp or a lantern in a dirty, smoky and noisy atmosphere, while on the other hand a dull child of a rich family reading in public school in a pleasant and peaceful atmosphere. By denying

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due facilities of education to all those who deserve and by creating a situation where facilities of better education are available only to those who afford enormous fees, we are doing nothing but creating inequality in the society, establishing aristocracy, snobbery and spreading the feeling of disunity and disintegration. I do not mind if public schools continue for the richer class but let suitable facilities of education be provided for all children irrespective of religion, caste and community. Even after 25 years of independence the educational system prevailing in the country up to University stage is basically the same which was evolved to meet the requirements of the British imperialism. The basic needs of the Indian people are to make the country industrialised besides greater development of agriculture, agro based industries and small scale industries. We are pledged to establish a socialist society. It is in keeping with these objectives that we have to devise the course of study, the system of education and educational plans.

Education today is spreading rapidly. We should pause for a while and should give a serious thought to the question that how far and in what way this spread of education is going to benefit the student community and the country in general.

Q. 20. Would you agree with the viewpoint that re-organisation of the present educational system in this country is itself a cumbersome and difficult task, but its reorganisation is immediately called for in the context of the growing unemployment of the educated class in this country?

A. It is for the educationists, besides the planners, thinkers, enlightened citizens to give a serious and proper thought to this problem and evolve such a educational plan, which will make radical changes in the whole system of education. It is not desirable in any way to spread education without changing the prevailing pattern. It is a matter great concern that grave unemployment prevails among technically qualified persons like Engineers, Scientists, Doctors, Technical hands etc., and that
highly qualified people are leaving the country in search of jobs. This brain drain is a great loss to nation. This is a challenge for all of us.

Q. 21. Do you think that re-organisation of the educational system with all its existing evils and perhaps purposelessness, immediately calls for the question or re-organisation of the teaching profession itself, the question of suitable equipment and atmosphere apart? By re-organisation of the teaching profession, I mean, mainly bringing back the teachers to certain ideals of service and sacrifice.

In this context Sir, do you think that the teaching profession can be brought to adhere to the ideals of learning, sacrifice, personal contact with the students in an attempt to make them really educated person by being given a position of respect and regard in the society and by ensuring its economic position on a decent standard, or by asking them to serve the nation on the ideals of the teachers of the hoary past in this country working with only their minimum needs and as symbols of sacrifice and deep learning?

A. Unless the teaching profession is re-organised, standarised and recognised as a noble profession the success of any system will be doubtful. It is for the State to provide suitable equipment and atmosphere along with reasonable remunerations, and the society to give adequate and due respect to the teachers. In return we can expect good performance and better results from their side. Ours is a utilitarian age. It will be illusory, if we think that teachers should work as symbol of sacrifice and deep learning.

Q. 22. Is it not absolutely necessary that all opportunity of education at all levels should be available to all persons subject only to their talent and aptitude, and that financial handicap should not be a bar for any one in this context. But whether, in your opinion, Sir, is it possible to effect this reform in the educational system of this country forthwith? If not, is it not high time that the State may start reforming
the educational system on this particular point as best as possible, but seriously and effectively.

A. Yes. All deserving students should be given opportunity of education at all levels free of charge. Even in public schools, though the term 'public' is misleading here, I would like that admission is on merit and talented students are provided free education. In this way rich and poor, both can have an equal opportunity.

The State has already made a beginnig in this direction and good results are bound to forcome in due course of time.

SCHEDULED CASTE UPLIFT WITH REFERENCE TO PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY

Q. 23. After the Constitution of India has granted certain rights to the so-called scheduled castes and has abolished untouchability, the problem now seems not so much as a social evil, but mainly as an economic problem in this country. In substance, it is now more a question of speedily improving their economic condition like that of the poverty stricken masses in this country. Please comment?

A. It is all right, that under the Constitution the untouchability has been abolished and its practice in any form forbidden. But has it been abolished in actual practice from the Hindu Society? Forms may have changed, but it is still practised in one way or the other. They are being socially boycotted and isolated, attacked and murdered, their huts being burnt and belongings looted. They are forced to lead a sub-human life. Even in services they have not been given due representation and proper share. The situation is very alarming. Like social isolation they have been exploited economically also. Unless something is done for them urgently the position will be worst. We plan for backward areas and wish to balance the regional disparities or imbalances. But do we have any radical plan for removing the poverty and disabilities of the scheduled castes? I want that proper care should be given
to improve the economic condition of the poverty stricken masses. No family should be without at least one means of livelihood and no family should be permitted to have more than one means of livelihood. Means test should be strictly applied in recruitment to government services and employment in public and private sectors as well as assistance for self-employment.

I, however, agree with you that scheduled castes problem no longer remains as acute a social problem, but it has become more and more an economic problem.

Q. 24. Do you think that all this Constitutional guarantee and abolition of untouchability by law has still not changed the complex and the feelings of the so-called upper Hindu class nor has it appreciably changed inferiority complex of the majority of the so-called scheduled castes. For whatever reasons; this appears to be the true picture of the dogma. How do you feel about it, and what measures you suggest to create a wholesale change in the actual feelings of the so-called higher class Hindus, or other well-to-do people in the country?

A. They are still being treated as slaves at least in a big way—the law has been enacted to punish the practice of untouchability, but in actual practice untouchability is still prevailing in various parts of the country. Even after 25 years of independence and so much cry, one has to think and devise ways and means by appointing a Committee to make a detailed study and report to the Parliament, as to how Untouchability Offences Act can be made effective and practical to get rid of this social evil. For a person like me, who has fought nearly for half a century against this evil, it is rather difficult to say how much time will the complete assimilation of untouchables in Hindu Society take. It is doubtful whether it will be ever realised and attained, unless some revolutionary changes are made in the basic concepts of Hindu religion. Side by side, scheduled castes should be given adequate political power and share in administration. Liberal assistance for their education and economic rehabilitation.
Q. 25. If the Harijans and the backward classes in India are, therefore, cared for properly by improving their economic conditions by speedily ensuring their minimum requirement and by particularly giving them proper education which may change their inferiority complex and give them confidence in themselves and feeling of equality without—developing undue vanity, ego, or hatred, they will, sooner than later, force the higher classes to give them their due in every way, without any begging as such. Do you agree with this viewpoint, and if so will you kindly elucidate suggesting some positive measures for special economic and educational reforms of the Harijans, also giving quickly achievable targets of their economic development and educational reform?

A. There is no question of forcing. It is their legitimate right. You may be aware that during the first 18 years of planning only 100 crores were spent on scheduled castes, 150 crores on tribals and 27 crores on other backward classes, which comes nearly 15 crores a year on a total population of scheduled castes, Tribes and Backward classes. It will be merely half a rupee per man per year. What I want is that every landless labourer be given some piece of land for homestead and money to purchase implements etc., and at least one man out of every family be provided a job in Government services. Besides this, education should be made free according to their talents and aptitude up to University level. The concept of credit worthiness should be changed so that they may take advantage of financial assistance and loans from Banks and other government institutions for self-employment and for their economic betterment.

Q. 26. You seem to agree with the saying that the strength of a chain is that of its weakest link. If this truth is applied in Indian Society, or Nation, in relation to the Harijans, Backward and poorer sections of the society, their speedy economic uplift and educational reform seems to be still more necessary in the wider interest of the country and the Nation. Will this not be a very special reason for us to consider this
problem immediately in this perspective and to start with very effective measures in this direction, because the steps taken so far either by the Government or by social reformers and others, do not seem to have caused any wholesome improvement in the situation during the last 25 years. Please comment?

A. I entirely agree with your views. We must learn from U.S.S.R., as what massive efforts they have made and what colossal amount of money they have spent for social, educational and economic development of the backward nationalities.

Q. 27. If it is accepted that the problem of the Harijans is more of an economic episode now than of a social evil, and that it can be tackled rightly by effectively taking to their economic uplift and educational reforms, is it still necessary to grant them reservation in matters of employment and Legislative activities etc.? I am placing this question before you, because there seems to be an under current in this country that in matters of Government services, this reservation is creating a heart-burning on the premise that efficiency and talent is being unduly disregarded without any proper justification for that, and that this is causing disappointment and lack of initiative in those who are more efficient and talented to receive promotions and higher assignments, only on the grounds of efficiency and talent. Please comment?

A. I don’t agree with your views. The problem is as much as social as economic. Poor they are no doubt, but main cause of their economic dependency and poverty is that for long they have been neglected in the society. Caste system has been an institution of discrimination and socio-economic injustices. I have always held that our approach should be an integrated one of all these problems—social, economic, as well as political. In matter of Government jobs, The criticism of reservation arises out of either misconception or jealousy. No person is recruited unless he possesses the necessary qualifications and it has not been proved by independent and unbiased assessment that Scheduled Castes are less efficient than others. It has not been conclusively proved
that talent is the monopoly of certain communities other than scheduled castes or of the richer classes. Scheduled castes boys who study with great difficulty have surpassed many students with greater facilities in university examinations. You will wonder that representation in Class I posts is below 2%. It will perhaps take more than two decades for scheduled castes to secure their proper representation in government services. If people are ignorant I cannot help them.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

Q. 28. Do you think that we have been well advised to adopt democratic socialism on the basis of our economic planning since independence, in contradiction to Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programmes?

A. Ideologies and concepts do change from time to time, but basic facts and values remain unchanged. Gandhiji made the village the centre-piece in his concept of planning. He stressed as an imperative of planning, the utilising of the unutilised or under-utilised rural labour and their skill through organisation of agriculture and village industries. He advocated the democratic decentralisation and dispersal of economic and political power. All his constructive programmes were related to his ideal of making a new man in a new society, Ram Rajya. When power shifted into the hands of the people, the ideals took shape of actions. Therefore, soon after the independence, India embarked upon planned socio-economic development, to transform quickly her colonial village economy, feudal agrarian pattern and backward rural technology into a highly developed economic society of an advanced nation, so as to cater to the social requirements of the masses and achieve the goal of democratic socialism.

Q. 29. Whatever has been the basis of our economic planning, it cannot be denied that economic progress has been much less than contemplated even though we are almost completing IV Plan. Would you kindly throw some light on the reasons thereof?
a) Is it not correct to say that our Plans have created only large scale industries in the Public as well as the Private Sectors, which have only helped in getting the rich richer and the poorer sections almost remaining at their old level. It is also felt that even though, a good deal of economic development has taken place in certain spheres of economic activity as a result of these Plans, the economic development is neither wholesome nor significant in the sense that high prices, profiteering, black marketing, inflation, and concentration of economic power in fewer hands, is still rampant in this country?

b) It is also clear that whereas 75% of the population of India is rural, depending on agriculture and rural industries, the Plans have been able to achieve very little in so far as the economic development of the rural masses is concerned. Kindly give your reactions?

c) It is also felt that besides these failures, the concentration on large scale industries in particular areas and towns, have aggravated labour problems, and also the problem of congestion and unhealthy living. It is also thought that production has not increased suitably, resulting in an almost regular and permanent inflationary spiral and that we are well within the grip of a vicious circle of higher cost of production and higher prices. Kindly give your reactions?

Kindly indicate your views on these issues and let us know if there is truth in these views, whether it will not be proper to reconsider the basis, the structure, and the size of our future plans?

A. There is no denying the fact the country has made significant economic progress. There has been a sizeable increase in agricultural and industrial production, as well as export and defence based industries, and it should not be under-rated. As you are aware we have been and are facing tensions with explosive possibilities, linguistic and communal riots, natural calamities like droughts, floods, cyclones and earthquakes and above all we have faced three wars. All the same,
we have, made a remarkable economic progress in this sub-
continent with a population of 500 millions.

a) That is not correct. Heavy industries have been
created, but side by side, small scale sector has also been
encouraged. I agree, that inspite of a good deal of economic
development, certain elements are responsible for high prices,
and profiteering but we are determined to curve and control
such anti-national activities. The Government is pledged to
socialism. A constant watch on big business-houses is kept.
Fiscal and other policies to prevent concentration of wealth
and being implemented.

b) It is not so now. Dispersal of industries to small cities
and backward areas have been encouraged and due protection
given to small scale sector and traditional village industries
from undue competition, besides fiscal and technological
support, credit and marketing facilities.

c) For a long time, I have directly been associated with the
labour problems, as a trade-unionist and a Minister for Labour
and Employment and can say with confidence that there has
been a notable improvement in their earning and social status.
However, several problems, including the problems of conges-
tion and slums and unhealthy living have not been solved ade-
quately so far, perhaps for obvious reasons. I agree that there
is increase in cost of production and higher prices, but we are
not silent and have taken a serious view of this. We have our-
selves been laying every stress on increase in productivity.
Optimum production in every way is the base of our plans.
Unfortunately, many hurdles and handicaps come in the way
of the desired progress. Our labour policy has always been
that as a partner in industry, labour is entitled to the benefits
accruing from partnership, but it must also learn to realize its
responsibilities.

Q. 30. Will it be proper to suggest that our Plans should
be revised on the basis of the principles of constructive
programme of Mahatma Gandhi, laying stress on human values
rather than on human happiness as such, atleast so far as the
rural side of the country is concerned? In this context, can it be said that All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, was actually set up by the Government to carry out the constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi in the rural areas together with the economic planning on the principle of democratic socialism of Pandit Nehru.

A. You are right. The All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission—now Khadi and Gramodyog Commission, was set up mainly with a view to look to the development of the village industries on the ideals of the constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi with greater emphasis on human values with suitable induction of the principles of democratic socialism and decentralised economy. So far as our Plans as a whole are concerned, they have to be based on the changing social and economic conditions and objectives that we have set before us and as such it would be merely a hypothetical approach to think of revising our plans merely on the basis of laying stress on human values rather than on human happiness though there is nothing contradictory between the two. The Khadi and Gramodyog Commission is however, doing good work in its own way and is providing employment to a large number of village artisans, ladies and the landless labour.

Q. 31. This was perhaps a happy compromise between democratic socialism and the constructive programmes for the economic and also social uplift of the country as a whole. Inspite of all its zeal and ambitious programmes of the development of rural industries, the Khadi and Gramodyog Commission, seems to have hardly met with any success in this direction, worth the name. Would you kindly discuss the reasons for this failure of the Khadi and Gramodyog Commission?

A. Besides all, what you have asked, the three sectors of our industrial activities—Heavy, Medium sized and small scale alongwith traditional village industries have properly been demarcated. Village industries were conceived on the basis of village self-sufficiency and simple living. They can not
succeed in a cooperative economy and high standard of living. I think there is hardly any question of any failure of the Khadi and Gramodyog Commission in the context of our present economy.

Q. 32. In this context, will it not be proper for the Government to review the causes of failure of this important and valuable Organisation and to adopt ways and means to revitalize it with all assistance and suitable safeguards?

A. We cannot say that it is a total failure. We may rather say that the progress is poor and not very encouraging. There is always a scope to review the working of the Commission in order to revitalize it. The structure and the working of the Commission are being revised from time to time according to changing conditions.

Q. 33. One very realistic view seems to be that ‘planning which fails to take care of smaller things may fail in a big way’, and some of these small things which have not usually been cared for by the Planners or the Government, may for example be,

a) Absence of a sensitive and efficient administrative machinery.

b) Agricultural land given to the landless but without providing them with adequate credit and other facilities.

c) Spending big sums on food production programmes without making suitable improvement in transport facilities including development of roads.

Kindly enlighten us with your views on this point?

A. There can hardly be any doubt in accepting in principle that Planning which fails to take care of smaller things may fail in a big way. This is almost a natural law and it does compel every planner to take care of small things which are the connecting links of any plan or organisation.

I agree and perhaps anyone would agree that the small things pointed out by you like absence of a sensitive and administrative machinery etc., are generally responsible for
failures in achieving the plan objectives and targets. But you must appreciate that in a big country like India with hundreds of problems in every aspect of planning and social and economic reforms, such small things themselves become big things and can be tackled only in a big way by a big effort. Government alone can not effectively see to these so-called small things but the people as a whole have to give their heart and soul to these problems and your small things. You cannot say that there has not been improvement in this situation. Let us hope that these small things will be cared for in a big way in the near future.

Q. 34. In view of Planning Commission's suggestion to the Government to send proposals for the last year of the IV Plan, i.e., 1973-74 having mainly 2 objects, viz., creating more employment and providing facilities for elementary education, drinking water, housing and communications specially in the rural areas, shows that the Planners do realise that the Plan objectives are not being achieved fully on account of such mistakes, or we might say that the Plans are being drafted without taking note of the difficulties in implementing them or the inconsistencies contained therein. Sir, is this state of affairs due to some genuine difficulties and limitations of the Planners or the Government, or otherwise?

A. It is true that plan objectives have not been fully achieved in all directions but it may not be possible to throw light on the performances of the economy and serious imbalances, achievements and failures, difficulties and limitations in such short interview, as it requires considerable time and a good deal of talking. However, I can say that there is a great strain on the economy due to several factors like drought, flood etc., and efforts are being made to overcome difficulties in implementing the plan. Increased benefits must be sustained by increased efficiency. Indeed it is the only sound and enduring basis on which a higher standard of living can be built. Every possible effort should be made to increase the efficiency and productivity.
Q. 35. Does the proposed Vth Plan with its emphasis on anti-poverty and social justice schemes, for which nearly 10,500 crores are proposed to be earmarked against a total proposed outlay of 30,000 crores, seems to have taken note of the real issues as also the small things, are the basic things which are necessary for the success of our Plans?

A. Yes, you may say so. Government continues to take note of realities. Some realities are discovered from experience from time to time.

Q. 36. It appears that this ambitious V Plan with its anti-poverty drive raises an important issue, namely, that unless the gross national product also starts increasing sizeably—say about 10% from the current level of about 5% the major part of this investment will have to come only from a re-distribution of the incomes of the top earners, who may be only about 10%. Do you think that such re-distribution will be successfully achieved only by suitable taxation policies, or, in your opinion, will it not be possible without creating a psychological change in the top earning group to forego their earnings sincerely and voluntarily on ethical grounds?

A. Merely tax-projections will not help to liquidate the concentration of wealth and re-distribution of the incomes of the top earners in the private sector. A psychological change, a social change is absolutely necessary. Wealth should not be treated as the only sign of respectability. Let us also have faith in inherent goodness of man and also in the power of moral values. But in a practical approach we know that India's economic problem even today hinges mainly on the problem of production which has to be stepped up and increased if a lasting solution has to be achieved. This cannot be achieved unless a fair and equitable distribution of the wealth produced is ensured. In the present world we should not forget to look back and learn lessons from our old system atleast so far as our rural economy is concerned.
Q. 37. Do you think that it is possible to create such a psychological change in the next 5 or 10 years in the interest of the success of this anti-poverty Plan?

A. That is possible. But all efforts must continue in this direction both by the Government and the people, particularly the social and religious Organizations and Institutions.

Q. 38. Sir, in this context, supposing that such a psychological change cannot easily be invoked, do you think that our present taxation policies with very good and many anti-evasion measures contained therein, will succeed in ensuring this re-distribution?

A. This is more a social problem and such a psychological change is most welcome. But how long one should wait for a change, which is like change of heart. From moral or ethical point of view it may be correct, but the state can not take risk. Besides many other economic and social objectives behind them taxation policies of the State are one of the ways to achieve this end. They have to be made harsh and perhaps rigorous when the psychological change is slow. This harshness itself helps creating a psychological change.

Q. 39. It is one view and perhaps correct view that the top earning class in India is the highest taxed class in the world and that evasion of tax is being practiced with a feeling of justification and necessity and that as such, the desired re-distribution may not be successfully achieved unless we do something to affect a psychological change in the Tax-payers and that for creating this psychological change itself, it will be proper that the tax structure is also suitably modified in a spirit of compromise not by way of any surrender or compromise on principles, but by way of a formula for achieving the anti-poverty target easily and quickly. Kindly enlighten us with your views?

A. Socialisation is not difficult, but practically, not a single man has come forward to surrender his surplus wealth and even ready to pay just taxes. But we are trying to effect suitable mo-
dificalations in the tax structure and the tax. I have already told my views. Let us hope for an alround improvement in the situation in due course. It is very difficult to devise a plan of tax structure acceptable to all, at least at present.

Q. 40. It appears to be the truth that for success of our economic plans with their anti-poverty objectives, it is the rate of growth of the gross national product which should not only be emphasized theoretically but should be the first and the most important concern of the Planners, howsoever drastically the plans may have to be altered or curtailed and that if our Planners and the Government do not pause and take positive notice of this condition and not take steps to consider this aspect of the Plans in this perspective with all its implications, we might achieve very little in the sphere of anti-poverty drive and may make confusion worse confounded in course of time. Kindly favour us with your views on this point?

A. This is what we are doing already. All efforts are being made to emphasise the importance of increasing productivity. Let us hope the Vth Plan will achieve the object in a big way.

Q. 41. Kindly give us your views on the Cooperative Movement in India in general?

A. Cooperative Movement is no doubt the surest way for promoting economic well-being of the common man in India. During the past 20 years or so, Cooperative Movement has made good progress in some states of the country and has taken within its fold production, consumption, house building, transport and also farming. There are, undoubtedly, certain very important hurdles in the proper progress of this movement, but that cannot be a reason to minimise the importance of the Cooperative Organisations for the amelioration of the economic and social conditions of the vast majority of people in this country.

Cooperative movement is a people's movement and the basic condition of its success is that it should be voluntary.
This phase has been almost lacking in India, though people are gradually getting conscious of this aspect and the progress in which the voluntary character of the movement is taking shape, differs in different parts of this country. There is every reason to hope that we will have a cooperative movement in full swing throughout the country with this phase of a voluntary character. Cooperative Acts in different States have been modified from time to time, and are being so modified with a view to consolidating this position as best as possible looking to the particular circumstances of a particular state or territory.

Q. 42. Irrespective of the fact that the Cooperative movement in India has not progressed properly and has not succeeded on account of various reasons, is it not correct to say that a well-knit and coordinated cooperative structure is the best medium for the economic and social uplift of the masses in India, what are your views on this subject?

A. It is undoubtedly so. It's success depends upon the right kind of leadership, loyalty and devotion of the large body of members and the spirit of self-help and self-reliance. They should assume more and more responsibility and stand on their own legs. Lesser the Governmental aid, greater the strength and vitality and independence of the movement. I think it can be an effective medium for the social and economic uplift of the weaker sections if we develop such an atmosphere of cooperative organisations.

Q. 43. Primary Cooperative Societies seem to be suffering from lack of resources and proper management and the Central or Apex bodies seem to suffer from the influence of political leaders and tight Government control with the result that the Cooperative Movement is almost stagnant in the matter of securing the wholesale economic and social uplift of the masses. Kindly comment?

A. It should always be remembered that cooperative movement cannot achieve its objective so long as political influence and tighter government control remains there creating problems and difficulties in proper functioning of coopera-
tives. I agree with your view on this account. The position needs a very thorough probe and drastic remedial measures.

Q. 44. Will it not be better in this context, if the cooperative movement is made a central subject and due attention is given to it in the Vth plan by removing its difficulties and handicaps and making it a really voluntary movement with a proper place both on the side of production and consumption. Even if you don't agree with this suggestion, could you please give your views on the suitability and importance of the cooperative movement in India for the economic and social uplift of the masses?

A. It is purely a state concern and cannot be made a central subject, otherwise it will lead to confusion. The principal aim of the cooperative movement is the support to the common men or small persons. It is really a voluntary organisation and requires people's participation. In other words, it requires complete de-officialization. Centre can, however, function in an advisory capacity and give suitable assistance to the states.

Q. 45. Kindly give your views on cooperative farming in India?

A. The average holding in India is very small, and poverty of small agriculturists would have gone if joint farming in cooperative fold may have been properly pursued. In certain parts of the country, farming on cooperative basis is being done mainly in commercial crops. Cooperative farming, however, have miserably failed in India. To raise agricultural production, technical change in methods of cultivation is essential apart from land reforms. And it would be very difficult for millions of poor and small farmers to adopt these methods on financial and physical grounds, unless and until they are grouped into service cooperative societies. State aid must be provided freely on the basis of a phased programme, but with due care that state aid is not misused and that it doesn't create a feeling of continuous dependence on the State.
Q. 46. There could probably have been no better medium for improving the conditions of the small farmers and for making every village an ideal village if an integrated scheme of primary cooperative societies with district level central societies and state level cooperative farming federations had been planned with the object of meeting all the requirements of the farmers in one forum and on commercial lines. Kindly comment?

A. This is a very complicated issue and under the prevailing conditions requires careful thought and examination. Even the smallest farmer clings to his field. Nothing should be done to disturb his tittle. Service Cooperatives alone will succeed as it will meet all the requirements of our farmers. It would be good if social workers, teachers and the students give their attention to this matter in a spirit of dedication and service.

Q. 47. Looking to the difficulties which have engrossed the cooperative movement at least in the majority of the States would it not be better if we devise a pattern of cooperative societies, at least in some spheres of cooperative activity, which should have a combination of labour, capital, and intelligentsia without giving any upper hand to any one of them, but suitably safeguarding the rights and interests of each. Such a pattern might quickly revitalise the cooperative movement and may enlist voluntary public support of the masses. Kindly give your views?

A. The suggestion contains the basic principle of cooperation. Labour, capital and intelligentsia can be associated in some spheres of cooperative activity with advantage. Efficient functioning can be ensured by spirit of mutual self-help, honest working and absence of undue emphasis on the rights and privileges of any particular interest of those participating in the movement.
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Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram
Babu Jagjivan Ram with President Shri V.V. Giri.
Dec. 1972
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi
Occasion of Republic Day. 1971

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Shri Santlal (b.1885), elder brother of Babu Jagjivan Ram

Shrimati Luxmi Devi, elder sister-in-law of Babu Jagjivan Ram
Home at Chandwa (Brick Built in 1939) 45' x 30'
Babu Jagjivan Ram at his young age of 24 years
Babu Jagjivan Ram at his age of 48 years
LR—Shri Suresh Kumar, (son) Smt. Indrani Devi and Babu Jagjivan Ram with grand daughter ‘Swati’ in arms
L.R.—Babu Jagjivan Ram, Km. Meera Devi, (daughter) and Smt. Indrani Devi standing near the Bust of Mother Vasanti Devi
On the Occasion of the Marriage of his daughter Km. Meera Devi

Km. Meera Devi with President Dr. Zakir Hussain

Smt. Indrani Devi and Km. Meera Devi with Smt. Indira Gandhi
L.R—Smt. Meera Devi, Miss Rashmi, Smt. Indrani Devi with Anshul Kumar, Smt. Yashoda Devi, Shri Manjul Kumar with Swati and Suresh Kumar

Babu Jagjivan Ram with family members at Kedar Nath Dham.
Shri Kamraj with Babu Jagjivan Ram and his family
LR.—Mrs. Meera Devi, Babu Jagjivan Ram, Shri Kamraj,
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Suresh Kumar
Babu Jagjivan Ram with his personal Staff
Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan presenting a Commemoration Volume to Babu Jagjivan Ram, 1953
On his 46th Birthday, in New Delhi, April 5, 1953

Speaker Shri Mavalankar presenting Silver plaque to Babu Jagjivan Ram signed by 75 Harijan M.P.'s
Citizens of Delhi celebrating the 59th Birthday of Babu Jagjivan Ram
Babu Jagjivan Ram with President Dr. Rajendra Prashad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant at Palam Aerodrome, 1960

Occasion of presentation of ‘Ek Yug : Ek Pratik’ volume to Babu Jagjivan Ram by President V. V. Giri, on 3rd. June, 1972
L.R.—Sardar Patel, Shri Mavalankar, Babu Jagjivan Ram and others, 1947

At reception in connection with the inauguration of the Employees' State Insurance Corp., New Delhi, Oct, 1948.
L.R.—Shri J. P. Narain, Dr. Katial, Shri C. Rajgopalachariar (Governor-General) and Babu Jagjivan Ram
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Sardar Swaran Singh

Babu Jagjivan Ram with Shri V.K. Krishna Menon (Ex-Defence Minister)
Babu Jagjivan Ram at I.L.O. Conference, Geneva with other Members and Delegates, 1946

L.R.—Babu Jagjivan Ram, Dr. French Man and others, 1946
Babu Jagjivan Ram was flying back from Geneva to Delhi by this plane.
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour, walking with a crutch on account of injuries, sustained in plane crash.
Babu Jagjivan Ram
Presiding over International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 1950
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour, Govt. of India, presiding over I.L.O. Conference at Geneva in 1950
L.R.—Major General Khub Chand, Babu Jagjivan Ram and Prof. Red-Stob, the Rector of Free University of Berlin, 1950
Babu Jagjivan Ram at I.L.O. with Dr. A.N. Sinha, 1950

L.R.—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Seth Govind Das, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Jagjivan Ram Dr. A.N. Sinha and Dr. S.K. Sinha
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Lord and Lady Mountbatten, 1948
The Members of the Cabinet (1947)
L.R. Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Sardar Baldev Singh, Shri C. Rajgopalachariar (Governor General), Babu Jagjivan Ram. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru (Prime Minister) and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur
Babu Jagjivan Ram addressing a conference

Swearing in Ceremony of Cabinet, 1952
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Prime Minister Nehru, when a silver-plaque was presented to him on 12.4.52

Babu Jagjivan Ram with President Dr. Rajendra Prashad at Palam Aerodrome at the time of their departure to Moscow
Babu Jagjivan Ram with President Dr. Rajendra Prashad and Staff of Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.
President: Dr. Rajendra Prashad and Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Railways, addressing a press conference in U.S.S.R.

Babu Jagjivan Ram and Dr. Rajendra Prashad with Russian Ministers.
L.R.—Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Babu Jagjivan Ram, Prime Minister
Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Shri T.T. Krishnamachari

At a Party in Rashtrapati Bhawan on the inauguration of
Indian Airlines Corporation August, 1, 1953
Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru with Babu Jagjivan Ram, laying the foundation of Brahmaputra Bridge at Pandu, Assam

Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Railway, inaugurating first Electric Train at Calcutta
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Railway Minister with Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, boarding the first train, over Ganga Bridge at Mokama in Bihar, May 1, 1959
Congress President Babu Jagjivan Ram, presiding over 73rd Conference of the Indian National Congress at Bombay.

Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister and Smt. Jagjivan Ram are also seen in the picture.
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food and Agriculture with the then Vice President Mr. Richard Nixon of U.S.A.
L.R.—Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, Dr. Shiv Sagar Ramgulam, Prime Minister of Mauritius and Babu Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister

Babu Jagjivan Ram with King of Bhutan
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister in conversation with A.A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of U.S.S.R. (August 8, 1971)
INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION

Babu Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister for Food & Agriculture in conversation with Mrs. Judith Hart, British Minister of Overseas Development (Feb. 11, 1970)
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Railways with C.W. Court, Minister of Railways, Australia.

Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food & Agriculture with Deputy Prime Minister of German Democratic Republic (13-10-1967)
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Food and Agriculture Minister with Bulgarian Minister for Machine Building (Nov., 1967)
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food and Agriculture with High Commissioner for Australia (Oct, 3, 1967)
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food and Agriculture with Maurice Sauve, Canadian Minister of Forestry and Rural Development (Jan. 5, 1968)
Babu Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food and Agriculture with Ambassador of U.S.S.R.
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Galbraith Ambassador of U.S.A. in India
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Chief of Army of Republic of Sri Lanka

Babu Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister with A.G. Zulu
Defence Minister of Zambia
"Jawan Jyoti" at India Gate, New Delhi
President of the People’s Republic of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman with India’s Lt. Gen. Jagjeet Singh Arora
Family Members of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman

Pakistan arms captured in Bangla Desh by the Indian Jawans
Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram distributing clothes etc to Refugees from Bangla Desh
Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram garlanding the pilots, who shot down three intruding Pakistani Sabres in the Eastern Sector

Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram and Smt. Indrani Devi among the Jawans in Dina Nagar (Western Sector)

Babu Jagjivan Ram standing near a captured Pakistani Patton Tank in Shakargarh Sector
Babu Jagjivan Ram addressing to Jawans in Borya Sector

Babu Jagjivan Ram taking salute by the Naval Personnel at Jamnagar
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Lt. Gen. Candeth, G.O.C.-in-C Western Command and Jawans on the Western Border

Babu Jagjivan Ram with Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and H.R. Chowdhary, High Commissioner of Bangla Desh

Babu Jagjivan Ram visiting Pathankot
Babu Jagjivan Ram with Smt. Indrani Devi, Shri Raj Bahadur, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Shipping and Transport, Shri Barkatulla Khan, Chief Minister of Rajasthan in the Jaisalmer Sector

Babu Jagjivan Ram visiting Jaisalmer Sector
Lt. General Niazi signing documents of Surrender at Dacca on December 16, 1971
Defence Minister Babu Jagjivan Ram at Adempur on 22 Feb. 1972

Babu Jagjivan Ram at Talkatora
Jagjivan Ram with Members of Royal family of Bhutan
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