CHAPTER V

PROCESS OF REVAMPING
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Socio-economic sphere

It has been rightly remarked by C.R. that the economic aspect of the Drink evil has been emphasised so as to overshadow the more important moral aspect of the question. Even if there had been no kind of economic loss to individual or society, drink is a brain poison and man cannot afford to allow the allurement of such poison to have free play among men. But the economic ruin that attaches itself to the drink evil is so great that it is conclusive in itself. The poverty of India is so great that the evil works proportionately greater harm than it does in western countries. The greatest injury of intoxicant is the physical and mental degradation of an individual or group. The question must be approached in a scientific spirit, C.R. had done this and built up an unanswerable case for prohibition. C.R. pointed out that the consumption of liquor in Madras was greater than other provinces. He argued that the Government of India should control the consumption of alcoholic drinks and drugs by prohibiting their manufacture and sale except by persons licensed by Government. The control yields revenue which is
derived in two ways by a quantitative duty on the article as soon as manufactured or imported or issued for trade purposes and secondly by selling to the highest bidders the right to sell it in specified areas. These two sources of revenue contribute about equally. The government policy was to fix the highest duties on drinks and drugs compatible with the prevention of illicit manufacture which ultimately make the illicit product drive the government product out of market. C.R. pointed out that the Indian Government had been fascinated by the total drink excise revenue and through the gross revenue through export. He felt that a policy aiming at prohibition of opium of India for purposes other than medical and scientific would not only be impracticable but also undesirable. Hence he viewed that the most urgent reason for prohibition is the good of the depressed classes, no other single measure of reform can help these people and at once raise them economically and socially as prohibition can. He stated that the economic aspect of drink within its limited sphere cast a greater shadow of misery in our country than in the west. Even if Great Britain decided to continue to spend 300 million pounds per annum on the transient pleasures of alcoholic euphoria and the USA reverted to liquor and decided to spend again three billion dollars per year on beer, wine, and whisky. We in India with our average income per head of less than Rs. fifty per year living on agriculture or making a few things to be bought mostly by people living on
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Total Revenue</td>
<td>From Export</td>
<td>From opium consumed in India</td>
<td>Cost of opium</td>
<td>Other charges</td>
<td>Nett Revenue</td>
<td></td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>215</td>
<td>154</td>
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<td>61</td>
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Table IX-B

TABLE SHOWING THE GROSS REVENUE 1927-1932 (Rupees in lakhs)
agriculture cannot afford to let in spirituous liquors into our national diet or domestic budget. 11 By pointing out the rise in consumption of liquor 12 he stated the fiscal complications also would be greater and harder. He argued that it was as much a fundamental right of the citizen to be saved from this evil traffic as to be educated and provided with the positive requisites for good health and moral development. 13 He stated that a favourite maxim of the excise department was that prohibition must come from within and not without. He said, abstinence from any evil must no doubt come from within and not without and abstinence from the crime of fuddling one's brains is no exception to this rule. Efficient abstinence can be secured only by the spread of knowledge 14 but the bulk of the people consume liquor in India happen to be uneducated rural lot, who should be taught to practise self control. 15 It is quite natural that an ordinary individual at the lowest rung of the society would not be able to resist liquor if it were available 16 and every public liquor shop is a stumbling block and an occasion to fall for the weakest of our brethren. 17 He stated, "public opinion in India among poor people is in favour of prohibition and will continue to be so in spite of the propaganda of the upper class whisky, and brandy bibbers." Prohibition according to C.R. is one great chance to the poor people to go up in social status and in family comfort. 18
C.R.'s constant application of his ideology and views on prohibition was seen by means of his offices as Chairman of the Salem Municipal Council (1917-1919) during which period he opted for closure of toddy shops within Salem Municipality.\(^{19}\) As the Secretary of the Prohibition League of India, Anti-drink sub-committee of the Indian National Congress and through Gandhi Ashram at Tiruchengode\(^{20}\) and above all as Premier of Madras Presidency he implemented prohibition.\(^{21}\)

C.R. had rendered yeomen service to the depressed classes. One of the ancestors of C.R., Nallan Chakravarthi, an orthodox Iyengar by birth was believed to have defied orthodox rules by performing the last rites for a dying wanderer from a lower caste.\(^{22}\) C.R. fought for the right of two panchama or untouchable boys to admission in the Salem Municipal School and paid their schooling.\(^{23}\) While he was the Chairman of the Salem Municipality he appointed workers belonging to the depressed classes and posted them to repair water pipes in Aghrahams (residential areas of Brahmins) for which he was cursed by his kinsmen and branded as a traitor to his community. C.R. maintained close relationship with many Harijans and dined with them.\(^{24}\)

C.R. was one of the principal negotiator with the untouchable leaders at Poona. The close association which he had with Gandhiji created in him a desire to identify himself more positively with the untouchables and to improve
Harijan living conditions. He wanted to secure their right to enter into Hindu temples. He tried to persuade the priests and temple trustees in the presidency of Madras to open their temples to Harijans. Some of the trustees complied but those who controlled the larger temples claimed that access to them was regulated by the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act.

When attempts at persuasion failed C.R. turned to legislation and this was an example of Congress support for measures that interfered with Hindu social and religious practices. The varnashramites who later were called sanatanists tried to mobilise support on a large scale through meeting, associations and journals. They insisted that the congress ought to function only as a political body and it cannot and ought not canvas for support to legislation affecting religion and religious beliefs. C.R. was strongly in favour of temple entry and in all battles of religious reforms he was always on the side of reformers. C.R. drafted a bill by which a referendum among the users of a particular temple would decide whether it should be opened to Harijans and this is an interesting aspect of C.R's often pragmatic approach to politics.

There was a rift when Gandhi sought to distinguish his interpretation of varnashrama dharma from that of the orthodox pandits. E.V.R's attack on brahmins and Hinduism made some of the orthodox feel that they were a persecuted minority and were different of their national obligations.
C.R. appealed to the sanatanists to co-operate and warned them that refusal to move will destroy any institution in the changing world, and rationalised that by removing the Harijan disabilities Hinduism would be strengthened.\(^{32}\) As a brahmin C.R. felt that his community had a particular duty to try to redress the tyrannical observations of the caste system which had subjected the Harijans and he appealed to the Brahmins to take up the leadership of Harijan movement\(^{33}\) and felt that a brahmin alone could beat the brahmin opposition while implementing the policy.

He felt that the untouchables should abandon beef eating, and alcohol consumption and should change that would enable them to overcome the prejudices of the caste Hindus\(^{34}\) in purview of preservation of united Hindu community. C.R. introduced a bill of temple entry in Malabar in 1938, when he was Prime Minister for which he was criticised for the choice of the place where the sanatanists objected.\(^{35}\) But C.R. had good grounds for choosing Malabar that from the outset the tillers of Malabar had toiled hard against the law of untouchability. He said the distributions in regard to social equality with reference to the various castes and sub communities are carefully and obstinately maintained but these very classes are allowed on fairly equal terms, entry into the inner most places, of the temples and hence it can be reasonably be urged that temple entry might be the first step in the uplift
of the depressed classes and not the last step. C.R. declared that hatred and suspicious which were at the root of all differences dividing the nation would disappear once they put confidence in the minds of the Harijans by means of temple entry. In 1938 and 1939 C.R. through Malabar temple entry Act and general temple entry act corrected the certain sections relating to entry into various places where temple entry had taken place. The government cited the example of places like Conjeevaram, Madurai, Srivilliputtur, Srirangam, Thiruvarur and a number of other places where temple entry had come into vogue as being the result of favourable Hindu opinion towards temple entry and this opinion was created due to efforts taken by C.R.

C.R. insisted on unity not only among Hindus but among all the divisions found in India. He viewed intermarriage is the only solution to all difficulties, and it is needed to make people biologically one which alone can make all distinctions in society disappear. C.R. encouraged inter-caste marriages in Salem in 1910, and strove for a general acceptance of inter-caste marriages at a social reform conference at Kurnool. He not only preached but practised the same by approving the marriage of his daughter Lakshmi with Devadas Gandhi, son of M.K. Gandhi who was a Bania. He suggested that adequate work must be provided for the rural population through vast projects like road making,
building of tanks, and reservoirs and the dispersal of industrial centres to the country side so that they might earn adequate wages without crowding into the elites and being compelled to be slum dwellers.\textsuperscript{43}

C.R. followed the Gandhian policy of removal of disabilities of the depressed classes but was vehemently attacked by Dr. Ambedkar who condemned that removal of disabilities imposed by custom was not born out of generosity or honest penitance but was developed only out of desire to make the case for democracy unassailable.\textsuperscript{44} C.R. stated that any one who has examined the evolution of political work in India from mere constitutional agitation to constructive work covering social and industrial problems can understand the enlargement of Congress policy without seeking to discover any Machiavellian plot in it. Gandhi had integrated social and religious reform with political activity and changed the whole character of the Congress.\textsuperscript{45}

C.R. was blamed by Dr. Ambedkar for backing out on temple entry bill by Ranga Iyer.\textsuperscript{46} C.R. replied that the Congress could not make Harijan's temple entry a straight issue in the general election that year because the Congress had to confine itself to the specific political issues and could not afford to dilute it with other matters.\textsuperscript{47} The attitude of Congress stood publicly declared and was not given up or
slackened in the least measure. Effective political work is only possible of the issues at a particular election are restricted to the matters that require an immediate answer from the electorate. It was the first time the INC decided to take direct part in elections and it naturally confined itself to the main political issue on which wanted the electorate to give a clear answer. The argument that Congress made any surrender of its policy of abolition of untouchability is thoroughly disindigenous.  

The removal of Civil Disabilities Act of 1938, the Malabar Temple Entry Act, the temple entry authorisation and indemnity Act which trustees or other authorities from civil or criminal liability if opposed to temple entry. This law was no mean measure of courage and determination and the strength of the Congress and deep nationalistic attitude of C.R. aiming at the complete fulfilment of requirement of depressed classes were enough to bear down all opposition.

The starting of lotteries by the state in various parts of India with tempting prizes running into lakhs of rupees, came, in for severe condemnation at C.R.'s hands. He felt that instead of making people work-minded and more industrious these lotteries are a lure to laziness and hold men in their vicious grip. The need for the hour is to make them work minded similarly he voiced his opinion against the habit of smoking which gives no real physical relaxation and against
vaccination which cannot eliminate tuberculosis. The way to prevent tuberculosis is through public health activities and nutrition which can build natural resistance.  

C.R. had expressed his strong conviction against the caste-wise approach and communalism. He said community is a larger family with whom one is more intimate than with the rest of the world with whom he shares mutual expectation of love, sacrifice, and service in greater measure than with others outside the circle. It is these feelings and expectations that make up the total patriotism in a large non-homogeneous land which is India. To ensure this kind of patriotism, the caste-wise approach should be given up and a secular economical test to substitute for all the state assistance and concessions to be given to the uplift of socially, economically backward classes. Rigid compartmentalisation of castes would not help the progress of the community. C.R.'s Gandhi Ashram at Puduppalayam, Tiruchengode, Salem District established on 6th February 1925, experienced his ideology and goals. Provision for fuller employment opportunities for the landless labourers, and backward classes of society through Khadi, and other Village Industries, social emancipation of Harijans, total prohibition of liquor, relief of distress due to famine, fire or other natural calamities, spread of simple methods of public health, village sanitation and personal hygiene, adult education, rural drinking water supply, anti untouchability movement were
A view of the Gandhi Ashram founded by C.R. on 6 February 1925 at Puduppalayam, Tiruchengode, Salem District.
the objects set by C.R. for the Ashram. In the life of the Ashram the years between 1938-1952 were the period of achievement of Khadi production and development. C.R.'s measures as Premier were extremely pertinent to the situation and did immense good to the weaker section of the people. He said, "Every handloom is an arts-college in the village, and is an old establishment from generation to generation. Men and women students receive their education from these arts colleges and pass out with distinction. A handloom weaver is his own market researcher and economic investigator." 

C.R. expressed his view of Khadi development as follows: "The very best way and the way most appealing to Gandhiji in which khadi should be developed is for each family to spin for itself and have its yard woven by the neighbouring weaver or at least for each village or taluk to consume its own production of khadi without exporting it to towns and distant places." He said that we should eliminate all charges of wastage incidental to collecting it over extensive areas and organisation of transport and sale in towns and cities. The kind of organisation involves a great deal of supervision, keeping of accounts, correspondence, office work, and the employment of capable hands in addition to considerable expenses of funds on rent, insurance cartage, railway freight inspection of accounts etc. We must therefore aim at disposing of khadi as near as possible to the spot where it is produced. The Congress Government faced a task of
### TABLE X

**Khadi Production and Sale from 1938-1952**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yarn Production wt. in lbs</th>
<th>Yarn Production in Rs.</th>
<th>Khadi Production in sq.yds.</th>
<th>Khadi Production in Rs.</th>
<th>Khadi Sales in Rs.</th>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>55,414</td>
<td>7,95,341</td>
<td>2,70,155</td>
<td>1,16,656</td>
<td>1,03,737</td>
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<td>7,53,606</td>
<td>1,72,418</td>
<td>80,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>17,809</td>
<td>2,58,825</td>
<td>1,15,201</td>
<td>51,249</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,67,814</td>
<td>1,03,860</td>
<td>45,959</td>
<td>60,657</td>
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<td>57,527</td>
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<td>1,09,498</td>
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<td>98,295</td>
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<td>93,246</td>
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<td>1,68,423</td>
<td>2,37,340</td>
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<td>1,10,088</td>
<td>1,89,866</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,83,889</strong></td>
<td><strong>85,14,696</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,13,566</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,01,300</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,66,666</strong></td>
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building a prosperous national economy based on a balance of its industrial and agricultural sectors. With several problems such as transformation to be brought about within the matrix of capitalism, acceleration of capital formation, providing minimum subsistence needs to the masses. 62 Two facets of planning followed capitalist and socialist both based on structurally transforming social order. The application of socialist trends and Nehru's full utilisation of the conflict between the two power blocs and also extension of public sector 63 even objected by C.R. who viewed it as statism. He said that the plans were based on the foundation of foreign aid which was linked to the cold war and therefore was always an uncertain factor. 64 He argued, "less taxation, less inflation, abandonment, of the wholly wrong plan of finding industrial capital by oppressive taxation and release of private capital and private initiative from the barbed wire entanglement of central planning these will help to a large extent in clearing the air of the poisonous fog of corruption." 65 He pointed out that if government took less and left savings with the people, capital formation would be augmented, national production would go up and unemployment would be reduced. 66 A policy of minimum taxation would therefore serve the Indian economy better and help achievement of egalitarian goals. 67 He emphasised that a successful programme of industrialisation of under-developed countries was possible only if care was taken to employ the instrument of profit motive and
incentives were created and maintained without imposing over-heavy state levies which would cancel the incentives. He conveyed his opinion that improved programme in agriculture, drastic reduction in civil expenditure of the union administration, fiscal discipline eschewing financial and over drafts from the Reserve Bank and a complete recasting and reduction of the Fourth Plan, are necessary. He added new capital projects in the state sector should be given up including the exceptionally costly and wasteful Bokaro Steel Project, participation in the foreign capital must be encouraged in the private sector. No more foreign loans should be taken except for the improvement of the infrastructure for development. C.K. expressed his ideal on proper economic policy of the nation: "The ultimate goal of aid programmes is not mere material progress. Neither good outputs of steel or cement nor the prestige of owning one's own big works should count on real progress. The only worthy aim is the creation of optimum chances for the development of individual human life and therefore the establishment of environmental conditions in which every individual is able to develop his or her in born talents and capability so that personality may be developed fully into a life of responsibility." He said economic progress in the developing countries presupposes a lasting increase in the performance of human labour in agriculture. He objected to the land ceiling bill introduced in the Madras Assembly as not consistent with constitutional
law. He viewed the policy as sterile and self-defeating and inconsistent. Increased production is a very difficult issue from distribution of land to every one in the country. He pointed out the injustice in land ceiling in which the government seized the land for which a compensation was given twelve parts of the net income in instalments which was like giving brass in the place of gold. He pointed out two bad results of land ceiling laws which automatically reduced the area under food grains and the other was benami transfer thereby preventing any recourse to new technique of greater production.

G.R. condemned the policy of heaping many burdens on the lower sections of the society in the shape of crushing taxation when they were hardly able to make both ends meet. The plans have accentuated the rise in prices all round and state interference and co-operative farming are totally unconstitutional. Such policies lead to food problem and consequent rise in prices, and it may be prophesied that we shall have an acute worsening of the food problem. This will affect the cost of production and there can be no freedom where the right to acquire property is questioned or not protected.

G.R. condemned the gold nationalisation and control as a monumental stupidity to put millions of honest skilled artisans out of occupation. His fears came true and there
was no demand for fourteen carat jewellery, putting the goldsmiths with no work, some of whom committed suicide and gold did not lose its lure, it was merely transferred from the poor to the rich, from the profession of smiths and artisans and the trade of reasonably honest jewellers to an illegal and untaxed market where bold, well-connected, disrespects of law brought and sold the metal. C.R. had rightly emphasised the danger of inflation and unemployment. In his direct and forthright manner he had stated that unemployment should be tackled by real employment and not by wasteful bloating of services. He pointed out that it would be better to pay high salaries to officials to support unemployed and idle relations and dependants than to run offices with idle hands doing less than fair turn out of work but watching the clock all the time. He also viewed that reduction in defence expenditure depending on national security more on unity of the country and a contended people than on a large army and heavy armaments. He argued against hoarding and deficit financing. The main objective of C.R.'s economic thinking was welfare of the people specially the poor masses. "The well being of people can be steadily achieved only by production and this can be brought about by industry by incentive saving and capital and not by taxation and repression. He said:there are three sources of creating wealth, the farmers, artisans, and industrialists and businessmen who should be given freedom to serve the nation through
production. Hence he was opposed to statism as distinguished from individual initiative and enterprise and the free economy, and this was the main thrust of C.R.'s economic policies. He was opposed to economic controls and made a sharp distinction between regulations and economic controls. He rightly argued wherever there are controls, there will be scarcities, and wherever there is black marketing black money will be generated, where black money is generated it corrodes the moral fabric of society because that goes into the electoral process. The very fountain of democracy is thus corrupted when black money is generated as a result of scarcities which are perpetuated by controls and this was C.R.'s basic theme. C.R. foresaw the great damage the direct and indirect taxation were doing to the fabric of society and said indirect taxation was the source of inflation, and rise in prices. C.R. pointed out that in economically advanced countries while prices are going up, productivity and wages or income of people are rising at a faster rate which is absent in India. Secondly the impact on people of rising prices is much more in a poor country when most of the people live on the margin of subsistence than in an economically advanced country where the margin of economic tolerance is high. Thirdly in all developed countries there is social security in the form of government taking taxes while a person earns and pays him back in the form of pension in his old age and the pension is linked to the cost of living index but in India the
government taxes and pays back nothing. An individual has to save for old age by way of Provident Fund, Life Insurance or bank deposit. If there is inflation it destroys the purchasing power of the Rupee. Some of the foreign countries have introduced monetary corrective by which the government automatically adjusts the long term payment which are due to an individual to the current value of the currency, and some of the countries have linked taxation to monetary correction. C.R. realised all this and hence carried out a battle against inflation. As a true far sighted economist he suggested measures for better production and better economy. Firstly the entire public sector industries must be put on an autonomous basis. Secondly public sector units should not get financial support from the general budget. Thirdly government must over a period of time sell 49% of the shares of these public undertakings to employees and to the public and list the shares on stock where the real efficiency of the units will be reflected. Fourthly government must encourage the introduction of modern management practices in public sector. Finally whenever an industry is making continuous losses it must be closed down. C.R's views and ideas expressed by him were based on a welfare state better stable economic conditions and particularly a sound system which would help the economically backward and this undoubtedly reveals his sense of nationalism.
C.R. considered that there were enough disintegrating forces already working in the linguistic states the class conflicts, the obstinate caste feelings, caste attachments, and added to it, was the new element of disintegration splitting India right into two blocks by putting a certain regional language (Hindi) in the place of well established, well recognised, well accepted, efficiently working languages. He stated "bilingualism is a compromise which like the compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress in the past will lead to a break up of Indian unity." He brought out his idea that the medium of instruction should be mother tongue with an aim to grasp and better and scientific technical terms could be used in English. He further stated that the languages spoken in a state should be the language of official work in that state but for the state communication English should be the official language. He pointed out that imposition of Hindi would create a breakdown between the central government and the people of south as neither the masses nor the elite speak Hindi. Wanting to make Hindi the official language was nothing but xenophobia, an outmoded form of patriotism being the basis of cry against the foreign character of English. Communists have vested interest as they want to break our important tie with the west, i.e., English. He clearly had voiced his opinion against imposition of Hindi from the point of view that English should be appraised for its utility mainly serves as gateway of modern
knowledge. Secondly English had been learnt and popular among educated sections of all states. Thirdly Hindi was not rich enough for serving as national language on the official side and above all instead of creating unity among people of India would only create differences and chaos. 96 C.R. feared that the unity of India stood to lose as a result of tinkering with the statesque in respect of the medium of communication among the states and the official language of the centre and the various experiments contemplated in university education. 97 He explained that linguistic autonomy itself was a form of communalism. It is a certain group of people a community, who are placed on top, who want to have unlimited sovereignty to one community. 98 C.R. was criticised for being inconsistent as he made Hindi a compulsory language in 1937, when he was the Prime Minister. 99 What he had intended to do was to pave the way to integrate the Tamil people, with those of the north and also give the Tamil people the proper foundation with which they could function all over India without any difficulty over language since Hindi was the language of over half of India's population. 100 C.R. was blamed to be lacking in patriotism and anti national, to prefer English to Hindi. 101 C.R. replied, "English for unity say I, over and over again, I shall plead for it, for as long as my breath lasts, for the love I bear for my country." 102 

C.R. was no hater of Hindi, but opposed it being introduced as an official language as he felt that it would
out the root of unity and progress of India. He objected to the term 'official' which was statutory. What is national need not always be official. 'National' goes with factual majority but official in true democracy as distinguished from totalitarianism should not go with numerical majorities but with even handed justice to all, to the smaller as well as bigger states and communities. 103

Two arguments were given in support of Hindi as the official language. (1) English is a foreign language and it would be derogatory to national prestige to allow it to continue as medium of official work in India. (2) In a democracy there should be identity of medium between people and the government. The language of the people must be official language otherwise it would be failure of democratic integration. G.R. opposed the two views. He said when the government since independence in 1947 had allowed English which was a foreign language as official language for more than fifteen years till 1965, why should it try to change and impose Hindi upon the non-Hindi speaking people? 104 Would it not affect their feelings? Secondly regarding identity between the government and people he said, that there would be no identity between the government and the people if Hindi was made official language because Hindi happens to be a language of the people of only a certain part of India. 105

Further he argues that all the educated people in all states
CURRENCY OF
PREDOMINANT LANGUAGES

LEGEND
Proportion of total
Population of state,
speaking the most prevalent
language as mother tongue

More than 90%
75% - 90%
50% - 75%
Less than 50%
N.A
Data not available


Note: For predominant languages see overleaf.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Predominant Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>Assamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>Gujarati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>Kannada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>Malayalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>Marathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>Sema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hindi speaking people in the country</td>
<td>24.8 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi speaking people in the country</td>
<td>13.3 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exact number of Hindi speaking</td>
<td>133,435,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exact number of Non-Hindi speaking</td>
<td>248,898,479</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exact Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi speaking</td>
<td>133,435,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>37,668,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>33,888,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>33,286,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>30,562,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>23,323,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarathi</td>
<td>20,304,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>17,415,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>17,015,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>15,719,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>10,950,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>6,803,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>1,956,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>2,544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Census report of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C.*
of the union and state governments have fair acquaintance with
and command over the use of English whereas the same is not
ture by any means with Hindi. 106 Hence C.R. as a true
ationalist, desirous of presenting Indian unity and integrity
ought against implementation of Hindi which he considered
would split India on linguistic regional differences.

C.R. had shared few of his views on education in the
iversity addresses. He felt that there is a tendency in
gressive political circles, as well as among educationists
to seek, to make, anything that is good and useful a compulsory
part of youths’ educational course. The idea that education
should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and
erroneous, the limitations of time and immaturity should be
kept in mind more time should be spent in evolving, the capacity
to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial
equipment straightaway. The pressure of too many subjects is
ot a good thing for the young brain on the other hand it is
ly when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright
can be developed and correct methods of work can be
plemented. 107

He stated that "stress during youth should be on training
on creating a habit of observation of scientific curiosity,
and of thinking aright and not on cramming the brain with
formation. The aim of education is that pupil should acquire
an automatic appreciation of values; moral and otherwise." 108
He said that less stress should be laid on examination and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. It leaves behind a condition of distaste for further advance. If in any field the standard of attainment is better in foreign universities than in India is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born out of love of the thing itself and better facilities for study and research rather than of any stricter or better system of examination and rejections. It is the result of a condition of things in which aptitude for love of subjects rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment guide the students in their choice of studies. He viewed that there were two problems namely the problem of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths and the problem arising out of multiplicity of languages. We should cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect, a fuller understanding and helpful cooperation among all the different communities in our society which may serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

Theology and civics

C.R. is an embodiment of those great virtues and moral principles which have been formed the solid bedrock of Indian culture throughout the ages. C.R. felt that religion is essential faith in the reality of God’s rule. Through the
faith man acquires limitless courage and capacity for suffering and sacrifice. He looked upon atheists as men who refused to look beyond their noses as it were, looked with horror at the Godlessness that prevailed among people all over the world, and considered this Godlessness worse than atheism. According to him God is in every one's heart, some call by the name conscience, the voice of what they call conscience is really the voice of God within.

O.R.'s study of the great religions of the world confirms his faith in God. He considered all religions are but paths to the realisation of God and feels that all faiths are equally effective for man's realisation of his supreme goal in life. He said the mysticism involved in the Vedanta relates the good life to truth and science. The conflict between religion and science is replaced and healed by harmony and integrated thought. He said that "in Indian philosophy as in other systems of religious thought it is accepted that divine grace is the ultimate consolidation of men. The main stress in Indian philosophy is however on the doctrine of Karma, the inescapable law of cause and effect in things spiritual as in the material world." Another great service that Hindu philosophy has done according to O.R., was its doctrine on positive tolerance and active respect for different forms of worship. A third element in Indian ethics was the doctrine of trusteeship which was a reconciliation between the
character of individual property and the claim of society. He said "character is essential for all civic and national progress and stability and we must maintain what has been the most effective instrument for the purpose among all nations and during all periods of history. It is religion that forfeits men against temptation and give them courage to live and work and die for good causes and all civilisation is rooted in religion." He viewed that morality without religion is like calories without vitamins it may do some good particularly in cutting out fanaticism but it will not build the inner strength which comes from the practice of good conduct.

It is C.R's firm conviction that to secure a firm basis for progress all disharmony between science and religion and between religion and state craft must be removed and an integrated and well adjusted body of thought and feeling must be established. By what? By vedantha. A new code of ethics and a system of values were evolved by Hindu philosophy out of the religious philosophy known as vedantas which is not only consistent with science, but is admirably suited to be a spiritual basis for the more just and stable social organisation. The vedantic culture is fitted for a planned cooperative community life where in every one must work according to capacity and should get according to his need. C.R. stated that egoism is a wicked quality which many may
not succeed to get rid of. But for a recluse if the ego is gently led into the path of devotion and steadily corrected then it will ripe and disappear. 122

C.R. cited that whatever the faith we prefer or the method we adopt we do it with pure heart and with devotion. We will realise that all religions will lead us to the supreme. The message of Krishna in Bhagavadgita 123 the message of Ashoka and the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna in 19th century and the injunction of Mahatma Gandhi 124 showed the way in various spheres. C.R. viewed that service to the country may be rendered in many ways but if a desire for fame or any other selfish attachment in patent or concealed in the heart even the most notable efforts will be rendered futile and what was needed was devotion with the thought of God. 125

C.R. was of the view that the basis of civilisation in all countries and at all times is Dharma. 126 Justice has its origin higher than the state. 127 Dharma is based on ethical principles that are true for all time. 128 As gravitation is the most important and greatest force in the material and for universe so is the love the greatest and the most important force in the world of spirit. It is fear of sin, fear of adharma, that is sought to be expressed by this phrase: "It is not God that we need fear, we should fear sin." 129

It is the insistence on the implementation of dharma is the keystone of Indian culture. 130 He said according to India's
Dharma, all the wealth, talents and good luck of which an individual happens to be the possessor, come from God, and he holds them as a trustee for the benefit of those around Him. Giving is the biggest employment one can extract out of one's possessions. There should be no legal compulsion intervening in the working of this moral trusteeship.\textsuperscript{131}

C.R. said: "The Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita are the source books of Vedanta. All culture in India has been rooted in Vedanta. Whatever courage, heroism, self sacrifice, or greatness is to be found in our country or seen in the lines of our people has sprung from Vedanta which is in our blood and tradition. The greatness of Gandhiji and the strength of his movement were entirely derived from and rooted in Vedanta."\textsuperscript{132}

C.R. had shown upon his vast knowledge and explained the sources of Indian culture. He defined culture as the habit of successful self control.\textsuperscript{133} C.R. stated that civilisation had two instruments to achieve the object of curbing the sensual instincts, and preventing or deterring over indulgence. One instrument is government which works externally and the other instrument is culture which acts through family training, tradition, religious belief, literature and education. Government and laws use physical force and compel people to restrain themselves. Culture is a subtle instrument that acts silently.\textsuperscript{134}
Our Indian culture according to C.R., is predominantly self restrained. A large joint family is a special feature of Indian culture. It is a socialist institution within itself. Between the family and the nation is the community which is a larger circle and it is associated with a real sense of identity and mutual liability. A man in adversity is entitled to expect assistance, and material help and sympathy from the members of his community. Out of this Gandhiji's conception of the trusteeship a form of socialism is evolved. It is in Indian culture the duty of sharing one's property with one's community what may be called decentralised socialism without the compulsion of statist policy but enforced by effective social odium on failure.\textsuperscript{135}

"The arts and professions vital to national life are hereditary. The wisdom that restrict marriages to be within within one's caste make a man and his wife come from the same group in relation to handicraft. This makes the family a complete school centre and men and women and children work together in each craft. This provides certainly of calling as well as early training for millions of people. If there were no caste occupations our people would have to go without the necessaries of civilised life."\textsuperscript{136} This essentially formed the basic structure of the educational reform of C.R. the shift system and polytechnique method in elementary schools.
C.R. viewed that only if the ego disappears from one's consciousness that one can attain the high characteristics of cultured persons.\textsuperscript{137} He said: "The culture of a people is what has grown among them to be recognised as contributing to the happiness of people as a whole contributing positively although not coming under the direction of law or government. Morality is governed by both social opinion and law. Compassion in various degrees, and forms, is a part of the culture pattern of a people.\textsuperscript{138} He was appreciative that in spite of the growing pressure of the western culture of individualism and the terrible pressure of the cost of living, the Indian culture of helping one's relatives near and distant has not yet completely disappeared doing more service than governmental socialism.\textsuperscript{139}

Another example of positive behaviour falling within the ambit of culture is hospitality; the readiness to receive guests and callers at any time, which marks Hindu and Islamic social cultures.\textsuperscript{140} Alms giving is a striking feature in Indian and Semitic cultures. Western cultures laid emphasis on self help, individuality, and the assertion of quality and liberty, but go contrary to the Hindu cultural elements of wide helpfulness.\textsuperscript{141} He viewed that domination of one pattern of culture over another as a result of political shifts of power is inevitable. But the question is what is good for culture? C.R. argued in favour of variety and
competition and not for stear rolling into uniformity. He substantiated his view with an example that, 'a hundred flowers may bloom and all of them are separately beautiful and the garden in which they bloom is also as a whole beautiful separately and together they are sources of ineffable joy. We should not under the pressure of political varieties and ambitions destroy variety. Vulgar uniformity is not culture, or beauty though it may be politics of a kind.' C.R. said Gandhiji had combined the eastern and western cultures and practised what he preached.

C.R. like Gandhiji had looked upon an increase of power of the state with the greatest fear because while apparently doing good by minimum exploration it does the greatest harm to mankind, by destroying individuality, which is the root of all progress and culture.

Influenced by this idea of keeping up Dharma and saving the Indian masses from losing their basic culture C.R. had been fighting battles in all fields against all odds despite opposition and criticism of personal popularity.

C.R's religion was among other things a by product of thought: "If matter can be totally converted into energy, it follows that conversely energy could be converted into matter. The fundamental entity is energy, the primordial source of all matter living and non living. This energy shaped out of itself this vast universe to traverse which light takes
thousands of years though speeding at its tremendous velocity... The foundation for science as well as for religion is wonder... It is science to find out the answers to wonder through investigation and experiment. When we reach the limit of such investigation and the wonder still remains unanswered. We pass on from wonder to the awe that is worship. 145

O.R. was proud of the Hindu faith, vision and insights of the Hindu of the old. He believed that their views were not only sound, they seemed made for modern man. Hindu doctrines seemed priceless to him and said that we have inherited the broadest culture and the most tolerant of all religious creeds. 146

His respect for other religions, his familiarity with the old and new testament and his view that the "Bible, Koran and the Gita are the three lamps that light our paths in darkness,"147 were noteworthy. But he was content and glad to be a Hindu and a vaishnavite. He had a strong belief that "God will not let India down."148 Of his faiths two things can perhaps be said. Firstly it was faith as the right thing to have or faith as duty, secondly his God enjoined honesty, restraint and resignation in face of blows and comparison - but not equality. He said egalitarianism is a fabulous illusion but not an attainable goal. 149
C.R.'s religion thus made him a teacher, gave him peace, endurance, sympathy for others and courage, it did not make him a consistent rebel. He reaffirmed his faith even a year before his death, that "God will be by us if we do not shut our doors against Him. He will sit by us and speak to us if we do not plug our ears." 150

To put labels on personalities is an uphill task and this is even more difficult in the case of C.R. He was often pointed as the ultimate in paradox a lover of tradition who initiated and supported changes. His career shows him to be instrumental figure in many changes in the socio economic cultural and religious spheres, not to speak of the purely political and administrative sides. His deep religiosity his faith in the principle of Hinduism as advocated by the vedas, his love for the traditional Hindu style may seem too contradictory to jell with his views on prohibition, casteism and temple entry. A deeper probe however reveals the fact that C.R.'s desire to go back to the age of vedas. His knowledge of and love for the Hindu precepts were the fountain head of his nationalism which in turn motivated him to revamp the system.
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4. Madras - 16,00,000 persons.
   Bombay - 14,00,000 persons.
   Bengal - 5,75,000 persons.

5. Ibid., p. 31.


7. Report on Excise and Prohibition 1946, See Table IX.


9. Ibid., p. 47.


11. Ibid., p. 5.

12. Beer Consumed in 1928-29 was 30% more than 1927-28 and 41% more than 1926-27.


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C.R., Prohibition, Tiruchengode, 1921, p. 16.


Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengode, The Threshold of its Golden Jubilee, Salem, 1974, p. 3.


Ibid., p. 23.


T. Sadasivam (ed.), Rajaji '93, Souvenir, Madras, 1971, p. 34.


C.R., Hindu, 7, 8 April 1934.

Under the guidance of C.R., V.I. Muniswami Pillai.

One of the ministers of C.R.'s ministry of 1937-39, instructed the executive officer of the temple who was a non-brahmin to admit Harijans into the temple of Sri Meenakshi, Madurai, without the knowledge of any one on a particular day before 7 A.M. for worship. Four hours before the entry of Harijans an ordinance was issued indemnifying all officers of the temple responsible for the entry of the Harijans. The brahmans were angry with the executive officer but The Hindu carried the ordinance issued by the Madras Government.

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The Gandhis, who belonged to Bania caste seemed to have been originally grocers; but for three generations from the grandfather of M.K. Gandhi, they had been Prime Ministers in several Kathiawad states. M.K. Gandhi, An Autobiography, Ahmedabad, 1927, p. 3.

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82 C.K., Ibid., p. 68.
83 C.R., Ibid., p. 74.
84 C.R., Indian Express, 6 April 1959.
86 C.K., Ibid., p. 12.
87 C.K., Ibid., pp. 15-18.
91 Ibid., 27 Feb. 1965.
93 Ibid., p. 12.
94 Ibid., p. 25.

101 Anaimuthu (ed.), Periyar Sinthanaical (Tamil), Brods, pp. 1172, 1182, 1192.


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107 C.R., University Addresses, 1952, p. 84.

108 C.R., Ibid., p. 84.


110 Ibid., p. 87.


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Ibid., 10 Jan. 1968.


Ibid., p. 30.

Ibid., p. 18.

Ibid., p. 27.
138 C.R., Ibid., p. 2.
139 C.R., Ibid., p. 2.
140 C.R., Ibid., p. 3.
141 C.R., Ibid., p. 4.
142 C.R., Ibid., p. 6.
149 C.R., Ibid., 27 Nov. 1971.