CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA
The autobiographies taken up for the present study not only reveal the personality and character of the typical civil servant and also his perception of the civil service as an institution, but they unravel a glorious period in the history of modern India. Whatever might be said against British imperialism, no honest historian of India can deny the fact that when they came to India, found the vast continent writhing under anarchy and chaos and when they began to rule they brought about order out of this chaos. The order may be alien to Indian culture; the order may be foreign and imposed by an outsider; yet it was this order that put an end to medieval India and laid the foundation for the building up of the modern India as we know her now.

For many of the reforms (legal, political, social, and economic) and for many of the developments like modern transport, navigation, bridges, dams, postal services, telegrams, laying up of roads, canals, setting up of courts, introduction of an impartial judicial system, codifications of laws and settlement of land taxes and tenures, India owes to the British and especially to those chosen few in the Indian Civil Service in the early decades of its career.

It is breathtaking to read the marvellous services rendered by the British officers almost with a missionary
zeal, of course, from their point of view, to civilize an uncivilized East. We may quarrel against this conception of the East, but the fact is to be accepted that modern India owes its origin to the zeal and enthusiasm of these early British civil servants.

It was the early British I.C.S. men who put an end to medieval superstition and ignorance. They took steps to eradicate many social evils like Suttee. William Augustus Brooke, as Collector of Shahadabad in 1789, "forcibly prevented a Suttee, this being the first recorded case of such action on the part of a Civil Servant...." Sir Charles Napier in Sind Province when Brahmans pleaded "that it was a sacred custom of Hindus...." replied "But my nation has also a custom. When men burn women alive, we hang them and confiscate all their property...." Likewise female infanticide and self-immolation were also stopped. These civilians undertook the task of civilizing the tribes in places such as "Assam, Chota Nagpur, the Central Provinces and Bombay...." Major S.C. Macpherson and Sir John Campbell have "the credit of putting an end to the barbarous practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide which were customary among the Khonds." Equally bad was the practice of head-hunting among the Nagas of Assam. In their efforts to civilize this race, many civilians lost their lives. "Mr. Damant was killed by the Nagas in 1879...." It was followed by many more murders. In 1891 "Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner, and four other officers were treacherously
put to death in the state of Manipur...." In 1832, Charles Edward Macdonald, a civilian in Madras province who tried to appease "the fury of a fanatic rabble of Moormen (Muhammadans), was ....attacked, deserted by all his peons and barbarously murdered". In their attempt to put down communal riots, they lost their lives. These civilians as District Officers took many steps to suppress crimes, to put down gangs of robbers and dacoits. "In 1856, the Deputy Commissioner of Gonda went in pursuit of a band of dacoits" and at last he was killed by them. Civic amenities were provided by them to the people in general. "It was left to the District Magistrate to provide for sanitation, drainage and other civil requirements". Their service in the field of irrigation schemes was equally good. They were associated with irrigation schemes like Chenab and Jhelam schemes in Punjab. It was Mr. Maclagan who carried out the colonization in the Chenab Colony in 1802. He was followed by Mr. I. H. Leslie Jones, who was colonization officer from 1899 to 1904. In the Jhelam Colony the colonization was complete by Mr. Malcolm Hailey as colonization officer. They also played a key role in protecting the interests of tenants from the clutches of money-lenders and harassment of landlords. "Their rights in the land...have been safeguarded by agrarian legislation and settlement proceedings in which the service has played a leading and honourable part". Many of them worked for and among the villagers and earned their admiration and gratitude. One among them was Sir Frederick Lely, who joined...
service in 1869. He worked in Bombay and in the Central Provinces. Another memorable task undertaken by the British Civilians was the census work. It was first carried out in 1872 and as a synchronous enumeration in 1881. They had contributed their own mite in drafting the Indian penal code prepared by the Indian Law Commission "of which Macaulay was president the other members being two members of the Civil service. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macleod, of Madras and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Anderson of Bombay...." The civil servants worked in the judiciary and meted out justice in cases both criminal and civil. It was these civil servants who introduced the electoral machinery among the people. They prepared electoral rolls and conducted elections. "It was they who were responsible for preparing the electoral rolls....for receiving nominations, for conducting the elections and for declaring the results of the polls". It was Lord Ripon who advocated and implemented the policy of training Indians in the management of Local boards. "The Civil Service itself loyally accepted Lord Ripon's Policy and was prepared to give full effect to it by withdrawing from the Chairmanships...." It was the civilians who guided and helped the Chairman of District Boards and other local bodies. It is curious but interesting to note that the Indian National Congress which spearheaded the struggle for the Independence of India was formed due "largely to the initiative and organising ability of another civilian, Allan Octavian
Hume... Hume had a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service. The very idea of Indian nationality owes its origin to the Indian Civil Service. "It is not too much to say that the idea of Indian nationality was named and baptised under the sponsorship of the Indian Civil Service." The monumental work of the Imperial Gazetteer of India was written by the British Civilians. In all fields of activity, it was the British Civil servants who worked for all-round development of India. Their service in making India modern by their sincere and honest efforts was exemplary and they laboured only for the welfare of the people. They were "men who devoted their lives and, in many cases, sacrificed their health to the country, who were personally attached to the people among whom their work lay, and who laboured whole-heartedly for their welfare."

Many of the Indian autobiographers make an open acceptance of their services. The condition of India was largely unsettled and there was no peace and assurance of life and property. "The young Britishers who came out later by dint of scholastic merit found a vast country still largely unsettled, with poor communications, and they saw and felt the dire need for peace in place of turmoil and assurance in place of fear." It was the personal rule of British officers that did away with all the ills and evils of the country. They brought about order out of chaos and confusion. "It took two generations of personal rule on the spot decisions,
codifications of tax laws and the introduction of an impartial judicial system, to bring about these conditions. They suffered much personally by living in tents, riding round the countryside on horses and eating what they could get. It was security which they provided to the people, "the kind of security the people had never known within living memory." Summing up the meritorious services rendered by the British civilians, S.Y. Krishnaswamy says "never had so many owed so much to so few." In fact the missionary zeal of these early British officers gave to the institution of the Indian Civil Service its special stamp of serving the public and working for the welfare of the land and the people. Real service became the ethos of this administrative institution and it continued to direct the activities and aspirations of the civil servants.

After Independence, the Indian officers who had served under the British masters found a new Indian master—a master whom they had arrested during the struggle for Independence and who therefore suspected the nationalistic fervour and devotion of the civil servant. Most of the autobiographies taken up for the present study belong to this category of officers. It was Nehru's and Patel's confidence and trust in them and in their ability to serve India that enabled them to continue in service. "It was Sri Vallabhai Patel who recognised that these officers were invaluable to a Free India and with the full support of the Prime Minister
Sri Jawaharlal Nehru sternly resisted the suggestion from the opposition group that they should be liquidated and sent home. While defending the I.C.S. against its critics, Sardar Patel praised them in the Constituent Assembly thus: "I wish to place it on record in this house that if, during the last two or three years, most of the members of the services had not behaved patriotically and with loyalty, the union would have collapsed. So once for all decide whether you want this service or not. If you have done with it and decide not to have this service at all, I will take the services with me and go." Fortunately, the ethos of services nurtured all through the history of the I.C.S. as an institution, which ethos these officers have imbibed through education and training, made it easier for them to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances of history and make their invaluable contribution to the building up of modern Independent India. "But on the whole, the civil servants were able to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances and requirements. The role of the Sardar in this process of readjustment was very important. It was the foresight of Sardar Patel that helped the civil servants to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances."

One of the most convenient methods by which their contribution can be studied is to classify their services under two broad divisions: (A) their services for internal development of India (and (B) their services in improving
India's relations with foreign countries and projecting the image of India abroad and building up of good relations with other countries all over the world.

One of the major problems India faced after Independence was the problem of refugees. It was the result of the partition of India. The British left India but "they left behind a divided sub-continent." There was an exodus of people from India to Pakistan and vice versa. The Hindu people migrated from East and West Pakistan to India and Muslims moved away from especially East Punjab to West Pakistan and West Bengal to East Bengal. There was a lot of violence, looting and rioting in all these places.

The Hindus and Sikhs who were pouring in from the Punjab as refugees were also regrettably: though not inconceivably, seeking revenge for what they had been made to suffer on the other side. Mass communal hysteria had been aroused, and once that happened people do not stop to consider the logic of their actions. Hindu and Sikh refugees from the Punjab sought to revenge themselves on the Muslim population in India, and to turn as many of them into refugees as possible. It was a ghastly situation.

were indiscriminately killed by the Hindus. "Muslims were being killed at sight. I have seen with my own eyes men fall
dead in the street shot at from some rooftop when identified as Muslim.\textsuperscript{29} Equally bad were the conditions of the Hindu refugees from Pakistan to India. "Many of them got there in wretched condition after days and nights of misery and terror. Some of them arrived mutilated; many women had had their breasts cut off by the Muslim gangs as they left home"\textsuperscript{30}. There were many communal clashes and riots in North India and the Government was not able to stop it with its armed forces. Only Gandhi and Nehru condemned this in public and appealed to the people to stop this carnage. It was a serious problem to tackle and it was the services which got down to the task of tackling it under the guidance of Nehru. Dharma Vira was appointed as a Joint Secretary in the Cabinet secretariat and directed to deal with the problem of refugees in Delhi. Later on he worked as Secretary to the Ministry of Rehabilitation. During this period he did a lot to help the refugees. He went to Calcutta to see in person, all the refugee camps in Bengal. These camps were hotbeds of dissatisfaction. He took steps to settle them down and announced that there would be only economic rehabilitation of the displaced persons from East Bengal. Thus he brought about permanent settlement of the refugees. Finally he carried out the Dandakarnaya Project where enough land was found for settling the refugees permanently. In spite of so many hurdles and troubles, the project was completed successfully where the refugees were settled. It was Dharma Vira who persuaded the Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari "to write off outstanding loans to the extent of about Rs.40 crores in
order to provide relief to the displaced persons. This was done sometime in 1964. But it was not completely carried out by the government of Bengal due to its inefficiency and corruption. Nobody was interested in completing this work. "It was just a case of deliberate callousness and lack of interest on the part of officials as well as politicians in the fate of the displaced persons from East Pakistan." Another I.C.S. man who took keen interest in this issue was Y.D. Gundevia. He concentrated on the problem of getting back the abducted women in Pakistan, while working as Joint Secretary for Commonwealth in the Ministry of External Affairs.

Another major problem India faced immediately after attaining independence was the integration of princely states in India. In this problem also civil servants like Dharma Vira and K.P.S. Menon were closely associated and helped the government to overcome the crisis. India during British rule consisted of British provinces and the Indian states. The latter were ruled by hundreds of Indian princes and they enjoyed the protection of the British Government. "The Indian states occupied nearly two-fifths of the total area of the Indian sub-continent. The rulers of the states, with a few honourable exceptions, were degenerate autocrats, and had no regard for their subjects." As per Mountbatten's advice these states were asked to join either of the two newly formed countries, Pakistan or India. Though they were left free to
make their own choice, "they were bound by the compulsions of
goography and the composition of the population of their
respective states." This formula worked well with regard to
all states except in the case of a few states. Kashmir was a
Muslim-Majority state ruled by a Hindu ruler. First, the ruler
of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, tried to play India and
Pakistan against one another to secure the best terms
possible. In the meanwhile, it was invaded by tribal raiders
from NWFP, aided and helped by the Pakistan army. Realising the
danger, the ruler acceded to India and left Srinagar. The
raiders were resisted by nationalistic forces led by Sheik
Abdullah and his followers. The Government of India air-lifted
its troops, ammunition and fighting materials to Kashmir.
Soon it became a war between the armed forces of India and
Pakistan. The raiders were pushed back further and further by
the Indian army. "In spite of the Pakistan army coming into
action, the Indian armed forces continued to push the raiders
further and further back and there was every reason to
believe that if the operations had continued for a few days
more, the entire area of Kashmir would have been liberated." It
was Lord Mountbatten who advised Nehru to agree to a
cease-fire and to take the case of aggression on a territory
which through accession was Indian, to the United Nations.
Sardar Patel opposed this move. He felt that if the military
operations were allowed for a few more days, the Pakistan army
would have been completely driven out of Kashmir and hence, no
need for complaining to the United Nations. The problem of
Kashmir continues till date and the United Nations is not able to find a solution. Junagath was a small Hindu majority state in Saurastra, ruled by a Nawab. He decided to accede to Pakistan, though the state was not contiguous to Pakistan and people were against it. The Government of India organised a minor police action against the Nawab and "soon the Nawab... fled to Pakistan and Junagadh became an Indian territory". Among the princely states, Hyderabad was the largest one ruled by a Muslim ruler. "It had more than 90 per cent Hindu population." And also it was far away from Pakistan. The Nizam, the ruler of Hyderabad, thought of establishing an Independent Kingdom in the heart of India. He showed signs of favouring Pakistan. He terrorised the majority population by encouraging "a Muslim fascist organisation, the Razakars, led by Kasim Rizvi." Nehru was against the use of force with regard to a Muslim state. Sardar Patel wanted to use force to bring down the Nizam. He held that if Hyderabad was allowed to remain independent, it would become a "'tumour in the stomach of India'". It was discussed several times at the Cabinet meetings. At last, police action was decided upon against Hyderabad by the majority of the members of the Cabinet. Finally when police action was ordered, "the Nizam capitulated abjectly and Hyderabad's accession to India was an accomplished fact". Dharma Vira, as the Joint Secretary to the Cabinet, was able to help the government by all means to achieve the integration of princely states. In taking over the French pockets in India
the civil servants played their part. The French Minister for Overseas territories announced that "each of the 5 towns of French India (Chandernagore, Pondichery, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam) would be allowed by a 'free vote' to decide its future status". A Referendum was taken in Chandernagore and the majority decided in favour of unification with India. No more plebiscites were taken in the other four towns. Immediately the French agreed to de facto transfer of all towns. Gundevia was asked to take over Chandernagore. I was called in and asked to go to Calcutta to 'take over' Chandernagore.

Another problem in which they showed keen interest was the problem of overseas Indians. The Commissioner for Emigration from Malaya came to India to renew the recruitment of labourers for Malaya. It was stopped as wages given to Madras labourers were felt to be too low. The Government of India was about "to agree to renewal of Emigration without insisting on a wage of one rupee...". S.V. Ramamurthy went to Delhi and represented the case and "insisted on its being agreed to". The Malaya representative did not agree to an increase of wages; as a result, "the recruitment of labourers for Malaya was not renewed". Thus the Civil servant championed the cause of Indian labourers regarding their wages abroad. Another I.C.S. man who was associated with this problem was K.P.S. Menon. He was sent to Africa to study the conditions of Indians there. "The object of my deputation was to enquire into the conditions of Indians in Zanzibar, Kenya,
In Zanzibar many acts were passed by the Government which were detrimental to Indian interests. "The Indian Community was in a state of panic." All decrees were aimed at expelling Indians out of the state. In Nairobi also the lands around Nairobi were reserved for Europeans. Not only Africans but also Indians were excluded from acquiring lands. In addition to this, Indians suffered from many discriminations.

Then he went to Ceylon as Agent of the Government of India in 1929. The Englishmen owned estates of coffee, rubber and tea. They employed coolies from Madras presidency on their estates, paying low wages. They were recruited "under the notorious Indenture system, which tied a labourer down to his estate for life." In the twentieth century, the Indian public opinion became alive to their problem in Ceylon, and "The Government of India abolished the indenture system...." Further the Government appointed an agent of the Government of India in Ceylon "to look after the interests of Indian emigrants, and particularly Indian labourers." It was the civil servant who brought to the notice of the Government the untold sufferings of the Indian labourers in Ceylon and suggested various measures to redress their grievances.

Another question that rose after the Independence was the problem of citizenship of Indians living abroad and "there were well over three million Indians, 'persons of Indian
origin as they were, living abroad, mostly in the British Dominion and Colonies. Gundevia took up the question of citizenship of Indians living in Burma. When they were denied citizenship in Burma, what was their position? Most of the Indians were not asking for citizenship in Burma. It was the problem taken up by Gundevia and he discussed it with B.N. Rau, the constitutional adviser. B.N. Rau argued that citizenship was primarily based on British law of domicile. If a person was not domiciled in India, he could not be a citizen of India. "All these people I was talking were domiciled in Burma. They could not be citizens of India". Without domicile in India, B.N. Rau argued that the Indians living abroad could not become citizens of India "under draft Article." Gundevia argued that "domicile is where you intend to die; not where you intend to live". Finally, Article 53 was introduced in the Constitution, granting citizenship to Indians living abroad. "A person of Indian origin... could be registered as a citizen of India by the diplomatic or consular representative of India in the country where he is for the time being residing on an application made by him therefor...". A series of laws were passed in the union of South Africa against the Indians, laws such as 'pegging act', Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Bill. Protesting against all these acts inimical to Indians, the Government of India gave notice to the Union Government of "the termination of the Indo-South African Trade agreement as from 25 June 1946".
June 1946. India made a complaint to the United Nations and it was debated in 1946-49.

After Independence India faced severe food scarcity. It was not self-sufficient in food production. It tried to get food grains from foreign countries to tide over the crisis. Nehru's Government approached the United States of America. C.D. Deshmukh was designated Financial Ambassador to India in U.S.A. and Europe "to negotiate a wheat loan for the country of two million tons". He went to America during the first weeks of October 1949 and met many American officials for the supply of two million tons of wheat to India. But the Americans were demanding very difficult terms. "It was not only the price of wheat, said Dr. Radhakrishnan, they wanted us to say grace every time we sat down to a meal." So no supply from the U.S.A. took place. In the U.S.S.R. Gundevia was working as Minister Counsellor to Indian Ambassador, Dr. Radhakrishnan. The Prime Minister asked the Indian Ambassador to approach Soviet Union for food grains and also to know how much they would be able to help. Gundevia met Kumykin, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and the latter said that they would be prepared to make a deal with us for five hundred thousand tons but it would have to be strictly a barter arrangement. The Russians wanted wheat, jute, rubber, raw cotton and shellac for the price of the wheat. Delhi wanted only 50,000 tons, still expecting something from America. At last India agreed to take a hundred thousand tons. The whole supply was completed by ship by the end of September 1951.
The constituent assembly was preparing the Indian Constitution and one Civilian Badr-ud-Din Tyabji was also involved in its work. He was a Deputy Secretary to it, the Secretary being R.V.R. Iengar, another I.C.S. man. Tyabji's work was mainly administrative but he contributed also to the design of the national flag and the emblem of India. He says "actually the symbols were finally approved on the basis of the proposals I made to the committee set up for the purpose by the President of Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad...." The design of the national flag was accepted without any hitch. Charka could not be stamped on the flag because "it would look the same from both sides". Mahatma Gandhi also approved it and "had also appreciated the desirability of not using a party symbol...." It was Tyabji's idea "to use the Lion Capital itself as the emblem...." A scroll with a Sanskrit motif, 'Truth will prevail' was an afterthought. It was carried out after his leaving the Constituent Assembly. The role of Civil servants in the Constituent Assembly and its work was exemplary and praiseworthy.

They were also much interested in the development of tribal lands and in the progress of tribal people. Their concern in their welfare and preserving their identity and culture was deep and sincere. K.L. Mehta was interested in tribals from his younger days. "As a child I was fascinated by Bhils, a tribe inhabiting parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat" Further he says, "I came to the conclusion that in effect, I
was a tribal myself having been born and lived in the feudal atmosphere of Udaipur. He was happy to be posted as advisor to the Governor of Assam for North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). It consisted of Assam, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. NEFA was inhabited by a number of tribes from Buddhist Hompas of Kameng in the west and Singhphos in the east to Apatanis, Dafias, Mishmis, and others, who believed in no known God. He was instructed not to isolate the tribal people nor upset their life and culture. The first step he took was the introduction of the single-line administration. It was meant mainly for a co-ordinated work among all the departments for the development of the whole area. Many steps were taken by him for the construction of roads, very vital in hill areas. It was a laborious task because of scarcity of materials necessary for road construction. He arranged for air-dropping supplies to the areas otherwise inaccessible in order to extend and consolidate the administration. Schools, hospitals, projects and dams for irrigation and plants to manufacture steel were provided. Care was also taken that the tribals were prevented from getting the evils of modern life, like violence and crime, gambling and highly intoxicating drinks. His "approach to the tribal people was neither to impose things on them nor to leave them alone. His was essentially the middle way." As a result of all these developments, the tribes were loyal to the Government. During the Chinese invasion, there was not a single betrayal by the tribes. "Not a single instance of a tribal having
turned a 'quisling'. On the other hand, they helped the Indian officers to re-establish the administration in the areas. Another civilian equally interested in and devoted to the welfare of tribes was R.P. Noronha. His connection with them began in Madhya Pradesh in 1940 when he "worked for six months under Grigson, on the Aboriginal Tribes Enquiry". He was happy to note: "I studied them at first hand, I lived with them, I tried to understand them, in Sagar, Mandla, Raipur and Bilaspur. The association continued for thirty years." He worked for six years in Bastar, a tribal district in Madhya Pradesh as a Deputy Commissioner and took all possible measures to improve the life of the tribals. Notable among the steps taken by him was to protect the lands of the tribal people from money lenders who took away their lands for the money lent to the tribal people. The tribes were passionately attached to their lands. With great efforts Noronha got a legislation passed to protect the Adivasis. He got enough development funds to improve the conditions of the life of the tribal people. Another most important step he took was to eradicate malaria from the area. They suffered much from this disease and many died of it. He started spraying DDT on their houses and other places, in order to destroy the mosquitoes, the main carriers of the disease. The aboriginals welcomed the programme and got much benefit from it. They hated malaria because it killed their zest for life. They co-operated with the government's programme in this respect. Noronha took keen interest in their progress and improvement; mixed and ate with them; drank and danced with them.
In the sphere of finance they played significant roles for improving the financial growth of India. C.D. Deshmukh held a variety of posts in the field of Finance. He acted as the Revenue and Finance Secretary to the Government of Central provinces and Berar. "In 1934 I became Finance Secretary to the Government and have five years of very interesting experience...." Then he went to the Reserve Bank of India, as Secretary to the Central Board and then became Deputy Governor and finally became the first Indian Governor of it. During his Governorship many developments took place in the Reserve Bank of India, such as the establishment of "the department of monetary Research" and "Statistical Research". A system was instituted under which senior officers were deputed to America and Canada and other countries to acquaint themselves with latest methods in the compilation of international accounts. He was also responsible for "the establishment of the Industrial Finance Corporation". It was during his period that the Reserve Bank was nationalised. He was one of the persons who prepared the scheme for setting up a Planning Commission. He was the Finance Minister of the Government of India from 3.5.1950 to July 1956. During this period he carried out many measures for improving the finance of India. The major objectives were "to press forward purposefully with plans to attain self-sufficiency in food, cotton and jute and to plan the utilisation of the country's resources in the most advantageous manner possible". Further he emphasised planning for growth at all levels and pointed out the
importance of local projects. Nationalisation of major financial institutions like the Imperial Bank took place during this period and also that of Life Insurance Company.

E.N. Mangat Rai worked and carried out a plan for starting many schools in Punjab when he was the Chief Secretary. He was advised by his Chief Minister, Partap Singh Kairon to provide scholarships to students. "I worked out for him a set of arrangements by which a good 50 per cent and more of the students were educated from scholarships provided from various sources. When the scheme for starting Sainik schools was introduced by the Defence Ministry of India, Mangat Rai made use of this scheme by starting a few such schools "with a number of scholarships provided for the sons of Ex-army personnel." C.D. Deshmukh accepted the post of the chairmanship of the University Grants Commission. It was during his period that centenary grants of a crore rupees to each university of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were made. He took steps to strengthen the libraries of universities, and construction of new buildings were undertaken. Among many measures he undertook to improve the university education, the important one was "to give assistance for improving the emoluments of teachers of colleges and universities as a demonstration method for a limited period..." And also under his guidance, "the U.G.C. decided to make a systematic improvement in the emoluments of the college and University teachers." Then he became the Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University. The first step he took was to reduce the ever
growing students' strength in the university. As a result of his initiative, a new university was started and was named after Jawaharlal Nehru. It relieved the problem of over-crowding in the Delhi University. Many problems connected with the running of a number of colleges or the running of students' unions were solved. He removed many evils in the management of private colleges, like the chairman interfering in the day-to-day administration of private colleges. He took great interest in Research Department. As per his suggestion, evening classes were started in colleges and a post-graduate evening college was run by the university. In addition to all these, correspondence courses were also started benefiting five thousand students. Enough steps were also taken for the reform of the university's National Cadet Corps.

Many towns and cities were constructed in free India and they stand as proofs of Indian architecture and engineering skill. One such city is Chandigarh in Punjab, in the construction of which civilians like E.N. Mangat Rai were closely associated. It was meant to be the capital of East Punjab in India. The work was undertaken when Mangat Rai was the Financial Secretary to the Government of Punjab and was much involved in it in his official capacity. "The two outstanding projects in Punjab... were Chandigarh and the Bhakra Dam." During the winter of 1950-51, a team of officers "visited Europe to choose the top architects for
Chandigarh. The chief foreign architect was Monsieur Le Corbusier and his assistants were Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew (husband and wife from England) and Pierre Jeanneret. P.N. Thapar was the administrator of the new capital. Thapar collected a team of Indian architects to help the foreign team. It was a stupendous task meticulously carried out under the supervision of Thapar and Mangat Rai knew every detail of it as a Finance Secretary. Le Corbusier played a vital part in the construction, aided by his team. In short, it became a model town with "generally well groomed lawns, hedges and gardens in even the most restricted areas." Likewise, many dams were constructed for the development of irrigation, production of electricity and flood control. They were called "the 'temples' of modern India" because of their immense use to the nation as a whole. The three major constructions are Bhakra Nangal in Punjab, Damodar Valley Corporation in West Bengal and Hirakud in Orissa. The civil servants were closely involved in these projects at various stages of their construction. The Bhakra Dam "was amongst the biggest and most difficult by world standards. The Chairman of the Board was the Governor of Punjab..." and Mangat Rai was one of the members of the Board.

In the same manner, Hirakud dam was constructed in Orissa across the river, Mahanadi. "At that time it was a pure act of faith. Hirakud was conceived as a project with triple benefits of irrigation, electricity and flood control. "It was the first large hydel dam project in the country."
The civil servant associated with it was B. Sivaraman. His "main job was resettlement and the supervision of land acquisition." Due to the project many villages were going to be submerged and the people were to be resettled in other lands. He held a dialogue with people and arrived at a solution. He carried out reclamation of virgin lands from the scrub jungles and gave it to the affected people. Finally, he saw to it that they were all well settled and satisfied in the newly reclaimed areas.

S.K. Chettur acted as Chairman of the Electricity Board in Madras Presidency. He says "I look back with pride on my association with the Periyar Hydro-electric scheme and the Kunda Hydel scheme, both of which reached significant stages of construction and output of power during my aegis as chairman."

Two other schemes launched by the government of India for the improvement of villages were Community Development and the National Extension Service. Agricultural production increased in community development and National extension service blocks to some extent.

While working for the making of modern India, these men faced in various parts of India many problems which still remain unsolved. In their autobiographies they analyse the causes for such problems and offer their own opinions on them. Important among them are 'Ayaram and Gayaram,' the dacoits and
The process is well illustrated by R.P. Noronha from what happened in Madhya Pradesh in the election of 1962. The Congress won less than the majority seats, 141 out of 289. But they formed the government. But soon their strength increased to 176 out of 282 seats. "For the Congress, it was the day of Ayarams." In 1972, P.C. Sethi became the Chief Minister with 169 seats but soon the strength became 191. "The Gayarams had returned."

Another chronic problem analysed is the prevalence of dacoity in Madhya Pradesh. It is the unique feature of the state for ages. It is mostly prevalent in the Chambal valley, Shiva Puri districts and part of Budelhand. They are on the main invasion route from the North to South, the route followed by countless lakhs of soldiers. Those who were resentful of authority and discipline deserted their armies, settled in the areas, and intermarried. At last a new breed was established which became the dacoits. It is not due to poverty but due to heredity and environment. They "have combined to produce a distinctive type of man, who is a law unto himself and recognises no other law, quick to anger and quick to strike, slow to forget or forgive.... The three main reasons for becoming a dacoit are "it is the only way he
can be a law unto himself.\textsuperscript{96} It gives him power and respect. It is profitable also. They cannot be completely eradicated because they are like fish in a sea and the police get commission from them. The poor people are not worried about the dacoits for it is the rich who are the targets of the dacoits. According to R.P. Noronha, the only hope lies in the younger generation/"when they are sufficiently corrupted by the silks of civilization they will be too soft to become dacoits"\textsuperscript{97}.

Another burning issue in India is that of foreigners/in Assam. It is blazing fire for a long time and the government of India is at a loss to find a permanent solution to this vexed question. The causes for the problem are well analysed by K.L. Mehta. Waves and waves of Muslim people from East Pakistan continued to migrate to Assam even before Independence. The Muslim league Ministry of Assam "encouraged them to settle in the rural areas...to increase Muslim population in the state,"\textsuperscript{98} to get included in Pakistan later on. They continued to come to Assam even after Independence and the Congress Ministers did not stop for the sake of their votes. This is the historical background of the issue. When this matter was brought to the notice of Nehru and the Chief Minister of Assam by the officials, including K.L. Mehta, they never took any steps at all. The process continued till the Assamese realised that "they would soon become a minority in their own state"\textsuperscript{99}. Their stand was that "a foreigner could not become a citizen of India merely by having lived in the
country for a long time". It led to the violent agitations on the part of the Assamese demanding the deportation of foreigners from Assam. The state has suffered a lot due to many strikes, hartals and agitations conducted by various sections of the people of Assam. K.L. Mehta offers the following suggestions for the solution of the problem:

"The triple tasks for the detection of foreign nationals, deletion of their names from the lists of voters and their eventual deportation should be pursued as separate issues".

In the meanwhile the centre should come forward to accept the demands of the Assamese and implement them.

These autobiographers not only worked for the development and progress of modern India internally but they played a leading role in building up the relations of India with foreign countries. They took part in conducting negotiations with other countries and concluding treaties and agreements. In all these dealings, the interests and integrity of India were kept uppermost in their minds. Social relations, and commercial contacts between India and other foreign nations were also promoted by them. They stood like rocks behind their political masters against the machinations of the super powers. Equally adept were they in their dealings with their counterparts from other countries. Indeed they proved to be genuine representatives of India throughout their official
careers. While functioning as Secretaries in the Ministry of External Affairs of India, they point out some of the defects in its functioning and the steps taken by them to rectify them. With regard to foreign policy also, its drawbacks are clearly pointed out by them. These men were taken into the Foreign Service after the independence of India. They formed the cream of the Service. K.P.S. Menon says, "We began by enlisting some three dozen officers of the I.C.S. into the Foreign Service. They were picked men and formed the kernel of the service." Such were the persons like Y.D. Gundevia, Badr-ud-Din Tyabji, T.N. Kaul and K.L. Mehta. Three of them K.P.S. Menon, Y.D. Gundevi and T.N. Kaul became the Foreign Secretaries of India and played pivotal roles in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy.

The foreign policy of India was mainly based on the concept of non-violence. It was Nehru who worked it out on the basis of his understanding of international affairs. "Our Foreign Policy... rested on the intuition of one man, who was Foreign Minister as well as Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru". Non-violence was the philosophy of Gandhi and it was developed into a policy by Nehru. "Nehru tried to translate Gandhi's Philosophy of non-violence into a policy of peace, co-operation and disarmament in the international field". In September 1946, Nehru declared, "In the sphere of foreign affairs, India will follow an independent policy, keeping away, from power politics of groups aligned one
against another'. that is indeed the meaning and essence of India's policy of non-alignment. 105.

The policy of non-violence has its own limitations. It failed with regard to Kashmir when it was invaded by Pakistan soon after Independence. "...there were limitations to the efficacy of non-violence" 106. Only by employing Indian troops, the invaders were expelled and Srinagar was saved. In the same manner Hyderabad, the princely state was integrated with India by means of police action. "The police action in Hyderabad also took place during those days...." 107 The policy of non-alignment did not find favour with big powers like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China. "However, the ruling circles in the West....looked askance at his policy of 'non-involvement' and John Foster Dulles called it 'immoral'". 108. Nehru was suspected by the Russians also. The Communists had labelled Gandhi and Nehru as "stooges of British imperialism" 109. China too did not like this policy. "Mao's China ruled out third way" 110. "The war in Korea proved to be an acid test of India's foreign policy". 111 Both America and the West as well as China and Russia got bogged down in Korea. It was Nehru's efforts which helped in bringing about a cease-fire. He was aided and helped by T.N. Kaul working in India's embassy in Peking. Further T.N. Kaul says "India was asked by both sides to be Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC) in Korea". 112 K.P.S. Menon observes "with the death of Stalin, Soviet policy towards the
neutral and non-aligned states and especially India, entered a new phase. He was Ambassador of India in Russia in 1955 when Nehru paid a visit to Russia. Both the Government of the U.S.S.R. and people gave a heroic welcome to him "...A man in whom they found not merely the liberator of his own country but a friend of the Soviet Union and a herald of peace." It was a clear proof of Soviet's appreciation of India's foreign policy and its maker, Nehru. K.P.S. Menon, as India's representative had developed good relations with and convinced them of India's foreign policy. As a result, India's stock had gone up in the Soviet. The role played by the Indian Ambassador as a Civil Servant was appreciable and it boosted up India's credit.

They also took steps to promote cultural and economic relations between India and other countries. They travelled widely to meet cross-sections of the people. While serving as ambassador to Peru and Colombia K.L. Mehta says "we... spread our net as wide as possible to meet a cross-section of the people of the cities we visited." Cultural and economic relations were also promoted. "I also spent a lot of time exploring the possibility of widening our cultural and economic relations with these countries." In order to promote and establish better relations with Ethiopia, K.L. Mehta made arrangements for India's help to that country in establishing Defence Academy. In the field of education also, he made arrangements for more Indian teachers to teach English, being recruited by Ethiopia.
As representatives of India it became their duty to rectify the false impressions about India created in foreign countries like Saudi Arabia. Exaggerated pictures of communal clashes were given to the people of Saudi Arabia, prejudicing them against India. All this once led to a virulent and scurrilous attack in a leading Arab newspaper "not only against India but against Hindus, Congress party and leaders like Pandit Nehru and our then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi". M.A. Quraishi, Indian Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, got in touch with the editor and told him to stop all this as they were all false.

Sometimes it was the greed of the Indians which damaged the reputation of India. It was clearly brought to light by K.L. Mehta when he was India's Ambassador in South America. Whenever Indian VIPs visited foreign countries, they presented some gifts to important personalities. Such gifts usually contained items of handicrafts. Many gifts were sent when Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India paid a visit to Santiago. But they contained only old Indian newspapers when opened by the recipients. "My wife and I were horrified when...we received phone calls from two or three of the recipients...that on unwrapping the parcels, all they found inside them were bundles of old Indian newspapers". Substitute gifts were supplied to them again from India. Such acts on the part of some Indian underlings responsible for packing the gifts had caused damage to India's reputation.
The theory of prohibition followed by India and its leaders went very much against the interests of India and its image abroad. Indian diplomats were not allowed to serve alcoholic drinks in their parties on important occasions like Independence Day of India, 15th August. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji who served in Belgium as India's Minister-charge d'Affairs says "it seemed to be then (as it seems to me still) a major blunder to try to export our prohibition and puritanical policy...but abroad it seemed both arrogant and self-defeating. It contributed a great deal in spreading abroad the 'holier than thou' image of India from which we still suffer.

T.N. Kaul is of the same view regarding prohibition and alcoholic drinks. When he was serving as India's diplomat in Great Britain, Morarji Desai, Indian Minister, paid a visit to U.K. T.N. Kaul invited Edward Heath and Harold Wilson to dinner in his honour. T.N. Kaul says that "Desai threatened to boycott the dinner if I served alcohol even to the guests. I agreed and informed my guests. But when Desai said 'Vijayalakshmi did not serve meat either' I protested and said that was going too far and did serve meat." He feels that "they only make us the laughing stock of people abroad and do not raise their opinion of India or Indians. Such a-fuss about prohibition abroad must be given up for the sake of India's interests; "the sooner we give up this cant and hypocrisy the better."
Looking after the interests of India was not the only concern of these representatives, but the interests of Indians abroad also received their attention. The education of the children of Indians abroad received their primary attention and they took much care of it by providing better facilities like school buildings and efficient teachers. K.L. Mehta was India’s Envoy in Afghanistan. When he arrived in Kabul, "the Indian school functioned in a couple of rented rooms, poorly furnished and badly lit, with only about twenty or so students on its roll. The teachers were some of the wives of Indians serving in the embassy or under own ITEC programme." He took great interest in the development of the school. "We hired a large building at some distance from the centre of the town and recruited from India a principal and a few others all of them trained. The school was affiliated to the Central Board of Higher Secondary Education, Delhi. Thus he did his best to promote the educational facilities for the children of Indians.

Using fine arts like music for developing good relations between India and other countries was also utilised by Indian ambassadors like K.L. Mehta in Afghanistan. Afghans, in general, had an ear for music. Several embassies invited their artists to entertain the Afghan elite in Kabul. Indian Ambassador K.L. Mehta invited many Indian leading musicians like the Dagar brothers, Begum Akhtar and Ustad Abdul Halim Jaafar Khan to Kabul to conduct musical concerts. He says,
The King was a connoisseur of our music, especially classical. Our musicians were invariably invited to sing at the palace before a select audience of no more than a dozen guests...it was a highly enjoyable experience. It strengthened the relations between the two countries.

Conferences like the Colombo, the Bogor and the Bandung were held by Asian and African countries to promote better relations, co-operation and understanding among themselves and discuss other matters like Indo-China and regional matters. In holding such conferences and India’s participation in them it was India’s diplomats who played eminent roles, bringing credit and reputation to India. The Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955 was much helped by Indian Envoy Badr-ud-Din Tyabji.

The need to make India militarily strong arose in view of the prolonged hostility between India and Pakistan. Further, India’s defence equipment was not up to the mark. “All our Army, Navy and Air-force equipment was but the remnants left over from the British days. We had to have so many aircrafts, so many tanks in answer to the American deliveries...to Pakistan”.

So Gundevia serving as India’s Deputy High Commissioner in London took steps to secure aircrafts. He conducted negotiations to purchase these. With his efforts the
Canberras, the Hunters were bought. In the middle of the deal, the British conveyed that they could not supply bombs for the Canberras because they were on the secret list of NATO. Without taking orders from Delhi, he replied that "no bombs, no Canberras". Soon they agreed to supply the bombs also. In the same manner he conducted talks for securing T-64 tanks from Czechoslovakia when he accompanied President Radhakrishnan as his Secretary in 1965. He says that the deal was negotiated "between the Czech official side and myself and one or two others in our President's party".

They always stood for the legitimate rights of India while they served abroad. When Badr-ud-Din Tyabji was in Belgium, as India's diplomat he was appointed India's representative on the Inter Allied Reparation Agency. The headquarters of this organisation was in Brussels. One of its main works was to regulate reparations from Germany "among the Allies in proportion to their losses". India was interested in getting reparations in the form of industrial plants and machinery. "The proposal was for the winding up of the whole business, confining reparations from Germany only to those plants and machinery that had already been earmarked as such". All agreed to this proposal except India and Czechoslovakia. European Allies would be compensated by the aid through the Marshall Plan. It was unfair since European countries would be compensated for their loss by the United States under the Marshall Plan, non-European countries would
get nothing. Tyabji argued the case so convincingly and lucidly for India that it resulted in "obtaining greater consideration for India and the allocation of a larger and more select share out of the already earmarked plants and machinery". 131

These foreign service men were much interested in solving problems which had marred the good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan ever since the sub-continent was partitioned into two nations. There were some left-over boundary disputes, for instance; there was the question of constant and continuing infiltration of Muslims from East Bengal into Assam and West Bengal; there was the question of evacuee property. If we were to have peace, everything had to be settled. 132 Of course the problem of Kashmir is always there. India claimed "full and complete sovereignty over the whole of Jammu and Kashmir". 133 Pakistan disputed this claim. Gunderia as Commonwealth Secretary tried for a settlement of all disputes by proposing "we would be prepared to voluntarily give up our sovereignty over some parts of our territory that we might give away to Pakistan in an effort to reach an overall settlement". 134 He further observes that "we wanted peace with Pakistan. We had always wanted peace, and we would try for an amicable settlement, on everything, including Kashmir...." 135
T.N. Kaul is one of India's leading diplomats who served in all important foreign countries like the U.S.S.R., the U.K., China, Iran and Vietnam and finally served as the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In his diplomatic career he negotiated many treaties and agreements with countries like China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. "...India and China signed an agreement on trade and intercourse between India and the Tibetan Region of China, on April 29, 1954 in Peking. I had conducted these negotiations for four months in Peking. The preamble to this Agreement mentions the five principles of peaceful co-existence, popularly called 'Panch Sheel', an ancient Sanskrit term. This agreement was the climax of three years' effort. This agreement was indeed the result of his negotiations over a period of three years and it was really the fruit of his labour. War broke out between India and Pakistan in 1965. The Soviets mediated between the two countries and brought about an agreement known as the "Tashkent Agreement on January 10, 1966....with some give and take on either side....". T.N. Kaul was the Indian Ambassador to Russia and he played an important part in bringing this agreement about.

Another important treaty entered into between India and Russia was Indo-Soviet Treaty on 1971. During that period, Kaul was India's Foreign Secretary. Bangladesh was struggling
for its freedom from the yoke of West Pakistan's military dictatorship. Millions and millions of refugees were coming to India in order to escape from the atrocities of Pakistan's soldiers. India was unable to bear the burden of these refugees, besides its "economic, administrative and social structure in the states neighbouring Bangladesh was severely strained". The military dictator of Pakistan, Yahya Khan deliberately created border troubles and tried to provoke India into a conflict with a view to divert "the attention of his own people and of the outside world from his troubles in Bangladesh". India appealed to Yahya Khan several times to reach a direct political settlement with the elected leaders of East Pakistan. Hoping that China and the U.S.A. would come to his help, he continued to suppress the people in East Pakistan. "It was this situation that created the 'proper time' for signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty". Kaul says, "D.P. Dhar, our Ambassador to Moscow, and I as Foreign Secretary, had many informed discussions with the Soviet side". America and China were favourably disposed towards Pakistan. The situation became so grave that war seemed imminent on the sub-continent. To defuse such situation, "the Treaty was signed on August 1971 in New Delhi" by India and Russia because "both needed security against threats from China and Pakistan, which was aided by America".

In the same manner, after the war India and Pakistan entered into an agreement called The Simla Agreement "to
promote peace, safeguard security, . . . on a basis of equality and partnership, free from outside interference. This was the aim of Simla Agreement with Pakistan and the Treaty of Peace and friendship with Bangladesh in 1972. When these treaties were prepared and signed, it was T.N. Kaul as Foreign Secretary who prepared the ground for them. In fact, the draft for the treaty with Bangladesh was prepared by T.N. Kaul. "It was drafted on a streamer by the Bangladesh Foreign Secretary and myself." Civil servants' contribution towards concluding such treaties was great and notable.

These diplomats worked as Secretaries in the Ministry of External Affairs in India as well as envoys of India abroad. They point out to some of the defects in the functioning of this ministry. Regarding the opening of many missions in various parts of the world, Tyabji says, "...because we also wanted to cut a figure on the international stage as early as possible and . . . due to the desire of many persons to become Ambassadors, or at least to serve abroad instead of doing an exacting job at home." The ministry was not able to exercise enough control over the political ad hoc appointees. Such appointees flouted the rules and regulations of the government whereas the regular members of the Foreign Service were bound by such rules. Political appointees were rather praised for disobeying rules while service men were pulled up. There was no co-ordinated work among various secretaries in the Ministry. "The Secretaries worked in watertight
The Indian Ministry of External Affairs was strictly confined to their political aspects. Economic matters were dealt with by the Finance Ministry and the Commerce Ministry. There was at that time not even an economic division in the Foreign Office. Another drawback was that the foreign office never responded to reports and weekly letters received from Indian embassies. There was the growth of regional and cultural attachments in the office. Officers hailing from the same province developed a close affinity among themselves. There was also a large number of Keralites in the foreign office because of the Foreign Secretary, K.P.S. Menon who was responsible for their recruitment. This practice of Provincialism was followed subsequently by other secretaries.

While working in the foreign office, Madr-ud-Din Tymbji tried to introduce some reforms in its working. He took steps to consider together the reports received from various missions. Then decisions were taken on their basis. He then introduced a scheme for fortnightly meetings of the heads of territorial divisions in the Ministry. Another important reform introduced by him was the introduction of four grades of Ambassadors. It was based on seniority and aptitude.

India gave importance only to big powers like the U.S.A., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R. It neglected the importance of small countries. K.L. Mehta says, "we were rather slow in realising
the importance of small countries, not even Colombia of my days..." 149.

It was frequently proclaimed that the main interests of India lay in Asia and the primary aim of India's foreign policy was to establish close contacts with its Asian neighbours. But in practice the contrary was practised. Many senior service members preferred postings in European countries to Asian countries. Tyabji states that most of his colleagues "would themselves always prefer a western posting, however insignificant that country might be in the context of India's national interests" 150. It was because Europe was very familiar to them in all respects.

A change of government at the centre had created suspicion in the minds of foreigners regarding genuineness of our foreign policy as non-aligned. In short, the British as well as the Indian I.C.S. officers had rendered much service in the making of modern India. The British civil servants were responsible for changing the medieval face of India and introducing a scientific temper. The Indian I.C.S. men maintained the tempo of this change and made the India of today a vibrant modern democracy.
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