

**REPORT OF SEMINAR
ON
NATIONAL INTEGRATION**

April 16-17, 1958

**UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION
NEW DELHI**

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INTRODUCTION

1. A Seminar on NATIONAL INTEGRATION organised by the University grants Commission was held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on the 18th and 17th April, 1958 under the presidentship of Shri C. D. Deshmukh. Shri Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, inaugurated the Seminar. Representatives of the following Universities participated in the Seminar, viz., Delhi, Lucknow, Banaras, Sri Venkateswara, Utkal, Roorkee, Rajasthan, Poona, Patna, Aligarh, Annamalal, Madras, Kerala, Karnatak, Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, Agra, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidya Peeth and Saugor. There were representatives from some cultural organisations like the Sahitya Akademi and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Persons interested in the problem of finding ways and means to ensure the attainment of national unity through Universities also attended the Seminar and participated in its deliberations.

2. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, in his presidential address, explained the objects of the Seminar and emphasised the part played by education in its broadest sense in the inculcation of right attitudes for the successful functioning of democracy. He was of the opinion that there should be a relentless exposure of wrong practices which foster disintegration and fissiparous tendencies. He was in favour of setting up an agency for vigilantly watching the implementation of the plan of action recommended by the Seminar.

3. In his inaugural address Shri Humayun Kabir dealt with the historical background to the problem of achieving national integration. Referring to the extent to which Universities in India could help in achieving national integration, he pointed to the lack of intellectual integration of the different systems of belief round here and also to the lack of the basic requirement of a national system of education. Its absence was one of the main reasons why the people, even today, exhibited a regional, linguistic and communal outlook. Universities in India, Shri Kabir said, must serve as a catalytic agent for the synthesis of cultures on an intellectual basis. They are to play a creative role in the evolution of a common Indian consciousness and bring into one common pool the heritage derived from different elements in the national life. Universities, he said, could inculcate in the mind of the younger generation a sense of purpose based on the immense opportunities presented by the modern age. What was necessary was to create an atmosphere of hope and confidence. This would lead to an expansion of activities in all spheres of life. To work for an India in which all languages, all religions, all communities, in a word, all interests and aptitudes will find ample scope for expression and fulfilment was the surest way of achieving national and emotional integration.

4. Pandit H. N. Kunzru laid stress on the preparation of books on history to emphasise the unifying forces. He also pointed out some of the prevailing abuses which led to a sense of frustration and emphasised the responsibility of public men towards the moulding of the opinion of the people for unity and integration.

5. Shri Nityanand Kanungo said that a crusading zeal for national integration could succeed only in the background of philosophy of integration for the building up of which the Universities might provide opportunities. But unfortunately the Universities had become strong factors of fissiparous tendencies. Pointing to the present unfortunate position in the University Centres, he quoted the biblical saying "If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"

6. Prof. D. R. Gadgil of the University of Poona, Prof. P. T. Raju of the University of Rajasthan, Principal V. K. Gokak of Karnatak University, Prof. N. P. Pillai of Kerala University, Prof. S. Nurul Hassan of Aligarh University and Prof. Kali Prasad of Lucknow University also addressed the inaugural session of the Seminar.

7. The Seminar was then divided into three discussion groups to approach a solution of the problem on the basis of the following:—

Group I—ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS.

Group II—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Group III—LITERATURE AND CULTURAL MEDIA.

Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao and Shri Nityanand Kanungo were to be the leaders of Group I, II and III, respectively. The discussions in the Groups were to be based on the papers submitted to the Seminar on the different aspects of the problem of integration and on the mutual exchange of views among the members of each of the Groups.

8 The following were the papers placed before the Seminar:—

1. "THE NATURE AND PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY"
by Prof. M. N. Srinivas
2. "THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY"
by Dr P. D. Devanandan
3. "THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES"
by Shri Nityanand Kanungo
4. "THE PROBLEM OF CONTEMPORANEITY"
by Shri S. Mathai

5. "EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISPARITIES"
by Dr. B. N. Ganguli
6. "EDUCATIONAL MEANS AND METHODS OF PROMOTING INTER-REGIONAL UNDERSTANDING"
by Shri S. R. Dongerkery
7. "THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY"
by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao
8. "THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION"
by Prof. Kali Prasad
9. "THE NEED FOR CREATING AND MAKING AVAILABLE SUITABLE LITERATURE"
by Dr. K. M. George
10. "UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA—THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL AND EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION"
by Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay
11. "NATIONAL UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO UNIVERSITY EDUCATION"
by Prof. S. C. Mitra

9. The concluding session of the Seminar met on April 17, 1958 under the presidentship of Shri C. D. Deshmukh. Shri Humayun Kabir also attended the Seminar and participated in its deliberations. The Seminar received the reports of the group discussions under the leadership of Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao and Shri Nityanand Kanungo. The President commended the "thorough and thought-provoking" reports from all the three groups. It was decided that the main feature of the group discussions be incorporated in a common report with appendices incorporating each of the group reports.

10. After the discussion it was agreed :

- (a) That the general conclusions of the three discussion groups should be merged together and that the reports should be forwarded to the delegates and Universities and Government;
- (b) That an advisory committee be set up consisting of Shri Nityanand Kanungo, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, and Prof. B. N. Ganguli to draw up the report and to indicate further steps to be taken towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Seminar;
- (c) That similar Seminars and discussions in different Universities and in different regions for specific aspects of the problem, under the auspices of the University Grants Commission or the Uni-

versities, would be helpful to create the needed atmosphere and to give the necessary fillip towards the attainment of the idea of integration;

- (d) That all these efforts towards the realisation of national unity and integration were to be in furtherance of an international understanding in the cultural sense. The establishment of international centres in some university cities might be helpful for the purpose;
- (e) That a Gandhi Bhawan on the lines of the recommendations of Gandhi Smaraknidhi be set up in each university for the propagation and culture of Gandhian ideas and philosophy. The Seminar was informed that the proposal was accepted by the University Grants Commission. It was of the opinion that this would go a long way towards mutual understanding and national integration.

ADDRESSES

WELCOME ADDRESS

by

Prof. SAMUEL MATHAI,

Secretary, University Grants Commission

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR, SHRI DESHMUKH, LADIES & GENTLEMEN :

I have been assigned the pleasant duty of welcoming all of you to this inaugural function connected with the seminar on National Integration which the University Grants Commission has called together. We are honoured by your presence here and I trust that you will find this function both enjoyable and profitable.

It was suggested to the University Grants Commission that the problem of achieving real psychological and spiritual unity for India in the midst of all the diversities of language, religion and local cultures, was one in which the universities of the country should interest themselves also. A great deal of the leading and light required for the progress of the country must come from university people, and ultimately the emotional integration of the country would depend on such integration being achieved by the products of our universities in the first instance

Already a certain amount of thought has been given to this matter by various bodies and persons in India. Our attention was first drawn to this matter by various bodies and persons in India. Our attention was first drawn to this problem by Shri R. R. Diwakar, lately Governor of Bihar, through a letter that he had addressed to the Prime Minister on the subject of *versus* Casteism. Later some aspects of this matter were discussed by the Educational Panel of the Planning Commission. There were also other references that were made to the Commission.

After a great deal of consultation and planning, we have now come to this seminar. I should like to express on behalf of the Commission our appreciation of the response we have had from the universities of the country to this seminar, and I welcome the delegates who are present here.

I hope that the deliberations of this seminar will be fruitful and that as a result of these deliberations, we shall be able to suggest to the universities steps that may lead to a definite contribution being made by them to the intellectual and emotional unification of India. The achievement of unity of thought and action under modern conditions will require a clear appreciation of the forces in the modern world that affect our lives and it will be

necessary to create a culture that is inclusive and truly national. Perhaps there need be no insoluble conflict between the local cultures and the demands of separate linguistic and religious loyalties on the one hand and the needs of national unity and of an all-India culture on the other. But these are matters that need careful study, and I have no doubt that this seminar will be able to shed a great deal of useful light on them.

We are very happy that Shri Humayun Kabir has consented to inaugurate this seminar and I should like particularly to welcome him here. Shri Deshmukh as Chairman of the University Grants Commission, of course, hardly needs to be welcomed to a function organized by the Commission but I should like at least on behalf of myself to say how glad I am that he has found time amongst his many other pre-occupations to preside over this seminar.

May I once again express our pleasure and satisfaction at the presence of all of you at this inaugural function.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

Let me add my own welcome and welcome on behalf of my colleagues on the Commission to that extended to you just now by Shri Samuel Mathal.¹ I am very gratified as Chairman of the University Grants Commission at the response which our invitation to this Seminar has evoked. As President I do not feel called upon to make any elaborate observations at this stage and I shall endeavour to give the framework against which, to my mind, our deliberations will proceed.

You have heard something about the genesis of this Seminar. I should only like to add in that context that the partial consideration of the subject at the meeting of the Education Panel of the Planning Commission was based on a paper on Emotional Integration drawn up by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University. As a matter of fact, we might have proceeded, had we had the time, with a little more consideration of this matter, but it was felt to be so important at that time that we, that is to say, those who attended the panel meeting, decided, and I think decided very wisely, that the subject should receive separate and comprehensive consideration at a Seminar to be convened by the University Grants Commission.

Now this response makes it clear that this matter is very much in the minds of most of us and I should proceed to say that, perhaps, vaguely or inarticulately, it is in the minds of people at large either as a matter of instinct or in their reflective moments, and it is this I think that makes such a Seminar worth while.

The basis of democracy is a floating sense of right or wrong, and good or evil, in the community, as well as the organisation of the means to discover the common will that has to be supplemented by the inculcation of right attitudes. If democracy is to succeed by means of Education in the broadcast sense and that is why we find ourselves—mostly the representatives of the Universities—involved in this matter. In all countries Universities are recognised as the focal point of this duty of Education, directly or indirectly, proximately or by a linked process involving the promotion of appropriate and effective leadership. I believe that Education in its broadest sense is almost identical with or at least subsumes culture, again in the widest sense of

¹ Secretary, University Grants Commission.

the term, and therefore finally in any plan that we may evolve, I imagine that we shall lean very heavily on proper cultural developments. National Integration is the ineluctable prerequisite for the fulfilment of our infant democracy and the consummation of our democracy is a matter which will be of momentous consequence for the destiny of Man having regard to the ancient history of our land and its size and its general importance in the scheme of things.

There are very many excellent, thought-provoking and earnest papers dealing with various aspects of our topic that have been supplied to you. But perhaps it would be just as well to set down at least for our general discussion to follow the stages of consideration that would be found to be relevant. First, of course, is the recognition of the problem, Second is the diagnosis—what exactly the symptoms are. Third, the etiology, that is to say, the causation for what it is that has brought about what we have discovered. Fourthly, the probable consequence, in case we do not attend to this problem now. The next is the question of prognosis or remedial measures. Then we shall find that probably that is not enough and that we shall have to organise some preventive measures, and in doing that we shall have to define responsibilities of the various institutions and the various sectors of our society; and finally we hope that all this will lead us to a plan of action involving the creation of both an *ad hoc* machinery as well as some permanent machinery to achieve our aims.

I shall make a few observations by way of the framework in regard to the present historical scene. I am afraid I shall sound dogmatic because I shall not have time to develop my arguments. The first important in the scheme of things. We should here sorrowfully remind pre-history or history have we ever achieved National Integration and therefore the task before us of the present generation is indeed a gigantic one. Again, having regard to the developments in the world around us, never before was the problem of the National Integration of India so important in the scheme of things. We should here sorrowfully remind ourselves that the partition of the country was the most signal initial shock to the freedom fighters of this sub-continent—a set-back from the National Integration which they were endeavouring to bring about for the first time and therefore it, so to speak, constituted their most painful disillusionment. We have authority to believe that this development almost broke Gandhiji's heart. But it highlighted the vital importance of National Integration as nothing else could have. It was a kind of shock treatment administered to us by Destiny. And, therefore, everyone responsible in this country had resolved, with all his might, that never again shall such amputation of the body politic be allowed to take place. This is the high resolve of everyone of us who devotes some little thought to this problem.

Then another disaster of almost comparable magnitude in favour of which the dice were loaded by an alien government, was averted by the indomitable determination and the incomparable political acumen and

strategy of one man and the near disaster turned into a bloodless triumph. That was the integration of the erstwhile princely states. That man of destiny was, as you all know, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Furthermore, there was another danger which we may well congratulate ourselves, on having dealt with capably and that was the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from the West—a process which has almost been completed. It involved an operation extended over a period of years which reflects great credit on all concerned as it called for immense patience and understanding and wisdom and the human touch. There is a similar problem, but perhaps more difficult, in regard to the displaced persons from the East. But if politics in the raw can be kept away, then we may hope for similar, though perhaps less stable, success in that endeavour also. Further, as a part of the frame-work we must give some little thought to the planning that is in progress in the country. That was an act of great statesmanship in its inception—whatever view one may hold in regard to the correctness of its formulation or the ability shown in its execution—because there is no doubt that our five year plans are a potential cement and a binding force, but we must remind ourselves that they are capable of impairing the integrity of the nation, if in their particulars they are misconceived or in the details of their formulation or in their execution they are mishandled.

Then I must make some reference, again as part of the frame-work and not import politics into our deliberations, to the recent reorganisation of the States. It was undoubtedly well-meant, but to some small extent it has been a possible source of bitterness and therefore of a certain amount of weakness. As you are all aware, the reorganisation was predominantly linguistic, despite professions to the contrary, i.e., our belief to the contrary. But I doubt if it had any clear objective connected with National Integration. Now it is conceivable, and indeed justifiable, that the basis of the unilingual state system could be convenience of administration and maximum efficiency of the democratic form of government. But it does not follow that there was or there is need for one state covering one language. And, indeed, we know that so far as Hindi is concerned that will always be impracticable, that is to say, we have more than one State in which Hindi is the regional language and therefore it might have been possible to have more than one State, even for some of the other linguistic groups. Looking back upon it, now, it is my opinion, purely a personal one now, that smaller unilingual units would have been more appropriate purely from the point of view of maximum administrative success. And I feel, again looking back upon it with the hind-sight of the historians, if you prefer to consider it so, that we lost here a great opportunity towards National Integration. But that does not mean that I deprecate larger units. Indeed, I welcome the innovation of the bigger regional aggregates, that is to say, the zonal councils, leading on to final consideration of all important matters at the federal level. I have no doubt that these matters will be considered in the light of experience

and any adjustments or variations that are considered to be advisable, will be introduced. At present, I have no doubt that in some of the units, we have somewhat over-reached our administrative resources; and that is one reason why our Second Five-Year Plan, in some of its important aspects, is not making as good a progress as we expected in the beginning that it would.

Then there are other aspects of this matter which concern the State, like class disparities. Now that is a problem which is well understood in our country and from time to time we have given expression to our intention honestly to pursue the socialistic pattern of society and we may hold that, to the extent to which we shall succeed in doing so, we shall be travelling towards this ultimate goal of a genuine integration of the nation. Arising out of the reorganisation, I think, you will find in the course of your discussion that the problems of the linguistic minorities now left assume very great importance and we shall have to keep a wary eye on how these linguistic minorities which are now the fringes, so to speak, are treated in almost every State where formerly they were widely dispersed.

Then, there is the question of regional disparities which has been referred to in some of the papers. It is my view that we have not yet faced this problem of regional disparities with full understanding and courage, for fear of giving political offence to the vested interests affected. I hold that neglect of this would constitute one of the greatest threats to national integration, and since this neglect is avoidable and since this problem is not intractable, I think it will be the business of this gathering to give a correct lead in the matter; and we expect that those who have specialised in Economics, Sociology, Statistics and so on, will help us especially to formulate definite suggestions in this regard.

Also, as we survey the scene we shall have to lay down the principle that one of the most important elements in the matter is relentless exposure of wrong practices. That is to say, after we laid down a plan of action there must be an agency for vigilantly watching its implementation, an agency which will not hesitate to expose aberrations or departures from the right policy, especially the disparities between professions and practice, and rectification would have to be suggested to the authorities regardless of any narrow political or other interests. The difficulty in this matter is that, as in other spheres, we cannot always find out who started the trouble, that is to say, if some strongly entrenched group tries to fortify its own interests at the cost of other groups and a complaint is made by the other groups, there will always be a danger of other group being called a communal and sectarian one and those who start the mischief, as in the case of aggression against the national frontiers, often escape with a halo of glory round their head. There are other threats to National Integration and their exposure is essentially a process of education by leaders, who should be exemplars in what they preach. Because the higher up a mischief starts, the more extensive is its reaction on the community and the body politic.

All India Oriental Conference

17th Session, Ahmedabad

PROGRAMME

30th October 1953

9-0 A. M. to 10-30 A. M.	Opening of the Mss. Exhibition, organised by Gujarat Vidya Sabha, by Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai at the Town Hall.
10-45 A. M. to 12-45 P. M.	Meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee.
12-0 Noon	Lunch.
2-0 P. M. to 2-30 P. M.	Preliminary meeting of Sectional Presidents and Secretaries for drawing up a time-table for Sectional Readings.
3-30 P. M. to 5-30 P. M.	Opening Session at the Premabhai Hall.
6-0 P. M. to 7-0 P. M.	Public Lecture of Dr. Edgerton, at Vidya Vihar.
7-0 P. M. to 8-0 P. M.	Dinner.
9-0 P. M.	Entertainments at the Premabhai Hall.

31st October 1953

8-30 A. M. to 10-30 A. M.	Addresses of the Sectional Presidents at Vidya Vihar in the following order:—
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Prarthana Mandir

8-30 to 9 :	(1) Vedic
9 to 9-30 :	(2) Classical Sanskrit
9-30 to 10 :	(3) History
10 to 10-30 :	(4) Religion and Philosophy

Samskara Bhavan

- (1) Arabic and Persian.
- (2) Islamic Culture.
- (3) Iranian.
- (4) Linguistics.

(2)

10-30 A. M. to 12 A. M.

12 Noon

2-0 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.

Prarthana Mandir

2 to 2-30 : (1) Dravidian Culture
2 30 to 3 : (2) Pali and Buddhism
3 to 3-30 : (3) Prakrit and Jainism
3-30 to 4 : (4) Gujarat-History and
Culture

4-0 P. M. to 4-30 P. M.

4-30 P. M. to 6-0 P. M.

6-0 P. M. to 7-0 P. M.

7 P. M. to 8-0 P. M.

9-0 P. M.

Reading of papers only in the above sections, at Vidya Vihar.

Lunch.

Addresses of the Sectional Presidents at Vidya Vihar, in the following order:—

Samaskara Bhavan

- (1) Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.
- (2) Rajasthan-History and Culture.
- (3) Archaeology.

Tea.

Reading of Papers in all the Sections at Vidya Vihar.

Public Lecture by Dr. A. Ghosh at Vidya Vihar.

Dinner.

Entertainments at the Premabhai Hall.

1st November 1953

8-30 A. M. to 11-0 A. M.

11-0 A. M. to 12-30 P. M.

12-30 P. M.

2-30 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.

2-30 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.

4-15 P. M. to 5-15 P. M.

5-30 P. M. to 7 P. M.

7-15 P. M.

Reading of papers in all the Sections at Vidya Vihar.

Meeting of the Council, at Samaskara Bhavan, Vidya Vihar.

Lunch.

Reading of Papers in all the Sections at Vidya Vihar.

Meeting of the New Executive Committee.

“Sneha Sammilan” (Party) by the Gujarat Prantiya Rasbtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti at the Gujarat College.

Concluding Session at Vidya Vihar.

Dinner.

On the whole, I see no inherent difficulty in organising appropriate social behaviour in regard to this problem at least on the part of those who are truly educated and who are truly cultured. There should be no difficulty on their part in defining non-conflicting orbits of self-interest and of loyalties and I hope that our deliberations will point the way to achieving this. In other words, it will be necessary on our part to face realities and then to devise remedies, not to shut our eye to them to pretend that they never existed and to formulate some kind of solution which will be based on the hard facts of the situation.

In my young days a poet addressed a few words of advice to me which I would like to repeat here in conclusion, before I request our chief guest to inaugurate our proceedings. I shall first recite the original which is in Marathi :

*Pratikshani vara jata drishti
Vyapakatara hoi—
Kshitija Vartutasaha vadhu de
Swartha-vartutahi*

The meaning is :

As you rise every moment, your view gets more and more comprehensive. So let the orbit of your self-interest grow wider and wider like the horizon as you climb up.

This is one quotation. The other one is:

*Mi, majhe kula, majhi jati, samaja majha, ha
Shri manasta devi majhi Ishwara wichantha aha*

The meaning is :

I, my family, my caste, my society, that is to say, the society to which I belong or the community (the word community is used in two senses so I try to avoid it) then mankind which I claim to be mine, and finally god-head which is identical with me—that should be the heirarchy of self-interest.

Now I have great pleasure in requesting Shri Humayun Kabir to inaugurate this Seminar. I cannot think of anyone who is better fitted to do this honour to us; that he is Minister in Charge of Culture is only a recognition of his very extensive interest, spread over many years, in all cultural matters and let me remind you that I regard culture in its widest sense as the true road to any kind of integration.

PROBLEMS RELATING TO NATIONAL UNITY

Inaugural Address

by

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR

I would like to congratulate the University Grants Commission for its decision to hold an informal Seminar to discuss the question of national and emotional integration of the various groups and communities who together constitute the Indian people. The presence of groups and communities is not peculiar to India, for the world has perhaps never had a State with a people who are completely homogeneous. Small States which at first sight seem to present an appearance of homogeneity are found on closer inspection to consist of various units with distinct identities of their own. Religion, language, race and economic and social disparities as well as regional difference combine in differing degrees to give them their distinctive characteristics. In fact, one may go so far as to say that even the smallest group or community can be broken up into still smaller sub-units. One may perhaps use a physical analogy to make this point more vivid. From an aeroplane flying high, the earth below seems completely flat but as one descends one finds that what appeared as a plain surface is in fact broken with a thousand undulations of various sizes and types.

No State however small is completely homogeneous, but some States are heterogeneous to a marked degree. Generally this is true of the larger States like India, the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A., but diversity is not confined to large States alone. Switzerland and Yugoslavia consist of communities which speak different languages and profess different faiths, but, in spite of this diversity, the people are proud of their national unity. In fact, many discerning Western scholars have, after careful analysis, come to the conclusion that nationhood does not depend on race or language or religion or geography, singly or collectively, though they all help, but on the feeling of belonging to one nation. Such a definition may be questioned as circular, but no better definition has been offered till now.

There is no denying that from one point of view India presents a remarkable variety of peoples who differ from one another in almost all the elements which are usually considered necessary to constitute a nation. India has never had one language spoken throughout the length and breadth of her territories. Never have all the Indian people followed any one religion. Nor has the entire territory of geographical India ever been ruled from one centre. There are also marked differences in what are called racial characteristics, traditional food habits and customs and institutions in different parts of the country. In spite of these marked divergences, there

is equally little doubt that for at least 2000 years or more, there has been a general feeling of Indian-ness which has transcended all these distinctions and made the many Indian communities one Indian people.

The territorial compactness of the Indian sub-continent is perhaps one of the factors responsible for this sense of Indian unity, but by itself it could not have given it the strength which has resisted political, linguistic and religious divisions. The enduring strength of the idea of Indian unity is derived from, what may be called in modern political parlance, the principle of federalism. It has been recognised from the earliest times that Indian civilisation and culture is characterised by unity in diversity. Hindu social system is in itself a remarkable example of this principle. It has enabled people with the most contrary beliefs to belong to the same social group. Hindu society has rejected neither atheists nor believers in one God or many, so long as certain social proprieties have been observed. It has thus given the greatest latitude to intellectual difference, while enforcing general adherence to a certain pattern of social behaviour. Even in behaviour, the greatest diversity has been permitted as between castes, communities and regions. In **The Indian Heritage**, I have tried to point out how the institution of caste has itself served as an instrument for the incorporation into one social framework of a large number of units with differing levels of culture.

This principle of federalism in Indian society was easier to work in the past as the different units lived comparatively isolated lives. Within each area there was a comparatively homogeneous group and differences were distributed regionally. The differences which existed within an area were tolerated because of the unquestioned acceptance of hierarchical society. The institution of caste not only enabled the different groups within the Hindu community to live at peace with one another but what is historically even more important, it enabled Hindu society to establish a *modus vivendi* with various outside groups which came to India from time to time. In some cases, the groups were absorbed in Hindu society at a fairly high level, as in the case of the Rajputs. In other cases, as in the days of Muslim or British domination, the superior position enjoyed by members of the ruling community did not provoke much opposition because of the inequalities in status and functions within the Hindu social system itself.

Thus there has always been a remarkable diversity of thought, action and outlook among the Indian people, but this diversity has been organised within a generally recognisable Indian pattern. When Megasthenes or Fahien came to India, they found many clans and sects following different ways of life but could nevertheless group all of them together as the people of India. In later days, Babar explicitly recognised this Indian character and called it the Hindustani way of life to distinguish it from the way of life elsewhere in the world. He felt that Indian Muslims were in some subtle way different from Muslims elsewhere and he attributed this difference to their affiliation with their Hindu countrymen.

Some degree of emotional national integration has therefore always been in evidence in India, but this feeling of unity has not always been

able to withstand the challenge of group loyalties. This again is not peculiar to India, for the existence of different groups always carries with it the risk of fragmentation, at first on an emotional and later on an institutional level. It is also a fact that the smaller the group, the more intense the loyalty it generally evokes. Small communities demand and generally secure a greater degree of adherence from its members. Concentration of emotions on the constituent units may thus weaken the hold of the total community and lead to the emergence of institutional forms which make the cleavage complete.

This risk of fragmentation is greater where there is no intellectual basis for the cohesion among the different groups. A sense of unity based on emotion alone cannot stand the test of time, as emotions are on the whole less stable than intellectual attitudes. This has been proved in Indian history both positively and negatively. The cohesion of Hindu society in spite of the innumerable sub-groups into which it has always been divided was possible because the philosophical basis of such cohesion had been worked out. One may or may not accept the doctrine of *Samsara* and re-birth, but there is little doubt that this doctrine, reinforced by belief in *karma*, has given coherence and unity to Hindu community life. Perhaps the greatest triumph of the Aryan synthesis was the intellectual integration of different ways and outlooks, as I have tried to point out at somewhat greater length in one of the essays in *Science, Democracy and Islam*.

The importance of working out an intellectual basis for practical co-operation is seen negatively in the various fissiparous tendencies which have disturbed Indian social life in recent times. Throughout the middle ages, there was a remarkable rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims of India. Geographical contiguity compelled them to come to terms with one another and quite early in the middle ages they established points of contact at many levels. The synthesis so achieved was however largely based on practical considerations or emotional urges. In the courts and in the cities, patterns of common behaviour grew out of the desire for worldly advancement. In the villages, common beliefs and customs developed through the teaching of the reformers, religious teachers and poets. This attempt at reconciliation did not, however, prove enduring, as it was not supported by the intellectual integration of the philosophies of these two great communities.

In one sense, the essence of the Hindu outlook is the yearning for the liberation of the individual from the bonds of *karma*. From the point of view of Hindu thought, history becomes illusory and the individual is exalted above the community. Marxism goes to the other extreme in exalting the community above the individual and making history the ultimate test of the real. Islam stands midway between these two extreme positions and recognises the validity of history while at the same time acknowledging the ultimate value of individual. There is thus no contradiction between the fundamental philosophic tenets of Islam and Hinduism as there is between those of Hinduism and Marxism, but the points of divergence have

been neither articulated nor consciously reconciled in a philosophical synthesis. In the absence of such intellectual articulation, accommodation on the level of practice, emotion and even intuition has not been able to withstand the challenge of contrary forces. One evidence of this is found in the failure of these major communities to come to terms with their history. Indian Muslims have not accepted the pre-Muslim traditions and heroes as part of their heritage to the same extent as in countries like Iran or even Indonesia. Similarly, there are strong elements among Hindus who would like to forget or at least ignore the developments of the middle ages. With minor modifications, the same story is reported in the case of the Christian community of India. The advent of the British on the Indian scene led to an emphasis on the differences between the different communities and we know the sequel of this process in the unfortunate division of the country.

A critical study of Indian history indicates the lines on which national and emotional integration can be achieved in spite of the diversity of beliefs and practices among Indian groups. One fact we must recognise at the very outset. There are differences among Indians in faith and belief and thought and action which have been further strengthened by differences in language, religion and custom. Any attempt to deny or suppress these differences is not only bound to fail but is bound to lead to an exaggeration of the differences and an aggravation of bitterness. Whether it be religion or custom or language or tradition, it is too late in the day to think of achieving absolute uniformity throughout India. Such an attempt would be against the very process of history. Throughout the ages, human society has on the one hand been organised into larger and larger units and on the other exhibited increasingly greater differences in individual and communal life. Custom is king in primitive society but in any society which has passed beyond the primitive stage, differences in individual and group behaviour are already in evidence and continually increase. The Aryan synthesis in ancient India was so successful precisely because it recognised and accommodated large-scale differences among the different social groups. Whenever on the other hand an attempt has been made to impose a dead uniformity, the result has been the encouragement of dissipated and divisive forces.

If we accept without any mental reservation the fact that India is and will remain diverse, one of the main obstacles to the national and emotional integration of the people will be removed. Religious, linguistic or regional groups at times seem to oppose such integration but if we carefully analyse their attitudes, we will find that what they oppose is not integration but the loss of their identity. Minorities are generally more sensitive about the retention of their separate character. Majorities do not generally insist on such retention, because they know that greater uniformity is likely to lead to the acceptance of their way of life by the minority rather than *vice versa*. This is one of the main reasons why religious minorities are so anxious to preserve their special traditions and characteristic culture even

at the cost of estranging the majority. The same fear is behind the passion exhibited in recent times over the question of the languages of India.

It is easy for the majority to press its own point of view under the guise of national interest and dismiss the fears of the minority groups as parochial. One may certainly argue that the larger national interest should always prevail over the interest of a section or group. Unfortunately, however, the majority has often a tendency of identifying the national interest with its own interest. There need not be any dishonesty or hypocrisy in such identification, for it is a common human failing—in India and elsewhere—to regard one's own point of view as the only correct and right point of view. Why should one adopt a view unless one regards it as right? As against this, we have to remember that some of the greatest values of life have been preserved or created only because a minority stood out against the dictate of the majority. If we hold that the interest of the larger group should always prevail, we must also hold that Maharana Pratap Singh of Mewar, Robert Bruce of Scotland or William Tell of Switzerland deserve to be blamed rather than honoured for the attitude they took in championing the cause of a smaller group against the claims of a large empire.

Separatism based on race or religion is no longer a live issue in India. Even the adherents of caste are on the defensive and support their claims only surreptitiously. Group loyalties based on languages are however still unabashed and frank. We may therefore examine more carefully the issues involved in the present linguistic controversies in India. This is complicated by economic issues as well but, even apart from economic considerations, language has a function in human life which can be ignored only at our peril. Language is in fact an even stronger principle of unification, and therefore by implication also of division, than religion. One may change one's faith or political beliefs or social habits but it is almost impossible to change the language in which one has been brought up. It is through language that a man receives impressions from outside and expresses his inner thoughts. All traditions come to him through the linguistic medium. All present experience finds a tangible embodiment in language. It is again through language that individual and communal aspirations are formulated and stabilised. How close language is to personality can be proved by a very simple test. Even the most intelligent individual feels a sense of bafflement and develops a feeling of inferiority if placed among a group whose language he cannot fully understand. Complete ignorance does not have quite the same effect for, in such cases, there is no participation and therefore no sense of defeat or failure. Partial understanding intrigues and challenges him but at the same time also tends to freeze his mental faculties and tire him out intellectually and emotionally.

The linguistic rivalry of different Indian groups has been further strengthened by the fact of economic rivalry. Public employment has acquired a special significance in the peculiar context of the Indian situation. It not only gives economic security but also brings social prestige. Indian agriculture is under-developed and employs a vast number of people who

are only partially employed. Indian industry and commerce are perhaps still less developed and cannot absorb more than a fraction of the people. Except for a microscopic minority, neither agriculture nor industry and commerce can offer material comfort or mental satisfaction. Economic well-being and social prestige have thus combined to give added importance to public services in India. It is natural that in such a context there should be strong competition for such services. For the same reasons, there is increasing competition for representation in legislatures and local bodies. In fact, the struggle for a share in public services and in representative institutions was one of the major causes for the partition of India.

The controversy over the linguistic issue today is also largely due to the same desire for sharing the good things of life. The struggle over the choice of the official language of India has become charged with the hopes of the majority and the fears of the minority language groups. It may not be explicitly formulated and many not even reach the level of conscious thought, but there is little doubt that at least a part of the insistence of the Hindi speaking people to make Hindi the official language of the Union is based on their expectation that this would place them in a position of advantage in public life and public services *vis-a-vis* the other language groups of India. It is equally certain that fear on this account—not always explicitly stated and perhaps not even consciously realised—is one of the major reasons for the opposition from people speaking other languages.

This sense of conflict can be removed only if all the major languages of India are treated as equal. No doubt this has been formally accepted but the tension has not been resolved because of doubt about its translation into actual practice. There is at times an unconscious assumption by the majority that its language will have a superior position and the minorities react against such a possibility in no uncertain terms. National leaders have recognised the need of removing all doubts on this point, as is clear from the Prime Minister's unequivocal declaration that all the Indian languages are equally the national languages of India.

As mentioned earlier, the more intense loyalty to a smaller unit arises out of its fear of submergence in the larger group. It expresses itself in different ways in different countries and with different groups. Fundamentally, such fear may be regarded as an absence of confidence in social justice. When a group demands separate electorate or reservation of a percentage of posts, it has in the background of its mind the fear that without such support it may not receive its legitimate dues. The emphasis on caste or community or language or province is intended to buttress its claims against stronger rivals. It is interesting to note that each group uses a different plea in support of its own position. A highly educated minority may plead that academic and intellectual attainment alone should be the criterion for entry into public service. An educationally and socially backward group will on the other hand advance linguistic or regional considerations in support of its position. Whatever be the plea that is advanced, it

invariably arises out of the fact of lack of confidence. Nor are such fears altogether without justification. Caste and community bonds in India have been so strong in the past that even today highly-placed men are at times ready to give special treatment to the claim of persons belonging to their family, caste, community or State. This applies not only to employment but also to various facilities in trade, industry and commerce that are now in the gift of the State. If all men and women, regardless of language, religion, community or State, could be sure of equal treatment, one of the major causes for group loyalty and the consequent fissiparous tendencies would disappear.

The concept of equality of all in the eye of the law is a comparatively new human phenomenon. It is certainly a completely radical departure from the past so far as India is concerned. In ancient India, there was one law for the Brahmin and another for the non-Brahmin. In mediaeval India Muslims enjoyed rights which were denied to non-Muslim citizens. Even among Muslims, the ruling clans claimed special privileges. During the British days, there were special juries and special prisons for men and women of British origin. It is only with the adoption of the Republican Constitution of India in 1950 that complete equality of all in the eye of the law has been accepted as a basic principle of our national life. When this principle becomes operative in our every day administration, one of the major divisive factors in Indian life will have been removed. I am myself convinced that what is often described as linguism or casteism or communalism is basically the expression of the fear of a weaker group that it may not receive what is due to it. To concentrate on these different expressions is therefore to treat the symptoms without eradicating the cause. The cause can be removed only when justice becomes not only in theory but also in practice the guiding principle of society and the State.

It has to be recognized that loyalty to the nation or the State does not and need not mean the denial of feeling for one's own group or community. For one thing, all human beings are simultaneously members of many different groups. Before the attainment of Independence, it was sometimes asked whether a man was an Indian first or a Hindu, Muslim or Christian first. Such a question is not only foolish but devoid of all meaning. A man is an Indian in the context of his nationhood. He is, whatever may be his religion, such in the context of his relationship to God or the Absolute. To ask whether one is first an Indian or a member of a religious group is like asking the question whether a man is tall or hairy. Unless economic or political interests are mixed up with a man's faith, there is no reason why there should be a clash between his religious and his national loyalties. Wars—even when they have been given an ostensibly religious colour—have generally been waged for purely mundane reasons. In **The Indian Heritage**, I have referred to the fact that in spite of contrary popular belief, the Muslims in India have fought one another on many more occasions than they have fought Hindus or any other religious group.

The history of Islam also proves that religious or linguistic loyalties or even a combination of the two cannot stand up against the pull of economic and political interests. All Arabs speak the same language and almost all of them profess the same faith. The number of Christian or Jewish Arabs is negligible and they are equally proud both of the Arabic language and the Islamic heritage. Unanimity on the question of language and religion has not however prevented the Arabs from splitting into a number of States that have been either indifferent or openly hostile to one another. Where the combination of language and religion has failed to assure unity, it is not surprising that Muslims speaking different languages should, in spite of their common religious bonds, be widely divided in economic, political and other ways.

One may safely infer that group loyalties, as such, do not necessarily interfere with loyalty to the nation. Besides, group loyalties generally pull in diverse and sometimes contrary directions. Groups are formed not only on the basis of language, religion or community, but also on the basis of interests. Men of the same political faith adhere to one another with an intensity which often cuts across the barriers of language, religion and nationality. The way in which communists all over the world tend to cling to one another is evidence of the strength which political affiliation may bring. Similarly, Muslims have certain affinities towards one another regardless of their territorial or political loyalties. Artists and scientists also form a brotherhood of their own which cuts across groupings in other fields. The Marxist call for the unity of the workers of the world has been matched by the practice of unity among the world's capitalists. It is evident that many men simultaneously belong to a religious, a professional, an aesthetic, a linguistic and a political camp and there may be cases where a particular individual is the only member common to all these different groups.

I may conclude this brief study with a reference to the ways in which universities can help in the integration of the Indian people. The failure to articulate an intellectual system in which different beliefs could find their proper place is one of the reasons why Indian nationhood has sometimes succumbed to the challenge of fissiparous forces. In **Education in New India**, I have pleaded universities in India must serve as a catalytic agent for the synthesis of cultures on an intellectual basis. Not only do we suffer from a lack of intellectual integration of the different systems of belief that are found in India but we lack even the basic requirement of a national system of education. Its absence is one of the main reasons why so many Indians exhibit even today a regional, linguistic or communal outlook. In other countries, universities have helped to bring into one common pool the heritage derived from different elements in the national life. Universities in India must increasingly perform the same task if they are to play a creative role in the evolution of a common Indian consciousness.

A second way in which the universities can help is to encourage the formation of associations which cut across the barriers of language, religion and community. Young people engaged in the pursuit of common studies are bound to develop common interests. These interests may be based on intellectual or emotional sympathies. Co-operation in studies is as strong a bond of unity as co-operation in sports or in artistic endeavours. Any purpose which enables the individual to overcome the demands of immediate self-interest enlarges his personality and brings him into fellowship with kindred souls. Universities are the obvious places where such associations may be formed. The institution of the inter-university youth festival brought together young men and women from different parts of the country and gave them the opportunity of living in an atmosphere of common sympathies and interest. Similar occasions can and ought to be created in other fields and would go a long way in building up loyalties which would be different from and to some extent mitigate the intensity of attachment to one's own religious, linguistic or communal group.

There is a third and to my mind even more important contribution that universities can make towards national integration. This is to inculcate in the mind of the younger generation a sense of purpose based on the immense opportunities presented by the modern age. Personal or group jealousies have no place, and in fact never occur where the energies of an individual or a group are engaged in the accomplishment of tasks that are felt to be nationally important. During the days of the national struggle, there was a sense of purpose which gave unity and strength to the most diverse individuals and groups. Today, the tasks of national regeneration offers the same challenge to all Indians alike. In the past, openings were few and were limited only to the privileged sections of the community. As a democratic republic, India has abolished all vestiges of privilege and vested interest. Our Constitution not only offers but guarantees equality of opportunity to all. Such equality can be realised only in an atmosphere of justice and fair play. One of the tasks of the Indian universities today is to inculcate this sense of justice among all their *alumni*. When this happens, there will be no limit to what an individual can achieve except in terms of his or her own ability. This would create an atmosphere of confidence and optimism and lead to an expansion of activities in all spheres of life. Once an atmosphere of hope, expectancy and optimism is created, the fears and suspicion which are at the root of fissiparous tendencies will have little scope. To work for an India in which all languages, all religions, all communities, in a word, all interests and aptitudes will find ample scope for expression and fulfilment is the surest way of achieving national and emotional integration.

VOTE OF THANKS

by

Dr. P. J. PHILIP,

Development Officer, University Grants Commission

LADIES & GENTLEMEN :

It is my pleasant duty now to propose on behalf of the University Grants Commission a hearty vote of thanks to Shri Humayun Kabir for readily agreeing to inaugurate this Seminar on National Integration. As an eminent educationist, an eloquent advocate of the philosophy of mutual understanding and co-operation between different cultures and religions, and as the Minister for Cultural Affairs of the Government of India, this seminar could not have secured a more suitable person to inaugurate it. We are indeed greatly beholden to him for the thought-provoking and scholarly address he has given us this morning.

We are thankful to Dr. Deshmukh for sparing so much of his valuable time from a busy programme of other engagements to preside over this inaugural function and also for illuminating and stimulating our thinking on this important and vital subject. The holding of this Seminar owes much to his personal interest in it and sympathetic support.

It is my duty on this occasion to thank the members of the Advisory Committee which helped to draw up the plan of the seminar. We are also indebted to the authors of the various papers—already circulated to the members—which will form the basis of our discussions here during the next few days. All these friends of ours have contributed not a little to making it possible for this seminar to be held. I take this opportunity, Ladies and Gentlemen, finally to express our deep appreciation of your presence with us this morning. Thank you all once again very much.

PAPERS

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY*

by

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I

I shall begin with a consideration of the idea of a 'region'. It is popularly imagined that a region is a fixed and definite area which has been there for a long time. This idea is reinforced by the analyses of culture—areas made on the basis of a single criterion or of a group of allied criteria. Such efforts conceal, however, the truth that the idea of a region is contextual and dynamic. The extent of a region varies according to the criteria chosen, though there may be a certain amount of overlapping between areas derived from different criteria. This is not to deny, however, that a linguistic area is a region in a loose sense of the term and that within it there are smaller, and more homogeneous, areas which differ from each other in many ways. In my book on the Coorgs, I postulated that a linguistic area possessed a 'vertical' unity which was common to all the castes living there from the Brahmin to the Harijan, while caste represented a 'horizontal' unity which cut across the linguistic area.² This is specially true of castes at either end of the hierarchy—thus a Brahmin in Uttar Pradesh does share in the same regional culture as a local Chamar, but he also shares some cultural forms with Brahmins everywhere in India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. This is, however, less true to-day than it was a few decades ago as the religious customs of the Brahmins are rapidly changing. Culture is used here in the accepted anthropological sense of the material and non-material possessions of a people transmitted by means of language, oral or written, from generation to generation. Every human group has culture in this sense.

It is pertinent to point out here that different parts of a language-area speak the same language differently. Thus in one part of Mysore State, Marathi has influenced Kannada, while in other parts other languages, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam, have influenced it. (There is much anthropological wisdom in the Shavian remark about two countries being divided by a common language.)

Linguists who have worked in the Himalayan foothills or elsewhere know that dialects vary from hill to hill, but what is not so generally known

* Working paper submitted to a symposium on "Unity versus Group Isolation in India" organised by the University Grants Commission in Delhi on 16th-17th April, 1958.

is the extent of variation in the same cultivated language in the different areas where it is prevalent. The late Prof. F. W. Thomas wrote of Hindi, "The absence of real frontiers in Hindusthan has caused each local form of speech to be a transition stage between its neighbours."¹⁸

Besides variation between regions in the same language-area, there are also differences between different castes. Any linguistic survey in India has to take note of castewise differences in the use of the same language. The locally dominant caste plays a significant role in the spread of certain speech-forms in its area.

Before the establishment of British rule, the political system in India, especially at the lower levels, was in continual flux. The lowest political level consisted of petty chieftains who were hostile to each other, and if the Viceroy or emperor at the top was either weak or preoccupied with his own affairs, the chieftains made war on each other. This meant that there was constant shrinkage and expansion of a chief's territory. Dynamism was not as marked at the higher levels, though it was not absent even there. Political dynamism at all levels made for the spread of 'alien' cultural and linguistic forms. Thus many of the administrative and revenue terms in Mysore are derived from Persian through the Marathas and the Muslim rulers of Mysore. More occasionally, political dynamism brought in an alien *elite*, relatives, fellow-castemen, and hangers-on of the conqueror, who spoke a different language from the indigenous inhabitants. In such a case, the court language was different from the people's language and the two influenced each other. Migrations of groups of people were also caused by famines which were frequent and they contributed to cultural and linguistic heterogeneity in an area.

Another factor which prevented a language from drawing a ring round an area was the role of Sanskrit as the medium of communication for intellectuals from all parts of India. Even when Sanskrit was not resorted to, the literary version of a language was so Sanskritised that it was unintelligible to ordinary men without the aid of a commentator. This reliance on Sanskrit, directly or indirectly, maintained communication between the learned in every part of India but it also created a barrier between them and ordinary folk. Attempts were made, however, by the Buddhists and Jains and the Tamilians to use the ordinary language for religious and theological purposes, but eventually these also became the languages of learned men, unintelligible to the masses.

It has not been stressed adequately that the intense language-awareness which India is experiencing to-day is a by-product of her struggle to win freedom from the British rulers. The partition of Bengal was resisted on the ground that it cut in two, a single linguistic area.⁴ The leaders of the Indian freedom movement criticised as illogical the British Provinces which cut across linguistic areas. A demand grew for the formation of States or Provinces on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. The leaders of the freedom movement also felt the need to carry the people with them in

their struggle and this resulted in an emphasis on the language used and understood by the people.

The concept of a linguistic state is thus a recent one, a by-product of the Indian nationalist struggle. This is mentioned only as a matter of fact and not in praise or censure. The creation of linguistic states on 1st November 1957 in most parts of the country has strengthened the barriers between them. This is the first time in Indian history when cultural frontiers were converted into political frontiers. Very soon every State will be using the regional language for every purpose except communication with other States and the Union Government. If, in addition to this, the regional language becomes the medium of teaching in the Universities also, there will be complete inter-state unintelligibility. Students will not be able to migrate from one University to another, and even the I.A.S. officials will have to stay in one State. It will mean less social and spatial mobility for all sections of society while the Five-Year-Plans aim at the speedy industrialisation of the country which presupposes considerable social and spatial mobility.

During the last hundred years English has provided a means of communication for Indians from different linguistic regions. It gradually succeeded both Sanskrit and Persian as the language of the *elite*, and it provided not only a common speech but a common ideology as well, as the English-educated rich and middle classes drew their inspiration from the same European thinkers, historical events, and social and political institutions. It is this *elite* which led the freedom movement. While it is true that this group became isolated from the ordinary people, and that it has its own interests to perpetuate, the most sensitive and daring elements in it have identified themselves with, and worked for the people and the country.

Any means of communication which cuts across regional and religious barriers, even if only for certain sections of the people, is valuable and worth fostering. It is doubly valuable nowadays when there is widespread confusion in the field of language. Even if it is agreed that Hindi should replace English as the official language, the necessity of preparing for the change systematically and to phase it over a period of time is obvious. But there is a school of thought which argues that *Hindi should replace English here and now* and that the country should face the consequences of a swift and chaotic change-over. This school regards the retention of English as inimical to the growth of all Indian languages. It believes that all those who argue that the change-over should be gradual and planned are reactionaries who wish to retain English as long as possible. This belief is held not by a 'lunatic' fringe but by some very influential men both in the Congress Party and outside.

It should not be forgotten in this connection that Hindi is making progress in the non-Hindi areas. To take the South for instance, quite apart from the compulsory teaching of Hindi in schools (except in Madras), it is encouraging to find Hindi becoming increasingly popular among middle-class women and children. This desire to learn Hindi will gradually spread

to the working classes and to the rural areas. The institution of incentives, monetary and otherwise, will speed up the process. I am certain that the cards are stacked in favour of Hindi and that if the Hindi-speakers show some tact and patience Hindi will gradually become the medium of communication between Indians from different States. But any attempt to force the pace will do great harm to the cause of Hindi and to the unity of India. What the non-Hindi speakers resent most is the *herrenvolk* attitude of some Hindi speakers. The latter do not seem to have appreciated the fact that the non-Hindi speakers were put to a great disadvantage when their representatives agreed to Hindi being the sole official language of the country after 1965. Instead of that decision finding the right kind of response from the Hindi speakers, it seems to have only fed their impatience.

As a concrete measure to promote unity in the field of language I should commend the project undertaken by Deccan College, Poona, to determine a common vocabulary for Indian languages. Words will be graded according to the number of languages in which they occur. If such a vocabulary becomes popular, inter-state communication should present no serious problems. India will have then made some progress towards really evolving a common language.

It is time that the question of the reform of our scripts was given serious attention. Indian languages are written in cumbersome scripts, and an enormous amount of human energy is wasted in typing and printing in them. Besides, the use of different scripts enhances the sense of separation between the various linguistic areas. The use of the Roman script, helped out with diacritical marks, is worthy of serious consideration. Its use breaks through the script-barrier which separates one language-area from another, and at the same time, it links us with the wide world without. Admittedly, script-reform is not easy, but it is worth trying. (In this, as in other things, the emphasis should be on the adoption of methods of persuasion and the provision of positive incentives and *not* on wielding the big stick.) In this connection, it is interesting to note that China, faced with an unwieldy script, is contemplating the adoption of the Roman script. The Indian Republic has taken many revolutionary measures including the adoption of decimal coinage, the abolition of Zamindari and Untouchability, and there is no reason why it should not begin to think seriously of reforming scripts.

Linguistic States have come to stay in most parts of the country and even those who still feel strongly that they have balkanised the country cannot undo what has been done. Instead of continuing to debate on the merits and demerits of forming linguistic States, we should turn our attention to the creation of social and political institutions which cut across the present States. Institutions which bring together people from different States in grappling with common problems and tasks will convey to them the idea that they also have a loyalty to a wider entity than the State. The Zonal Councils are a good idea and it is hoped that they will gain in strength in course of time.

It would be desirable to create other similar institutions. For instance, a council for every 'natural region' may be created, and it should be the task of each such council to study the development problems of the region, to put forth plans for every area in the region and to act as a *liaison* body between the planners and the people. The 'natural regions' in the country ought to be defined by taking the advice of geologists, geographers and economists. Such councils will be ineffective if they do not include the representatives of the people in the concerned areas. Serious thought should also be given to the question of creating a council for each major river in the country to look after problems of flood-control, irrigation, water conservation, river pollution and pisciculture. These councils would be cutting across the division into linguistic States.

II

The institution of caste provides a common culture idiom to Indians : wherever one may be in India one is in a universe of caste. And caste also cuts across religious divisions—it is not only Hindus who are segmented into castes but also Jains, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. The existence of a common cultural or social idiom usually makes for unity but in the case of caste the egalitarian winds which are at present blowing in the country have produced a certain amount of resentment against the institution.

It would be cynical to doubt the existence of these egalitarian forces. But one point about them needs to be mentioned: *each layer in Indian society wants to be the equal of the layers above it but refuses to concede equality to the layers below it.* Thus the 'middle' castes want to be regarded as the equals of Brahmins, though they themselves are not willing to concede that the 'low' castes are as good as themselves. The Harijans want to assert that they are the equals of everyone. The point to note here is that what is usually stated to be the demand for equality is nothing more than group-mobility. Every group wants to rise to the top and it wants to dissociate itself with groups which are considered inferior. I am not, however, doubting for one moment that there are hundreds of people in this country who sincerely believe that all human beings ought to be regarded as equal.

The bulk of the people still consider caste to be good institution and they are not at all reconciled to the liquidation of Untouchability. This is specially true of Hindus in rural areas. While the high castes have not shed their sense of superiority, the Harijans are becoming increasingly assertive about the rights which the Constitution gives them. This will lead to violent clashes and it is to be feared that the Ramanathapuram riots may not prove to be the only instance of its kind. There is a great gulf in this respect between the Acts passed by Parliament in New Delhi and the sentiments of the people in the country.

It is obvious that legislation and education are not by themselves enough to liquidate Untouchability. Every well-intentioned move of the Government to improve the lot of Harijans will be frustrated if it goes

against the interests of the high castes who have economic and social power over the former. The Harijans are not able to withstand the economic boycott of the high castes, and in those villages where Harijans are in a minority the other castes may even resort to physical violence. As long as the Harijans are not economically independent of the high castes, the rights which the Constitution confers upon them, will not be translated into practice. The policy of transferring land to the tiller, if successful, is going to help in this connection. The industrialisation of the country will remove some of the more irritating features of Untouchability if such industrialisation is widespread as well as rapid. The landless labourers, who generally belong to the lower castes, and especially the Harijans, will be attracted to the factories. There is reason to believe that they are likely to make better workers than those who own land. Urban life is not favourable to the practice of pollution, and the new towns which are going to come into being, can be so planned that Harijans are not all concentrated in one compact block.

A significant change has taken place in the power relations of the different castes in the last few decades. This is broadly true of India as a whole, though it is more true of some areas than of the others. The economic forces unleashed by World War II, and the political and social changes of the last ten years, have vastly increased the power of the numerically large castes. They rarely come from either the Brahmin or Vaishya category of castes. It is usual for them to come from the Shudra category, and only occasionally do they come from the Kshatriya category. These castes have strong rural roots and are generally landowners employing their own castemen or members of lower castes as tenants and labourers. The leaders of these castes are keenly aware of the strategic position they occupy in the struggle for political power especially at the local and regional levels. It is these vigorous and self-confident castes which spear-head the opposition to the abolition of Untouchability. They claim equality for themselves with the Brahmin or Vaishya, but as far as the Harijans are concerned they seem determined to keep them where they are at the present moment. The fact that their attitude is contradictory does not bother them.

A man frequently identifies himself with his sub-caste and there is a tendency for the achievements and frustrations of an individual to assume group significance. Thus a backward caste feels proud when one of its members passes the B.A. or is appointed. If an educated member of a caste fails to obtain a job, it becomes the frustration of his entire sub-caste. Thus the difficulties experienced by a few educated non-Brahmins in Mysore in the first two decades of this century gave birth eventually to the modern Anti-Brahmin movement in the State. In short, individual experience has a tendency to acquire group significance in a society which is split up into a number of groups which are separated from each other, and this is not healthy as the majority of castes in a region are backward. And even the advanced castes are experiencing frustration nowadays because of discrimination against them being built into the administration. This is particu-

larly seen in the South where Brahmins are discriminated against in admission to schools and colleges, in appointments, promotion and seniority. It is necessary to point out that these group-attitudes are not confined to Hindus only.

Each of the several groups which goes to make up the caste system has great solidarity and this results in individual experience acquiring group significance. The majority of castes in a region are backward and they feel frustrated when they see the obstacles which hoary tradition has placed in the path of their progress. The caste dominant in the region has cornered power and everyone else feels frustrated. The existence of discrimination against Brahmins and the disorientation experienced in recent years by Muslims, Christians and Anglo-Indians are all unhealthy. Creeds of despair thrive in such soil.

III

The concept of the unity of India has been traditionally a religious one. Famous centres of pilgrimage lie in every part of the country, and in pre-British times, pilgrims occasionally walked hundreds of miles across territories infested by wild animals and dacoits, to earn religious merit. Some of them preferred to spend their last days in Benares, away from their kith and kin, for the same reason. Linguistic barriers and differences in custom and usage, do not seem to frighten pilgrims; on the other hand, they seem to enjoy the diversity of India. They recount with pleasure the special virtues of each shrine they have worshipped in, and each river-spot they have bathed in. They accept the fact that people in different areas have different customs and habits, but underlying this diversity are the same deities and the same myths and legends. That there is a local element in every aspect of Hinduism only seems to make it more interesting.

Many indeed are the customs and rites which reveal a sense of the unity of India but this is no place to catalogue them. I shall only give two examples. Pilgrims who visit Rameshwaram in the South are expected to bathe in the sea there and carry a pot of the sea water to be emptied into the Ganges. Again, the river Kaveri is called Dakshina Ganga or Ganges of the South, and the devout believe that at its annual birth on the first of Libra, the waters of all the rivers of India and the sacred seas are present in the river-source. The faithful are told that there is a secret tunnel from the source of the Kaveri to the Ganges.

Outstanding physiographical features are associated with Hindu deities, and with incidents and characters in the *epics* and *puranas*. Every major shrine in India has *sthala purana* describing the mythical associations of the place linking it up with divine and epic characters. Eventually the local myth finds its way to the sea of *puranas*, *up-puranas* (minor puranas) and *epics*. Indian intellectuals laugh at the inconsistencies in, and the absurdities of the *puranas* and *epics*, but they fail to perceive the function which *puranas* perform, viz, the knitting together into one religious society

the numerous heterogeneous groups in India, and to give them all the sense that their country is sacred. Patriotism is invested with a religious quality. The epics and *puranas* have also helped considerably in the great task of assimilating the many diverse groups which were marginal to, or completely outside, Hinduism. They have also given art-forms to different parts of the country which beneath their diversity deal with incidents in the lives of deities and epic characters which are familiar to Hindus everywhere in India.

It is relevant to note here that the idea of conversion as it obtains in Christianity and Islam does not occur in Hinduism. "Conversion" when it does occur in Hinduism is an indirect or "backdoor" affair spread over decades if not centuries and affects entire groups and not individuals. (I am aware that some Brahmin and Lingayat monasteries have converted individuals as well as groups of people and that the Arya Samajists believe in conversion. But these instances do not make the idea of conversion fundamental to Hinduism. Conversion is only confined to a few sects and castes).

In spite of the fact that Hindus have been exposed to contact with Christianity and Islam for many centuries they have not been able to understand or sympathise with the idea that there is only one true religion and every other religion is inferior if not false. The idea that it is the paramount duty of the believers in the one true religion to convert outsiders to their faith, seems natural to the members of the proselytising religions but it appears as intellectual and moral aggression in Hindus. This is specially so when the people who are converted are desperately poor and illiterate. The opening of schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies by missionaries in areas where Harijans and the tribes live, appears to the Hindus as only baits in the trap of conversion. The linking up of humanitarianism with proselytisation has made the former suspect. Even very liberal, Westernized Hindus feel this way. There is another reason why, Hindus associate conversion with aggression: the pre-Portuguese and pre-British Christian communities in India do not show any desire to convert others. They are more or less like Hindu castes. But the Europeans who settled down in India either tried to convert directly using all the means available to them or brought in their train missionaries. The Christian missionaries' denunciations of Hinduism had a political tinge as the missionaries belonged to the same race as the rulers. As far as the peasants were concerned, they considered the white missionary as one of the many agents of British Government. Christianity thus became associated in the minds of Hindus with the ruling group. The fact that in some areas tribal converts to Christianity led separatist movements has deepened the fears and suspicions of Hindus about conversion to another religion. The Niyogi Report is the product of such fear and suspicion.

As the idea of the unity of India has its origin in the Hindu religion, non-Hindus are excluded from it even though they have many sacred

shrines in the country. Religious integration is two-sided: it is true that it binds together closely the followers of a religion but the very process of binding them together divides them from the followers of other religions. In the case of Hinduism, there is an additional factor to be considered: the Harijans and the tribes have been subject to many disabilities and they may want to improve their conditions by adopting all means open to them, including conversion to another religion. In short, such integration may not apply even to all Hindus. The idea of integrating the inhabitants of India on a religious basis is plainly out of the question. The decision declaring India a secular State is a wise and far-seeing one. In course of time, people will come to appreciate the idea that members of every religion are equal as citizens. The speedy liquidation of Untouchability, and the suspension, even temporary, of proselytising activities by foreign missionaries would give Hindus a sense of security. This would generate real tolerance and security everywhere and people would then see the secular state as a most important value.

IV

The mention of two processes, viz., Sanskritization and Westernization, is necessary here as they are producing the same or similar cultural and social forms throughout the country. I have discussed them at some length elsewhere and I shall confine myself here only to a few brief remarks. Sanskritization is beginning to transform the culture of all Hindu castes from the Brahmin to the Harijan. It cuts across the linguistic and other barriers. It is enabling the lower castes and the groups marginal to Hinduism to occupy a high place in the structure of Hindu society. In some parts of the country like Malwa even Harijans are enabled to cross the barrier of Untouchability thanks to Sanskritization. Sanskritization is not only transforming the culture of all the castes, and especially that of the lower, but it is also contributing to the decrease of structural distance between the various castes. This is likely to result in greater cohesion among Hindus. The cinema, radio, newspapers and the spread of education will increase the pace of Sanskritization. It would not be surprising if Sanskritization made some headway among a few non-Hindu groups as well.

Westernization is a blanket term for several processes including urbanization, industrialization and the adoption of the ideology as well as the products of modern science. Individuals and groups may be westernized in any one or more senses of the term. In India, however, a particular caste or ethnic group generally tends to be westernized in a particular sense. Thus one group may take to western dress and dancing while another may take to science and technology. These two groups, may differ significantly in their value-orientations.

The importance of the study of the social aspects of economic growth cannot be over-emphasised. For instance, intercaste tensions may assume more serious forms when the economy is not growing than when it is growing

rapidly. In the former case, economic tensions between individuals may be interpreted in caste terms. In the South Indian States to-day, while it is true that the caste of a candidate is a relevant consideration in his securing a job, in his promotion etc., the people probably attribute much more to caste than what is justified. Caste provides a convenient and widely-accepted explanation for an individual's failure. X did not get the job or a first class because he did not belong to the right caste while Y did. A member from a different caste can always be dragged in as the villain of the piece. Caste, then, is the universal scapegoat in South India, and this in turn increases intercaste tensions. It is obvious that in such a situation serious attention has to be paid to developing the economy if tensions are to decrease.

This applies to tensions between regions as well. There will have to be development of every part of the country, otherwise there will be jealousy between the regions. Besides, in democratic planning, the enthusiastic co-operation of the people is a most important asset. And the surest way of ensuring the people's co-operation is to point out to them concrete benefits which they have received from planning.

To be fair to the Government of India, they have recognised the need for 'balanced regional development'. "In any comprehensive plan of development it is axiomatic that the special needs of the less developed areas should receive due attention." They point out that "some industries have to be located in particular areas in view of the availability of the necessary raw materials or other material resources. But there are other industries in regard to the location of which, on economic considerations, there is a field of choice. Often the disadvantages of comparative cost are only a reflection of the lack of basic development." And finally, "The National Development Council recommended that there should be continuous study of the problem of diminishing regional disparities and a suitable set of indicators of regional development evolved."

These good intentions have to be translated into practice for otherwise the plan will not only not have the support of all the regions but also become the means of dividing the country into 'have' and 'have not' areas. Such a division will injure the long-term interests of the country.

V

There is no need, however, to be unduly frightened by the existence of 'division' in the country. It is true that a person does feel that he is a member of a particular caste, village, region, state and religion but these loyalties represent a hierarchy of values and they are not necessarily inconsistent with being a citizen of the Indian Republic. Perhaps the recognition that most of these loyalties are legitimate, and that their complete disappearance in the interests of a single monolithic attachment to the country as a whole, is unnatural, would help to put them in proper perspective. Loyalty to one's language, kin group and village

are instilled into a person in his earliest years and it is wrong to denounce them all as wrong and anti-national. Again, solidarity with one's group seems to require a certain amount of rivalry with other similar groups. Villagers are frequently found deriding their neighbours, and regarding their own village as a cut above the rest. Similarly a man regards his caste better than other castes, his region superior to other areas. A peasant in Rampura, Mysore State, told me that all the world's intelligence, wealth and good looks were concentrated in Mysore State. He was an intelligent and pleasant man who had travelled outside Mysore State. I would argue that these loyalties constitute a reservoir of energy which could be tapped for regional development.

I have said that these loyalties represent a hierarchy of values. Let me illustrate. A man stands up for his village in relation to other neighbouring villages, to his *taluk* in relation to other *taluks*, and so on. Similarly he is a member of a caste in relation to other castes and a Hindu in relation to non-Hindus. He is also an Indian in relation to non-Indians. Thus irrespective of his village or caste or region he reacts like an Indian when the problem of Goa or Kashmir crops up. The Scots, Welsh and English may differ among themselves regarding some matters, but *vis-a-vis* the non-British they are citizens of the United Kingdom. Tensions and conflicts at a particular level maintain the identity and separateness of groups of the same order but these groups can and do unite at a higher level. In fact the existence of the lower loyalties should be regarded as a pre-condition of the higher. The fault is probably in our intelligentsia which conceives of the unity of India in a monolithic way with everyone speaking the same language, wearing the same clothes, eating the same food, singing the same film songs and repeating the same slogans and views passed on by the various media of mass-communication. Such a concept of unity naturally frightens people of diversity and they are also afraid of contact with the outside world. Any attempt to impose a monolithic unity will only produce fission. Mere lip service to the need to appreciate India's heritage, which is rich in diversity, is *not* enough.

An important lacuna in the sociologist's knowledge deserves to be mentioned here. Detailed studies are not available of the processes by which the pattern of loyalties changes in communities. This means that sociologists are not able to tell in advance whether in any given society the centrifugal or centripetal forces will prevail. Generalising from historical experience is not always safe.

It is necessary to remember this in order to see that people do not put too much faith in the predictions of sociologists. In any intelligent society there should be a certain amount of scepticism towards the pronouncements of experts. Having uttered this caution, I would like to state that the prospects for India emerging as a strong and united country are not at all bad. Given quick economic development of the country as a whole and of its different regions, real tolerance in the matter of

language and a determined effort to fight the evils of caste system, India should emerge as a strong and united country.

References :

1. See in this connection, Daniel Thorner's brief essay, "Demarcation of Agrarian Regions of India: Some Preliminary Notes" in **Rationale of Regional Variations in Agrarian Structure of India**, Bombay, 1956, pp. 46-55.

See also B. Cohn's essay "India as a Racial Linguistic and Cultural Area" in **Introducing India in Liberal Education** edited by Milton Singer, pp. 51-68.

2. **Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India**, Oxford, 1952, pp. 31-32, 214-218.
3. See his essay "Language and Literature" in the **Legacy of India** edited by G. T. Garratt, Oxford, 1938, p. 45. He also writes: "But until modern times they (the main Indo-Aryan Languages) were not used, except in so far as they were adopted in the religious poetry of sects, for higher intellectual purposes. This region was appropriated by the Sanskrit or, in the case of Musalmans, by the Arabic and Persian. *It may even be said that the languages did not exist.* The poems were originally in dialects, and only occasionally did some dialect, like the Brajabbasha of Hindi, become a standard for certain purposes. For the lack of a common standard there was no correct 'Hindi' etc., in general use : *the learned were often unable to write grammatically the language supposed to be theirs and used only a patois.* In modern times these languages have been called upon to take place in general education, to be media of journalism, and to develop all forms of literature on European lines, in which process they have had to contend with difficulties of terminology and language-mixture." (Emphasis mine).

See also Prof. D. D. Karve's article "Hindi Versus English" in the **Economic Weekly**, Vol. X, No. 9, pp. 321-326 and J. Jumperz, "Some Remarks on Regional & Social Language Differences in India," in **Introducing India in Liberal Education**, pp. 69-79.

4. "Finally he (Curzon) exceeded the limits of all his previous high-handed and despotic actions by forcing the partition of Bengal against the will of the people, dividing the language area at one stroke". (P. 202). "To cut the language area in half at such a time by a stroke of the pen was wanton outrage which stirred Bengal to its very depths with indignation. The whole country was soon ablaze." (P. 204).

From **The Rise and Growth of the Congress** by C. F. Andrews and G. Mukherji, London, 1938.

5. **Second Five Year Plan, 1956**, Government of India, New Delhi, 1956, pp. 36-37, para. 28.
6. *Ibid*, para 29.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY

by

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Since Independence increasing attention has been rightly given to develop and foster a sense of national coherence in the country. This has been felt necessary because of the many divisive forces which make for disunity among the people. In fact, these disruptive tendencies have become accentuated of recent times and call for action. It is, therefore, urgent that especially those responsible for the education of youth give serious thought to this pressing problem, and seek possible ways of countering this evil of division in our national being before it assumes ugly proportions.

There is much truth in the charge that one of the potent factors in this tragic situation is religion. Our disunity is in great part due to the prevalence of many religions in the land. It is inevitable, of course, that their adherents should differ from one another in their religious beliefs and practices. But the general tendency is also, in consequence of such differences, to be separate and isolated in cultural outlook and social customs. Several reasons have contributed to this result. For one thing, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Islam came into India from outside. All through these centuries they have maintained a sense of apartness from Hinduism, partly out of self-defense and partly because Hinduism would have nothing to do with them either socially or culturally. Hindus who became Christians or Moslems, whether by persuasion or coercion, were put out of the Hindu fold; they were culturally and socially outcaste. For another thing, religious communalism developed unwholesome prides and prejudices, after India became subject to foreign domination of Moslem conquerors and later to the British Government. In the British period we have reasons to believe that religious communalism was played up to make possible alien control, so much so that when we did achieve Independence it had to be at the price of partition of the country on the score of religion.

Differences between Moslems and Hindus apart, Hinduism itself has been somewhat loosely bound together, so that even within the composite whole of the Hindu population communalism has been rampant. Britain was quick to perceive this inherent weakness, and took advantage of it in order to strengthen her political hold. The social and cultural differences between Brahmans and non-Brahmans, between caste and outcaste as well as among caste fold themselves, were exploited to the fullest measure till Mahatma Gandhi took it up as one of the major tasks to squelch the evil

of religious communalism. The Father of our Nation rightly perceived that it was the greatest deterrent to national unity. In fact, he gave his life to prove it; he died a martyr to the cause.

A decade of Independence has not brought us any nearer to a solution, for religious divisiveness continues to jeopardise our national unity. In some ways it is this aspect of the problem that should give us the greatest concern. Other divisive forces are in great part closely bound up with this major factor of religious communalism. In South India, the Dravida Kazhagam is decidedly a communal movement, however anti-religious in its emphasis, making the preposterous claim for a separate Dravida Nad. The Madhya Pradesh Enquiry into Christian Missionary activities and the ugly aftermath of the Raipur incident were undoubtedly due to the uneasy suspicion that Christians were the prime movers in the proposal for Jarkhand, a separate State for the hill tribes. The repeated echoes of the insistent demand that the Sikhs should be also given a separate State is obviously inspired by religious communalism. Similarly the conversion of a large number of *Adivasis* to Buddhism, under the leadership of the late Dr. Ambedkar, was due to communal separatism.

communalism. The next thing for us all to accept is that this religious aspect of the problem of Indian unity is not easy of solution. The common fallacy is to take it for granted that the larger interests of the nation will inevitably subsume all local loyalties. The deep hold that religious loyalties

The fact remains that religious pluralism with its consequent cultural and social divisive tendencies, creates a problem for national unity because it does make for group isolation. One of the first things that needs to be done is to reckon with this fact as a reality. For there are some national have on the minds of people at large is not sufficiently recognized by many national leaders who have themselves no religious predilection and so tend to assume that at any decisive moment for a loyal citizen the claims of the nation must naturally come first. The third thing that we need to bear in mind is that the unity of the nation is best built on fundamental loyalties that bind men together in terms of a common humanity which after all is the basis of all community. Consequently there needs to be a determined effort to build a sense of belonging, of a togetherness of those who strive to maintain and preserve human rights.

Recent history in our country would give the impression that the answer to the problem of national unity has been sought in terms of three possibilities: one is to make most, if not all, people in India adhere to a common religion, of Hinduism which is in fact the religion of the majority; the other is to do away with religions altogether by denying the validity of religion; the third is to work for a Secular State which would recognize all religions, and yet giving no preference to any one religion as apart from others. It would be well to consider the relative merits of these three possible solutions.

A very large proportion of the Indian population is Hindu by religious profession. It is therefore natural to think that a sense of unity can be realized if we all accepted the Hindu view of life. This would be wishful thinking, because it is open to question whether there is an underlying common view of life to which even those who are described as Hindus can subscribe to. In putting this statement so bluntly the writer is aware that he is treading on controversial grounds being himself a non-Hindu. It is quite possible that such a common creedal basis may be evolved, but it would take time and effort. What seems more feasible is a common Hindu way of life which can be acceptable to all, and can provide a unifying force. For Hinduism is not only a religion but also a cultural heritage. Possibly a clear-cut formulation of this distinctive way of life, characteristic of our heritage would lead to an appreciation of the many diverse elements that have contributed to the making of our composite culture through the ages. Such cultural synthesis would however be not the same as religious syncretism of which some non-Hindus are afraid, for in syncretism the amalgam is of religious doctrines not of culture patterns of social behaviour.

It is inevitable that in a country where over 80 per cent of the population describes itself as Hindu by religion that the trend should be in the direction of stressing Hindu social observances and everyday practices in social relations. But the Hinduisation tends to be a religious rather than a cultural process. It is becoming increasingly popular for public functions to open with religious exercises which are definitely Hindu. Public Offices and places of assembly are increasingly decorated with appurtenances that have decided Hindu religious significance. On occasions of Hindu religious festivals some amount of embarrassment is caused to non-Hindu sections of the population because they find it difficult to participate, especially if such festivals are celebrated under the aegis of local authority in public institutions, Hindu public opinion is apt to be censorious of non-Hindus who find they cannot emotionally enter into the festivities. Sometimes it is not conceded that conscientious objections prevent them from taking part. Even within Hinduism it also happens that such difficulties creep in because of sectarian and caste beliefs, especially where local festivals associated with particular shrines and temples are concerned. In South India, the contrary behaviour of people influenced by Dravida Kazhagam in boycotting observances connected with traditional worship, in which Brahman influence has been dominant from time immemorial, frequently leads to serious disturbance of peace. The subtle ways in which caste collectivism rears its head in our national life or influence administrative policy in local governmental institutions, in election and appointment to public offices in some States frequently lead to grave dissatisfaction, not only among religious minorities but also in groups within the Hindu majority.

It would be a sad day for the nation should it happen that national unity were to be achieved by suppressing all religions. As a people we in India have been incorrigibly religious for centuries. Our country has been the birthplace of at least three major religions—Buddhism, Jainism and

Sikhism—not to mention the many religious movements which have periodically risen to stress one or other of the many aspects of the Hindu *dharma*. But this fact of our past history is no sure guarantee that the nation will always continue to cherish the things of the Spirit; on the other hand the spread of secularism, the advance of technical culture, the influence of communist ideology and the advocacy of rationalism are all dangerous indications of undermining revolutionary forces in contemporary Indian life and thought. If unchecked they can lead to serious consequences, especially because these forces have easy access to the thought and imagination of impressionable youth. And their chief appeal to youth is their claim that through their means national unity can be achieved, and religious divisions overthrown.

But if the price of national unity is to sacrifice all religious beliefs and practices, it would be a costly price indeed. Such violent totalitarianism is opposed to our national genius. It offers a solution to the problem at the heavy cost of denying our heritage. Moreover, it would mean not the answer to our difficulties but an added menacing factor endangering our national coherence. There is no doubt any more in our country that to root out all religions would itself be creative of serious national disturbance. True, there may be no compulsion on people that they must adhere to some one religion or another. But, at the same time, the State must also recognize the freedom of those who may not want to subscribe to any religion at all, or at best to a set of beliefs which may not be regarded as religious. This turn of events would create another rift in the already complex situation. At least until now we have not been faced with a nationally organized propaganda for atheism and irreligion.

It was indeed a wise decision on the part of our constitution-makers, when they made it clear that the ideal we should strive for is a Secular State. In such a State the primary objective is to safeguard and foster human values. It is only in as far as religions contribute to that end the State is interested in them. If, at times, the State gives the impression of being indifferent to, and even critical of, any particular religious belief or practice, it is because the State regards such belief or practice as an hindrance to human values which it seeks to realize. A Secular State can never be anti-religious. Nor would it show any partiality to any particular religion, especially if in that State there are citizens who are adherents of different religions. Unlike a State which is committed to the theory that all religion is a disvalue, and therefore a deterrent to the fulfilment of the human person in society, the Secular State concedes the truth that religion can contribute to the realization of human values in the here and now. So that the neutrality of the Secular State in matters concerning religion is not to be misconstrued as a policy based upon the belief that matters of the spirit are of no vital concern. The secularism of the State is really founded upon the conception that, whatever one may or may not believe about other-worldly values, the State is profoundly inter-

ested in the realization of this-worldly values. To that end it works with all creative forces, religiously motivated or otherwise.

One thing is certain. The whole ideal of the Secular State has to be more clearly defined in our generation. Perhaps here is an area of usefulness in which those responsible for university education should be more actively involved. It is not only in the understanding of the nature of the Secular State that our duty lies, but also in helping the idea of the Secular State take root in the political soil of our country. It may be that in so doing we will find that people of all religions can contribute, in the present context of our times and in the historical situation in which we are placed, to a renewed understanding of the nature of the human person in the network of human relations which constitute Society; and, in particular, better comprehend the rights and obligations of loyal citizenship in the political community which we call the State.

Some consideration may be given here to specific difficulties created by religious conflicts, which mar national unity. There is no doubt that such occasions are charged with emotion. People get easily worked up where a clash of religious interests is involved. Feelings are easily roused, especially when there is widespread propaganda. Frequently leaders of public opinion, people who exercise considerable hold on popular imagination, take advantage of such situations to inflame prejudice. Not often it results in disorderly conduct and damage of public property. It seems necessary, therefore, that an informed public opinion should be cultivated, and the responsibility of local leaders to preserve harmonious relationship among people of different religious persuasions should be enforced. This would mean a determined effort to create in the minds of people through helpful literature informed respect for other faiths. Such literature can rightly be of the nature of popular journalism, and not necessarily heavy scholarly productions. This is perhaps one of the serious obligations in any programme of social education.

The whole question hinges on the issue of religious liberty. It is natural that in the early stages of our political development we should be somewhat hazy on the exact nature of all that is involved in religious freedom. Our Hindu heritage has a conception of tolerance which is based on the acceptance of the validity of all religions. Unfortunately it is not sufficiently realized that to ask for religious tolerance on the basis of this belief is to make others subscribe to this dogma as the price of religious freedom. Islam and Christianity, rightly or wrongly, hold to the belief that their religion alone is true. It is not for the State to enter into the controversy and seek to effect a compromise by suggesting that they agree to the dogma that all religions are true. In a secular State a man must not only have the freedom to freely believe, or not to believe, what he holds to be true or not true where religion is concerned. Also he should have the freedom to be in a position to convince others of his belief; and if they are convinced, they should be also free to accept or reject what is commended to them.

This leads us to a consideration of another vexing problem, the problem of conversion. This has been the source of much misunderstanding, and consequent strong difference of opinion in India. A great deal of misapprehension in this matter is bound up with an unnecessary feeling of insecurity and fear. It is held that conversion results in people being beguiled by unfair means into accepting other religious faiths in the hope that such change would result in material advancement. Perhaps some religious proselytism in our country is due to such efforts. Christian mass movements have in the past thrown themselves open to such a charge. More recently, however, such mass conversions have been discouraged. There is real desire to provide no unfair allurements to prospective converts. In view of the willingness on the part of missionary religions to play fair, any attempt to enforce legislation to regulate religious conversion is not helpful. On the one hand, it causes unnecessary fear in the minds of the religious minorities, and in the case of the religious majority it arouses an undue sense of power which is apt to miscalculate its reach, and under stress of emotion, cause serious damage, to life and property. In any case smooth relationship is made impossible in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion.

Among other terms that need clarification in the storm and stress of our present age is that word "propagation" as it is used in our Constitution. Here again our Hindu understanding of the right of other religions to propagate should be willing to accommodate itself to the meaning that "missionary" religions like Islam and Christianity give that term. To propagate is their "mission", and that "mission" is at the core of their creed. The real point at issue is whether the methods they adopt in such "mission" violate human rights, cause public disturbance or endanger the sovereignty of the State. To find a remedy for this in either legislative measures or different constitutional provisions is to take a negative attitude. Only by positive efforts to create understanding through information can we develop a sense of respect for law and moral responsibility in the exercise of this most delicate right of freedom to propagate one's religion.

The proposal to build mutual confidence among people of different religious groups by introducing a system of education in which provision can be made for instruction in religion may not be very helpful. If religious instruction is given on a communal basis then it is apt to exaggerate the very isolation which we want to remedy. On the other hand, if instruction is intended to drive home the truth of any one religion or of all religions, for that matter, that again would create difficulty. This does not mean that the teaching of religion should not form part of any programme of education at all; but that in introducing religion in the curriculum, the main intention should be to develop informed understanding of the beliefs and practices of all religions, so that it leads to respect for not only what others believe but also for religion as such. In the Basic System of education the practice is current of holding common services of worship. It is good that youth should be encouraged to give reverence for the things of the spirit.

Whether they can be taught to worship, and whether such common worship can develop a sense of national unity is a matter for serious doubt. If the object of common worship is to foster reverence for the Divine, then it would be necessary to dissociate it from all connection with the teaching (overt or implicit) that common worship is based on the belief that all religions are the same. It is because of this that some religious minorities have expressed serious dissent to giving unusual importance to common worship in Basic Schools; not that such worship wherein people of various faiths (and of no faiths) participate is valueless or invalid. The objection is to making it routine rather than spontaneous; and to using religious worship as a means to an end.

One last word about religious festivals. It is obvious that festivals can be occasions for making people emotionally aware of their national background. Apart from the usual merry-making that goes with the idea of festivals, the opportunity it provides for expression of the national art, drama, music and the like, many festivals are occasions when there is a general let down of barriers among classes and castes. People literally mix at festival times. In many lands of post-Christian culture, Christmas is celebrated by everybody because, in a sense Christmas has become secularised, making it possible for non-Christians to enter into the festivity with an "emotional awareness" of belonging to a common culture, though they may not be able to enter into the religious significance of Christmas. Is a similar development possible in our country? Are there not certain Hindu festivals which are more of the nature of occasions of popular rejoicing, when manifest expression can be given to the national solidarity of the people, rather than purely religious observances? Of course these festivals would have a Hindu religious background, but the question is whether they can be "secularised" without giving offence to Hindu religious sentiment and made acceptable to all people in our country as public festivals in which everyone can participate. Perhaps it is the responsibility of our generation to single out such occasions and consciously direct our energy to create public opinion which will make them over into national festivals. Once public imagination is aroused and people become "emotionally aware" of the significance of such occasions as demonstrations of our cultural solidarity, then such festivals would be increasingly creative of a sense of community and national coherence.



THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN UNITY

With Reference to Linguistic and Regional Differences

by

Shri NITYANAND KANUNGO

"National unity is essential for any country and at any time. It is doubly so for India in view of the varied composition of her population, the vast distances that separate her different parts, the vastly varying climate and physical features that condition the daily lives and occupations of the people, and, above all, because of the period of rapid change—social, political, economic and technological—through which she is passing to discover her bearings in the modern world, which in itself is in a state of tension and flux. At such a time the people must behave with an extraordinary degree of maturity and alertness. To be able to do so they must, in the first instance, not only know how to keep their differences within decent limits and resolve them, where necessary, by peaceful means, but also become conscious in a positive way of their common nationality and be ready to co-operate with one another in working for their country.

Recent events have, however, shown that there are many tendencies in our national life, which, if not checked in time, will divide and destroy us. India is a land of many religions, castes and creeds. It is a federation of a large number of States, with different languages, customs and economic interests. Democracy itself acts, in a way, as a dividing force because to realise their ambitions political parties tend to exaggerate minor differences into major points of conflict. The impact of modern forces has destroyed the traditional community life in the country and with it the balance and poise it gave to the individual.

Our history, as that of any other country, is the inter-twining of constructive and destructive forces which have moulded it. If history is to be a nation-building force, it must clearly bring out the end result of both types of forces. Today, history as it is written, especially for the young, is a jumble of facts without any perspective. Further, as it was mostly written under the inspiration of foreigners, it is written in a way that was to divide the various sections of the nation than unite them. So, the thing that will need immediate attention is to *re-write* our history."

The strength of a nation depends on the degree of the homogeneity of its people which is conditioned by the acceptance of common standards of values in their ways of life, both material and spiritual. In between the nation and the large mass of individuals who are the components of it, there are groups and sub-groups in which the individual functions, possibly because the mental horizon of individuals may be more or less wide accord-

ing to their environmental developments. Average men and women can feel sure of themselves in smaller groups, though enlightened persons can function in much wider groups and even some may realise universal brotherhood of man transcending a nation. If the groups develop common attitudes and outlooks, and reduce prejudices and hostilities, homogeneity of a nation grows strong.

Therefore, the group is the primary unit which has the strongest impact on the individual. Groups are based on geographical, historical, religious, economic or other sociological affinities. But language, being the only medium of communication between individuals who form groups, is a vital instrument in moulding the attitudes of groups. Language is only the medium through which ideas and impulses are communicated. But language is the necessary means by which thoughts are formed and communicated.

In contemporary history, we find Nation groups held together apparently by the bond of language, like the British, French, Spanish, Italian, Iranian etc., also different Nation groups speaking the same language i.e., Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, etc. Yet another phenomenon is the existence of multi-lingual Nation-States like Switzerland, Canada, the Soviet Republics, Indonesia etc. Thus, it may not be wrong to draw the conclusion that impulses other than linguistic affinity play a dominant part in moulding Nations, though language is the medium to carry those impulses.

Geographical India was never a State at any time in history, nor is it even now. That the people of this sub-continent had acquired many attributes of nationality of varying intensity at different periods has been accepted by many scholars. Though Sanskrit and Pali, which is derived from Sanskrit, was the medium of communication of the impulses for integration at best of times, the diversity of languages has been a constant factor. But till recent years we do not come across any instance of violent expression of group prejudices based on the issue of language.

The current tensions based on language may be listed as follows :

1. Resistance to Hindi in the Southern States, Bengal, Assam and Orissa.
2. Resistance in accepting Urdu as an Indian Language in Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar and contemptuous indifference in other States.
3. Prejudice against Bengali in Assam, Bihar and Orissa.
4. Prejudice against Telugu in Madras and Orissa.
5. Mutual prejudice between Marathi and Gujarati.
6. Contempt for all Adivasi languages by the rest of the population.
7. Resistance of Adivasis to other languages, particularly in Assam and Orissa.

An analysis of the factors resulting in the above situations could be done scientifically by competent sociologists and psychologists. But to the layman the apparent reasons for the prejudices seem rather curious and confusing.

As early as 1921, Gandhiji mooted the idea of adopting Hindustani as the national language of India and continued to preach the same till his death. As was usual with him, he set about the programme systematically, and organised the teaching of Hindustani in all the non-Hindi-speaking States which was taken up with enthusiasm by a band of devoted workers, and people of all ages evinced interest in the programme. Though there were many who did not agree with Gandhiji on this question as with many others, there was no virulent opposition to it. The programme was a plank of the Congress platform, and a part of the struggle for Swaraj. Many of those who opposed the Congress politically accepted this programme, and there were many Liberals who were ardent supporters of the programme. Even now, political parties opposed to the Congress like the Praja-Socialist or the Communist Party do not take any definite stand on the issue. But it has been made a live issue by other political parties who stand against the Congress; and they seek popular support on other grounds as well, like the alleged neglect of the South, dominance of the North, and in the South itself the dominance of the Brahmin community, etc. The fact that these parties evoke response and also support to their propaganda shows that there are many genuine reasons of discontent. Even on the issue of language, there are rational grounds for opposition. But the fact emerges that the language issue is wrapped up with many other issues—rational and irrational, and in furthering these issues appeals are made to the baser instincts of man like prejudice and hatred. The issue of language is not kept on a rational level, but is used as a cloak for other issues, and differences, which are inevitable in a democratic society, become impossible of being resolved, because prejudices and hatreds are fostered, irrespective of the consequences in other spheres of life. In this controversy, those who stand for the adoption of Hindustani also take irrational attitudes, when they fail to take cognisance of the reasonable fears and difficulties of others, and use the unity of the Nation as a cloak for suppressing the opposition, and in the process gain advantages. These attitudes act as provocations for passion, prejudice and hatred.

In other words, we have not learnt to accept the values of rationality, tolerance, fairplay and love which are essential necessities to build and maintain a cohesive society. Conversely, we do not realise that by raising passions and prejudices we release forces of disruption and fragmentation of society as a whole.

Resistance to Urdu is a glaring case of irrationality. The language is a purely Indian language inasmuch as it is not current in any foreign countries except in Pakisan. It has a highly developed literature. The Osmania University had Urdu as the medium of instruction. But because Urdu is written in the Arabic script and is largely spoken by Mussalmans, in the U.P.

and Bihar, all the prejudices against Mussalmans seem to have been transposed to Urdu. It may be mentioned that Bengali is spoken by large numbers of Mussalmans both in India and Pakistan, and Tamil has a separate script of its own.

Assam, Bihar and Orissa were part of the Presidency of Bengal from the early days of British rule. They were backward in educational facilities, and for this, as well as other reasons, the services including clerical jobs and the professions were packed with people whose language was Bengali. When the people of these provinces were in a position to compete, they found themselves severely handicapped. Prejudices against persons from Bengal were transposed to the language, though because of the wealth of literature in modern Bengali people of these States interested in literature do read Bengali with interest.

Orissa is a large tract of country where Oriya is the language of the bulk of the population, though other languages—many Adivasi languages—are also spoken. Portions of this tract were in the old Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, and a portion in the old C.P. & Berar. Historically, this whole tract was sometimes under one administration, though its division into different administrative units was not unusual. In line with the movements for linguistic States in Andhra, Karnatak, etc., a movement gained currency in Orissa as well. In the claims and counter-claims for the demarcation of boundaries, controversies led to rousing of passions and the controversies being acute in the south of Orissa, prejudices against Telugu-speaking people and Telugu language developed. Similarly in the controversies for the separation of Andhra from Madras passions were roused.

Mutual prejudice between Gujaratis and Marathis has nothing to do with language as such, as both the languages are highly developed. It is mainly regional in character, but inevitably, the common nomenclature of the language region sticks, and the difference of language generates additional prejudices.

Almost all the Adivasi languages are very undeveloped and because of their structure are not capable of development. All of them are spoken dialects without any script, though Christian Missionaries have inducted Roman script into some of them. Historically, the Adivasis have been gradually pushed into inhospitable terrain and have to live a sub-human existence and even then they are exploited, one tribe by another and all tribes by others. Though the process of social integration of some of the tribes and the rest of the population was vigorous in the pre-British period, somehow it lost all momentum in later years. With the advent of Christian Missionaries, who provided many social and economic services and offered them the religion of the Emperor, they became more conscious of the accumulated injustices, and were encouraged to consider the non-tribals as the source of all their miseries. Independence of India gave them the power of adult franchise and persons and parties were not wanting to rouse existing prejudices and create many new ones. Some States like Assam and Orissa launched upon a programme of providing instruction in primary

school in the dominant language of the State. The programme cannot be objected to, inasmuch as instruction has to be given in some language other than the dialect of the tribe concerned because of the inadequacy of the dialect, and the language of the neighbouring people ought to be the obvious choice. But the social and political climate was so loaded by prejudices that the obvious was not acceptable.

It may not be unsafe to conclude that the volume of increasing prejudice and suspicion originating from social and political tensions has its influence in complicating and increasing tensions on the issues of language. Unless tensions in all other areas are reduced, it will be futile to attempt at solution of problems in isolation.

India in its long history was never a unitary State and geographical India never came under one Administration at any time. At various periods, one power or another held sway over large tracts of the country, but those periods were not long enough for any social consolidation. Also, there were periods when the country was broken up into small principalities, without any dominant State and there were periods of utter anarchy over large parts of the country, the last such period being the fall of the *de jure* Moghul Empire and consolidation of the British occupation. The conception of Nationality had no opportunity of growing. The struggle for independence from British domination was the beginning of the conception of Nationality sinking into the mind of the population.

While the people as a whole had no opportunity to develop the concept of an Indian Nation, the epics, histories, literature and memory carry the tales of the glory and dominance or subjection and humiliation of one people or other. People prefer to parade their periods of glory and forget their subjection. During the long period of subjection and humiliation, each group of people had been feeding on their past glories and had also been inventing them. For example, people of Orissa liked to brag that some of their Kings extended their territory from the Ganga to the Godavari. Some people of Maharashtra feel that their Peshwas were the rulers of the Indian Empire and as such they are superior to the rest of the population. In other words, memories of Regional States based on reality in recent or remote past have been strong and still continue to exist.

While the regions even for purposes of memory are not defined in any way, we have the phenomenon of conflicts within the regions themselves. In between groups in a region there are strong prejudices based on economic, social and other rational and irrational factors. More enumeration of these conflicts will fill pages, and they can be analysed by trained minds only. Some of the apparent causes may be as follows :

1. Competition for economic survival in a transitional economy has become acute for the individual. Therefore, he feels security in aligning himself to a group.

2. Fear of being suppressed by dominant groups and States.
3. Lack of faith to secure justice from the State apparatus and fairplay in society.
4. Wide disparity in educational, social and economic opportunities in different regions and between groups in the same region.
5. Lack of any compelling common emotional urge.
6. Inexperience and immaturity in working of Democratic Parliamentary System.

Till the Second World War, India was a country with an impoverished agricultural economy, and industrial development was of a rudimentary character. The people had been insulated from the impact of rapid technological progress in other parts of the world. Diminishing returns from agriculture and craft industries were the only source of earning for the bulk of the population. During the period of war, there was some amount of accelerated industrial activity and an enormous demand for services and supplies. A fairly large number of the population got a taste of higher earning and higher standard of life. The effect of this phenomenon on the large bulk of the population was an urge for higher earning and discontent with their environments. For half-a-century, the people were fed on the idea that once British domination was shaken off, there will be an end to all our ills. It was taken for granted that prosperity could come without any great change in the way of life either in agricultural practice or method of production in craft-industries.

The Industrial Age, with its wide orientation in Technology for the population has not come yet, and the existing economic and industrial organisation is not adequate to satisfy the urges of the people for higher earning and better life. Some get opportunities for better earnings in the initial stages of industrialisation and others do not. Out of this discontent and unfamiliar change grows a feeling of insecurity and fear.

It happens that many States like Bombay, Bengal and Madras have facilities in education, medical service, transport system and opportunities of employment due to location of industrial and commercial establishments. Other States lacking these facilities fear that they cannot hope to catch up. Even in the same State one group feels unequal to another. Instead of setting about with determination to make up deficiencies, it is easier to blame others of intrigue and conspiracy, to keep down one.

Government service offers the most lucrative and large scope of employment compared to any other. Groups who do not have opportunities for qualifying for them, or had opportunities later, find it difficult to secure jobs. States enact legislation restricting employment to domiciled persons in a State and promulgate other administrative restrictions. Restrictions are also imposed on admissions to educational institutions. These create resentments among both the haves and the have-nots.

Social policies, like removal of disabilities of Harijans, protection to small cultivators of land, are initiated by Government and are supported by legislation. These measures are meant to remove disabilities, but in the process curb the privileges, exploitation, and eliminates material benefit derived from exploitation of various groups. They are enforced mainly by the punitive provisions of law, without the support of effective and active campaigns designed to eliminate prejudice.

We may conclude that the fissiparous tendencies, based on difference of language and regionalism, are largely caused by various and varied prejudices which are not directly derived from these differences. They are the cumulative effect of innumerable prejudices, both old and new, which are multiplying rapidly for lack of effort in diagnosing their causes and applying correctives. Differences of language and region are facts of reality and are sources of some legitimate resentments. If the large mass of other prejudices can be sublimated, then only genuine problems of language and region can be rationally resolved.

In ancient times, devotion to the Hindu religion was perhaps the single largest factor in the spiritual and emotional integration of the people of this sub-continent. Hindu religion was perhaps different from other religions, inasmuch as it was more a way of ethical code, without any rigid dogmas, and flexible enough to embrace many divergencies and peoples in different stages of mental development. But Religion has ceased to have that primacy in the lives of men it used to have, and at the present moment it evokes merely passive confirmation.

In spite of the advances in the Social Sciences in recent years, we have not had any systematic studies in our Universities on our changing social structure, particularly of the causes of Group Prejudices and tensions. Continuous and systematic studies are urgently necessary to provide us the diagnosis of our social maladies and indicate the possible corrective measures. As these studies will have to cover a very large and wide field, the first step should be to train a large body of scholars.

The emotional void left by the weakening of the appeal of Religion could possibly be filled to some extent by the systematic teaching of Ethics from childhood, which should be an integral part of the school system. This type of teaching may well degenerate into mere routine, unless it is supported by a wide and deep intellectual movement. For this, the following suggestion of Dr. Ghurye in a paper published in a Symposium on "Group Prejudices in India" in 1951, may serve as a starting point:

"Our task here being concerned with the creation of a centre for intellectual unification, we have discussed the question of the common language as facilitating this process of homogeneity. As observed above, for homogeneity to be established a new centre of intellectual life, which should form the focus for the crystallisation of the modern point of view and thence should introduce the binding cement of intellectual culture through the medium of the common language of the nation, is

the desideratum. Such a centre in modern times can only be formed by a University. It is necessary to establish at a suitable place the Indian University financed principally by the Indian Government and partially by every one of the Provincial Governments. The language of instruction at this University shall be the common national language. The stage of instruction which this University should handle should be only the highest. It must be only the post-graduate courses that should be the concern of the University. All the Humanistic Studies and the Pure Sciences should be represented in the teaching and researching staff of the University. The M.A. and the M.Sc. degrees in Humanities and Pure Sciences of all the Provincial Universities must be made to be based on a uniform curriculum spread over two years. At the end of the second year an examination in the whole curriculum shall be conducted by the Provincial Universities for their own candidates. All candidates for these degrees shall be required to spend their junior year at the Indian University, where complete instruction shall be offered through the medium of the common language on the curriculum of the junior year of the courses for the M.A. and M.Sc. degrees. The travelling expense and one-half of the other expenses involved in residence at the Indian University of each student shall be borne by his Provincial Government, the rest shall have to be found by the student himself. The Indian University shall offer at the end of the year, after whatever test, to at least thirty per cent of the students cash prizes, each equal in value to half the average expense of a student in residence there. The academic staff of all grades may number about 700 members. About 10,000 students may be allowed to be in residence under proper instruction. Of these, about 1,000 may be research students, working for their Ph.D. degree. These would have been admitted after being selected from among all the Provincial Master's degree-holders. They being absolutely the select lot of the students of the country their expenses shall be borne by the Indian Government and the Indian University and they shall have free education. Every year about 10,000 students, almost the pick of the educated intelligentsia as well as some of the would-be powerful emotion-workers of the nation, would have drunk at the fountain, where the teachers are Indian, and the language both of instruction and social intercourse is the common national language. In a generation's time the number of such engaged in the various walks of life through the different provinces would be large enough to provide an effective binding material for a homogeneous class. The intellectual output of the Ph.D. students and the large staff devoted to learning and research should, at the same time, make the common national language the most outstanding of all the Indian languages."

We have to realise that the generation which had experienced the exhilaration of the great emotional upsurge culminating in the successful movement of Independence of India is fast passing out of life. This generation had also the privilege of direct contact with and, in many cases, of ancient Indian learning. Unless efforts for building spiritual defences instruction from an older generation of people who carried the traditions against the forces of disintegration are done now, it may be too late.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTEMPORANEITY

by

Prof. S. MATHAI

"New wine in old bottles." This Biblical phrase well describes the cultural and emotional situation in India today.

India has launched an elaborate experiment at modernising her agriculture and has undertaken national plans that will gradually make her an industrialised nation. Politically we have adopted an advanced form of democracy and have given ourselves institutions needed for such a democracy. We have also given ourselves a Constitution that postulates a society with equality of opportunity for all. During the ten years or so of our existence as a united and independent nation we have passed many laws that seek to abolish or reduce inequalities as between male and female, rich and poor, the high caste and the low caste, and so on.

All these rapid changes almost constitute a revolution and, indeed, we sometimes speak of the "Indian revolution." The changes that we are introducing and the changes that take place by the pressure of the modern world are rapid enough to be thought of as a revolution.

But alongside of these almost revolutionary changes in our political and economic life there is also much talk of our ancient culture; and in certain quarters there is a persistent opposition to the modernisation of our attitudes and outlook. A distinction is sought to be made between "our culture" and "Western culture" not merely with reference to aesthetic modes and obvious differences in expression but with regard to the fundamental nature of our response to life. It is claimed that we are a distinctly spiritual people whereas the European and the American people are materialistic; and presumably, therefore, we are not really interested in the efforts to improve the material conditions of our people and to raise their standard of living. There appears to be a feeling in the minds of some people that culture in the artistic or religious sense is unrelated to material advancement.

It is necessary to examine whether there is an ambivalence in our outlook on life which retards the revolution which we are seeking to bring about in our social and economic life. Are we, like Lot's wife, in danger of being immobilised by our backward look?

Human civilisation is one and indivisible. Although there may be differences in pace as between one nation and another in the appropriation of the various elements that constitute civilisation, there is a compelling force that enables civilisation and the goods of civilisation to spread throughout the world. In ancient times when the difficulties created by distance and

natural barriers were not easy to overcome, civilisation moved slowly but in spite of it we are able to speak of different stages of civilisation such as the stone age, etc., with equal application to different parts of the world. The accidents of history delayed the spread of the more recent aspects of civilisation to some of the remote or less frequented parts of the world such as Africa and some of the islands in the Pacific ocean and so on. In the modern world the pressure of civilisation is more immediately felt in all parts of the world than in the past when means of travel and communications were slower. It is not possible to resist the advance of scientific knowledge and the spread of technology. The problem of catching up with the advance-guard in the march of civilisation has become more acute today because of the dizzy pace of the development of science and technology. It is necessary, therefore, that education should aim at producing a sense of contemporaneity—an awareness of change and the ability to adapt ourselves emotionally and in terms of social organisation to such changes. If our outlook on life is based on the real or imagined achievements of our ancestors a thousand years ago and if the prevalent feeling consciously or subconsciously held by people generally is that because we had inherited a wonderful culture there was very little for us to do or to learn, we shall as a nation suffer from a split mind, seeking to live between a dead yesterday and an unborn tomorrow.

There is a real cultural problem in India today and that is the problem of evolving a total culture which, while sensitive to tradition and inherited social and spiritual qualities, is nevertheless alive to the realities of the contemporary environment and is receptive to new things. Recently the Student Christian Movement of India organised a Consultation and, among other things, the findings of the Consultation included the following statement :

" . . . Industrial society, political democracy, welfare state, national community—all these require a new ethos, a new cultural basis. And much of the ferment in the ideological, philosophical and religious life of the country today are an indication of the nation's search for an adequate social philosophy. . . . The search for a social philosophy is associated with the emergence of new patterns of community other than the traditional ones of joint-family, caste and village. Indeed, with the disintegration of the traditional social patterns, individuals—men and women—feel liberated; but without the security of the old society they also feel lost. This is at the root of much of the demoralisation and corruption in the political, economic and social life of the country today. And the answer to it is in building communities which can do justice to the new sense of freedom and equality among the people. The question of the new social goals and the moral basis of individuality are vital problems for the nation."

The sense of a united nationhood is new to the people of India. No amount of re-writing of history will alter the fact that at no time in the past were all the inhabitants of this sub-continent from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari or from Bengal to Bombay one united people. Loose cultural links

may have given us a sense of relationship to one another and a sense of distinction from the rest of the world. But these links were not stronger than those provided by Christianity and the Greco-Roman culture to Europe. We have in a sense been more fortunate than Europe for Europe never became a nation. We have become a nation in spite of our differences in languages and ethnic origins.

To make our new-found sense of unity and nationhood real and strong we have to evolve a national culture, based on the realities of the modern world in which we live and suited to the needs of the new society that we are seeking to create. Appeals to our ancient culture alone will not strengthen our unity. Indeed our culture is a mixed one and too frequently references to ancient culture ignore important contributions that have been made by less ancient sections of our national population. Culture understood in a narrow sense does not unite but divides. If our culture is not contemporaneous and forward-looking we shall be a house divided against itself; we shall be divided into progressives and no-changers and (if one may coin a phrase) go-backers; we shall be divided into urban and rural; we shall also find ourselves pulled apart by languages and religions.

It is fortunate that our legislators were guided in the early years of Independence to give us a secular Constitution. We have no national religion. We have separated Religion and State. We have given every religion freedom to live its own life fully and freely. It is necessary that our people should be educated to think in secular terms about all matters that concern the common life of the people of India. At the school and college level it should be possible for us to view all our past history in secular terms. If a situation is created by which, for instance, Sanskrit is not thought of exclusively as the language in which the sacred writings of the Hindu religion are enshrined but as the language which has produced a great literature which can be studied and enjoyed without a necessary religious attachment, we shall have made a great advance in emotional integration of the country. The same would apply to other languages like Arabic and Persian. Equally it should be possible for students to read and study great writings in all languages as literature and not necessarily as statements of religious philosophy.

The emotional integration of India can be achieved only on the basis of a dynamic common purpose. Such a purpose must include as one of its chief elements a desire to appropriate and adapt for our use every good thing that modern technology, sociology and democracy have to give to the world. While we must hope that our people will always view all things in the aspect of eternity, and indeed we should educate them to do so, we must also help to spread among our people through our educational processes, through our literature, and through the public utterances of our leaders, a rational out-look on life which will correct the faults of excessive sentimentality and attachment to tradition and enable them to realise the truth of the saying that man is not made for the Sabbath but the Sabbath is made for man.

It is said that when the first railway train was built in England it was still thought of as only a mechanised horse-carriage. The same was true of the first motor-car. Today, however, in the advanced countries men have learned to embody new ideas in things that fit in with the total new environment. The development of one thing necessitates change and adaptation in a number of other things. Thus, for instance, the development of the modern motor-car has necessitated re-designing of roads and new techniques of dealing with motor traffic. This need for adaptation and change in many directions necessitated by a new invention or development can be illustrated by a great many other examples. Such adaptation and change can be made quickly only if there is a dynamic attitude to the changing forces of civilisation. Cultural patterns suited for one set of circumstances become unsuitable for another. Social habits that might have been harmless or even pleasant in one stage of civilisation become bad or unpleasant in another stage. The logic of modernity has to be recognised and accepted. As urbanisation develops, urban habits have to be developed by the citizens. In many of our cities in India we see the problems arising from rural habits persisting under urban conditions. Many of us have found from personal experience that, though the pressure of population in our cities compels us to live in flats many of us have not accepted the restrictions and limitations of flat life and there is much misuse of the utilities and services, causing inconvenience to the neighbourhood. The effects of noise in close neighbourhood can be shattering and yet many of us in India act with no regard to our neighbours in crowded conditions in turning on our radios or in using loud-speakers at a social function. We find that in the running of our public utilities, and even in the working of our administrative machinery, the lack of a proper sense of the effects of one's work upon other people and upon the social system as a whole often leads to inefficiency and discourtesy. There is much that can be done by a proper educational process to inculcate in the people of our country a sense of social responsibility in the contemporary world. It may be necessary also to examine many of our ideas and attitudes regarding human relationships and regarding man's relationships to the lower animals and to nature. Many of our ideas regarding food, clothing, housing, etc., need also to be examined afresh. In a country of the size of India, with a very large illiterate population, the problem of educating the masses for the new, changing world is almost an insoluble one. But we can at least deal with the younger generation with care and determination and see that our educational system provides the kind of training that will give to the new generation the willingness to apply knowledge to life rationally and the capacity to accept change without a feeling of frustration.

A living culture, like the Kingdom of God, may be compared to a householder who from his treasures brings forth things old and new. We in India are fortunate in that in our household we have many rich old things but we need to bring forth new things to add to these if we are to be a truly vital people in this fast-changing world.

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISPARITIES

by

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In this paper I propose to deal with the problem of emotional integration in the context of economic and social disparities. Are economic and social disparities in a class society necessarily a barrier to emotional integration? Do they lead to emotional integration of an anti-social kind? The answer to these questions, I believe, will help us to answer two basic questions which are germane to what we are going to discuss in this seminar, viz., (1) how it is possible to create conditions for the kind of emotional integration which makes for social and national solidarity; and (2) whether emotion can really be a base on which we can build up national unity. I also propose to discuss in this context what educators can do about activating the process of emotional integration as the basis of national unity.

The phrase "emotional integration" has been used recently in the context of the crisis of national solidarity of which there are ominous portents in India today. It is easy to feel tragic about them. But the situation should be seen in a broad historical perspective. The 19th century saw the greatest triumph of the idea of nationality because the French Revolution had made that idea democratic. Independence associated with national movements came to be regarded as the guarantee both of freedom and of security. Recent history has, however, shown that a nation-State does not give the assurance either of freedom within its frontiers or of security against attack from without. There is evidence to show that enthusiasm for safety creates internal antagonisms which become irreconcilable. There is also evidence to show that there is something suicidal about nationalism in its latest phase. As it becomes more intense it becomes more exclusive with the result that it ends by disrupting regions which are geographically one. This has happened on the Indian sub-continent, and unless the States in India develop as units of cultural significance in a federation history may repeat itself. But I would submit that this is a threat which is not peculiar to India, or say, Indonesia. It is a common problem all the world over and links up with the wider problem of social solidarity of which national solidarity is a powerful expression.

Political scientists have by now tired of the intellectual pastime of defining a 'nation'. Nations are hard facts in the contemporary world and make unlimited demands on the property, services and lives of the nationals

But the idea of a nation has proved unstable. Ernst Renan, the greatest French Scholar of the 19th Century, tried to define this idea in a lecture in 1877. He rejected the Athenian concept of race as the basis of national unity, the criterion of common language, the factor of religion and the factor of geography. After a series of rejections he came to the conclusion that nationalism is a *spiritual principle* deriving from two roots. The first is the root of *common memories*, including memories of failure and defeat. The second is the root of common desire to maintain a *common way of life*. Renan's analysis was widely appreciated during the generation before the first world war. But when it is viewed in the cold light of reason one would find a notable instance of argument in a circle. Nationalism creates national character and national character fosters nationalism. The circle is logically complete, and its completeness is proved by the fact that the temper of a nation is nowhere more clearly expressed than in its educational system. Is it not, in fact, that the primary object of a State's educational system is to produce patriotic citizens? Is not this the reason why we educators have been asked to discuss the problem of emotional integration as a means to national solidarity based on what may be called the Indian way of life?

Assuming, for want of anything more satisfactory, that nationalism is a spiritual principle sustained by common memories and a common way of life actively desired by the people, are these tap-roots vital enough in an environment of social and economic disparities? One may argue that emotional integration achieved on the basis of a spiritual principle sustained by common memories and a common way of life is nothing but romanticism. But then one may retort by saying that emotions and passions aroused by some kind of spiritual exaltation have played an important role in national consolidation. Human life in the mass is also susceptible to romantic urges by which it transcends social and economic tensions. But the danger of romantic nationalism lies in the possible generation of mass hysteria or mass psychosis which, because of the irrational urges to social action, may easily produce totalitarian cults and transform social and economic tensions into ugly excess of violence and tyranny. Renan did not live to see this recent phase of human history.

Does this, however, justify the swing of the pendulum towards focussing attention on the reality of a class society characterised by economic and social disparities? An answer to this question depends on our view of the nature of this reality. In a class society there is a fundamental equality within each class, which goes beyond minor differences and subgradations, but as between classes there is a gap which can only be bridged with difficulty. One class is marked off from another by accepted standards of inferiority or superiority. To an outside observer class is primarily a matter of behaviour, speech, dress, education and especially habits of social intercourse. Within the same class people meet on equal terms; but we find them, as Ginsberg says, behaving in a manner which implies deference or submission, on the one hand, and self-confidence and assertion on the other.

Behaviour specially calculated to maintain social distance is to be found on the frontiers between classes. These habits of behaviour have deep roots. They express the values which societies attach to different modes of life and they are also the means by which privileges connected with different modes of life are protected. Class thus keeps men in their places. People belonging to a class are expected to maintain certain standards of life to have a certain kind of education and to choose their occupations within a certain range. Subjectively speaking, a class evokes a sense of emotional integration which follows the lines of equality within the class and of superiority and inferiority in relation to members of other classes. As Ginsberg points out, these sentiments permit of subtle forms of inversion and compensation.

The primary basis of social stratification in modern communities is economic. Economic conditions determine the kind of education that a person is likely to get and consequently the range of choice of occupations. Once his occupation is determined a man's mode of life is already determined to a large extent and also his social status. The prestige attached to different kinds of work is, however, not necessarily a function of income but is affected by a number of irrational factors. It is here that Marxian sociology fails to meet the requirements of realism.

Emotional integration on the basis of class is the product of what is called class consciousness. There cannot be class consciousness if social and economic mobility is *perfect*, or it is entirely *absent*, as in a caste-ridden society. But if such mobility is possible, but not easy, the effect is to heighten the consciousness of differences specially when there is a strong desire to rise in the social scale or a strong fear of going down in the social scale. I think that in India these objective conditions of class consciousness are increasingly evident. Another important objective condition is rivalry and conflict. Class consciousness may be generated by the need for defence against an actual or fancied enemy and the enemy may be another class against which a particular class is pitted. This conflict derives its momentum from the accentuation of economic disparities in a capitalist society in so far as they are sustained by inequality of economic opportunity and social and economic privilege. Unequal distribution of incomes and property, with the rich growing richer and the poor poorer owing to what Myrdal calls the "backwash" effects of limited growth in particular regions and sectors of a backward economy, the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, widespread hunger, malnutrition, ill-health, unemployment and under-employment which call for "social chivalry" (as Marshall put it) that does not seem to exist, are factors which accentuate class conflict and impart the quality of cohesiveness to classes which threaten to contend for mastery.

On the plane of the logic of social dynamics it is clear that emotional integration on the basis of class consciousness in a class society is anti-social in the sense that it operates against social solidarity or national unity. Marxists try to bypass the logic, by the theory of polarisation of

classes through which ultimately two classes survive to contend for mastery and the dictatorship of the proletariat is supposed to establish real social solidarity in the long run. This view of a classless integrated society is based on oversimplification of social reality. Between the mass of wage-earners and the small group of large property-owners there are numerous intermediate strata the boundaries of which are ill-defined. It is difficult to fix the limits between the upper class and the middle-class and between the middle-class and wage-earners. There are many marginal groups which are difficult to classify. In the complex social hierarchy the middle-class is a peculiarly stable, and yet flexible, class which sets its face against class war, which holds fast to certain traditional values and is prepared to fight for them, and which sustains itself by non-economic and sometimes non-rational elements of culture. It is a class which is held in contempt by the "classes" as well as by the "masses", because it has vested interest in the stability of a class society. It has made notable contributions to arts and literature and religion and the humanistic tradition in general. It has been the spearhead of attack on feudalism, it has kindled the fire of nationalism and patriotism in many countries.

For reasons into which I cannot go in this paper, the disintegration of the middle-class, as it has existed in India, has gone too far in recent years. It is unable to supply the leaven to the process of social solidarity and national unity as it has done in the past. At the same time the new middle class is still too inchoate to step into the breach. Here is a hiatus of which intellectuals and educators must be aware if they are to fulfil their role in a fast-moving society. The reason why I mention intellectuals and educators in the present context is that they belong to the middle class irrespective of the income which they earn. They are the repositories of what some people describe as bourgeois culture and bourgeois values such as patriotism, nationalism, religion and social ethics.

The fact is that bourgeois culture has lost its integrity and is in a state of decadence. Too often the radical intellectual, no matter whether he is of the Rightist or the Leftist persuasion, is a dissociated personality finding in politics the personal solution of the personal conflict between his own highly socialised sympathies and an irrational society, instead of making his whole life work a unified pattern of workmanship and enthusiasm. This may mean retreat from reason into emotional enthusiasm of an anti-social kind. It is, therefore, often dangerous for teachers to be politicians and for politicians to be teachers. But retreat from reason may take forms which deaden the impulse of social awareness and social action. Some of the forms it has taken in the West have influenced our intellectuals and teachers and, through them, our students. There are also irrational and obscurantist elements in our own thought and culture which have also invaded the sanctum of our colleges and Universities. Thus we have to reckon with irrational 'isms' of the West, the dead-end futility as portrayed in art and literature and the philosophies which shut out perspective and goal in social life and lead to a kind of mysticism which finds its political

expression in reactionary anti-social attitudes. We have also to reckon with entertainment through the mass cultural media which, while continuing the pattern of escapism, succeeds in brutalizing the sensibilities of youth. While all these pathogenic emotional and cultural elements are coming from without, the middle class has been betraying its foot-loose character, both culturally and emotionally, due to disintegration of its hitherto stable economic base, viz., its peculiar intermediary position in the agrarian sector of the economy as well as in the comparatively small urban sector. The consequences have been two-fold : cultural and emotional disintegration, on the one hand, and emotional integration of an unsocial kind, which sometimes finds expression in ugly excesses of mass behaviour and mass responses, on the other hand.

I do not think, however, that the situation is such as to warrant blank despair. I have analysed the situation in the way I have done to draw the attention of my colleagues to certain social trends of which our educational system must take full cognizance if it is to fulfil a social role which the community has assigned to it.

I am aware that the presumption I am making implicitly is likely to be challenged. How can education be tendentious in order to serve a social purpose? We have amongst us protagonists of 'cultural' education. When knowledge is said to have cultural value further questioning is closed by the statement that it is worth having for its own sake. This is another way of saying that we value it as individuals without knowing the good reason for commending it to others. When we condemn education as 'doctrinaire' we mean that it is informed by an intelligible social objective of which we disapprove. When we describe education as 'vocational' we usually mean that it helps our students to gain a livelihood irrespective of the social usefulness of the occupations chosen. Education is frankly tendentious. It has always been so. Our educational system borrowed from the West was highly tendentious at the time when it was introduced. At its highest it brought us into contact with rationalism and scientific humanism of the West. At its lowest it produced the class of people whom British administrators needed. But at present it has ceased to be tendentious: it has not relevance to the immediate social tasks of our generation. On the other hand, dislike and distrust of education are the outcome of retreat from reason which characterises our political life and has been undermining national unity and social solidarity in our generation. There is, therefore, all the more reason why our educational system should once more be tendentious in a vital kind of way, become an instrument to assert the basic human liberties, have an intelligible social objective and emphasize the categorical imperative of rationality and scientific humanism.

Let me try to be a little more concrete and particular about the role of education in the task of welding together classes, communities and regions of our country in the face of the powerful separatist tendencies generated by economic and social disparities. An economist cannot forget that the problem of social solidarity has an economic aspect and that it can be

ultimately solved in an egalitarian society in which there is equality of economic and social opportunity. But if he is materialist enough to imagine that the economic aspect is the only aspect of the problem, he is bound to be seriously challenged. That is why I dare say that the educator can be a powerful ally in the cause of at least moderating the excesses of a class-ridden society and preventing economic and social tension from undermining the very foundations of society.

The educator can help negatively if he can arrest the retreat from reason and positively if he can create a rational perspective for understanding the problem of social and economic differences, of social distance and of social conflict. I am frequently reminded in this connection of Professor Tawney's pregnant observation that clever men emphasise the differences which separate them from their fellows and wise men emphasise what they have in common. I suggest that our courses should be so oriented as to produce less of perhaps clever men and more of wiser men in the Universities. This, as will be readily seen, is a plea for the compulsory teaching of sociology.

May I also suggest that educational institutions which are denominational in character or which have a class basis should be banned? If denominational institutions at present do not serve the purpose their founders had in view in a secular state they should cease to be denominational. If, however, they serve this purpose they do a great deal of harm or at least are an irritant on an emotional level. Class institutions meant for the aristocracy or the upper class that is clever, but not wise in Professor Tawney's sense, create emotional integration on a class basis, which is really anti-social in character. They accentuate separatism and isolationism and militate against social solidarity. They are, therefore, out of place in a rationally ordered educational system.

Where educational opportunity is not for the exclusive few but for the many, objective conditions under which the many receive their education are such that there can be no chance for the growth of wise men who learn to emphasise what they have in common with their fellowmen. I do not suggest that our educational institutions are arenas of class conflict. But our students do not usually have a chance of acquiring the virtue of either social chivalry or social solidarity so that when they enter life they are caught in the current of irrational social behaviour of a class society. These shortcomings are due, among other things, to the massive numbers that crowd into our educational institutions. It is not unoften that crowd psychosis develops in our big educational institutions and the collective urge finds an unnatural outlet in the absence of a natural one. We find all the maladjustments of urban civilisation in many of our big educational institutions. Foot-loose youth, without any roots either in tradition or in a certain way of life that may be called authentic, if not Indian, struggles hard to stabilise itself. Split personalities abound. When a person is isolated in a crowd he feels insignificant and seeks compensation in devious

ways, and, if psychologists are to be trusted, this is the explanation of modern phenomena like hero worship, faddism and styles.

The only way in which we can meet the challenge of this social malaise is to depart from the traditional methods of teaching and lay more stress on building up the community of teachers and students. I am not merely stressing the obvious. The traditional manner in which they come together aggravates the evil. I realise that more vital association of teachers and students so as to counteract the disintegrating influence of social environment in big cities is not any easy task. But this is a challenge which has to be accepted. What this means in institutional terms should be a matter for close examination. But in my humble opinion several things are clearly necessary as pre-conditions. First, Universities must now find ways and means of training and refining of emotions. Second, ways must be found for group activities which give free play for the primary instinct of social co-operation and mutual aid. Third, natural leaders of the student community thrown up both from the ranks of teachers and from the ranks of students themselves must be allowed to arise by creating the necessary objective conditions in terms of institutions and of activities appropriate to each. I am more than ever convinced that in Universities we must accept the sociological principle that mental development in man is a social process. It depends upon co-operation, mutual stimulus and the cumulative power of tradition. Universities must help the working out of the social process on the basis of rationality and humanism and not on the basis of purely irrational elements of human nature which threaten to separate and isolate human beings or otherwise unite them on the basis of class conflict.

EDUCATIONAL MEANS AND METHODS OF PROMOTING INTERREGIONAL UNDERSTANDING

by

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Before our country achieved her independence, the idea of a united India was fostered and strengthened more by the common opposition to foreign rule and struggle for freedom than by the desire of its different regions, geographical, administrative or linguistic, to form themselves into a national entity. Politically, British India, as it was then known, represented not an integrated Indian nation but an artificial unit made up of congeries of people speaking different languages, professing different religions and with different local customs, who had been brought together under one umbrella, as it were, by a common legal, administrative and judicial system. The Indian States, with their varying degrees of personal rule, which, nevertheless, included a large proportion of the people of the Indian sub-continent, were disparate units. It was not until India became a sovereign democratic republic and a union of the territories previously administered under these two different types of rule that the idea of a politically united India with an emotionally integrated nationality, and a population with common citizenship, became a reality. In spite, however, of the political divisions which obtained before the integration and merger of the Indian States, India was culturally homogeneous, since, notwithstanding the diversity of religions and languages, there was an underlying, sub-conscious unity, based on the social heritage of moral, spiritual and economic values, manifesting itself in a way of life which could be described as distinctly Indian.

The idea of the redistribution of the provinces of British India on a linguistic basis was in the air long before the attainment of independence. It is well known that the Indian National Congress had accepted the linguistic redistribution of provinces as one of its political objectives as far back as the year 1920. The Nehru Committee, appointed by the All Parties Conference, had stated in 1928 that it was most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis, adding that language, as a rule corresponded with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature, and that in a linguistic area all these factors would help in the general progress of the province. (Quoted on Page 13 of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission.) The adherence of the Congress to the linguistic principle was reiterated by it from time to time. The formation of the new States on the 1st November, 1956, was hailed as an event of great national importance, which, in the words of the President of the Indian Union, was "the

natural outcome of the process of integration and consolidation." The establishment of the new States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Mysore is today a settled fact. It has, however, given rise to certain problems, which were not unforeseen, but which are capable of solution. Thus, the States Reorganisation Commission had pointed out that "the idea of a federating unit, organised as the political expression of a single language group, would inevitably encourage exclusivism" and might "tend to blur, if not obliterate, the feeling of national unity, by the emphasis it placed on local culture, language and history". (P. 39). It is for us, as citizens of the Indian Union, to see that the regional idea is not exalted at the expense of national unity.

Alongside the growth of the idea of the political re-distribution of the Indian provinces on a linguistic basis, Indian educationists were thinking on parallel lines of starting regional Universities for the different linguistic areas of the country. Thus, the Bombay Presidency Educational Conference passed a resolution at its session in 1917, favouring the starting of a University for each of the linguistic divisions of the Presidency. In other parts of the country, too, universities sprang up into existence with the main object of serving the populations of specific linguistic areas, e.g., the University of Mysore and the Annamalai and Andhra Universities. The movement for the establishment of regional universities stemmed from the idea that such universities could be the best instruments for fostering the so-called culture of the linguistic region concerned, as well as its language and literature. It should have logically followed from this idea that a regional university should adopt the language of the region as its medium of instruction. For some reason or other, however, this has not happened hitherto in any of these three universities.

To my mind, the idea of a regional culture of the kind visualised by the protagonists of regional universities is a well-o'-the-wisp, if the "culture" they mean the "vital system of ideas of a period", or the religion and philosophy, the general mode of life, the repertory of beliefs and the outlook upon life of the people of the region. In this sense, it is difficult to understand in what respect the Maharashtrians, for instance, can be said to have a different culture from the Kannadigas or the Gujaratis, unless it be a difference in language or literature, or in some peculiar local custom. In support of my view, I feel tempted to quote what Sarojini Naidu said in her Presidential Address at the First All India Writers' P.E.N. Conference at Jaipur in 1945. "India" she said "is one and indivisible. While her children speak with many tongues, they can only speak with one, undivided heart . . . because it so happens that, however different the languages are and however differently derived and differently sustained and expanded and enriched, the basic thought underlying every language, the one common unifying thought, ideal and focus, has been the mythology of India, the ancient lore of India, the ancient songs of India; and they extend from the banks of the Brahmaputra to Cape Comorin." (See Proceedings of the First All-Indian Writers' Conference, page 14, edited by K. R. Srinivasa

Iyengar—The International Book House.) The difference, if any, in the mode of life, customs and manner of speech between the people of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnatak, Uttar Pradesh or Bengal is of a superficial character only, and does not affect their fundamental cultural unity.

While regionalism and linguism as positive sentiments may help to bring about unity and strength within the individual states of the Indian Union, there is, as has already been pointed out, a great danger of these forces becoming aggressive and acting as centrifugal forces, weakening the feeling of national unity and solidarity. The regional idea must not be allowed to interfere with the growth of a strong feeling of national unity, which is indispensable for the success of planning on a national scale, on which our country has embarked. It is primarily the task of education and educationists to help in the evolution and growth of an Indian culture by a harmonious development of regional sub-cultures, if so we may describe them. In order to perform this task successfully education must needs retain its national character. Universities and other institutions of higher education are, in my view, best fitted to play the role of bringing about interregional understanding, and thus to create a mental climate in which Indian culture can attain its full bloom and make a worth-while contribution to world culture.

The object of the present Seminar is to investigate this problem by examining the need and nature of interregional understanding, the contribution that education, and particularly the universities as the intellectual power-houses of the nation, can make to that understanding, and the steps that educationists in the several regions can take to promote such understanding.

In the present session we are concerned with the practical aspect of the subject, namely, the concrete steps which the universities can adopt for advancing interregional understanding with a view to promoting national solidarity. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights lays down that one of the functions of education is to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and among racial and religious groups (*vide* Art. 26(2)). To promote understanding among the regions of a country with a homogeneous culture, which is the immediate problem we are faced with, is a much easier task. University education, by its very nature, is a powerful instrument for developing the whole human personality, broadening the mind and enlarging the vision of those who come under its influence either as teachers or as students. In the present conditions of India, when fissiparous tendencies are threatening to pull the country apart, the universities, as an integral part of national life, are morally bound to wield their influence by setting an inspiring example to the people of the different parts of our country to work together for a common national purpose by sinking superficial differences and seeking opportunities for acquiring a more intimate mutual knowledge, a closer understanding of each other, and a more sympathetic appreciation of the economic, social and

human problems that they are severally trying to solve for themselves in the new set-up of the country.

It is not as if the need for interregional understanding has not been appreciated hitherto, so far as educational activities are concerned. Fortunately, University education is not a subject exclusively within the purview of the State Legislatures. The co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research, scientific and technical institutions and institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India, wholly or in part, and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance, are included in the Union List along with the Banaras, Aligarh and Delhi Universities and Visva-Bharati. The University Grants Commission, now a statutory body, inquires into the financial needs of universities, allocates and distributes grants to the universities for their development and expansion, and takes steps for the promotion and co-ordination of university education and maintenance of university standards. The Inter-University Board co-ordinates the work of the universities. It provides a forum for the discussion of common university problems, acts as a bureau of information, and assists the Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, and in other ways. The Joint Board of Vice-Chancellors of the Statutory Universities in Bombay State serves, in an advisory capacity, to co-ordinate the activities of the several universities in the State with a view to avoiding needless duplication and waste of effort, discusses schemes of expansion, maintenance of standards, equivalence of examinations, migration of students, admission of students to institutions of a specialized character and other matters of common interest to them. It should be possible to make greater and more effective use of these several bodies for further co-ordination of efforts and co-operation among the universities themselves.

I shall now proceed to deal briefly with the positive and definite steps that our universities can take to bring the different regions nearer to one another by establishing closer human relations between their populations, which will abide and create a feeling of solidarity among them. The organizers of this Seminar have indicated some of the methods which are available to the universities for achieving this purpose. These are (1) promotion of the study of the languages and culture of other regions, (2) teacher and student exchange, (3) the utilization of institutions of a national character, (4) the exchange of ideas and emotional experiences and (5) student and teacher travel.

Our universities and colleges make provision for the teaching of a number of languages, ancient and modern, European and Indian, which form part of the curricula for their degree courses. The classical languages are generally preferred as providing better intellectual discipline, while the modern, living languages are looked upon as offering comparatively softer options. The provision for the teaching of the spoken languages of other regions is generally meagre, partly because of financial reasons and partly because the demand is poor or limited. Since the establishment of regional

universities in our own State, the teaching of non-regional languages has become even more restricted, and a feeling is growing up that, because another university has come into existence which is specially equipped for teaching a particular language, on account of its being the language of the region, it need not be taught any longer. This is to take a short-sighted view. I am glad to say that the Bombay University has taken the right view in this matter and that some of its constituent colleges are still providing instruction in the Kannada language. It has also recently decided to include Punjabi among the recognized modern Indian languages. Of course, Bombay being a cosmopolitan city, with a mixed population speaking many Indian languages, is in a peculiarly favourable position in this regard. By providing for the teaching of a language spoken by a small section of the population one can prevent the situation which the States Reorganization Commission viewed with apprehension. "If any section of people living in one State," said the Commission, "is encouraged to look upon another state as the true homeland or protector on the sole ground of language, then this would cut at the very root of the national idea". (See page 44 of the Report.). The study of literature of other regions is in a way even more important than the study of their languages, from the point of view of the synthesis of diverse modes of life and thought prevailing in this country that go to make up the composite Indian national culture. The President of the Indian Union, while laying the foundation stone of the State Museum at Bhubaneshwar recently, rightly remarked that the museum was of great significance, inasmuch as it reminded one of the cultural unity of the country from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and Puri to Dwarka, since the unity was not of language but of life.

Every University can actively encourage the study of the literature of regions other than its own by building up sections of the classics of such literature in its central library and also by aiding its own and other scholars with publication grants to translate such classics from one Indian language into another. This would lead to the mutual enrichment of the different Indian literatures by unlocking the treasures of thought and imagination otherwise unavailable to persons not knowing the language of the original author. It would also act as an incentive to scholars to study languages other than their own mother tongue. The National Book Trust and the University Grants Commission, if properly approached, may be persuaded to provide funds for the making and publication of the translations.

Personal contacts between teachers and students coming from different states or regions are, perhaps, the best means of creating better mutual understanding between them. I do not mean casual contacts, but those which result from migration, whether brought about by the transfer of the students' parents or guardians from one state to another, demanded by the exigencies of government service, which, however, are likely to be fewer hereafter except in the case of employees of the Central Government, or by the desire of a student to pursue a special course of study for which the university of his home province makes no provision. Sometimes, the migration is due

to difficulties in obtaining admission to the home university. The greatest benefit naturally accrues to those students who live in hostels, where they share rooms with students from distant parts of the country, and daily meet many more such students at the dinner table, in the reading room, at games, and at social gatherings organized by the hostel. Such opportunities are the greatest in specialised or technical institutions, which attract students from all over the country e.g., the University Department of Chemical Technology of the University of Bombay, the Department of Architecture of the Sir J. J. School or the Bombay College of Veterinary Science. Students learn more by rubbing shoulders with other students in the different situation in which they come together, and by exchange of ideas in the unending discussions in which they indulge in their leisure hours than from infrequent contacts with their teachers. It would help a great deal to promote interregional understanding if every warden of a university or college hostel tried to mix up students from different parts of the country when he allotted rooms to them. Friendship formed at college or at a university endures and can prove a fruitful source of better understanding when, in later life, the students settle down to their professions or vocations in the different parts of the country from which they hail.

While migration without a sufficient reason must be discouraged, because it tends to break the cultural continuity of traditions and institutional loyalties, and may tempt students of poor calibre to migrate to universities with lower examination standards, it should be facilitated by the mutual recognition of terms kept in other universities, as in Scotland, Germany or the United States of America. If this is done, with due regard to the general, if not exact, equivalence of course and standards, it will strengthen the feeling of solidarity among universities spread over different regions of India. This practice is even now in vogue in the Bombay State, and may well be extended to universities all over the country.

The migration of teachers, except in special subjects such as languages, is not a common phenomenon in our universities. In Western countries specially the U.K. and the U.S.A., the circulation of teaching personnel is very common. Very few able teachers stick to one university or college throughout their career. They get many opportunities of appointment to better paid posts in other universities or colleges. This constant movement prevents staleness, on the one hand, and opens possibilities of rewarding, new contacts with teachers and students reared in a different atmosphere, on the other. Inbreeding, especially at the higher levels, is bad for an educational institution. If and when regional languages become the media of instruction in our universities, there is bound to be greater inbreeding. Where the language difficulty does not come in the way, attempts will have to be made in such universities to invite teachers from outside who will not only bring new ideas with them but benefit themselves as well as their students by interregional contacts.

Research and teaching institutions which are of national importance, even though they may be associated with regional universities, are the best

places for rubbing off the regional angularities of the students who join them. Thus, the University Department of Chemical Technology and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Physics, at Bombay, the Indian Institute of Science, at Bangalore, the Lady Hardinge Medical College, at Delhi, the Deccan Post-graduate Research Institute and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, to mention a few such institutions which occur to me at the moment, provide a strong antidote against the cramping influence of regional universities, which may make it difficult, if not impossible, for students of other regions to migrate to them because of the medium of instruction adopted by them. Every university must consider itself at the post-graduate and research level as a national rather than a regional institution. The artificial barriers of language and domicile, if any such exist, should be done away with at these stages.

It was Bacon who said that "travel in the younger sort is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." Even to this day in England it is considered essential for a young man to give the finishing touch to his education by a visit to the Continent. In our country, neither students nor teachers do much travelling outside their home town chiefly because of their inability to incur the expense. Guided tours and excursions are now-a-days frequently organized by universities and colleges which afford opportunities for travel and sight-seeing to students and teachers with limited means. The Youth Hostels Movement is not yet as well known in our country as it should be. Universities and colleges would do a great service to their students and teachers, if they were to acquaint them with the facilities that the Movement offers for travel. Although no conscious efforts appear to have been made by our universities to encouraging travel, the fact that parties of students are taken out by the younger teachers to university and other educational centres, and that facilities by way of board and lodging are offered in students' hostels in the universities which such parties visit, is a healthy indication that the idea of student travel is catching on. The contacts made between students of different universities during their periods of stay in the course of such travel, though of a very short duration are useful to the extent that they afford opportunities of knowing something about the upbringing and way of life of students in regions other than their own, and of adjusting themselves to such ways by the sacrifice, if need be, of minor comforts and conveniences. It would be an excellent thing if the taking out of such parties to universities in the neighbouring, if not distant regions were made an annual routine. The gains to the students and the teachers accompanying them would be invaluable, and the understanding between neighbouring universities would be considerably improved.

I do not propose to dilate on the importance of the exchange of ideas and emotional experience by means of seminars and co-operative projects, such as workshops and student camps. World University Service has arranged such seminars in this country in the last few years. In 1956, seminars were held at Mysore and Poona, and very recently one was held at Hyderabad (Deccan). Those who attended these seminars know the im-

ponderable benefits that result from the personal contacts, the discussions, the forming of new friendships and more than everything else, the understanding that is born of mutual knowledge, exchange of ideas and experiences in the informal talks outside the formal discussions. The least that our Universities can do to promote interregional understanding is to make more such seminars possible and to encourage their students and teachers to attend them by travel grants or subsidies for travel.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

by

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That we are confronted in India with the problem of national and emotional integration is now accepted by most persons. What is not so clear is the remedy. What should be done to promote a sense of national identity and emotional unity in India? Who should do this, and how? How shall we at the same time promote a sense of world-fellowship and international amity? These are the questions on which there has been a great deal of talk, especially by political leaders; but so far, no well-defined answer has emerged nor a comprehensive and constructive policy that is capable of implementation. In this paper, we are primarily concerned with what the Universities can do in the matter.

To begin with, purists may raise the question as to whether Universities have any role at all in this field. They may argue that a University is primarily a temple of learning, that its two-fold task is to disseminate knowledge and to add to knowledge, and that it has nothing to do with problems of the market place such as national unity, emotional integration and the like. There is something to be said for this point of view; but even in the case of long established and homogeneous nations, a University is more than merely a temple of learning. The University plays an important part in moulding the character and shaping the social personality of the *alumni* who pass through its portals. A good University not only creates a learned man thirsting for more knowledge; it also creates a man with a developed outlook, scientific and rational on the one hand and social on the other. The University prepares its students for entry into society. When this is so even for long-established and unilingual nations with a common religion and probably also common racial origins, the importance of this aspect of the work of the University is much greater in the case of a country like India, large in size, having many religions, languages and racial admixtures, and with, but a brief history in time-span of an over-all national identity in the accepted modern sense. I think, therefore, we can accept the position that Universities in India can have a role to play in resolving the problem of national and emotional integration in the country.

In order to deal with the subject of what Universities can do to promote national and emotional integration, it is necessary to discuss the facts that stand in the way of such integration. I am aware that this subject is being dealt with in detail in papers submitted by other participants in the Seminar. Therefore, I would confine myself to a somewhat brief treatment.

The factors that stand in the way of forging a well-developed sense of national integration can be enumerated as under :

- (1) Differences in languages, with the added factor that these languages have now become identical with State political boundaries within the Union.
- (2) The emotional, social, cultural, and intellectual distance that separates the classes from the masses.
- (3) Similarly, the emotional, social, cultural, and intellectual distance that separates the urban from the rural areas.
- (4) The existence of a social system based on caste that tends to subordinate national loyalties to sectional loyalties.
- (5) The hiatus that exists in terms of mutual respect and understanding, that exists between different religions in the country, especially between Hinduism on the one hand and the non-Hindu religions on the other.
- (6) The fact that Indian history, in political terms, is more a history of different regions or different dynasties struggling against one another rather than a national history combining within one emotional compass the entire population of the country.
- (7) Building up of regional interests and of regional loyalties that are pitted against one another.

What can Universities do to counter the separatist or divisive influence of the factors enumerated above? It goes without saying that Universities by themselves constitute only one among the many instruments or mechanisms which will have to be used for the purpose of countering these divisive tendencies and promoting a feeling of national unity. But in so far as Universities are the institutions through which, broadly speaking, the leaders of the community emerge, there is no doubt that they have an important role to play in this matter.

The fact that people speak different languages does not by itself make for the development of mutual distrust amongst them, though it certainly makes it more difficult to bring them together as could have been done if the country had been unilingual. The existence of different languages in one State is not, therefore, necessarily a divisive force. It becomes divisive or separatist only when (a) people speaking different languages develop the feeling that their language (and, therefore, their culture) is not respected by other language groups, is being discriminated against, and does not get equal support from the national official language through which the different language groups could establish communication with all other language groups in the country.

As regards the first, there is no doubt that today our Universities do not pay much attention either to the language or culture of the different

linguistic groups in the country. The position occupied by modern Indian languages in Indian Universities, all of which function under one national State, presents a startling contrast to the position, for example, that modern European languages occupy in the different Universities in Europe even though these Universities do not belong to one national State. It is obvious, therefore, that in order to promote understanding and mutual respect among the different language groups in the country, it is necessary for different Indian Universities to establish Departments of Modern Indian Languages and make provision both for instruction and research in the same. It is not enough if facilities for non-regional languages in the Universities were to be taken advantage of only by those whose mother tongue is a non-regional language and who happen to reside within the jurisdiction of that University; what is more important is that people of the region should take advantage of the facilities provided by the University for learning languages of other regions. It would, therefore, be necessary for Universities to provide for the compulsory study of one or more non-regional languages as minor subjects along with Honours Courses in the regional language. In addition, scholarships, prizes, and other suitable incentives could be provided to promote interest in the learning of non-regional languages.

Learning of another language, however, always presents some difficulties both because of script as well as because of grammar. There is also such a thing as a technically efficient method of teaching a language which does not happen to be the mother tongue of the students concerned. Then there is the need to create the feeling that the other language is worth learning not so much on account of patriotic reasons but more because of the wealth of literature and thought that would become available through the medium of that language. All this means that—

(1) The study of linguistics is promoted, not only in terms of establishing common origins and current identities between different Indian languages but also in terms of evolving techniques of teaching of the different languages.

(2) Universities all over the country must be encouraged to take up translation schemes of the best books in their own regional languages. A great deal of dynamic energy free from red-tape and petty economy is required to be put in this work of translation, and it has to be organised on a large scale, each selected book being translated into all the fourteen languages of the Union. Simultaneously, there should be prepared comprehensive histories of the literature in each of the different languages, and these histories made available by translation for all language groups in the country. In other words, a deliberate and systematic attempt has to be undertaken to introduce the best of each language to all the other language groups, thus creating a sense of mutual esteem and thereby stimulating a desire on the part of the people of one language group to study one or more languages in the country. When this is done, there will be cross fertilization all round not only in terms of ideas but even in terms of semantics

Languages will freely borrow from one another, and out of this mutual exchange will be provided the capital which will go to enrich a national official language, which will serve as a medium of communication between the different language groups in the country.

It is also necessary to review the grammar of the different Indian languages with a view to determining how far they could be modernized and a degree of uniformity of treatment promoted amongst them. This could well be done by neighbouring regional Universities constituting common groups of their scholars for the purpose of examining and reviewing the grammar of the languages of their combined region. Similarly neighbouring regional Universities should also undertake an examination of the scripts of the languages of their combined region. Even if it is not possible to have one uniform script for all the Indian languages, I see no reason why an attempt should not be made to promote a reform of the scripts with a view to reducing as much as possible differences and also with a view to establishing, if possible, identity between at least those scripts which have already a great deal in common and could with some effort and imaginative understanding be made really identical. Thus, I think it should be possible to devise a common script for Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarati, and similarly a common script for Telugu and Kannada. I am sure there must also be other possibilities of common script amongst the remaining Indian languages. Along with this must also go the preparation of Indian language dictionaries. It is really astonishing that while most of the language dictionaries in India were compiled decades ago and owed their origin to Christian missionary efforts, Indian Universities, though they have departments of classics and modern Indian languages, have hitherto failed to take an initiative or make a contribution in this matter. I would suggest that neighbouring regional Universities should set up organisations or committees of scholars for the purpose of producing such Indian language dictionaries. It may also be worth while at least making a beginning on a purely academic level of an exploration into the possibilities of a common script for all the Indian languages. If China and Japan can go in for a script reform on a national scale, surely we can at least start investigating the possibilities, including the difficulties both technical and emotional, of such a reform on a national scale in our own country also.

It would also be necessary to promote entry into each University of selected groups of students from other regions and language groups in the country. This could be done by instituting special scholarships and fellowships and by taking other special measures. The mixing up in daily life and debate of students belonging to different regions and language groups in each University is bound to have a stimulating effect and, combined with the other suggestions made above, lead to the promotion of national and emotional integration on a personal basis.

Then there is the vexed problem of a national official language which could serve as a medium of communication between the different language groups in the country. The Constitution provided for such a common

official language; recently there has been a great deal of agitation in the country against the implementation of the Constitutional provision on the subject, and a demand has even been made that English should be given the role of the national official language. I do not want to take up space in this paper on this very controversial question, but it is not possible to ignore it in any discussion of national and emotional integration in India. How can English serve as the medium of communication between the masses speaking different languages in the country? Having a common medium of communication among the *elite* or the upper strata of the Indian society is not sufficient to bring about national and emotional integration; such a development will only tend to perpetuate the distance between the classes and the masses, which is largely true of India today and which suffered what now appears to be a temporary setback only because of the mass movements organised by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. I think it is utterly wrong to think that the national official language is to be only regarded as a language of the officials. For the national integration of the country it is essential that the common man, the small peasant and the small worker all over the country, should be in a position to understand one another and communicate with each other; this cannot be done through the medium of a foreign language. This can be done only through one of the fourteen Indian languages, and obviously all rational considerations would suggest that the choice should fall upon that Indian language which is spoken by the largest single group in the country. Quite frankly, therefore, I cannot understand the move to make English the official language of India. I can understand the importance of retaining the study of English as a foreign language in Indian Universities and in Higher Secondary Schools. I can also understand borrowing from the English language, especially for scientific and technical purposes, for the enrichment and modernisation of all Indian languages including Hindi; I can also understand caution in effecting the transition from English to Hindi and the need to set up a phased programme for the purpose. But I just cannot understand how English could be made India's official national language. I am convinced that for the national and emotional integration of India, especially from the point of view of bridging the distance that now separates the University educated people from the vast masses of the country, and promoting a free flow of ideas and the development of mutual understanding and inter-dependence between the University classes and the non-University masses, it is essential that there should be a common medium of communication between the different language groups in the country; and it is obvious that such a medium of communication could be no other than Hindi. In this connection, I may reiterate the suggestion that I made elsewhere that, to avoid the difficulties felt because of the big differences in script, especially by the South Indian language groups, there is no reason why Hindi should not be taught in the regional scripts, even as Sanskrit has been taught through the regional scripts for many centuries in many parts of the country. I feel that if this is done and if it is accompanied by the publication of Hindi books in non-Hindi scripts and of

non-Hindi books in the Hindi script, it would become much easier to evolve a common medium of communication between different language groups in India than perhaps would be the case if the present methods for the propagation of Hindi are followed. Such a procedure will also bring into prominence the great common cultural heritage of India which, operating both through religion and the Sanskrit language, has permeated all the languages of India and given them its linguistic impress through a large number of identical words with common associations of ideas.

Another important way in which the Universities can promote national and emotional integration would be by trying to provide for extra-curricular activities for their students such as will help in promoting mutual understanding between the classes and the masses, between the urban and rural areas, and bridging the gulf between them. Social service leagues, literacy work, rural camps, working in community development areas—these are a few of the devices that can be used for the purpose. Above all, if University studies could provide the opportunity for every student to undertake some field work, give him some personal glimpse of the reality that constitutes the masses of India, it would be an important contribution to the promotion of national integration.

Then, there is the question of casteism. I am afraid casteism in India cannot be exorcized merely by incantations in the form of speeches. After all, castes are but groups, and individuals are bound to function in groups, specially when they are a part of a large and mixed community like the Indian nation. What is wrong with caste is not so much the fact of its being a group as its exclusiveness, its hereditary character, and its failure to harmonise the group with society and determine the field in which the former has to be subordinate to the latter. I have no doubt that castes in their present form are bound to disappear in course of time, though some other institutions or groups may spring up in their place to satisfy the primary urges which the individual has for taking refuge in a small rather than a large group. The University, however, can hasten the disappearance of caste, partly by frowning upon the institution of caste associations, caste messes, caste hostels, etc. within their jurisdiction, and partly, if not even more, by promoting a rational and a scientific outlook among its student community. The more is the light that is thrown on the history and the workings of different castes and the use to which caste loyalties are put, the more rapid will be the disappearance of casteism from the country.

Then, there is a problem of the hiatus between the Hindu and non-Hindu religions. This hiatus is created partly by the important place that idol worship occupies among the Hindus, which rouses the resentment and the disrespect of other religious communities, and partly because of the social exclusiveness and cultural arrogance of the Hindu community, which rouses the anger of the non-Hindu people in the country. This is a very large problem which has not been faced up to even on the intellectual plane by persons engaged in the task of nation-building in the coun-

try. Thus, Hindu-Muslim unity has been a slogan and a battle-cry in the past, and now we have the concept of a secular State, which by giving equal treatment to different religions is expected to promote a sense of national unity. I have the feeling, however, that this concept of the secular State is at best a negative approach to the problem of good relations between different religious communities in India. There can be no permanent or solidly steadfast national and emotional integration among the religious communities in the country until and unless they develop mutual esteem. It is not enough merely to emphasise the identity of the economic or regional interests of individuals that may cut across their religious groups. Religion does form an important part of life, and it is not possible to build up unity without mutual respect among the religions. It is essential, therefore, to strive for the promotion of mutual respect amongst different religious faiths in India. This is going to be difficult because the major religious practice of the major religious community in India is anathema and the worst possible sin to the members of other religious groups in the country. I do not quite know how this conflict is going to be resolved, but I think an attempt should be made to bring about an understanding of the points of identity that link the different religious groups in the country. It is no good saying that religion does not matter, and that a common humanism can replace it. The vast majority of the people in this country, not only Hindus but even more Muslims and Christians, are deeply and fervently attached to their religions, and it is they who count and not the few philosophic intellectuals who cross and re-cross the corridors of University buildings. Therefore I believe, what is required in Universities is a systematic study and propagation of the common things that are found in all religions, of the common ways of behaviour of the Saints and Prophets of the different religions, and of the comparative unimportance, from a fundamental point of view, of the customs and practices of worship that differ among the different religions. I would, therefore, be in favour of the different Universities in India having Departments of Comparative Religion and Ethics, Institutes of Indology with special emphasis on a study and understanding of the composite character of Indian culture, and provision for common prayer halls available for such students and staff as would like to use them. I think it is peculiarly the task of India to promote mutual esteem amongst different religions, and it is the Universities who can play a prominent role in the fulfilment of this task. It is interesting to observe in this connection that in the West also a similar trend appears to be developing of promoting mutual esteem amongst different religions, what Dr. Radhakrishnan has termed as 'a movement for promoting reverence for reverence' which he has found in the United States during his recent visit to that country.

Lastly, working against the promotion of national and emotional integration in India is the fact of Indian political history, where the basic forces have been centrifugal rather than centripetal, regional loyalties having more of a mass basis while national integration had more the basis of armed forces operating from the centre; against this, of course

is the undoubted fact of cultural and religious unity linking together the length and breadth of the country, but with this limitation that much of this cultural unity has been associated with the Hindu faith. A great deal of cultural unity has also been added on by the pervading influence of Muslim rule and religion, and subsequently of British rule and Western civilization. If we want, therefore, to draw strength from the Indian history for the purpose of promoting national and emotional integration, we have to do some disentangling of the cultural unity of the country from too intimate an association with the major religion of the country. It is also important to give a national character to all our cultural heritage, so that all communities in the country take pride in the national cultural achievements rather than each community making exclusive claims to this or that part of cultural achievement and thereby tending to weaken the unifying effect of Indian culture.

It must not be forgotten that the concept of nationality as such is of recent origin. Even in the West, hardly two or three centuries ago, there were dynasties rather than nations in Europe. Therefore, we need not upset ourselves too much by dwelling on the absence of a national past, in the political sense, in Indian history. On the contrary, we have the advantage of a unifying cultural past, to which both the major communities of India have made a significant contribution, to which has been added the more immediate and politically unifying past of common resistance to foreign rule, which brought together the different regions and language groups in the country and evolved out of them the national movement, the result of which was the establishment of the Union of India. The past, however, is not sufficient to evoke that sense of impulse and national endeavour so necessary for bringing about national and emotional integration in the country. This can only be done by the developing of a forward looking outlook and by having a vision of the new India which will be based upon the well-being of the common masses all over the country. This vision of the new India has to evolve itself from the conversations and discussions of young men and women in the Universities. Regional justice, class justice, mass welfare, growth of science and technology, development of rationality, setting up of a new social order—all this cannot just come from speeches made by political leaders. They have to evolve as a result of constant debate and discussion amongst young men and women in the Universities. I would suggest, therefore, that active scope should be provided within Universities for the formation of groups and clubs for discussion of political, social, economic and other current problems, in fact, of all problems that have any bearing on life in the present and the shaping of the life of future in India. The more 'conversation' there is between Universities on these matters, the greater is the chance of the building up of an image of India that will evoke nationwide interest and result in emotional integration and national unity.

In conclusion, I must make it clear that I do not regard the instilling of anything like an exclusive nationalism as the function of a University,

whether in India or elsewhere. On the contrary, Universities should, by the very nature of their being, promote a spirit of universality and help to pull down the barriers that divide nations and races from one another. It is true that, in the peculiar circumstances in which we find ourselves in India with our national identity still awaiting development and confronted by so many obstacles, our Universities should play a part in the promotion of national unity and emotional integration. At the same time, we must also promote loyalty to humanity as a whole and promote understanding and esteem among the nations and peoples of the world. Universities have a great role to play in this matter by keeping the windows of the nation open and permitting free inflow and outflow of ideas and sentiments. Not only must our Universities promote national unity; they must also promote loyalty to the membership and obligations of the international order.

ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

by

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Objectives of a University :

1. What is a university ? A university is an organisation of men engaged in the pursuit of knowledge primarily for its own sake but also in relation to the demands of a society or culture in transition. The pre-supposes (a) complete freedom of expression, (b) freedom for unhampered development of the person, (c) active realisation of the fundamental unity of all men, that is, common humanity in diverse cultures, (d) the value of university of all knowledge, i.e., its sharing by all men regardless of race, religion, caste or regions and countries. There can be no barriers to knowledge, and (e) the value of individual human being as such.

2 The disruptive factors

The above objectives are sometimes difficult to achieve. There are a number of disruptive factors. Some of these may be :

- (a) Racial or regional or so-called "cultural superiorities".
- (b) Provincial or regional stereotypes
- (c) Regimentation of knowledge
- (d) Excessive traditionalism
- (e) Language and culture as divisive agencies
- (f) Rigid hierarchies (e.g. caste) making communication or mobility difficult
- (g) 'Historicism' and "historical Karma" and historical memories
- (h) Cultural nostalgia or "romantic revivalism"
- (i) the language-barrier.

3 Toward Integration : A psychological problem

(a) While achievement of independence has given feeling of freedom, a feeling individual *worth* and *recognition* has still to be developed. The prestige of the individual has to be rehabilitated. As a result of centuries of dependence and the consequences of a social order which has submerged masses of people to an "inferior" or "second and third category" of individuals, consciousness of freedom and its implications for the individuals of all strata has yet to be developed and realised. This is

basically a psychological or social-psychological problem. Economic and social development would help this, but societies have been known where economic adequacy alone has not helped realise their status and prestige as human individual.

(b) With the advent of freedom was expected a sense of solidarity and unity in the country which has not come. The fundamental unity of the country as a whole has still to be realised. This realisation assumes awareness of common interests and more than this the *sense of belongingness* to a common cultural heritage, common symbols, myths and legends and common systems of values.

(c) *Language as a divisive and as a cohesive factor*: Linguistic romanticism and linguistic fanaticism have prevented integration. While the need for communication on all-India basis is recognised by all, the question as to the extent Hindi or any other language is going to fulfil this function remains a difficult one. The formula in this regard may be: mother tongue, Hindi and English. English to be in universities till such time that Hindi can replace English. Hindi as language for communication and administration, not for literary or "cultural" purposes. In this regard some of other regional languages are (to date) much richer.

(d) *Dynamics of communication*: The paramount need is need of easier and speedier communication. Apart from physical or material communications, there is the process of communication that stresses the need for development of attitudes of understanding and fellow feeling, of participation and cooperative living, of the sharing of cultural norms and values, of the assimilation of diverse modes of symbolic behaviour, of the transmission and evaluation of functional categories like power, authority, confidence etc. The processes and levels of communication of these different forms of behaviour with their peculiar patterns of distortions and consequent anxieties need most understanding and sympathetic evaluation. All this would imply flexibility of thinking and imagination associated with higher reaches of the educational process.

(e) Familial upbringing and schooling would need a shift in emphasis from the rigid "We-group" attitudes to more inclusive groups and wider areas of *identification* until all regions and the country as a whole may come more and more in one orbit of interest. This again is a matter of training and cultivation.

(f) Since most of one's attitudes are already well formed before the University stage, the university can perhaps canalize some of these and modify them. These attitudes are mostly built round hierarchical organisation of the social structure in which an individual has "his place assigned by birth". The attitudes imply inter-group tensions, frustrations and repressed hostilities, aggression and free-floating anxieties. Sometimes these

repressed hostilities break out into open conflict but ordinarily this does not happen though the "tension" always remains, in the form of prejudice, stereotypes, etc. The reduction of this "conflict" or tension would depend upon :

(i) reduction of hostility, which depends upon minimization of frustrations and insecurities and their attendant anxieties

(ii) proper canalization of existing hostilities, through sanctions, diversions, redefinition of situations, etc.

Thus the anxiety and frustration which our social order continually generates can be reduced to manageable proportions only if at least two conditions are fulfilled: First, if our physical and economic situations are reasonably comfortable and secure, and, secondly if we derive adequate security and gratification from satisfactory inter-personal relationships. If people are anxious and frustrated by society and if, moreover, they live in social isolation many of them will try to discharge their aggressions explosively through acts of violence or hostility.

In attaching many specific phenomena of social pathology one is attacking "symptoms"—not "causes". The result, if successful at all will be merely to shift the currents of hostility, not to eliminate them. An attack upon "causes" must consist : (a) in ameliorating basic situations which are productive of "realistic" worries and hostilities; (b) in devising improved techniques of child socialization and of subsequent inter-personal relations so that the total amount of "free-floating aggression" is decreased.

(g) *Information, education and propaganda* are likely to reduce these tensions and conflicts. Ordinarily those who have information about other people and groups have more favourable attitudes than those who do not have such information. Also, information is more effective when it is presented as part of the ordinary action of a group. Discovery of facts by members themselves leads to the reduction of prejudice. Changes of attitudes of groups are more effective than of the isolated individuals. When individuals are able to identify their own values and life-activities with individuals of other groups, tensions are reduced. Hence, *Personalize*.

(h) *Direct re-orientation of values* may be achieved in the following order of effectiveness: (1) direct personal communication; (2) radio, printed material. But this may vary according to the nature of subject, type of appeal, type of audience etc.

Attitudes of aggressive nationalism go with the following 'cluster': *nationalism, out-group prejudice, conventional and rigid moral codes and religiosity*. This emphasises the dangers of nationalism. But while this has to be guarded against our problem is to achieve national unity and integration. Sharing of common values or "the core-values" of our culture would enable identification in a much greater degree than by any other means.

4. University as a Democracy

The university provides an ideal institution for training and practice of democracy. Free expression of thought and frank discussion of problems of all kinds, is the best training in democratic thinking and behaviour. Apart from this it also provides opportunities for free and *creative thinking*. The values of equality, co-operation, respect for individual opinion and appreciation of basic commonness of all humanity can be learnt and assimilated. And, the effectiveness of the university life may be judged by the manner and extent of such an assimilation.

5. Some Suggestions Toward Integration :

(a) Free movement and exchange of teachers and students from one university to another on an all-India basis particularly for (1) lectures and seminars, (2) specialised training, (3) Research, (4) Community experience etc.

(b) Organisation of summer courses (vacation courses) in different regions and in different universities, admission to which should be open to all university students. This would engage the energies of students during vacations when formal instruction ceases in a university.

(c) Strengthening of student organisations with a view to canalizing their activities in constructive efforts. These organisations may be required to provide squads for helping constructive work in different universities in the country.

(d) Cultural associations which would specially emphasise :

- i. Appreciation of art, literature, drama & poetry, found in different groups and regions in the country.
- ii. Information and sympathetic understanding of the customs folk-ways and manners, rituals and values of different sub-cultures of our country.
- iii. Student dramatic societies which would give open-air or "arena theatre" performances in different regions or areas of the country.

(e) Language clubs or literary associations which would foster study of different languages of the country: (1) Short courses (by using modern devices) be given, (2) Translation of books (on different subjects) by students be specially encouraged.

(f) Hostels and Halls be organised on a "mixed" basis, i.e., students of different groups (castes) and regions all live together. No separate Hostels for any community or group or region.

(g) No denominational organisations on group or caste or communal and sectarian basis to be allowed by universities.

(h) Inter-university migrations be encouraged for short terms without any extra fees, etc., and with adequate facilities.

(i) Stipends and fellowships be freely given to all students from any region or groups.

(j) Travel grants and facilities of transport and communications.

(k) Inter-university meeting of students and teachers not merely for "cultural" purposes, but for academic and administrative purposes too.

(l) An inter-university survey of the needs and requirements of students, specially the conditions of their living, their difficulties, etc.

(m) Emphasis on *achievement only* irrespective of the complexion and character of the group or regions. No special privileges to any particular section or group.

The university should be free to develop its talents in an appropriate direction without being hampered by political or regional considerations. Once a student is trained in such an atmosphere of freedom, trust and recognition, he will develop a degree of involvement not merely in those immediately around but in the welfare and prosperity of people in the country as a whole.

THE NEED FOR CREATING AND MAKING AVAILABLE SUITABLE LITERATURE

by

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Though it is ten years since India became independent and politically integrated, the problem of strengthening the unity of the country is as important as ever. It was ten years after the inauguration of the American Constitution that the great American statesman, George Washington, found it necessary to stress the importance of maintaining unity. His words are truly relevant in India today. "The Unity of Government," said Washington "which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize... It is of infinite moment that you should estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it (to the Centre) accustoming yourself to think and speak of it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

Diversities based on religion, language and political ideology are nowhere so pronounced as in India. Loyalty to one's own state, one's own language, one's own religion and one's own community naturally results in groupings; and these loyalties pull in different directions. But with the reorganisation of states on the basis of the major languages, regional and linguistic loyalties have been merged into one so to say and it has resulted in a strong bond of isolationism. Of all the group loyalties the one based on language is perhaps the strongest. A person can change his religion or political attachment but not his mother-tongue which he imbibes with his mother's milk and it is also true that the fullest and most natural expression of one's personality is possible only through one's mother-tongue. We have already experienced the devastating result of an isolationism based on religion in the division of India. Linguistic isolationism is now the most potent enemy which we have to deal with if the unity of India is to be maintained and safeguarded.

Language generally serves two basic purposes, firstly as a medium for transaction of business and secondly as an instrument of culture. I

should like to concentrate on the second aspect, as literature comes under culture. It is my firm belief that cultural integration of India, which includes intellectual and emotional integration, has to be achieved primarily through the Indian languages, or, to be more specific, through the literatures of Indian languages.

Literature here is used in the wider sense and includes both literature of knowledge such as history and philosophy and also literature of power such as poetry and drama. The influence of literature throughout the ages has been emphasised by leaders of thought.

Shakespeare once said :

“Not marble nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme.”

According to Shelley “Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.” Our ancient *gurus* also have pointed out this fact in different but perhaps more telling words. Anandavardhana says that the poet is the sole creator in the vast world of literature and he is able to transform the world according to his fancy.

Apare Kavya samsare
Kavireva Prajapati :
Yathasmai rocate viswam
Tathedam parivartate.

A country and its people are to be judged by its art and literature, wherein the cultural wealth is embedded.

The world appears to be much smaller today owing to the progress of science in modern times. Mountains appear like hedges and oceans like rivulets. We can go from one country to another within a few hours and what happens in one country quickly affects others. Though physical barriers have lost their importance, the psychological barriers have not undergone a similar nullification. From Madras to Delhi it takes only a few hours; but it does take many years for a Tamillian to cross the barriers of Hindi ! No quick method has been found out so far to enter into the inner recesses of a new language and literature.

Our Literary Heritage

We have fourteen major languages recognised in the Constitution of India, each with a long history and rich literary heritage. Their growth and development should be coordinated with a view to promoting the cultural unity of India. Sardar K. M. Panikkar in a broadcast talk has surveyed the position of Indian literature in the following words : “The regional languages are no mere vernaculars, but have for many centuries been great and important vehicles of intellectual and literary activities. Some of them possess classical literatures of recognised value; others have

produced in recent times literary works which have claimed the attention of the world. The creative activity of the Indian mind in the field of letters has found adequate expression only through them."

But unfortunately this rich variety cannot be enjoyed by any one unless he masters fourteen languages. This multiplicity of languages has led to ignorance about ourselves. As it stands now no one can honestly claim to know Indian literature. At best one may know the literature of two languages, but not more. A Tamil writer who is fully conversant with all important writers in his language, would know nothing about Vallathol of Malayalam or Maithilisaran Gupta of Hindi. He might know a great deal about Maupassant or Chekhov or T.S. Eliot. The same is true of writers in every other language. This ignorance also breeds contempt about other languages, and each one thinks that his language and literature are the best in India. The Indian writers of the various languages are strangers to one another. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to remove this ignorance and arrange for mutual acquaintance.

Because of this ignorance there is no Indian standard in literary matters. Take for example the standard of the novel in India. There is a Bengali standard, a Tamil standard, a Gujarati standard, etc., but no Indian standard. If a new novel appears in Malayalam it is either judged by the Malayalam standard or by the International standard; because the critics are unaware of an Indian Standard. Unless suitable translations of valuable literary works are produced in a common medium and in large numbers no such standard will evolve.

In olden days, Indian literature meant, in the main, Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit was the connecting link in India, the medium of expression of the highest thought of scholars and thinkers whether they belonged to the South or the North, the East or the West. It was really Sanskrit language which gave a national character to our thought and emotions. This unifying factor held its sway for many centuries, especially on the higher strata of society. Even in the development of the old colloquial dialects into languages fit for literary expression, Sanskrit played no mean part. The bulk of literature in the various Indian languages has been produced in the last four or five centuries and Sanskrit gradually lost its hold. When each region had good literature in its own language, Sanskrit literature receded into the museum. Thus a stage came when there existed practically no connecting link between the writers of one language and those of another. With the advent of the British, the position changed. The study of English was taken in right earnest and gradually English became the connecting link. English has attained the position of a very useful common language for the educated men in India. Even so it is only a business language, a *vyavahara bhasha* and not the language of our emotional make-up, the language which can reflect effectively our basic culture. We must certainly acknowledge that English has considerably influenced our intellectual make-up and that it has opened

the doors to the repositories of modern knowledge. But for the expression of our national genius we have to depend on our own regional languages. Therefore we see that even though English is known and understood by the educated in every region, it cannot be accepted as a suitable common medium for rendering the literatures of the regional languages. This is especially so as regards creative literature.

The Present Position and Difficulties Experienced

How then shall we bridge the gulf and accelerate cultural integration? Translation from one Indian language into others is the obvious and only way. We have just seen that though English is the only language which is understood by most of the educated men in the country, it is unsuitable to convey the peculiar temper and emotional quality of our literature. It will be much easier to translate from one Indian language into another and convey nearly the correct import. Here the real problem is the dearth of good translators.

Translation is a very difficult art and the difficulty increases when you try to translate good literature. It requires not only sound knowledge of the two languages, but also sufficient discrimination and flair in the language into which translation has to be done. The Sahitya Akademi has not found it an easy problem to get suitable translators. There are some persons in each linguistic region who claim to know Hindi. So it is possible to get at least second-rate translators from all the regional languages into Hindi and *vice versa*. But for combinations like Oriya and Kannada or Tamil and Assamese or Gujarati and Malayalam even such translators are not available. So a literary work from Tamil in its passage to Assamese has to go through an intermediary language like Hindi. Even in a good translation much of the literary flavour of the original will be lost and translation of a translation is bound to suffer considerably. As it stands now, the translation into Hindi can only be second rate; and a further translation from the Hindi version would be even less satisfactory.

I have to explain why a translation into Hindi is bound to be second rate. The basic qualification of a good translator is that he should be a writer of some recognition in the language into which translation is done. A person gets recognition as a writer normally in one language and that is his mother-tongue. This means that to get good translations in Hindi, writers whose mother-tongue is Hindi should do the work. But unfortunately this rarely happens. I have specially looked into the qualifications of the persons to whom the Sahitya Akademi has assigned translation work. This has been done after a lot of consultation and sifting. One significant fact is that the translators who translate from or into the South Indian languages are all South Indians. The number comes to nearly fifty. The translation into the South Indian languages should rightly be done by South Indians; but translation from South Indian languages into North Indian language should be done by North Indians.

For example, the translation into Hindi from Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam should be normally done by Hindi writers. But unfortunately there is hardly anyone among genuine Hindi writers who can be entrusted with such work. This shows that no Hindi writer has cared to learn any of these languages. How can then we achieve cultural and emotional integration through Hindi? Distinguished poets of all the Indian languages assemble at Delhi once a year and read out their poems under the auspices of the All India Radio's 'Kavya Samaroh'. The poems are rendered into Hindi verse and how they do it is of interest to us. Because the Hindi versifiers do not know the other languages, in many cases, they get an approximate idea through English and write their own verse in Hindi and call it translation.

The Sahitya Akademi at the Centre and the Akademies set up in some of the States, the National Book Trust, and certain literary organisations are in great need of suitable translators in all the possible language combinations. We have now neither good translators nor even a scheme to produce good translators in the future. It is of paramount importance to have a workable scheme to produce good translators. Then only can the wealth of literature in the various Indian languages be made the property of the whole nation.

As is well known the Sahitya Akademi was set up by the Government of India to foster and coordinate literary activities in the Indian languages and to promote through them all the cultural unity of the country. It has been working to this end for four years. And when you consider the available talents and resources, its programmes are quite ambitious; on the other hand, when you consider the need of the country as a whole, its programmes are very modest. In order to foster better mutual acquaintance and understanding between the writers in the different languages, a national Bibliography of Indian literature, Histories of Indian literatures and various types of Anthologies and selections are being prepared by the Akademi. The histories and anthologies are meant for translation into the other languages. In addition to the above, ten good books are selected in each language for translation into the others. This is no doubt an extremely modest programme. What can one understand about a literature and language by reading just ten books. But even to get these ten books translated properly and published suitably is a herculean task. When the present programme is completed each language will get about 150 books as new translations. So far the Akademi could publish only an average of three to five books in each language. The progress is necessarily slow owing to various handicaps, the most insurmountable of them being the non-availability of suitable translators.

There was no institution of an all India stature to realise the nature and magnitude of these problems till the Sahitya Akademi came into being. Now at least the problems are clearer so that planning can be done. If you want to give a fair idea of say Marathi literature to non-

Maharashtrians you should make available at least one hundred best books in the language. The selection should be done by a committee of experts and should consist of poems, biographies, fiction, drama, etc., as well as books dealing directly on the land, its people and their highest thoughts. This selection should cover the entire range of Marathi literature. If I am able to read these books in my language I shall be able to appreciate the Maharashtrians and their literature much better. Similar selections should be made in all the languages and the inter-flow of good literature among them encouraged. Thus we see that any one language when it gives hundred books to others would receive 1300 from others. In the case of Sanskrit, though translation into it is not necessary, translation from it is of utmost importance. Such a scheme should be completed in a period of ten years and thereafter the selection can be limited to about 10 books a year in each language, looking back for ten years every time a selection is made.

This is no doubt a stupendous scheme. The Central Sahitya Akademi will not by itself be able to undertake such a colossal scheme even if the material resources are guaranteed. If Akademies are set up in every state, such a scheme can be worked out with efficient coordination by the Central Sahitya Akademi. So far only four states have set up Sahitya Akademies and they have yet to get their true bearing. The printing, publication and sales must be arranged by the state Akademies for the books in the language of the region.

Even if the administrative and financial problems connected with such a scheme are solved, how shall we face the problem of getting suitable translators! What shall we do to produce good translators in all the language combinations? I venture to suggest one or two schemes for the consideration of the concerned authorities

A Few Suggestions

The ideal thing is to train young students in at least one more Indian language other than their mother-tongue. This will take several years to produce the desired results. But as an interim measure the following proposal is perhaps worth considering. There is not much use in asking recognised senior writers to learn a new language. As I said before the translator should be writer of some standing in the language into which he translates. Young graduates who show talent as budding writers may be recruited for a special two years' course offering suitable scholarships. This should be done by select universities. Let us take, for instance, the Kerala University. If it could arrange a planned course for young non-Malayalee writers to learn Malayalam language and its literature, it will serve the purpose. Two students from each of the other modern Indian languages would mean a total of 24 students. This is the ideal strength for such a course. The students should live in the Kerala atmosphere. In about one year's time, the students would be able to read Malayalam with a fair degree of speed. General lectures (in English) on the land,

its people, its language and culture should also be given. In the second year they should be introduced to the literary treasures of the language. And before long they will evolve as good translators. The selection of candidates has, of course, to be carefully done. This would connect Kerala and its literature with all the other Indian languages. The scheme should be put into operation in at least one University in each linguistic region and the proper body to initiate such a scheme is the University Grants Commission. Such scholarships in each University could, perhaps, be named after Rabindranath Tagore and would be a fitting tribute of the University Grants Commission to one of our great educationists and nation builders.

The study of languages other than the language of the region should be encouraged in schools and colleges. In institutions situated in cosmopolitan cities like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, several languages can be taught. For the post-graduate course in languages, the study of a language other than one's main subject should be made a compulsory subsidiary. An M.A. in Bengali language and literature should made to study, one more language say, Tamil or Hindi or Marathi. Special chairs will have to be instituted in Universities for this purpose. The standard in the additional language will be comparatively low; but in the long run this is bound to produce salutary results. Every post-graduate college cannot afford to provide for the teaching of many languages as subsidiaries. Each one may take up one or two. But the scheme should be considered on an all India basis so that no language is completely left out or discriminated against. Again the University Grants Commission will have an important role to play if the idea is found acceptable.

Another matter which demands serious consideration is providing useful aids to translation. The most important aid no doubt is inter-language dictionaries. What is the present position of dictionaries? In almost all the modern languages we have dictionaries giving meanings in English and there are fairly good English-Language dictionaries also. These have been of considerable help in getting books from English translated into these languages. Dictionaries between one Indian language and another are not available except for some minor attempts and that only between Hindi and a few of the regional languages. Good inter-language dictionaries in all the combinations are necessary. It is a matter for serious consideration whether such dictionaries should be bi-lingual or tri-lingual (with Hindi as the common factor) under planned combinations. Another point to be considered is whether an improved form of Devanagari could be used as a common script in such multi-lingual dictionaries. With the addition of a few more symbols all the Indian languages are capable of being written in Nagari script. The planning and production of suitable dictionaries should be undertaken on an all India basis by the Institute of Indology in cooperation with the Sahitya Akademi. This is a scheme which should be taken up immediately.

Creating New Literature

So far I have said practically nothing about 'creating suitable literature', but I have been speaking about 'making available good literature' in all the modern Indian languages. Even here, perhaps, I have deviated slightly from the exact terms of reference. What exactly do we mean by suitable literature to help solve the problem of national and emotional integration? Do we mean literature which emphasises the unity of India directly or indirectly? If so, I am afraid, we do not have much to make available in the different languages. We have to create them anew. But can it be created? Should it be created? These are questions which cannot be answered categorically.

Literature of a kind emphasising national unity can be created and I agree that in the present context it will serve a useful purpose. But this will touch only a fringe of the general problem of cultural integration. No one likes to be asked to love a person. You may describe the person emphasising the charming qualities. That will of course prepare a suitable background. But love grows naturally and nothing can take the place of mutual contact. This alone will engender happy relationship and strong friendship. And when there is mutual regard, diversity in tastes and outlook is not going to affect the one-ness. The case of unity through literature is not different. What is necessary is knowledge of each other's literature and the acquaintance with good literature will surely pave the way for emotional integration.

If we make the good literary work of all the Indian languages available in each regional language narrow loyalties based on language, community and province will gradually disappear. This will give a better understanding and wider outlook to the intelligentsia in each region. To strengthen it further, steps should be taken to organise All India Book Exhibitions, Writers' Conferences and Educational Tours.

When you really understand and appreciate the literature in the various Indian languages, you will go past the superficial diversity and realise a sense of one-ness based on common values, traditions and interests. To know each other is to like each other and it cannot better be done than through literature. Great literature stimulates the mind, refines the emotions and enlarges the heart: Let us get it out of the regional barriers, spread it and strengthen the sacred ties which link us together. Let me close with the word of warning given by Mahatma Gandhi on the subject. "Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation. The first and foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed." (*Harijan*, 21.9.1947)

UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA

The Problem of National and Emotional Integration

by

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Education must have a philosophy behind it. The question must be asked, Education for what? In the context of the discussion to be held today, the question is not left so open, but is limited to a narrow sphere. The question is how University education should be planned so as to promote national unity and not encourage group isolation. Education by itself can, however, do comparatively little to promote national unity unless the forces that promote such unity are otherwise strengthened, and the factors that encourage isolation or fissiparous tendencies are neutralised. In my talk I shall, therefore, analyse what are the factors that have promoted unity and what forces tend to disrupt it. I shall note examples from my past experience. This will be the main topic I shall deal with. At the end I shall indicate the lines on which the forces in favour of unity can be strengthened and the role of University education in relation to it.

I

A nation is held together by the political authority that operates in it, by the cohesion engendered by economic forces, and by the homogeneity of culture that promotes community feeling. There has also to be a unified geographical entity. In simple primitive societies, the unit known as a tribe is the counterpart to the nation. It is usual to define it as a group knit together by possession of a common language, and common territory, and capable of uniting for common action. Common culture for the unit is taken for granted in the definition. A unified political authority is, therefore, a fundamental condition of nationhood; so also is common economic forces to bind the units. While economic structure is not the sole determinant of the direction in which a society shall move, it furnishes the steel frame that supports it or, if you prefer a biological simile to one that smacks of pre-Independence bureaucracy, it furnishes the skeletal structure which may be covered with somatic features of more than one variant type, within the limits of the frame work. Culture and language are almost inseparable. Anyone who speaks or writes in a foreign tongue and mixes with such a people realises this from delicate nuances of difference in terms apparently the counterpart of the same idea or with the same meaning, in two different languages. As all the perceptions, and the processes based on the same, of an individual find expression

through the verbal symbols that we term language, it is but natural that culture and language should so deeply interpenetrate. It is for this reason that a conquering people desirous of imposing their culture on the subject population, seeks to suppress the language of the latter by various means. If the rulers are not numerically strong and this numerical disparity is fairly great but cultural difference is not so sharp, and hostility does not persist too long, fusion and assimilation may occur and a language based on that of the larger population but enriched and modified by that of the dominant group, emerges eventually as the national language. In a new colony, on the other hand, the immigrants may restrict fresh inrush of others to people of their own language or insist on others who come to accept this speech as their common language. The United Kingdom and the United States of America furnish illustrations of the two ways in which a common language may develop. In the northern, eastern and western areas of our country the first process occurred in hoary antiquity. But as the folk of the different areas were somewhat dissimilar in race as well as culture, the Indo-Aryan language that furnished the common leaven, produced somewhat different kinds of bread and pastry, in the shape of the regional languages, of different areas. Large remnants, however, remained of other speeches, for example of the tribal folk of Austric speech. People of other language families also came to the northern and north-eastern borderlands, for example, men of the Tibeto-Chinese family of speech. In the south again, another dominant language family, the Dravidian, held off the expansion of Indo-Aryan. In each of the language areas, the basis of the common speech of that area was a numerically dominant people of a common culture. This difference is noted quite early in the *Natya sastra* of Bharata in the distinct regional speeches and ways of expression by gestures of different areas of India. It is also evident in the differences in social and sex customs as described in the *Smritis* and in the *Kamasutra*. The different types of production and political structure are mentioned in the *Arthasastra*. This composite group of nations and cultures had developed in partial geographic isolations under the combined influence of the earlier culture testified now by Mohenjo-daro remains, and of the later Vedic culture. The result was a land of many languages and cultures, with, however, a common veneer of what is often referred to as Indian culture. It is not suggested that the later movements of population, especially the impact of Islam did not bring about very important changes in the content of language and culture in many areas in North India. But these changes do not alter the earlier distribution of people by language and culture in our country in a general sense.

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Political cohesion in a single unit occurred in India only twice prior to British conquest. The Mauryas, who were people of the country, built up an empire extending from the borders of Assam in the east, to the Hindukush ranges on the west and right down to Mysore in the south. After the Mauryas, this political unity did not persist. Also, the Maurya rule did not, so far as data indicate, impose on the common people, the

culture of the Pataliputra area. The writings of Bharata in the *Natya-sastra* and of others referred to earlier, all whom wrote several centuries after the Mauryas testify to the differences that existed at the later time. The Mughals came as conquerors. By the time of Akbar, they had been partly Indianised, but some of Akbar's successors cannot certainly be held to have followed his policy of tolerance. In any case, the political unity ended practically after Aurangazeb. In this rule also, the culture and language of the different areas remained separate as before, with some changes in course of time and under historical forces.

While it is true that the common people of the small states on the Indus rose up under their Brahmanical rural leaders against the invading forces of Alexander even after their princely rulers had submitted to save their own skin, this kind of popular political consciousness which is the basis of nationhood, did not spread in those early times. The almost self-sufficient village economy, the slow means of early transport and the absence of printing, combined with caste divisions, prevented the normal flowering of this early trend. It required the passage of two millennia and vastly changed economic conditions, not only in India, but in western Europe, to regenerate the trends on an all-India-scale. Neither the Imperial Guptas, nor the Pala emperors, nor the much later Maharashtra Peshwas held themselves to be one with the people of other speech-culture areas, although on occasions in some areas, national sentiments were aroused. Their behaviour in relation to the other folk makes this abundantly clear. The altered economic conditions arising out of modern means of production, and modern quick transport, brought about changes that are recognised as revolutionary. The villages ceased to be self-sufficient and self-supporting. The clothes worn and tools used, tended to be purchased from outside in place of the acquisition of local goods by a kind of barter. Many people were thrown out of traditional crafts on land and there was economic distress. The people did not however know where to look for remedy, and the former ruler and landlords were not helpful in this respect. It is true that the latter organised a revolt in 1857, out of their discontent, for the loss of their power, position and wealth. It is also correct that since they represented the dominant class of the Pre-British period, the armed struggle was a national uprising in a limited sense. Nevertheless even here, there were divisions. The rising intelligentsia and middle class did not join it, as their aim of the future of their country was very different from that of the princely rulers. Further, some of the areas did not participate in the struggle. The Sikhs of the Punjab, actually fought side by side with the British against the sepoys of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar who had revolted. Earlier, some of these sepoys had helped the British to conquer the Punjab. Still earlier sepoys recruited by the British in south India had fought against the troops of the Nawabs of Bengal.

These details have been noted as it is sometimes alleged that the Indian nation and Indian unity has existed from times of old and that it had

assumed a fully unified structure by the middle of the last century. *The facts reveal that this is an illusion.* The rising intelligentsia all over India had felt the need of political power as well as social and economic reform. Their organisation to express these aspirations took shape only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The basis of their unity was their common interest, which required common action against the British rulers. The need of rousing the mass of the people to awareness of these needs for the welfare of the country was felt quite early by the organisers. It is true, that much earlier there had been isolated peasant uprisings. But, actual large scale organisation to ensure mass consciousness began only towards the end of the first quarter of the present century under the leadership of Gandhiji. The four anna fee or its equivalent in labour for membership of the Indian National Congress, came into existence after the first two decades of the present century. Even so, industrial labour did not secure acknowledgement of its rights in the charter of the Congress until much later. Again, the discontent felt by linguistic minorities in different provinces where they had been thrust, often deliberately, by the British in their policy of Divide and Rule, threatened to create rifts in the Congress. This was met by the pledge given to set up separate states on the basis of common language and culture, on attainment of Independence. Any attempt to impose a single regional language as the dominant language of India now will again bring to the surface the sharp discontent against this type of linguistic domination. There was also a much later pledge given in 1942 in the famous resolution of the Congress asking the British to quit India, and calling upon the people to help to form a national government. It is that the National Government so formed—I am now quoting the actual words—“shall devote themselves to the welfare of workers in fields, factories and elsewhere, to whom all power must essentially belong.” Only a complete redemption of this pledge can secure complete integration of all classes of our people, essential for true progress of national welfare.

II

I shall now refer to another factor which had stood in the way of Indian unity in the past. It was the apprehension felt by Muslims that they would not get a fair deal at the hands of Hindus, who would form a majority, in free India. The British rulers had naturally encouraged communal differences. But during the period following the First World War, the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji had made common cause with the Khilafatists and temporarily united the two communities through common political interests although based on different forces. In a limited sphere, in Bengal, and notably in Calcutta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had inspired confidence in the Muslims of Bengal by giving practical proof of his intention to arrange for them the desired facilities in the field of education and of employment on their population basis. As one of those who in the Calcutta Corporation helped to carry out his programme in one particular field, I can speak with authority on the friendli-

ness and support of the Muslim community such work engendered. Later, with the death of this great leader and the failure of the Congress group to appreciate the real needs of the common Muslims in Bengal, there was alienation. As an example of the kind of mistake made, may be noted the ignoring by Congress members in Legislature of the very genuine grievance of cultivators with regard to security of tenure and other rights in land of Hindu as well as Muslim kisans. Later when Janab Fazlul Huq came into power with his Krisakpraja Party, and formed a coalition ministry with the Muslim League Party, and passed the laws regarding agricultural debtors and about moneylenders, which safeguarded among other the common village peasant against mahajans and zamindars, mainly Hindus, the impression was strengthened among Muslim peasants (who overlooked the fact that Hindu peasantry were equal sufferers) that the Congress would not safeguard their interest, and that they must have their own government for it. Naturally, the Muslim intelligentsia and ruling class in power encouraged such belief by vigorous propaganda in their own political and economic interest. Nevertheless, when partition of Bengal to separate Eastern Pakistan was mooted by the All-India Muslim League, a large section of the Bengalee Muslims did not support it in the beginning. They approached some Congressmen, and leftists inside and out of it, to discuss under what circumstances it might be avoided. The Muslim Leaguers wanted autonomy for the state of Bengal as a condition of remaining within the Indian Union. The Hindu feeling was that the Muslim League Ministry in power had kept out qualified Hindus from all kinds of jobs, paid less attention to Hindu areas in Bengal in the matter of education and sanitation, and given heavy weightage to Muslims in the matter of contracts. The Muslims wanted internal autonomy to make sure that their economic, educational and other interests will not suffer. A compromise was effected, that the Bengalee speaking areas of Chotanagpur side would be added to Bengal (so long not pressed by the Bengal Congress to placate Muslim opposition) and an equal number of seats allotted in Legislature to Hindus and Muslims. This decision, to remain within the future Indian Union, with these safeguards, was accepted by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in spite of the known opposition of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Muslim feeling in Eastern Bengal was also in favour of it in 1944-45. Unfortunately this did not prove acceptable to the Congress in Bengal, who were under the delusion that partition would not come. This view was expressed at a special Congress workers' conference held about this time. At an informal group discussion, just before the elections of 1945, where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was present, the head of the Bengal Congress Executive and also a well known nationalist Muslim leader, assured the future Prime Minister of India, that the nationalist Muslims supporting the Congress would win at least one-third of the seats in Legislature. The present writer, who was also present disagreed and stated that except Janab Fazlul Huq and one or two others, none of them would be returned at elections, to judge from the feeling in the rural areas, which he had toured in 1944-45 when organising relief and rehabilitation after the famine of 1943. This forecast proved to be correct, indicating what factors sway the polls.

Nevertheless, the same Muslim League Ministry which rode to power in 1945 and again after partition, was swept out of the Legislature almost to a man, when they tried to impose a speech alien to Bengal and ways alien to the area on the Bengali speaking people of East Pakistan.

I have noted these details at some length, as furnishing evidence of what generates fissiparous forces and why people try to break away from a particular state, and form a separate political unit. Incidentally it shows that the feeling of being a Bengali was in this case stronger than that of being an Indian. That this is not an isolated phenomenon is proved by the intense agitation for linguistic states and the incidents that accompanied the same. The desire for one's own state based mainly on a single language, was apparent even when the movements for Indian independence were slowly taking shape. This has been indicated earlier. After Independence, with the need for the type of united action required for securing political freedom gone, the question of what freedom meant came more to the fore. The desire to agitate for other objectives had been so long suppressed, to focus all the forces of the country against foreign rule. With the removal of this barrier, there was an upsurge of the partially suppressed regional national feeling as against Indian unity feeling. The century old Madras Presidency fell apart, and Andhradesa was formed. There was readjustment of the Tamil areas also in relation to the Malayali speaking states. The old Central Provinces, renamed Madhya Pradesh, was broken up, and the Marathi speaking areas went to Bombay. It has been intended to separate Gujarat from the state of Bombay but the difficulty was about Bombay city. The tremendous pressure exerted by wealthy Gujarati businessmen to retain this within Gujarat was met by the enormous forces of the Samyukta Maharashtra group to take it away. The result was a deadlock, and a debacle of the Congress in elections in Maharashtra. These facts illustrate the powerful impetus generated in the language-culture groups to secure for themselves distinct political entities.

In the sphere of the much simpler folk, our tribals, there has been similar opposition to the attempt to obliterate their languages and culture. Although anthropologists and educationists have emphasised the need of imparting primary education to tribals through the medium of their own language and utilising the content of their culture for the earlier lessons, and the President as well as the Prime Minister of India have reaffirmed these principles as directives, there has been almost complete abandonment of these directions in practice. At least as late as a few years ago, in Chotanagpur Hindi was used as the medium in tribal schools; this was also the language of instruction of Korkus of Melghat in Berar. The content of teaching had no relation to their culture. In Koraput, the Bondo Porojas and others were being taught through the medium of Oriya and with content unrelated to their culture. In Assam, except in Khasi Hills, Assamese was the usual medium of instruction; in Bengal, the Santhals learnt through Bengalee. The excuse offered in Orissa was that Oriya was almost the mother tongue of those tribals. In Assam it was alleged that it was diffi-

cult for the Assamese teacher to learn the tribal language—as if little tribal children had less difficulty in following lessons in Assamese. In Bengal it was stated that teaching through Santali would lead to group isolation. In Bihar, Hindi being *rashtrabhāṣa*, no excuse was offered. But the elections to Legislature in Chotanagpur tribal areas resulted in a sweeping victory of the Jharkhand Party as against the Congress. In Assam the discontent among tribals is too well known to need comment. Elsewhere matters have not come to a head because of lack of organisation among tribals in some places, such as the south-western part of Orissa, or due to receipt of certain economic amenities as in Bengal.

So far those forces have had no repercussions on University education in Bengal due to the fact that there is no group isolation in the University stage of education either in affiliated, constituent or professional colleges or in the Post-Graduate departments of our University. But as stated in the introduction, the forces to promote Indian unity do not essentially come from University education. They arise from other sources. The content of education in the University certainly does not and should not promote disruption or weakening of this feeling. I have pointed out elsewhere (in my Presidential Address in December 1957 to the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference), that a study of the characteristics of the educational systems in simpler (what are termed primitive societies) and also in the more advanced cultures indicates certain fundamental principles underlying education which is but another name for training for life. Progress in culture is shown to be correlated to wider co-operation of social groups at all levels of culture. This conclusion is of importance in our complex society as much as elsewhere. In fact its importance is greater now that our country is in the initial stages of vast socio-economic changes following our political liberation. In its application to Education, the principle enunciated means that Education should impart a bias in the mind and activities of youth towards co-operation for common welfare, on a local, national and international level. It is not necessary to point out that in the international sphere the foreign policy of our country does promote healthy co-operation and seeks to secure it for others. Emphasis may naturally be laid on this aspect, in the teaching of political and social science in our Universities. At the Indian level, however, mere teaching, will not be useful, as facts speak much more forcefully than theories and preachings. If the young men find that in the matter of employment, the language-culture area or, to put it bluntly, the narrower nationality counts far more than other qualifications; if in seeking admission to professional colleges, the same considerations apply, he will realise that India is not one in these vital matters which concern his training for life and employment thereafter. Since such discrimination extends not merely in the employment of educated youth, but of unskilled labour, as a matter of policy on the part of employers, the Indian national unity feeling is bound to be weakened as against the national feeling based on common speech and culture. It is not evident what University education can do in this respect, except by stressing that for the real welfare of the Indian people, all the

citizens irrespective of states have to co-operate in the common interest. The decrease of the individual or group gain and prestige motive which impels such discrimination can, however, be secured not so much through work in colleges, as in the economic field and by organising public opinion. It is only when the actual gain in industry and commerce is spent mainly for national welfare, when the businessmen as well as Government executives really work for such an end, in co-operation with the workers at all levels, that the discrimination practised between men of one state and another can die down. At present, the different nations in our multinational state are engaged in keen rivalry, on the lines of commercial cut-throat competition, at the expense of Indian unity and Indian welfare. This group competition inside states is now well on the way to spread on lines of caste, mainly due to organised political attempts to consolidate votes on caste basis. The consciousness of caste has been present from old times, and there have been caste panchayats to lay down the law for their own caste men in local areas. But this phenomenon of wider integration for political purposes is a new emergence. Prof. Ghurye and Prof. Srinivasan have in their writings given ample examples of how political organisations, not excluding the Congress have used this anti-national-unity force. Similar examples can be given from our state as well but are not noted as superfluous. In this sphere education may render useful service. But as primary education is not compulsory and universal and post-primary education has not come anywhere near the 80% level envisaged in the decade old scheme approved by the Central Ministry, effective work in rural areas, which are affected more by casteism, cannot be done by merely reporting these events and evaluating their present and future consequences by teachers in their college classes. This force can only be countered by economic organisation that will cut across caste boundaries. Inter-caste co-operation has been observed where common economic interests obviously require it.

As I have stated in the introduction, one of the objectives of this Seminar, being to ascertain what role university education can play in the matter of Indian unity and how group isolation can be broken down, it requires a study in the first instance of the basic factors that promote or disrupt Indian unity. This is what I have attempted to do in this note, rather than concentrate on University education alone, as it appears to be more fruitful to my mind by helping to clear the ground for more detailed discussion.

NATIONAL UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA

With Reference to University Education

by

Prof. S. C. MITRA

Department of Psychology, University of Calcutta

I have to confess at the outset that I did not like the term 'versus' in the title of the topic arranged to be discussed at today's Seminar. Certainly national unity is not in contradiction with group isolation so that one must choose either the one or the other. Both can and should co-exist not only in the sphere of University education but in other spheres also, as so many conflicting views and practices continue to exist in our social surroundings and diametrically opposed political ideologies are thriving and flourishing in the different parts of the 'one world.'

I take it that the object of this informal discussion is to attempt to devise ways and means through which national unity and group isolation may be better harmonised with each other and not to suggest methods by which one may be eliminated in favour of the other. No right thinking person would deny that national unity is the highest value that one should strive for in our country, but this unity should be conceived not in terms of lifeless uniformities of thought and action but in terms of active and harmonious blendings and fusions of sentiments, in progressive realisation of similarities among differences, and in gradual recognition of identities amongst diversities. Since time immemorial India has believed in and practised the doctrine of 'unity in diversity'. In our discussion today let us remind ourselves of that fundamental truth and proceed on the basis of that incontrovertible doctrine. It is certainly a fact that tendencies of group isolation are noticeable all around us today in various forms.. So-called provincialism is one of the most potent manifestations of the tendency. The question seems to be how far can University education help in removing some of the ugly and injurious features of it. That is certainly a legitimate question. I would suggest, however, that before we attempt to answer that question it is necessary that we redefine provincialism. It should be defined in such a way that one's feelings of loyalty to the province of his birth, his longing for the physical surroundings amongst which he was brought up, his love for the language through which he learnt to express his fundamental needs, his early indentifications with the ideals accepted and respected by the culture of his province,—all these be not looked down with contempt and treated lightly by people of another province. The term provincialism at present unfortunately carries an odious connotation. Any indication on the part of any one of his preference for the native language

of his province, except probably one particular language, is at once dubbed as an instance of narrowness of mind and the person is accused of 'provincialism'. One cannot exist without some trace of narcissism, i.e., self-love in him. In course of time the meaning of the term self expands, i.e., the love flows over and attaches itself to other objects. Besides loving the members of the family and objects in the immediate environment, the child accepts also the ways of doing things, modes of expression and behaviour practised by the family members. It is through this acceptance that he identifies himself with others and expands his self. One mode of expression is the languages. So it is not a crime to love one's native language and if it be considered as such we may only describe it as a natural crime which cannot be rooted out. It is not my intention to discuss in details the language question which is agitating the minds of authorities as also of the people of our country. I would take this opportunity of expressing my feeling that, considered from the psychological point of view, every language should be allowed full freedom to develop itself. For in that way only can we help the growth of one's identification with his group or province. For the development of national unity we must try to find out a root language, *Ursprache* as it is called in German, of all current Indian languages if that be possible. I am not a linguist. I have heard that Sanskrit may lay claim to such a distinction. I have the greatest regard for the Sanskrit language and I have no hesitation in requesting all concerned to see that Sanskrit is taught as it should be in all the Universities of India. It is the medium through which profound thoughts of our ancient sages have been handed down to us. The present is a development of the past, so Sanskrit has undoubtedly played a very influential part in shaping our present ideas and ideals. I only wish that greater attention was bestowed to the contents of the ancient teaching than is done at present.

But as it is with the provinces and India, so it is with India and the rest of the world. No group, no province can live now in isolation. India cannot, as no country can, in the present century live without coming into active contact with other countries. There is bound to be an ever-expansive give and take between different countries, of thoughts and ideas, of marketable commodities, etc. as a result of which there will be a continually increasing process of conditioning and reconditioning of habits and emotions, revaluation of values and reshaping of motives. Scientific inventions have brought the world at such a state that it has become a dire necessity for nations to co-operate with each other in order only to survive and not to be wiped out from the face of the earth. For this co-operation with others, so far as we are concerned, I do not think that we can depend on the Sanskrit language. A world language has to be accepted as the medium. As I have said before I am not a linguist but I do not know whether any language exists which is better able to bring all the countries of the world together than the English language. For the development of the national unity in our country also where there are so many languages and dialects, English would, in my opinion, serve better than any other language. Therefore, I would suggest that in all Universities besides the language of

the province, English should be a compulsory subject. I am inclined to go further and suggest that English be the medium of instruction in all Universities.

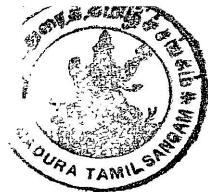
Each University maintaining its own individuality, and keeping its own group consciousness intact, can certainly help to foster the spirit of nationalism and national unity in diverse ways. I would like to make a distinction between the *idea* of national unity, and the *feeling* of national unity. Any thoughtful man will readily accept the *idea* but unless he feels for the country, develops emotions and sentiments for it, his actions will not be influenced in any way. Feelings, emotions and sentiments, however, cannot be taught through books and verbal instructions. They can be aroused by contagion. Therefore it is necessary that the teachers themselves should be highly imbued with the national spirit and should be capable of communicating that feeling to their pupils. Personality cult is now depreciated. Whatever may be the demerits of the cult I am afraid that for the uneducated millions of India the cult has to survive for a very long time. The seers and the sages may not require any idol for the realisation of the ultimate truth but the masses can only be enthused through idols. It is difficult to accept an abstract truth but easier to follow a concrete manifestation of it. The concept of national unity does not dictate to the common man what he should do but he will readily follow Mahatma Gandhi—the personified concept.

There are certainly other ways through which University education can contribute to the growth of national unity. Participation in some common activity helps to establish bonds, perhaps, more quickly than anything else. Regular and frequent meetings of students of different provinces for the purposes of some common activity—games, military drill and such like are likely to develop team spirit and remove unfounded prejudices and suspicions. Carefully considered curriculum of studies and properly selected books for reading may help.

The U.G.C. can probably arrange to establish an exchange system whereby teachers of one University can for some terms teach in some other University. We may have exchange of students also.

I have briefly dwelt on one or two aspects of the problem and have sought to express my views as to how Universities can contribute to the growth of the spirit of nationalism and play their part in bringing about the national unity so devoutly wished for. In concluding I would remark that when students come to the University their minds are already formed and some fixities and rigidities have already been established. Training in nationalism, therefore, should begin at an earlier age when their minds are still plastic and capable of being emotionally moved by new ideas and novel impressions.

REPORTS



REPORT OF THE THREE DISCUSSION GROUPS OF THE SEMINAR ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

HELD ON 16-17 APRIL, 1958

From time immemorial India has been thought of as one country. Geographically, India, separated from the rest of Asia by the Himalayas, has had the physical characteristics that tend to make it one country. During the long history of this country, kingdoms and empires within it have striven with one another for mastery; and many cultural, religious and ethnic influences from outside have poured into the land through the ages. The heritage of India, therefore, is a mixed one with many different streams flowing into her national stream. Through all this long history, there has been at least an emerging sense of oneness in the country, and in contrast to the rest of the world, Indians, who speak different languages and have different racial characteristics, and profess different faiths, have thought of themselves as one people.

Politically, India has not been one nation until the consolidation of the country under the British flowered forth into the independent Indian Union of 1947. This is the first time that the people of India have had an agreed sense of political nationhood and it is, therefore, also the first time when the need to harmonise the divergent elements in the national life into a cohesive unity has become apparent.

India is fortunate in that although there are many divisive factors in her national life there are also many things that link the divergent elements and bind them together. There are strongly marked common features in the view of life and broad cultural traits of the various linguistic and regional groups in the country. Any attempt to weld the people together may in this sense be said to start with an advantage.

Nevertheless it is necessary to take note of elements in contemporary life that tend to weaken our unity and common purpose. Such things as language and different economic and social interests seem to militate against the growing process of integration. Regionalism is raising its head in many quarters. It is of vital importance, therefore, to overcome the factors that are injurious to our national life and strengthen those that bring us together. There is much ignorance that needs to be eradicated and parochialism that must be exposed and eliminated.

The problem of national unity in the modern world is so important that it is necessary to bring to bear upon it consciously all the forces of education and other means of developing public opinion. The Seminar on National Unity was convened to consider, in particular, how national unity could be promoted in India through education and other allied means. The Seminar was divided into three Groups to discuss :

- (1) the relationship between national unity and economic and social factors;
- (2) the part to be played by educational institutions; and
- (3) the use that can be made of literature and other cultural media in promoting national unity and resisting divisive forces.

The Reports of the three Groups are separately given in Appendices I, II, and III to this Report. The main conclusions of these three Groups as accepted by the Seminar as a whole were as follows :

1. It was agreed that social and economic inequality constituted an important factor working against emotional integration as it resulted in emphasising particular loyalties. Basically the remedy for this is rapid economic development of the country accompanied by measures promoting equality of opportunity and leading to a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth of the country.

Equality of opportunity is not possible of achievement unless primary and secondary education become universal and ample opportunities are provided by means of public scholarships for deserving persons in the community to enable them to get the highest form of education.

2. The study of Indian history with particular emphasis on the social and economic life of the people should be undertaken so as to make possible an understanding of the essential unity of the Indian people.

The Universities should undertake a programme of research into the sociological situation in the different regions of the country so that the facts and problems relating to groups and the sectional loyalties and other diverse elements in the life of the nation can be studied in a scientific manner.

Special arrangements should be made for research in social, ethnological and psychological problems which have a living interest today to be presented and discussed dispassionately from an academic point of view.

3. A planned and well-oriented programme of development of all the national languages of India by means of transliteration, translation and setting up of departments of Indian languages in the Universities should be undertaken so as to make possible mutual understanding and appreciation amongst various linguistic groups in the country.

To promote the interest of different language groups in the languages of other groups and to reduce the initial strain caused by the difficulty of different scripts, it is necessary to draw up a programme of transliteration of selected works in each language in the scripts of other languages, the first preference being given to the scripts of neighbouring languages.

An intensive programme of translation from one regional language into all other modern Indian languages should be undertaken so as to bring the literature of one language within the reach of every adult speaking other languages in the country. It is suggested that this programme may aim

at translating the best 100 books in each language into other languages. Such translation will enable the people of India to see the unity of the cultural pattern that exists in the country in the midst of seeming diversities.

In such a programme the University Grants Commission, the National Book Trust, the Sahitya Akademi and other agencies should play an important part

4. In order to facilitate translation from one Indian language into another and also to avoid undue strain being imposed on Indian students by the translation from English to Indian languages as media of instruction, it is necessary that as far as possible technical terminology used should be the same in all the Indian languages and this in turn should be linked as closely as possible with the technical terminology found in use in the English language.

5. Universities should provide special courses to train translators, and students with literary ability from one language area should be enabled to take such courses in a University in another language area. Initiative in this matter can be taken by the University Grants Commission by the creation of fellowships and scholarships for the purpose.

6. Proper care should be taken in the selection of textbooks in different States so as to promote a sense of national unity and discourage divisive tendencies. For this purpose a National Advisory Board consisting of eminent scholars and university teachers from different States may be set up. The Board may advise on the writing of inter-provincial textbooks and review textbooks prescribed in different States and make recommendations for revision and improvement wherever necessary.

7. Systematic efforts should be made to simplify the grammar of various Indian languages so that the learning of a new language by speakers of any other Indian language may become easier.

Similarly the various scripts in which the Indian languages are written should also be simplified so that the scripts which are already close together could be reduced to a common script. This might lead in the foreseeable future to the total number of scripts being reduced to 4 or 5.

8. Source material, and particularly literature which is valuable in interpreting the Indian way of life, in all its variety in all parts of the country should be made available to the people. Arrangements should be made for producing bilingual, trilingual and even multi-lingual dictionaries in a common script under planned combinations so that the study of the language and literature of the neighbouring States is made easy for the people of any one State. The production of such dictionaries can be undertaken on an all-India basis by the Universities.

9. Every University should provide full courses of study in at least one Indian language other than the regional language. In addition, arrange-

ments should be made, as far as possible, for the teaching of several modern Indian languages in each Indian University.

10. Universities should organise extension lectures, evening courses, social service programmes, etc., to bridge the gap between the Universities and the masses. The University Grants Commission and the State Governments should make adequate financial assistance towards these projects.

11. General education courses should be provided in the Universities and colleges with particular emphasis on scientific, humanistic, artistic and social attitudes conducive to the development of a sense of national unity. In particular, it is suggested that a series of lectures on the evolution of the Indian Nation may be provided at the University stage.

Great days and important occasions in the national life of India should be celebrated in educational institutions. Such, celebrations may begin with the community singing of the National Anthem or a suitable invocation.

12. Mass communication media like the cinema, the radio, the theatre, etc., should be used cautiously for the development of a feeling of unity among the people. Writers should be enabled to travel widely in the country and to meet in inter-regional groups so that they may be able to produce literature of an all-India character.

13. Communalism, casteism and linguism should be discouraged in the community life of Universities and colleges. The system of having hostels, messes, etc., on communal and caste bases should be discontinued. The exchange of teachers and the institution of visiting professorships and lectureships in different linguistic areas and the provision of facilities for the free movement of students from one University to another and the organisation of study tours, research travel and educational excursions should be encouraged in all Universities. Summer schools, preferably on inter-University basis, should be encouraged. The formation of associations which cut across the barriers of language, religion and caste, such as youth hostels, should be encouraged.

14. University men and women, teachers and students, should be encouraged to play an important part in promoting rationality, objectivity and a scientific attitude and in fighting obscurantism, superstition and intolerance. This will help to stimulate a strong public opinion in favour of a high code of public conduct, democratic life and national unity.

*The report of each group appears separately.

REPORT OF GROUP I

Chairman—Prof. D. R. GADGIL

The Group is of the view that the Universities and educational institutions have a positive role to play in promoting a sense of national unity in the country, and in fighting against divisive forces. They must help to foster a feeling of oneness between the different regions and groups and create an awareness of community of values in the country. The Universities and educational institutions should also strive to discourage the tendencies towards purism and revivalism which seek to detract from the richness and compositeness of cultural traditions prevailing in the different regions of India.

In particular, the group would make the following recommendations :

1. Study of Regional Similarities and Differences :

The Group recommends that objective scientific studies of group life and group relations should be conducted in different parts of India with a view to understanding the nature of similarities and differences in the country among various groups in the country, regional, linguistic, religious, etc. These studies should be based on field work and should preferably be conducted by inter-disciplinary teams. These studies should be focused on social structure, world view and ethos, and value-attitude systems.

2. Comparative Study of Different Ways of Life and Thought in India :

With a view to establishing common elements in the regional cultures of India the Group feels that it is important to arrange for courses in comparative studies of different ways of life and thought in the country. These studies should be focused on religion, philosophy, ethics and values of life.

3. Developing a Comprehensive Language Programme :

The Group recommends that a language programme comprising the following items should be undertaken :

(a) Transliteration Programme :

The Group recommends that selected books from Indian languages should be published in the scripts of all the 14 State languages of India. Alongside of this, dictionaries of regional languages

should be prepared in the different State languages of India. Universities should co-operate with one another in the implementation of this programme.

(b) Translation Programme :

The Group feels that at some stage in the school education carefully selected pieces from literature in all the 14 languages in translation should be included in the school curriculum. With a view to making this possible a carefully planned translation programme should be undertaken.

(c) Language Teaching Programme :

The Group recommends that Indian Universities should set up Departments of Indian languages. Provision should be made in these Departments for the teaching of 3 to 4 Indian languages in addition to the regional language of the State. Besides teaching of the various languages, it should be the responsibility of these Departments to undertake the work of preparing standard histories of literature in different Indian languages. The courses in these departments should include a short course in the history and culture of the people.

4. Policy in Regard to the Scientific and Technical Terms :

The Group feels that scientific and technical terms, as far as possible, should be common in all Indian languages. English words may be retained where possible. As a general policy international terminology may be used in all the regional languages.

5. Methods of Teaching in Indian Languages :

The Group recommends that an organised effort should be made to explore ways and means for making it easier for people to learn Indian languages other than their own. Special efforts should be made to simplify the grammar and scripts of the various languages so that others not born into those languages should be able to learn them with comparative ease. In particular, an attempt should be made at the academic level of exploring the possibilities of producing a simplified script for each group of Indian languages the scripts of which have a great deal in common, e.g., Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Kannada and Telugu.

6. Inclusion of a Language Other than Regional Language in Post-Graduate Language Courses :

The Group recommends that in modern Indian language courses at the post-graduate stage a second regional language should be included as a minor subject.

7. Study of the Growth of the Indian Nation :

The Group feels that it would be useful to have a series of lectures on the evolution of the Indian Nation in the general education courses at the Universities. These lectures should cover the last 90 to 100 years of social, political and cultural development in the country.

8. Celebrations of Great Days and Important Occasions :

The Group feels that great days and important occasions should be celebrated in the schools, when the day should begin with a common prayer. There should be on each day community singing of the National Anthem.

9. Education for Developing an Integrated Personality :

The Group welcomes the introduction of general education courses, including the promotion of cultural and other corporate activities in the Universities. It is of the view that such courses and activities will materially contribute to the development of the total personality of the students, promote among them scientific, humanistic, artistic and proper social attitudes, and thus contribute to the growth of the feeling of national unity.

10. Bridging the Gulf between the Universities and the Masses :

The Universities should explore ways and means for bridging the gulf between the Universities and masses of people in towns and villages. Among the ways in which this can be done are :

- (a) Organisation of extension programmes of lecture series in different centres in towns and in villages;
- (b) Organisation of evening courses and summer schools for the benefit of the common people;
- (c) Organisation of social services programmes among the common people.

The Universities should give special thought to this problem of bridging the gulf between the University classes and the rural and urban masses and formulate specific programmes to deal with the same. The Group feels that this aspect of the work of Universities deserves the financial support of the University Grants Commission and the State Governments.

11. Attitude to Casteism :

In the Universities and other educational institutions every effort should be made to discourage the continuance of caste feeling and sentiments. The teachers and the authorities of the institutions should

make determined efforts to combat casteism in every form. In the case of organisations such as hostels, messes and clubs, caste basis should be discouraged except in the case of scheduled tribes and backward classes. Prizes and scholarships on a caste basis should be discontinued. Where hostels for particular castes exist, effort should be made to reserve a certain proportion of seats for students of other communities. In the admission and application forms in the educational institutions as well as in Government services, persons should not be required to state their religion or caste unless they belong to scheduled tribes or backward classes for whom certain concessions are prescribed

12. Exchange of Teachers and Students :

The Group recommends the institution of short-term visiting Professorships and lecturerships in various Universities. In such cases particular attention may be given by the Universities to the question of inviting both senior and younger teachers belonging to Universities in other regions or linguistic States. The Group recommends to the U.G.C. and the State Governments to extend financial support to scheme which may be submitted by the Universities in this connection. The Universities should be encouraged to facilitate the free in flow of students from other regions at various stages of University education.

The Universities should explore the possibility of facilitating the movement of students from one University to another in the course of their work for research degrees.

Travel on the part of University students from one region to another should be encouraged as a part of their study and research at the post-graduate level and financial support should be given to study tours, research travels and educational excursions.

13. Summer Schools :

The Group recommends to Universities to explore the possibility of running summer schools either singly or in collaboration with other Universities. At such summer schools distinguished scholars from other Universities and regions should be invited. These summer schools may be on a subject-wise basis or on an inter-disciplinary basis. Students from other regions may be given facilities to attend such summer schools. The Group requests the U.G.C. and the State Governments to subsidise the organisation of such schools.

14. School Camps and interchanges :

The Group favours the organisation of camps for school students belonging to different regions. The Youth Hostel Organisation, Pen Friend Movement, establishment of fraternal relationships between schools and colleges of one region with the schools and colleges of

other regions and such other activities as would promote closer relationship and better understanding between the teachers and students of the different regions.

15. National Advisory Board for School Textbooks :

Considering the very great importance of textbooks in determining the attitude of our people, the Group is strongly of the view that a proper system of checks should be devised to ensure that the textbooks prescribed for schools in the different States promote a sense of national unity and discourage divisive tendencies. For this purpose the Group recommends the setting up under the auspices of the Ministry of Education a National Advisory Board for textbooks consisting of eminent scholars and University teachers from the different States to periodically review the textbooks prescribed in different States and to make recommendations to the State Governments.

16. The Role of University Men in Educational Affairs :

The Group is of the opinion that the University teachers and graduates must play an important part in national life in promoting rationality, objectivity and scientific attitude, fight obscurantism, superstition, intolerance; and in general strive to bring about strong public opinion in favour of a high code of public conduct, democratic functioning and national unity. For this purpose it favours the establishment of an all-India Federation of University Teachers' Association, organisations of intellectuals and of the *alumni* of Universities and colleges and it appeals to the colleges and the Universities to offer such organisations every facility to perform these important national tasks

REPORT OF GROUP II

Chairman—Dr. V. K. R. V. RAO

The Group did not feel itself concerned with purely historical aspect of the problem such as whether India was at any time a nation or not. It was generally agreed that for a variety of reasons centripetal tendencies have been at work in the country and that it was vital for our future progress that these be held in check. It was, at the same time, necessary to remember that it was not national uniformity of culture, language or outlook that was being aimed at. Diversity of religions, languages, customs, rituals, etc., were traditional and no elements in these which did not conflict with fundamental national unity need be objected to.

In a number of fields central and uniform administration was needed. In particular, a country attempting planning of economic development at a rapid pace ought to have a strong centre vested with sufficient powers to plan for development and to implement the plan appropriately. Education and culture were, however, matters in which a great deal of diversity in development could be tolerated and except for assuring that progress was at a uniform pace and that standards were kept at a certain minimum, detailed central check on such matters may be unnecessary. The Group analysed the existing situation as against the background of the general assumptions indicated above. It was realised through the description of the situation in various regions given by members of the Group that a great deal of diversity existed and that the types of problems differed from region to region in a significant manner.

A brief summary of what was reported to the Group follows. At the regional level inter-regional hostility and conflict are observed only in certain areas, arising out of the disputes in relation to borders or other problems of re-organisation of states. In the South, however, particularly in Madras State, the problem has taken a special and serious turn. The conflict here appears to be interpreted as between the north and the south and in the Tamil country slogans emphasising the economic neglect of the south seem to have played a very large part in recent elections. There is no indication that this particular conflict is in any way being resolved or becoming milder. Another point that was stressed in relation to the situation in all regions was the extremely narrow interpretation placed on Indian history and Indian culture in textbooks current in schools in almost all regions. In particular, it was reported that in the north in the Hindi speaking areas there was an almost complete neglect of the part played in the past and being played at present by the south. It was also noticed that contributions of minority groups to national life were apt to be neglected.

With the region the central problem was reported to be that of the caste. It is true that in recent decades what might be called caste ritual may have become less emphasised but caste ideology, in the sense of using caste as the basis of political or economic preferment, seem to have become more intensified. This was most noticed in connection with putting up candidates at elections and the results of elections. Evidently no political party in its programme of preparation for elections appears to be in a position to neglect the caste factor.

Outside caste-Hindu society the two problems which require most attention are the neglect of the scheduled castes and of the aborigines. The aborigine problem has received little real attention. This is made clear by the non-provision of education even in the lowest primary grades to the aborigines through their own language. It appears difficult to visualise integration of these peoples in Indian society if a child has to begin by giving up his mother-tongue at even the earliest stage of education. In relation to the scheduled castes it was pointed out that the extent of educational advance among them was yet very small and that the problem of particular castes who were associated with traditional "degrading" occupations had not been at all attended to. As a result of this general neglect, it was reported that a feeling of resentment and lack of emotional integration was specially noticeable among the few in these castes who had received education. On the economic side, it was emphasised that the prevailing mood among the young was one of frustration. This appeared to arise from a number of causes. There was a feeling that nothing concrete had been done about betterment of standards of living or about progress towards a socialistic society. Belief in the fairness of Government agencies and of politicians had been seriously undermined by reports, or more concrete evidence, of nepotism and of inequality in rewards or pays in services, general employment opportunities, etc., to young persons with similar qualifications but with dissimilar pulls or influence. In general, unemployment and the strained economic situation were responsible for discontent among the educated classes. This was particularly noticeable among those who had entered the field of education in recent years and who felt that the rewards that had been obtained by those in the field earlier were no longer available. The general economic situation had a tendency to emphasise caste ideology and reinforce patronage claims made on those who held positions of influence from among what are called the backward classes. The difficult economic situation also contributed to inter-regional strains where, for example, it was believed that some regions in plans of economic development had received a better deal than others or where non-regional people through their dominance in certain fields of economic activity were thought of as being exploiters.

As a result of the above analysis the Group agreed that, as at present, social and economic inequalities played a very large part in emphasising particular loyalties of all kinds. Basically the remedy was, of course, very rapid economic development of the country so that no large numbers of

unemployed, educated or uneducated, will remain. Even more important, perhaps, than a programme of rapid economic development or a necessary preliminary to it was very rapid advance in primary and secondary education. It was emphasised that unless this was spread to all areas and was available to all classes it was not possible to make any progress towards the basic requirement of equality of opportunity. More specially what was necessary was to show that all languages and all sub-cultures received fair and equal treatment. The recognition of all the fourteen languages mentioned in the Constitution as being of equal status and the regional languages within the state being recognised as agencies of education and administration at all levels was extremely important in this context. More particularly in reference to activities of the University Grants Commission there was need for planned, rapid and commonly oriented programme of development of all the Indian languages and for a study of the problems met in course of extension of the use of these languages in education and administration. In particular, when the use of Indian languages in University and post-graduate and research works spread it was vital to assure (i) that the ability of University students to make full use of knowledge in European languages, particularly English, should remain unimpaired; and (ii) that the development of the technical terminology in Indian languages and the manner of writing proceeds on lines which will make the transition from one language to another as easy as possible. Another point stressed was the need for a programme of research in the sociological situation in the varying regions both for a proper reportage of facts and intelligent analysis of problems currently faced where necessary. In view of the diversity of the Indian situation this was particularly important as no generalised solutions were available. Encouragement by Universities of a study of Indian history as such with emphasis on the social economic life of the peoples and of Indian culture interpreted in the broadest way were very important. It was realised that the need was not only to influence in the appropriate way the outlook of students but also if this was to be successful, to change to the greatest extent possible the outlook of the existing generation of teachers themselves.

The more general approaches which were discussed and which might in part be included in the discussions of another Group also were a closer contact of teacher-pupils, and increase in the teacher-pupil ratio, a wider exchange of professors and students among the various universities, all these activities being helped by grants. To make this easy, provision should be made of hostels and other facilities where students from many regions could come together; incidentally the entire prohibition of caste and communal hostels was emphasised. The holding of summer and other camps and centres on an inter-university basis was also recommended. It would be helpful if, for a further consideration of the problem materials on the conditions of living, attitudes and needs and requirements of student bodies in various centres were collected at an early date.

REPORT OF GROUP III

Chairman : **SHRI NITYANANDA KANUNGO**

I. A DIAGNOSIS OF THE PROBLEMS : It was agreed that the problem of national unity and emotional integration in India was complicated by the presence of the following factors in our national life :

- (1) The lack of a close and full understanding in one province, of the folk-ways and customs of the people in other provinces and also of their cultural and artistic achievements.
- (2) The absence of an active and sympathetic understanding between community and community and among men professing different faiths.
- (3) The diversity of languages which made it difficult for people in one province to become emotionally integrated with those in another.
- (4) The widespread poverty and illiteracy in the country which made nearly 70% of the people apathetic to all national achievements.
- (5) The absence of a clearly evolved modern Indian way of life which could harmonise regional, linguistic and communal variations.
- (6) The comparative lack of emphasis, in our primary and secondary curricula, on ideas, ways of living and movements of national importance, presenting them in clear perspective and prominence *vis-a-vis* regional ideas and movements.

II. CREATIVE LITERATURE : Significant creative literature had been produced in every modern Indian language for over a century. To promote a rich and full inter-provincial understanding, the efforts of bodies like the Sahitya Akademi, the National Book Trust and the Publications Divisions of the Government of India had to be speeded. For instance, the best hundred books in one regional language could be translated into all the other modern Indian languages so as to bring them into the purview of every literate adult in the country and enable him to see the unity of the cultural pattern that persisted in the midst of all regional variations. Anthologies of poems, collections of short stories, essays and one-act plays, novels, dramas, biographies and autobiographies, featuring different periods of literary history can thus be presented in translation and they will be the cultural heritage of India as a whole and not merely of one province. Detailed schemes should be worked out by relevant bodies and the inter-provincial flow of creative literature maintained on the lines mentioned above.

Secondly, it is obvious that creative literature cannot be produced to order. But the institutions of State prizes for plays, novels, etc., on particular topics (the Harijan problem, for example) has yielded good results. This can be pursued on a wider scale. It is also possible to sift creative literatures as it gets written, highlight novels of art that are specially conducive to the promotion of national unity and get them translated and also recommend them for purchase in libraries and educational institutions.

III. THE LITERATURE OF KNOWLEDGE AND REFERENCE BOOKS :

Basic literature and readily available source material is needed for interpreting the Indian way of life to the people in all the provinces. A social history of the Indian people, well documented and illustrated, is a great and immediate need. Similar books on the geography of India, on her social institutions, her many-sided philosophical and religious heritage and her fine arts, sports, shrines and festivals are also necessary. Once these are prepared, inexpensive and simplified editions of these books can be brought out for the use of school children. Arrangements should also be made for producing bilingual, trilingual and even multi-lingual dictionaries in a common script under planned combinations, so that it would be easy for the people in one province to study the language prevalent in a sister province. The production of such dictionaries can be undertaken on an all-India basis by the Institute of Indology in cooperation with the Sahitya Akademi. It is also desirable to plan something like an Every Indian's Library on topics like the following :

- (1) Collections of folk tales from all the regions in India, one collection being devoted to each region.
- (2) The biographies of the great heroes from each region in India.
- (3) Simple and non-controversial accounts of all religions, especially those current in India.
- (4) Biographies of the founders of various religions and religious movements in India, bringing out their essential human greatness through a lucid narration of significant episodes from their lives.
- (5) The fundamental basis of ethical and higher living common to all religions can be presented in a book so as to bring into relief their essential unity and identity of aim and purpose.
- (6) A series of books on the geography of the different regions in India.
- (7) Accounts of the heritage of each region in all the fine arts like architecture, sculpture, painting, music, literature, dance and drama.
- (8) Lucid accounts of the economic and social life in each region and of the progress achieved in this direction since Independence.
- (9) A series of books on the scientific and industrial developments in India, past as well as present, in the context of world develop-

ments. A book should be devoted to each industry or science and the developments in each region under that head may be covered in the book.

- (10) Books promoting a spirit of free and critical inquiry as applied to the mass of superstitions and omens and social taboos from which the Indian people are slowly emerging. Care should be taken to see that a rational examination of such beliefs as *maremma* or cholera turned into a goddess does not lead to a belittling of the higher or spiritual life which would be valid, though not amenable to reason.
- (11) A series of books on the achievements of modern civilisation and science and the manner in which these can be assimilated into the Indian way of life and enriched by contributions of our own.
- (12) Children's books on all the subjects mentioned above, reviewing in the pages of one book, the Indian heritage in each walk of life — the flowers, the birds and the animals of India; shrines, beauty spots, industries, fine arts, etc.

These books may be written in English or in a regional language to begin with and then made available in all the other languages through translation. They should be so planned as to avoid any emphasis on historical happenings and episodes which may glorify a region or community at the expense of another. This means shutting out a good part of ancient and medieval and even recent history from these publications. But it is better to leave out such developments, to be dealt with by specialists and research scholars.

Again, these books have to be planned so as to bring out the essential national unity against the rich background of regional variations. Thirdly, modern Indian culture is a synthesis grounded in the lofty spiritual heritage symbolised by the religious philosophies current in India and in the adaptation and cultivation of social philosophies and programmes of which she has been made aware by the West. But it is a new and unique synthesis and it is in this light that the developments under each one of the heads mentioned above had to be reviewed and presented.

IV. TEXTBOOKS : Some suggestions can also be made regarding the preparation of text-books which are used in schools. While it is not desirable to over-simplify the social situation by presenting unreal and idealised pictures of social cohesiveness and co-operation, care has to be taken to see that the situations on which lessons are based and the nomenclature and framework used in them do not aggravate social differences. Again lessons can be framed on episodes from ancient epics and scriptures of different faiths which tend to condemn all casteism and separatism and emphasise social unity and sense of brotherhood. Thirdly, it would be essential to include in the text-books written in one regional language translations of poems, essays and stories by writers who have contributed to the develop-

ment of some of the other regional languages in the country. This would ensure familiarity on the part of the young with the work of writers from other regions and go a long way towards promoting inter-provincial understanding. Fourthly, some of the lessons can also be based on the historic cities, architectural glories, scenic beauties and the biographies of great men connected with regions other than the one in the language of which the text-books are written.

V. CREATING CONDITIONS WHICH ARE CONDUCTIVE TO THE INTERLINGUAL FLOW OF INDIAN LITERATURE : It is obvious that, for the continuous flow of interlingual Indian literature, a large body of competent translators in the various language combinations is necessary. The following suggestions can be considered in this connection :

- (1) For training translators, special course will have to be provided in Universities in regional languages for students from other regions who have shown some literary promise. A detailed scheme will have to be worked out in this regard by University authorities. The initiative in this respect can come from the U.G.C. fellowships and scholarships in various universities can be instituted for the purpose, so that graduates can attain proficiency in these languages while continuing their post-graduate studies. Fellows and professors can also be exchanged among universities for this purpose.
- (2) This purpose can also be served by providing in the course for language students both at the degree and post-graduate levels, facilities for studying a regional language other than their own. The syllabuses in some universities may have already provided for such a study. But it should be possible for each university to have chairs for two or three other Indian languages, both the northern and southern languages being given due representation. Scholarships should be offered to encourage such studies.

VI. RESEARCH WORK: The research work done in our universities is no doubt becoming more and more realistic in many departments of knowledge, specially economics and sociology. Social, ethnological, psychological and other problems which have a living interest today have to be taken up and presented dispassionately from an academic point of view—a study of regional stereotypes, for instance. A study of the tribes existing in different parts of the country can also be undertaken from the same point of view and a programme chalked out for bringing them in line with modern developments in India.

VII. OTHER CULTURAL MEDIA :

- (1) The cinema can be used for presenting documentary films on any or all of the topics mentioned above.
- (2) The A.I.R. can also consider putting up programmes which will serve the purpose of the literature indicated above in all the languages.

- (3) The theatre can also be used for this purpose. Outstanding social and historical plays, which promote a sense of national unity, can be translated into all the Indian languages and staged at various cultural centres.
- (4) Teams of recognised writers can also be invited to tour round the country to see the industrial centres and places of historic interest and scenic beauty. This will strengthen the Indian-ness of the writers' outlook and promote writing of a representative kind.
- (5) Inviting men of letters from different States to universities to lecture on their own regional literature in Hindi or in English or in the language of the University area.
- (6) Guided educational tours should be organised annually for students and teachers.
- (7) Inter-regional conferences of writers should be encouraged.
- (8) Programmes of lectures and other cultural activities relating to the problem of national unity can also be arranged in universities and colleges.

Research in the comparative philology of Indian languages and in interlingual impacts would also be helpful.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION TO SUGGEST CONCRETE STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUGGESTIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

1. The Committee was of the view that social and economic inequalities constituted a grave danger to the development of emotional integration as they encouraged parochialism and group loyalties. Rapid economic development of all parts of the country was necessary to bring about a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth. It was suggested that a special body may be set up by the Planning Commission to make a study of regional disparities and the means of reducing them.

These measures had to be accompanied by remedies for promoting equality of opportunity. Special help should be given to educationally backward states. It was also necessary to institute a large number of public scholarships for deserving persons in the country so that mere financial difficulties may not stand in the way of their obtaining the highest form of education for which they have potentiality.

In this connection the Committee expressed anxiety at the slowness with which Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution was being implemented. In the interest of a stable democracy it was necessary to make primary education free and compulsory throughout the country with the utmost speed.

2. The Committee was of the opinion that the proper study of Indian history was of great importance in fostering the idea of national unity. Both learned and popular books on the political, social and cultural history of India required to be written. This might be done with the assistance of the Inter-University Board and the National Book Trust.

3. The Committee viewed with great concern the widespread tendency for almost every interest to become 'tribal' in character, resulting in group tensions. There was considerable scope for research into the various factors contributing to the emergence of such situations. Research work of this kind may include intensive studies of local sociological problems as well as extensive surveys of similar problems based on the method of sampling.

The Chairman informed the Committee that assistance was already being given to Universities by the University Grants Commission for research in social tensions. It was agreed that this should be continued and the possibility of co-operating in this regard with the UNESCO Social Research Centre at Calcutta explored.

In this connection the Committee recognised the utmost importance of ensuring the autonomy of Universities so that researches could be

conducted by them into social problems in an atmosphere free from fear and partisanship. It was noted that there was an increasing tendency in recent times for Universities to come under the influence of politicians. This often took the form of political pressure being exerted on Governors as Chancellors of Universities.

The University Grants Commission desired that, whatever the legal aspect of the functions of the Governor as Chancellor may be, it is desirable to establish at least a convention by which the Chancellor discharges his academic responsibilities independently and without being hammered by political pressures.

With a view to encouraging scientific studies of social problems the Committee further recommended that existing Departments of Sociology in Universities should be strengthened and assistance given for the establishment of new Departments of sociology in those Universities where they did not exist.

4. The best books of different languages should be made available to the people of other language groups. This was mainly a matter for the National Book Trust of India to interest itself in. It was noted that the National Book Trust had already under consideration a scheme to translate 10 best books in each language into the other languages. The Committee recommended that these books may represent different cross-sections of literature such as poetry, short stories, essays, novels, religious and philosophical writings, etc.

If Universities send to the University Grants Commission any specific proposals for financial assistance for translation of suitable works from one language to another, these may be sympathetically considered by the Commission.

5. It was necessary to find out how well the task of coining of technical terminology in different languages had been accomplished so far. Universities might appoint a Committee of experts to examine this and suggest ways of improvement of the terminology and the continuation of the work. The University Grants Commission was of the view that common words including well known international terms should, as far as possible, be retained as translation of every term would be needless expenditure of energy.

The Committee thought that anything in the nature of a proper noun in scientific literature should be preserved. Translation was necessary only in respect of other terms not entirely divorced from ordinary language which, with derivatives, should be based on Sanskrit.

6. In regard to the suggestion that a National Advisory Board consisting of eminent scholars and University teachers from different States be set up to advise on the writing of inter-provincial textbooks and review textbooks prescribed in different States and make recommendations for

revision and improvement wherever necessary, it was noted that the Ministry of Education had already instituted a Central Bureau of Text Book Research. This suggestion may, therefore, be brought to the attention of the Bureau for necessary action.

7. It was noted that the grammar of some Indian languages is simpler than that of others. With a view to making the study of languages easier, it was most desirable to simplify the grammar of these 'difficult' languages.

It was necessary to simplify the scripts of some of the languages. For example, the present Devnagri script appears to be too complicated for maximum efficiency in typing and printing to be achieved. This question of simplifying scripts should be examined by experts in the field. It was desirable to reduce scripts of the various languages to three or four common scripts. Since the scripts in the different languages already possessed affinities with one another, it may be possible to evolve common scripts such as a script for the Indo-Aryan group of languages, a script for Telugu and Kannada and another for Malayalam and Tamil.

Besides this there was much to be gained by adopting the Roman script for all languages in addition to the different scripts. As in Japan every child should be taught his language in the Roman script as well as in the regional script, the idea being that while people may retain their scripts, they must be capable of reading in a common script. This would also facilitate the study of English and other European languages.

8. It was noted that at present dictionaries were not generally available in more than two languages and they usually related to English and one of the regional languages. It is, therefore, necessary to undertake the production of bilingual, trilingual and multi-lingual dictionaries for the use of ordinary readers. These dictionaries may not include those words which are common to the languages to which the dictionary relates. Words which are recognisedly common may be left out.

9. It was noted that many Universities provide courses of study in Indian languages other than the regional languages. Assistance may be given by the University Grants Commission for the proper development of teaching of modern Indian languages in the Universities.

10. The Committee was informed that many Universities have already undertaken programmes of extension lectures, evening courses, social service for the benefit of the communities living around them and to bridge the gap between the Universities and the common people and that University Grants Commission was already giving financial assistance for this purpose.

11. General education courses were being introduced in several Universities and colleges. The question of improving these courses with a view to developing scientific, humanistic, artistic and social attitudes conducive

to the development of a sense of national unity may be considered by the University Grants Commission and Universities.

12. It was desirable to celebrate great days and important occasions in the national life of India in Universities and colleges, such as the Republic Day, the Independence Day and Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday. In choosing such days for celebration it had to be borne in mind that the essential academic work of these Institutions did not suffer.

13. The Committee recognised the importance of writers travelling widely in the country to meet inter-regional groups so that they may be able to produce literature of an all-India character. Action in this regard may be taken by the Government of India and such organisations as the Sahitya Akademi and All India Radio. It was noted that some steps have already been taken by the All India Radio to bring writers together at *Kavi Sammelans*, etc.

14. The Committee stressed the need to have hostels in Universities and colleges on an entirely non-community basis. If students belonging to different regions, communities and castes resided together, many of the prejudices now preventing free communication between them could be overcome. The Committee would recommend to the University Grants Commission that when grants or loans are given for the construction of hostels a condition to the effect that the hostels would be open to all groups and communities should be laid down.

While appreciating the special provision now being made for scheduled castes, backward tribes, etc., the University Grants Commission was of the view that if these provisions are continued too long, they may actually tend to perpetuate the differences instead of removing them. It was, therefore, desirable that gradual steps should be taken by which the constitutional provision for backward tribes, etc., would become unnecessary and could be removed.

It was noted that there were several instances of colleges and other educational institutions granting admission to students on a communal or caste or parochial basis. The Commission should investigate such cases and make it clear that assistance would be given to them by the Commission only if these restriction were removed.

It was a matter of regret that quite often linguistic or group considerations of one kind or another influenced the appointment of teachers in Universities and Colleges. Since such inbreeding was, for a variety of reasons, a grave danger to the proper emotional integration of the country, the University Grants Commission should urgently explore the possibilities of preventing its continuance.

Prizes, scholarships, medals, etc., being awarded on a parochial, communal or caste basis should be discouraged. While it may be difficult

to prevent the operation of such endowments, Universities and colleges should be persuaded not to accept the institution of awards of this kind in future.

15. The adoption of the regional languages as the medium of instruction was a grave threat to the free migration of students and teachers from one region to another. The Committee was of the view that under these circumstances, English should continue to be the medium of instruction along with the regional language or Hindi. It was desirable, in this connection, to encourage movement of students from one part of the country to another by giving financial help in the form of scholarships, etc., for the best students seeking admission in Universities other than those in their areas.

The University Grants Commission desired to reiterate their view, formed after considering the recommendation of the Kunzru Committee on the medium of instruction in Universities that the change of the medium from English into an Indian language should be not hurried.

Every University and college should ensure that an appreciable proportion of teachers are appointed from other parts of the country. It may be necessary to facilitate this by giving financial assistance to the teachers so appointed for meeting travel or other incidental expenses.

The institution of Visiting Professorships in the Universities was also conducive to achieving this aim.

16. The Committee agreed that teachers and students should be encouraged to play an important part in promoting rationality, objectivity and a scientific attitude and in fighting obscurantism, superstition and intolerance. It was, however, not clear how this could be done since the development of a scientific attitude and truthfulness was often vitiated by communal and political considerations. While the problem of raising the standard of conduct of University men and women was an urgent one, the Committee was not hopeful of any substantial achievement in this direction without reforms being also effected in the social and political spheres of national life.

APPENDIX

Representatives of the universities who attended the Seminar on National Integration :

1. Shri S. Mathai,
Secretary,
University Grants Commission,
New Delhi.
2. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao,
Vice-Chancellor,
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Delhi.
3. Dr. Kali Prasad,
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5. Dr. K. M. George,
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Theatre Communications
Buildings,
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6. Dr. P. N. Prabhu,
Tata Institute of Social
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Bombay.
7. Dr. B. N. Ganguli,
Director,
Delhi School of Economics,
Delhi.
8. Shri Nityanand Kanungo,
Minister for Commerce and
Industry,
Government of India,
New Delhi.
9. Shri Inam Rahman,
Secretary,
Indian Council of Cultural
Relations,
Pataudi House,
New Delhi.
10. Prof. T. A. Purushotham,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Sri Venkateswara University,
Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh).
11. Dr. S. Jalota,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi.
12. Dr. Radhanath Rath,
Head of the Deptt. of
Psychology,
Ravenshaw College,
Cuttack.
13. Shri K. Mittal,
Pro-Vice-Chancellor,
Roorkee University,
Roorkee.
14. Dr. P. T. Raja,
Deptt. of Philosophy &
Psychology,
Jaswant College,
Jodhpur.
15. Prof. D. R. Gadgil,
Deptt. of Economics,
Gokhale Institute of Politics &
Economics,
Poona.
16. Shri Narbadeshwar Prasad,
Deptt. of Sociology,
Patna University,
Patna.

17. Dr. D. B. Sesh,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Hislop College,
Nagpur.
18. Shri S. P. Adinarayana,
Deptt. of Philosophy,
Annamalai University,
Annamalai Nagar P.O.,
South India.
19. Prof. G. D. Boaz,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Madras University,
Madras.
20. Prof. N. P. Pillai,
Deptt. of Education,
Kerala University,
Trivandrum.
21. Dr. E. I. George,
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Kerala University,
Trivandrum.
22. Principal V. K. Gokak,
Karnatak University,
Dharwar.
23. Dr. E. A. Pires,
Central Institute of Education,
Delhi University,
Delhi.
24. Dr. S. C. Mitra,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Calcutta University,
Calcutta.
25. Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay,
Deptt. of Anthropology,
Calcutta University,
Calcutta.
26. Shri L. N. Welinger,
Podar College of Commerce &
Economics, Matunga,
Bombay.
27. Dr. S. B. Adval,
Head of the Dept. of Education,
Allahabad University,
Allahabad.
28. Prof. S. Nurul Hasan,
Deptt. of History,
Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh.
29. Dr. R. N. Saxena,
Director,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Agra University,
Agra.
30. Prof. T. G. Deokule,
Deptt. of Sociology,
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via-Anand.
31. Prof. S. C. Dube,
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Printed at ANANDA PRESS, Ramnagar, New Delhi-1.

