Chapter III
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology followed for this study principally relies on qualitative strategies in Social Sciences. This chapter lists out both the physical and conceptual tasks that were undertaken as part of the project. Though the performance of physical tasks informs the conceptual engagement and vice versa, the need to point out a distinction profits academic discussion and exercise. The physical tasks included archival work in a newspaper office, selecting items for editorial analysis, classifying the editorials into thematic categories, preparing notes of the editorials and partially reconstructing and interpreting the editorials from the cues within and outside the material. Also, the figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation office have been used to support some arguments as to why a particular newspaper has been chosen.

Argument

Though the idea of ‘region’ has a spatial boundedness associated with it in the form of the geo-demography of ‘Karnataka’, for DH its boundaries constantly shift in relation to the nation, other regions and sub-regions. However, the only terrain on which the entire people of the region become visible or imagined happens to be the plastic category called ‘development’. As mentioned earlier, this is not to say that development lacks political frontiers. But its edges are seemingly less pointed than other cultural and historical specificities like language or ethnicity. This process of imagining the people involves an emptying out of particularities like language, ethnicity and other perceived primordial characteristics. For DH, it is mostly in the making of roads, dams or industries that the people of the ‘region’ as a ‘community’ are manifest. The editorials have spatialized the sub-regions as ports for Mangalore, Malpe and Karwar, plantations of Malnad, ores and a steel plant in Hospet, channelising Thungabhadra, Ghataprabha and Malaprabha for power and irrigation facilities in order to reduce the destitution of the parched and scarcity prone Northern Karnataka districts of Bijapur, Gulbarga and Raichur, an airport for Hubli and a Central University for
Bangalore. The 'people of the region' are created and recreated in these entrepreneurial visions of the region. These are instances of harmonizing or ironing out differences and speaking of and for the people of the region as a whole.

Argument Amplified

Until recently, it was believed that 'region' is a given, natural entity that corresponds to objective characteristics like race, ethnicity, religion, state, language or territory that people possess in common. This study assumes that 'region' is a constructed entity that bears no direct causal relationship with objective characteristics like ethnicity, language or religion. This assumption takes its lead from Benedict Anderson's classic work The Imagined Communities (1983). It was this persuasive logic that informed Anderson's oft repeated formulation that "the nation is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". ¹

By miniaturizing this formulation, it is possible to argue that 'regions', which are sub-national spaces are also imagined. Initially, in the Indian context, the States Reorganisation Committee instituted the boundaries of the regions and they simultaneously continued to share sovereignty with the Union of India. It is in this framework that the editorials of the English regional daily, DH, the leading English language daily of Karnataka for the period under study, has been subjected to analysis for its articulation of 'region' and 'its people'.

As Anderson points out the "truth or falsity" of these communities are irrelevant for distinguishing them from one another. Perhaps, an illustration may be necessary to capture the trajectory of the argument. In this study of the editorials of DH, there are several instances where forms of address such as 'the people of Mysore', 'interests of Mysore', 'Kannadigas' or 'Mysoreans' are invoked. For Anderson, it is of relatively little intellectual succour to verify the existence of such a community. In other words, there is no need to establish the veracity of the existence of 'the people of Mysore' or 'Karnataka'. What is more important is the manner in which this idea of the community

¹ Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities Verso 1991: 5-6
becomes visible. Apart from other markers, the theme of development seems to be the most important point of convergence for symbolizing the idea of “Mysore”, “the people of Mysore” or “Karnataka”. It seems plausible to argue that the ‘regional community’ emerges in the discourse on ‘development’ more effectively and visibly -- a people become manifest and participate in the idea of construction of rail roads, sea ports, airports, dams, big industries or universities.

3.2 Theoretical Sampling

A review of literature on media and its capacities to constitute political communities will further broaden the conceptual discussion on the overall theme and strategy has been mentioned in the previous chapter. In this study the researcher assumes that the initial emotional integration for imagining the ‘region’ was possible not only because of the arrival of vernacular print language in the early twentieth century but also due to the tension that existed between the English language and the vernaculars. In the period following the re-organisation of states, English media provided the content and form for ‘Mysore’ state as well. Since DH was the most important newspaper of the ‘region’ during the period of this study, the paper provides an excellent field for the self-understanding of ‘region’.

Physical /Empirical Tasks

The researcher browsed through all the editorials for the period cited above for editorials pertaining to ‘region’, Mysore State before 1973 and Karnataka before 1983. From this census of editorials, which means 26 years x 365 days of editorials, (except on Sundays) were scanned by the researcher. In the process, the researcher identified 295 editorials across the period pertaining to ‘region’. The chosen editorials, while focusing on the construction of region, tend to do so in relation to the Nation, other regions or sub-regions. The date, month, year and the headline of the editorial are indexed and are appended towards the end of the dissertation.

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2 See Veena Naregal Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere, Colonialism in Western India, Permanent Black, 2001
Till the late seventies, development becomes identified powerfully with the Nation at large and only selectively with regions. But the idea of ‘development’ had been a very important metaphor for the erstwhile Princely State of Mysore too. The Princely State of Mysore had carefully cultivated this image of a modern state by building dams like Krishna Raja Sagar dam; establish large industries like Bhadravathi Iron and Steel Works and other modern institutions like Mysore University. In the editorials, there are references to this past of the Mysore State and such imagery is invoked to suggest a relatively depleted present.

The relatively depleted present expresses itself in the thematic categories as a food deficit State in the food policy category, lack of transport in the communication infrastructure category, lack of power and irrigated land in the river water disputes category, loss of revenue in prohibition category, inadequate allocation of resources for planning in the planning category and use of English for efficient administration in language policy category. Though the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore over Belgaum and Karwar is not explicitly discussed in material terms, Belgaum had always been an important commercial center and Karwar had the potential for being an important sea-port.

Apart from these obvious issues relating to ‘development’ forming the content of the editorials, there is a multiplicity of contexts in which the content seems located. Both historical and spatial dimensions of narration inform the editorials. Since newspaper editorials are brief, neither of them is treated exhaustively but they provide cues for larger mappings of the thematic categories. For instance, a historical rendering of the Cauvery Water dispute suggests a framework for understanding the issue from the point of the Karnataka state. The editorials may lead the readers to conclude that Mysore has been historically wronged. The daily would note that the treaty of 1924 was unfair as two politically unequal partners, one a native Princely State and the other an imperial overlord, signed it. A spatial narration may hint at DMK party’s clout at the centre in the late sixties and the Mysore Congress(O) leader’s lack of access to the ruling party at the centre. Since the Congress (O) party at the State was at loggerheads
with the Congress (R) at the centre and the DMK party was lending support to Congress (R) at the centre, the readers are made to understand the centre’s bias towards Tamil Nadu. A historical narration facilitates the unfolding of a succession of events and a spatial narration helps to unravel the simultaneity of events.

Editorials on these thematic categories can be strung in a linear fashion or in a horizontal fashion or a mix of both. Its meanings are likely to lie in the intersection of both temporal and spatial organization of the issue or in one of the dimensions. For instance, the thematic category of ‘Boundary disputes’ is treated almost in an a-historical manner, as if there has been no discussion of the idea of drawing boundaries prior to States Re-organisation Commission recommendations. While there is an emphasis on mapping the editorials on a spatial dimension, all the three types of types of context are given importance.

The selection of the editorials was partially based on the researcher’s acquaintance with the literature on ‘federalism’ in general and ‘centre-state relations’ in particular. Discourses on famished peripheries and a glutinous centre inform the Political Science literature on federalism in India. Such literature posits the arrival of ‘regionalism’ and the emergence of fissiparous tendencies in the late sixties and the seventies to these asymmetrical relations between the centre and the states. The striking absence of political parties of this nature in Karnataka led the present researcher to conjecture that among other factors, the motivation for the presence of a variety of civil society institutions to articulate the aspirations of the region. It included ‘Mysore Printers’, the largest publishing house in Karnataka of which DH is the best example, for conceiving and imagining the region.

In effect, the choice of a media institution for studying the ‘region’ rather than a political formation was informed by the particular political culture of Karnataka. Though Karnataka rarely figured as a chronically famished region, its troubled relations with the centre and its overbearing neighbors occupied the attention of the researcher

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3 See Amal Ray, B.Maheshwari, Sarkaria Commission Report etc.
during the process of selection of the editorials. Also, the researcher’s need to deal with 
the daily’s construal of some sub-regions as productive, efficient and aspiring against 
other sub-regions apathy, insufficient physical and social capital made the researcher to 
select editorials of that variety too.

Between the selection of the editorials and classification of the same into 
thematic categories, the researcher’s study material became more focused on the 
elusive category ‘region’. The important texts that were read at this juncture were 
Benedict Andersons *Imagined Communities*, Edward Soja’s *The Postmodern Geography: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* and Partha 
Chatterjee’s *Nation and its Fragments*. While these texts provided cues to work with a 
larger unit of analysis ‘Nation’, Sudhir Chandra’s *The Oppressive Present* and 
Raghavendra Rao’s *Imagining Unimaginable Communities* tend to address the 
category ‘region’. In these discussions, an effort seems to be made to understand the 
term ‘region’ as a theoretical object from the standpoint of a positivist, Marxist and a 
post-modernist framework.

Notwithstanding the oversimplification of this classification, the present 
researcher concluded that while each one of these approaches does not explicitly 
engage with the term ‘region’, the positivists consider objective dimensions of region 
and argue for a physical determinist position, the Marxists focus on the historical and 
material dimension of region and thereby question the reification of the category by the 
positivists. The Post-modernists construe region as an instrumental category providing 
a site for domination and control. By substituting ‘region’ to the denoted sub-national 
spaces similarly, referred to as states in the Constitution of India, questions relating to 
whether sub-national spaces like ‘regions’ are to be looked at as politically neutral 
spaces with the presence of objective factors of production, or as an expression of 
capital and exploitative social relations or as an administrative, fiscal and political unit 
employed for governance and discipline can be posed.
3.3 Data as Theory

Even as the study began with an initial emphasis on behavioral and functionalist literature concerning federal and center-state relations somewhat guiding the archival search, it became more focused on the less explicitly stated ‘region’ from the vantage ground of both Marxists and Postmodernist’s perspectives. These discussions should have logically informed the intervening theoretical input for re-starting the editorial analysis. However, a chance reading of Anselm’s *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* informed the researcher of a ‘Grounded theory’ approach. This approach warned the researcher of mechanical application of theories to data. In fact, it suggested the absence of theory-less data and it demanded that the researcher mine theory out of the available data.

This approach suggested that the researcher take notes of the editorials as they were read. Following this guideline, a close reading of all the 295 editorials revealed that the intent of the communicator has been encoded in a broad and amorphous category called ‘development’. Further, these editorials seemed to organize themselves around certain themes. The themes were inter-region border issues, food policy, communication infrastructure, language policy, prohibition, river-water disputes, planning and prohibition. They were self-contained and interdependent themes as well. The idea of ‘development’ seemed to occur across the themes and offered to provide an integrative ‘motif’. With the editorials organized around themes, each theme was separately read again as a self-contained unit. More specifically, each editorial belonging to each theme was read and notes were recorded on the salient features of each editorial.

Next, the researcher moved onto communication literature in order to connect a subjective understanding of phenomena in general to mass media phenomena in particular. In the above discussion, only an analysis of the content has been alluded to without reference to its container, the mass media. The complexity of the container or
the mass media or print media in particular needs attention. A short review of the literature in the discipline of mass communication is in place.

At this point, it is useful to recall Harold Laswell and Walter Lipmann's views on mass media and communication research. It provides a necessary entry into the discussion of meanings and ideologies of mass media. Laswell's famous line 'Who says what to whom through what medium and with what effect' and Walter Lipmann's theory that media assumes the role of external agents that work to manipulate the "pictures in the head" provide instances of media theorists' accounts of viewing media as external agencies, as conveyor belts that deliver quantities of information to isolated audience members. Contesting this formulation that media serves isolated audience members, Carey proposed that effective media must be well integrated into the communities they serve and they are at the center of the complex network of relationships that define a community.

When media institutions are conceived to be at the centre of a complex network of relations that define a community, then the media products tend to be heavily embedded and many layered. Providing cues to the heavily embedded and many layered character of media fare, Norman Fairclough locates this dimension of communication in the institutional practices associated both with the production of media texts and with the consumption of media texts. While processes of text production are managed through institutional routines, reception studies have emphasized the variability of the meanings that may be attributed to it by different categories of audience member.

3.4 Imagination, Form and Content of Editorials

The press employs a visual channel, its language is written, and it relies upon technologies of photographic reproduction, graphic design, and printing. The difference in channel and technology has larger implications in terms of the semantic potential of the various media.

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4 See Baran and Davis Mass Communication Theory Wadsworth 1995:70
5 Ibid
6 Norman Fairclough Media Discourse Edward Arnold 1995:48-50
Describing the literary convention of a newspaper as expressive of a certain notion of time, Anderson observes:

Why are these events so juxtaposed? What connects them to each other? Not sheer caprice. Yet obviously most of them happen independently, without the actors being aware of each other or of what the others are up to. The arbitrariness of their inclusion and juxtaposition...shows that the linkage between them is imagined...This imagined linkage derives from two obliquely related sources. The first is simply calendrical coincidence. The date at the top of the newspaper, the single most important emblem on it, provides the essential connection—the steady onward clocking of homogeneous, empty time (Reading a newspaper is like reading a novel whose author has abandoned thought of a coherent plot). Within that time, ‘the world ambles sturdily ahead’.

Though media texts are many layered and heavily embedded, media genres are subject to specific type of organization. For Fairclough, a genre is an ideal type: ‘a schematic structure made up of stages, either all obligatory or some obligatory and some optional, which occur in a fixed or partially fixed order’. Such a structure consists of a number of conventional categories, which exhibit a linear order, as well as a hierarchical organization and they determine what content typically comes first, second, or last in a text. For instance, a news format follows an inverted pyramid model wherein the most important details comes first and the least important towards the last.

The choice of editorials instead of news or other genres of the Press needs discussion. Editorials are the least addressed genres of print-media fare. Unlike the inverted pyramid structure that has been identified and usefully employed by media

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8 Norman Fairclough *Media Discourse* Edward Arnold 1995:48-50
practitioners and researchers for the study of Press News, there has been no similar effort to deconstruct a skeletal form for press editorials.

Commenting on the absence of a conventional scheme for Press editorials, Van Djik proposed that editorials could be subsumed under three functional categories. In his work, *Racism and the Press*, he identified the categories as Definition, Explanation or Evaluation, and Moral. In the first place, opinion statements seem to define the situation, tell the readers 'what happened'? Secondly, editorials may tend to provide reasons or causes for the happening of the event or 'why it happened'. These editorial statements are frequently about past events and circumstances, or about a broader context. Thirdly, editorials exhibit a category of a conclusion or moral, which focuses on the future: what will happen or what should or should not be done? More importantly, Djik identifies the twin persistent features of editorials. For Djik, editorials display rhetorical, persuasive goals along with argumentative strategies and structures.

Thus far, substantive and procedural aspects of method have been looked at in a formal and abstract sense. The problem has been identified as locating the rhetorical and argumentative structures of editorials pertaining to 'region'. Further, as stated earlier, the central rhetorical device that reveals or conceals 'region' has been encoded as 'development'. In each editorial and across the several thematic categories, the idea of 'development' appears pervasive.

In sum, the method of analysis employed for the editorials is as follows. The meanings of each editorial and across editorials are scanned in order to proffer dimensions to the theme and the rules that mark the production of meaning. Since each editorial consists of a few paragraphs and dozens of sentences, making sense of each word in the sentence makes the meaning of each sentence intelligible and the meaning of each word is likewise made intelligible by looking at the sentence as a whole.

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10 Van Djik *Racism and the Press* Routledge 1991:133-139
11 Ibid
Similarly, to understand the meaning of a sentence, the sentence is read in relation to the paragraph, the paragraph in relation to the editorial as a whole, that particular editorial in relation to other editorials and these editorials to the dominant discourses of the times to the total discourses available at that moment in society. This exercise involves both backward and forward movements, form the whole to the part and from the part to the whole.

It is in this context, that across the themes, there emerges a unified production of ‘region’ for the cosmopolitan English knowing audience of Karnataka. This ‘region’ becomes available loosely through the core concept called ‘development’. It is through this category that the people of the ‘region’ become visible. Though development as a concept dissolves historical and cultural specificities, it nevertheless creates its own political frontiers of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ within the ‘region’ and across regions. The objective of using this methodology is to explore the assumptions, imagery and strategies of these editorials.

3.5 Why Deccan Herald?

As stated earlier, the editorials of the regional English language Newspaper ‘Deccan Herald’ has been chosen as primary material for this study. This section deals with issues relating to the choice of a particular newspaper (Deccan Herald), periodicity (1958-1983), its peculiar history and the attitude of its editors. Other issues relating to the choice of the medium and the particular genre have already been discussed in the earlier section.

Deccan Herald’s Peculiar History:

The newspaper was started by two liquor exercise contractors by name Venkataswamy and Guruswamy in 1948.12 There is a story that the Dewan of Mysore, Ramaswamy Mudaliar persuaded the Maharaja not to accede to the Indian Union in the closing years of pre-Independence. Since the Backward Class movement was slowly beginning to surface, The Dewan and the Maharaja felt that BCs may look up to their

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12 Personal communication with B.Ravi, academic, journalist and BC activist.
project favourably as it would give them the impression that this step potentially would help in unifying the BCs across the region. In this context, Venkataswamy and Guruswamy, wealthy BCs of the region, were coaxed into running a newspaper for mobilizing opinion against accession to the Indian Union. These are grapevine narrations but what is important is the fact that DH is imbricated in the very constitution of the Nation and the region as well.

The Circulation Figures:

The most important reason for selecting the Daily for study is that it was the largest circulated English language regional daily during the period identified for this study (1958-1983). Its circulation rose from 22638 in 1956 to 121284 in 1983(ABC). In 1985, the combined circulation of other English dailies was less than half of DH in Karnataka. The Table 3.1 establishes the pre-eminent position of DH in the region of Karnataka.

Table 3.1:

Circulation Figures of the Major English Dailies in Karnataka (1950-1985)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deccan Herald</th>
<th>Indian Express</th>
<th>The Hindu</th>
<th>Total Circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>9110(100)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>9110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>13,342(100)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>13342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>39,397(81)</td>
<td>8,962(19)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>48359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>41,327(47)</td>
<td>30,648(35)</td>
<td>15,699(18)</td>
<td>87674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>61,076(50)</td>
<td>49,060(40)</td>
<td>12975(10)</td>
<td>123111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>74,479(56)</td>
<td>37,548(28)</td>
<td>20,168(26)</td>
<td>132195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,14,960(64)</td>
<td>4,5253(25)</td>
<td>19,100(11)</td>
<td>179313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,21,438(69)</td>
<td>48,115(27)</td>
<td>6389(04)</td>
<td>175942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, Mumbai*

*Non-availability of the newspapers*

*Note: Figures in the brackets refer to the percentages of respective newspapers to the total circulation of the English dailies in Karnataka.*

Bangalore-centric Readership

Like other major English language newspaper, DH, readers are concentrated in a few cities. It is in this sense that it caters to a reader population predominantly located in a specific geographic locale, Bangalore. It is a part of large family owned publishing
house. It gives more regional coverage particularly to the politics of Bangalore city. Bangalore is a multi-lingual, cosmopolitan, hi-tech metropolis. The city has grown phenomenally from 1980s onwards. The 1990s has seen a boom in the software industry and it now claims the title of being the Silicon Valley of India. The Table 3.2 gives the circulation figures of the major English dailies from 1965-1985 of the state in general and Bangalore in particular. DH has grown along with the city. The city has registered phenomenal growth in terms of population, economy and leisure. The table below gives a picture of the concentration of English language newspaper in the city of Bangalore.

**Table 3.2: Circulation Figures of the Major English Dailies in Karnataka and Bangalore (1965-1985)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kar</td>
<td>Ban</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan Herald</td>
<td>41327</td>
<td>22736</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Express</td>
<td>30648</td>
<td>14635</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hindu</td>
<td>15699</td>
<td>8837</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, Mumbai
Note: Kar-Karnataka, Ban-Bangalore and P-Percentage of Bangalore’s circulation figures in relation to Karnataka’s circulation.*

The Table 3.2 makes it amply clear that all the English dailies have concentrated their circulation mostly in Bangalore. Whereas the two English dailies have lesser circulation in the region, they also belong to the category of being National newspaper. Though DH always had stringers or correspondents from every district of Karnataka it is claimed by Bangalorean’s as their newspaper. In recent years, this claim is on the decline.

**Pan regional Readership**

DH is perhaps the only English language daily which has a pan-regional readership. Even while its readership is concentrated mainly in the city of Bangalore, its presence is visible in most parts of Karnataka.
3.1 Table 3.3: District-wise Breakdown of Circulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICTS</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>22736</td>
<td>48200</td>
<td>93783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidar</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickmagular</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitradurg</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>1469</td>
<td>1092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>1392</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>2836</td>
<td>3350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulbarga</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td>1135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolar</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>2358</td>
<td>1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandya</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>3783</td>
<td>5868</td>
<td>7579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raichur</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>1321</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimoga</td>
<td>1362</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>1501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Kanara</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>2512</td>
<td>2115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumkur</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>1145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwar</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>2497</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation (Bombay)

Perhaps, it’s the only English language newspaper that circulates in at least all the district headquarters. If one were to divide the present day Karnataka into four regions namely the Mysore region comprising of Bangalore, Mysore, Tumkur, Mandya and Kolar, the Malnad region consisting of Shimoga, Chickmagular, Coorg, Hassan, S.Kanara and N.Kanara, the North Karnataka region comprising of Raichur, Gulbarga, Bellary, Bidar and Bijapur, the Bombay Karnataka region consisting of Belgaum, Chitradurg and Dharwar, then it appears that DH’s presence is considerable in the Mysore region and least in the North Karnataka region, with the Malnad coming second and the Bombay Karnataka closely following the Malnad region. Of course, the most important paper of the Bombay Karnataka region for decades has been the Kannada language newspaper ‘Samyukta Karnataka’.
Mysore Printers as the central media institution of Karnataka

Mysore Printer's is the largest publishing house in Karnataka. Apart from DH, it has numerous publications including the widely circulated Kannada daily Prajavani. Other publications in the category of popular magazines comprises of Sudha and Mayura. A large percentage of the readership clientele is serviced by 'Mysore Printers'.

Table 3.4 shows the circulation of dailies originating from regional publishing firms.

Table 3.4: Circulation of Dailies from Regional Publishing Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deccan Herald</td>
<td>33356</td>
<td>61969</td>
<td>111437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajavani</td>
<td>48772</td>
<td>82861</td>
<td>169546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samyukta Karnataka</td>
<td>44191</td>
<td>61959</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayavani</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>57594</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation
Note: N.A.-Not available from ABC records

DH and Prajavani were the foremost dailies of the region of the period under study (1958-1983). They accounted for a sizable percentage of the readership in Karnataka. Samyukta Karnataka, a daily from the Bombay Karnataka region proved a competitor till the late seventies. Udayavani published from Manipal is wholly owned by the Pai family. It is mostly circulated and read in S.Kanara and Malnad region. Only Prajavani and DH seems to have a more pan-regional readership and circulation.

Why 1958-83?

Two reasons inform the choice of this period. One is political and the other is a media related issue. Since the central argument of the thesis lies in postulating that the region has been imagined afresh post-1956 or post-state's Reorganization, it is but reasonable to start from the nearest year. It is important to observe that Karnataka comes under a non-Congress Government only during that year. Notwithstanding the fact that the State had a Congress (O) Government and the Congress faction of Urs
ruled the State for a brief period, there is need to recognize the assertion of federating units vis-à-vis the Central Government.

**Pre-Television and Cable Age**

The other important reason for choosing print and DH in particular is the period in which the study is located had not witnessed the advent of television, either Doordarshan or cable television. Unlike its neighbor, Karnataka had not woven its regional politics into the fabric of commercial cinema. It neither had a powerful regional party like DMK nor celluloid characters like M.G.Ramachandran.

**Why Editorials?**

Editorials are institutional offerings. They express opinions and ideologies. They facilitate the formation and change of opinions. Setting political agendas and influencing social debate constitute important function of editorials. These opinions and ideologies are produced by journalists, who both as professionals and as other social members (e.g.,men, uppercaste, secular liberals or conservatives) display their shared social representations, and participate in the complex processes of newspaper production and reception.

In other words, the editorials represents a community, it constitutes identity for this community and particular relations of domination and subordination within the community and outside. The editorials selected herein refer to ‘region as a community’.

**Why DH Editorials?**

Indian journalism at large had been relatively free from the ‘Globalisation bug’. The market had not yet subverted the professional distinction between news and views. Till the eighties, the editorial department of prestigious newspapers enjoyed a kind of sanctity vis-à-vis the advertisement department. DH valued these distinctions and upheld them fiercely.\(^\text{13}\)

\[^{13}\text{In an interview with a senior personnel of DH}\]
Its pre-1956 entry and its unassailable lead over the other dailies make it a cultural icon of the region. Over the last fifty years, DH has become a social institution in Karnataka. Like any other prestigious newspaper, it generally promotes values consistent with elite interests. During the period of this study (1958-83), the editors of DH were more insulated from market and political pressures. Its outstanding editors include Joseph Pothen, Krupanidhi, V.B. Menon, Yeshwant Kumar and later Hari Kumar. Until Netakallappa took over the institution in the mid sixties, the editors were absolutely sovereign. With Netakallapa's entry, there was a certain amount of 'benign intrusion' into the working of the newspaper.\textsuperscript{14} In fact, for the first time in the history of Indian press industry, he is known to have purchased a vehicle to drop night shift employees home.

**Why these Editorials?**

The study defines region not only in its relation to the nation but also other regions and sub-regions. The editorials spanning a period of 26 years primarily captures region-nation affairs, inter-regional affairs, or intra-regional affairs. Before 1973, the region was referred to as Mysore State and later on as Karnataka.

This study predicates that the editorials constitute region through its opinion pieces are themselves constituted by the dominant discourses on region. In other words, the editorials will be simultaneously representing, setting up identities, and setting up relations.\textsuperscript{15} More precisely, editorials as a prominent genre allows for identifying both opinions and ideologies.

This study assumes that DH provided a site for both an exclusive and pluralistic discourse on the region known as Mysore before and Karnataka later, during the period 1958-1983. The study assumes that the constitution of the region space is always incomplete and it is constituted within language and representations. Though English is not the language of the region, it is interesting to note that other languages may also be

\textsuperscript{14} Personal communication with Akhileshwari, the Hyderabad Correspondent and more importantly a kin of the proprietor's family

\textsuperscript{15} Norman Fairclough *Media Discourse*, Edward Arnold, 1995:5
used to articulate the aspirations of the region. Commenting on the influence of print media on the regional upsurge in Punjab, the First Press Commission (1956) observed that the two newspapers advocating the Sikh cause are published in Urdu. This highlights the fact that a demand for a separate State on the basis of a particular language may be articulated in another standard literary, technical and administrative language. In fact, as pointed out earlier, Milton Israel argues that the imagining of India was first articulated in the English language newspapers. The only transregional language available to communicate the nationalist ideology/ideologies of Congress was English. Since printing, telegraph and wire services in English were more easily used, it was technically appropriate too.

Table 3.2 makes it clear that more than fifty percent of the subscribers of English language dailies in Mysore region in the year 1965 were concentrated in one single city of Bangalore. It rose to 60% in the year 1975 and about 70% in the year 1985. This figures coincides with Bangalore’s phenomenal growth after the seventies. It is now considered as an important commercial and administrative capital of the entire Southern region.

In conclusion, it can be pointed out that there are substantial grounds for choosing DH as a representative newspaper of the region. Since the methodology involves interpretation and has less interest in generalization of findings, other newspapers were not considered as materials for interpretation.
Chapter IV
Language, Territory and Region

The idea that nations or states should correspond to boundaries of language dates from the nineteenth century and is therefore, as such things go, a relatively recent truism of geopolitics.

Robert D. King
*Nehru and the Language Politics in India*: 52

4.1 Introduction

Interstate boundaries and language policy are two of the important thematic categories that this study seeks to interpret and analyse through the editorials of DH. Substituting and elaborating boundary for territory and language policy for Kannada nationalism, both in the colonial setting and the post-colonial, this chapter seeks to engage with these two variables. The context is inclusive of the mediation of colonialism and nationalism by the Hindu monarchical state of Mysore. The objective of placing such historical and spatial material is to render language more as a strategic value than as an intrinsic value.

Since Independence, there has been pressure on the Indian State to pursue the idea of conceiving meaningful internal political units based on language, a seeming convergence of these two categories namely language and territory. Though they are conceptually and in reality different problems, this section attempts to set a broad field for discussing these twin issues. The effort is to place these editorials of DH pertaining to these twin issues against the broad canvas of history, society and culture of the region.

Broadly, this chapter engages with the drawing of internal political boundary in the colonial and the post-colonial context. It draws upon three kinds of sensitivities namely the colonial, nationalist and the regional language elitism in Kannada speaking areas before and after Independence. It seeks to point out that colonial policy did not consider language to be a key factor in mapping internal divisions of the country.¹ The

¹ See Robert D. King *Nehru and Language Politics of India* OUP 1998:55
nationalists appear to have held a pragmatic approach towards linguistic boundaries through the discursive practices, the Kannada elite worked towards constituting a linguistic and a territorial community before and after Independence.

This chapter also seeks to address the larger question as to whether language formed an appropriate sphere for analyzing the construction of modernity in the Princely State of Mysore. This is not to suggest that these three realms were parallel and they did not affect each other. Nevertheless, they constitute three kinds of responses to the issue under discussion.

4.2 Colonial Practice

Historically, the colonial state had adopted a policy of indifference towards language as a basis for drawing internal political boundaries. The boundaries of both the British India provinces and the native states were drawn without recourse to any particular principle, especially a linguistic principle. Stray incidents like separating Assam from the Bengal Presidency in 1874 or Punjab in 1901 from the North West Frontier Province were informed by political expediency. Though the act of Curzon to partition Bengal in 1905 had very little to do with linguistic considerations, language was mentioned in the partition resolution of 1905 and in a despatch of Lord Hardinge to the Secretary of State, 25 August 1911, proposing to withdraw the partition of Bengal.2 In fact, these actions were borne out of political expediency or administrative efficiency. Summing up the attitude of British towards the linguistic principle, the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission 1955 says:

The linguistic principle was, however, pressed into service...only as a measure of administrative convenience, and to the extent it fitted into a general pattern, which was determined by political exigencies. In actual effect, the partition of Bengal involved a flagrant violation of linguistic affinities. The settlement of 1912 also showed little respect for the

"If the boundaries of the native states had arisen out of historical disorder with little specific attentiveness to language, the internal boundaries of British India were drawn with an indifference to language that approaches the sublime".

2 Ibid:56
linguistic principle, in that it drew a clear line of distinction between the Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus. Both these partitions thus ran counter to the assumption that different linguistic groups constituted distinct units of social feeling with common political and economic interests.3

The demand for redistribution of British India provinces on linguistic criteria grew from two main developments. Initially, the colonial educational policy and later the political compulsions of the time constituted the two main developments.4 The educational factor was the result of the percolation of a national system of education introduced by Macaulay in 1835, and the subsequent emphasis laid on vernacular education by Woods Despatch in 1854.

The political factor emerged as a response 'to meet a state of imperial financial crisis by asking the provinces to mobilize their own tax resources and satisfy their needs'.5 Hence, a policy of devolution of administrative authority in order to promote provincial finance was adhered to, from late nineteenth century onwards. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, recommended:

We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and homogenous... such considerations acquire additional weight. It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to drawing into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English.6

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4 See B.B.Misra Government and Bureaucracy in India OUP.1986:19
"Historically, the demand for the redistribution of British India provinces on a linguistic basis flowed from two main developments. The one was cultural and the other essentially political"
5 ibid (p: 19)
6 Cited in Robert King, Nehru and the Language Politics in India 1998:60
The report was in response to Gandhi's call for redrawing the internal boundaries on the basis of language. Though an awareness of the vernacular movement was exhibited for the first time in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, the colonial Government did not heed it. Despite the concern voiced in the document, the Government of India Act 1918, failed to affect a policy to promote regional languages. The Simon Commission Report of 1930 laid out the arguments, which Nehru raised about linguistic boundaries in post-Independent India. The report observed:

These boundaries, as a rule, have none of the characteristics of a natural frontier; the lines they follow are largely due to the way in which different accretions became joined to what was already organized as an administrative unit. As long as the Government of India was entirely centralized, and both the administration and the finance of any area were provided and directed from the Centre, the line taken by a provincial boundary was of less importance. But now that the provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and if, as we hope, the time is consuming when each province will not only have its own provincial Government and its own provincial resources, but will form a unit in a federated whole, it is extremely important that the adjustment of provincial boundaries and the creation of proper provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any maldistribution will be still more difficult to correct... The shifting of landmarks is proverbial an operation which may bring down anything but blessings on the head of the reformer; it can prudently be undertaken only after full account of the interests and the prejudices concerned.7

The most important point that this passage makes is that it was imperative for the centralized imperial power to federate in order to sustain itself. Provincial resources require provincial accountability and thereby the need for provincial polity. It is in this context that there arose a need to characterize provincial polity. Provincial polities

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7 Cited in Robert King, *Nehru and the Language Politics in India* 1998:66
including native polities were anticipated as potential structures that would sustain the empire in the inter-war years. Commenting on the idea of ‘linguistic areas’ as a basis for provincial boundaries, the Simon Report retorts: ‘But it is not the only test race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior, may all be relevant factors’.

As far as the Mysore State was concerned, it had no pressure to raise enormous revenue either to run a military state or pay a huge royalty to the British. It had to pay only a fixed royalty. While it raised the bogey of universal primary education, it allotted limited resources to the project. On the other hand, it spent enormous sums of money on the beautification of Mysore and Bangalore cities. It is believed that Visweshwaraiah was coaxing the British to part with some coastal territories. However, if Mysore had been completely annexed by the British, it may have given rise to more democratic practices than merely rhetoric and empty structures.

The awareness of vernacular movements in the early decades of the last century fed into the imperial desire to federate the sub-continent. This linkage necessitates the accounting for certain preconditions for the arrival of these vernacular movements. It is in order here to discuss the colonial contribution including that of the missionaries towards the standardization of certain vernaculars, a process by which a non-literary, non-print vernacular attains the status of a print literary language.

It would be possible to argue that those languages that were standarised due to the attention bestowed by the missionaries and the colonial state were able to stake their claim for dominance in the post-Independence era. Though Kannada was a latecomer in comparison to Tamil or Marathi, it did receive a fair amount of attention from the colonisers. Names like Mackenzie, Kittel, Rice, Moegling, Wuerth and others have contributed to the study of Kannada history and culture. Missionary institutions like Basel Mission and Wesleyan Mission have facilitated the change-over of a Kannada script language to a print language.

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8 Ibid :67
Between the years 1840-1890, there were less than 25 newspapers published in the Kannada speaking region and a significant number of them were published individually. The Basel Missionaries started their Kannada fortnightly “Mangalore amchar” (1843). The reportage ranged from depiction of census statistics to Mysore maharaja’s philanthropy to theology to Dasa Literature. It was circulated in the areas of angalore, Mysore, Tumkur, Bellary, Shimoga and Hubli. Circulation wise, this newspaper appears to be the first pan-Kannada periodical. But it is difficult to confirm whether there was a subliminal perception of a Kannadiga or a Kannada community.

An apolitical psyche and a lack of standardized Kannada may be perceived as reasons for the negation of the proposition stated above. While arguing for the need to introduce Kannada as the medium of instruction in the Bombay Karnataka region, the secretary to the Board of Education, Bal Shastri Jambhekar in his report records the lack of standardization of Kannada Language in 1857. He reports:

there can be no doubt that the Kanarese spoken in the Southern Maharatta Country is different from that used in the territory of Mysore, which is generally admitted as the seat of the pure Karnataka language. Like all languages, the Canarese, on the borders of the above mentioned province, freely admits the words and idiom of the languages spoken in the countries by which it is surrounded; namely, of Marathi to the North, Telungee to the East, Dravidee to the South, and Mulbaree on the West. This is the reason why the Kanarese of Madras is so unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Southern Maharatta country; and why the languages of both provinces are so widely different from the pure form in which Kanarese is spoken in Mysore… in the case of Madras Kanarese, in which the Government Regulations are printed, the language is too much mixed up with Telungee, and cannot be understood with difficulty in this Presidency.9

9 J.Natarajan History of Indian Journalism Publications Division GOI 1997:73-74
Along with the lack of a “Kannada print language”, the absence of the idea that “Kannada” could be mobilized as a resource for imagining a “Kannadiga” seems to have been the state of affairs in the mid-nineteenth century Kannada society. The notion of a territorial community may not have run deep even in the Princely State of Mysore. The only region where there was overlapping of language and territory was the State of Mysore and the British Commissioner administered this State from 1831-1881. If Kannada had to contend with another language the latter had to be English and English happened to be the language of the elites. Perhaps this led to the Government bringing out the first Anglo-Kannada weekly, The Mysore Gazzette in 1866. For the next thirty years there were as many English titles as Kannada titles. The Mysorean vs. the Non-Mysorean debate or the Mysore Brahmin vs. the Tamil Brahmin seemed to fill the pages of the newspaper. The struggle became so vicious that the local Brahmins supported the Non-Brahmin movement in order to oust the Tamil Brahmins. For these reasons, Mysore can be construed as a less self-conscious linguistic region.

The central institutions of Kannada in the State were primarily centered on Mysore University and the Kannada Sahitya Parishad. Both received patronage from the Princely authorities. In fact, it was Viswesharaih who was responsible for establishing the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat in 1917. Soon after, B.M.Srikantiah started a Kannada programme at the University. The leaders of the unification movement looked upto the Mysore state and it grew under the shadow of the State’s overarching presence. In other words, there ceased to emerge a vernacular public sphere, the reigning public space was a state sponsored one. Even the nationalist agenda was appropriated by the state. It became a part of state sponsored economic and legal modernization programme.

4.3 Kannada Nationalist Practice

The introduction of English and the arrival of Kannada print language along with a bilingual educational system theoretically provided resources for the creation of a public sphere in the early decades of the twentieth century. While the Congress nationalist agenda was appropriated by the Princely State, the Kannada nationalist ability to project an intrinsic and iconic value suffered due to the same reason. The Kannada
movements of the Gokak and the Cauvery kind have been perceived as conservative in character, in the movement’s failure to universalize the particular.\textsuperscript{10}

“Memories of Underdevelopment” may be an apt phrase for describing this field from a certain vantage ground, that modernity failed to reach Kannada and its people in time, modernity delayed symbolized a denied history, that Kannada failed to make a capital out of modernity as its neighbors have supposedly done.\textsuperscript{11} In its infancy, Kannada nationalism was displaced by economic nationalism, the pangs of which appear to be felt in the contemporary Kannada movement.\textsuperscript{12} Though a late-comer to linguistic and communal identities, the career of Kannada modernity seems to be ‘fraught with unexpected anxieties that have violently manifested themselves in the past two decades’.

In the princely state of Mysore, such an effort to image the region through language led the state to appropriate the discourse. Though such a framework recognizes an implicit and explicit communal angle, it seems to underplay the elision of caste and class factors.\textsuperscript{14} It also occludes the distribution of knowledge and power in an educational system characterized by a bilingual medium.\textsuperscript{15} However, the absence of a non-state sponsored vernacular public sphere created conditions for constituting a supposedly non-original, imitative Kannada identity and modernity.

But Raghavendra Rao has been more charitable in his analysis of the early Kannada nationalist discourses.\textsuperscript{16} Though he makes little connection between the

\textsuperscript{10} Kannada activists protested against the views held by DH
\textsuperscript{11} See Janaki Nair Memories of Underdevelopment EPW, Vol XXXI (41&42), 1996: 2809-2816
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid
\textsuperscript{14} Aluru Venkata Rao and others saw the Muslims as the other and constructed the vernacular as reflecting the true ethos of Hindu or more specifically Madhava philosophy. See Raghavendra Rao Unimaginable Communities Kannada University Prasaranga 2000
\textsuperscript{15} James Manor Political Change In India Manohar 1978:32
He has cited the literacy levels of the top three communities in Mysore state. Though the Brahmins constituted only 4% of the population, their English literacy level in the year 1941 was 36% whereas the combined English literacy level for both communities with more than 30% population stood at 4%. In the year 1901, it stood at 10% for the Brahmins and less than 1% for the two dominant communities.
\textsuperscript{16} Raghavendra Rao Unimaginable Communities Kannada University Prasaranga 2000
discursive practices of these nationalists to the technology of communication, it is important to point out that the print word seemed to have provided the preconditions for conceiving a community of Kannada speakers. The conception and legitimating of the 'regional community' through the discursive practice was partially premised on the arrival of the print word. Since the technology of print has the property of constituting a homogeneous time, the regional elites stretched simultaneously towards the past and the future as well.

According to Raghavendra Rao, they drew their resources from within and outside to generate ideological and theoretical frameworks to comprehend their contemporary and historical location. They drew their resources mostly from Sanskritic-Brahaminic tradition and occasionally from the Bhakti Vakkana tradition. They also intensely engaged with the European tradition of political philosophy. For Raghavendra Rao their discourse "concedes political autonomy, ontological authenticity and epistemic objectivity to at least one community below national community, and that is the linguistic-regional-cultural community". 17

The linking of a language to a land and a people appears to have made its appearance only during the colonial period. It is argued that language as a key factor for territorial imagination had its orginary moments in colonialism. 18 The objective of this discussion is to suggest cues that can retrieve some aspects of the corporate character of the Kannada unification project in the early decades of the twentieth century. 19 Janaki Nair has usefully characterized this period in the region of Mysore state as a "displacement of the agenda of cultural nationalism by an agenda of state-sponsored economic and legal modernization". 20 Even so, it is plausible to posit that bilingual and

17 Ibid p.141
18 Recently Sheldon Pollock has pointed out another orginary moment for Kannada language and territory. He has cited a medieval text Kaviraja Marga to suggest the presence of a political community imagined on the basis of language.
19 For instance, Volkaligas have opposed the move to unify Mysore with other regions as it would make their rivals Lingayats the numerically dominant community. D.V.Gundappa, a Brahmin intellectual and litterateur suggested that Kannada speaking territories should be divided into five units. Devaraj Urs, the future Chief Minister of Karnataka was extremely lukewarm towards the idea.
20 See Janaki Nair Memories of Underdevelopment EPW, Vol XXX (41&42), 1996: 2809
urban cultural entrepreneurs desired to set in motion changes outside the ambit of the state\textsuperscript{21}. B.M. Srikantia's initiative to institutionalize Hosa Kannada in place of Halle Kannada appears to be a move to represent the reconfigured authority and hierarchy. Also, the corporate character of these cultural entrepreneurs seems to be thinly disguised in some discursive practices or thickly disguised in some practices.\textsuperscript{22} If such a corporate character consists of a communal vein, the movement need not be shorn of its corporate character. The leaders of the unification movement looked up to the Mysore state and grew under the shadow of the states overarching presence. In other words, there ceased to emerge a vernacular public sphere, the reigning public space was a state sponsored one.

The cultural entrepreneurs were primarily bilingual elites located in urban spaces and belonging to a professional class. The Princely State of Mysore was the only place where territory and language overlapped to a considerable extent. However, its legitimacy and authority or its emotional solidarity rested on grounds other than language. Except for the Bombay Karnataka region, other Kannada speaking regions regarded language less intensely as a basis for imagining their community. Even in Bombay Karnataka, the issue was related to contesting the hegemony of the Maharatti language speakers. Unlike the Bengali language and region, the imagination of the Kannada region succeeded the nation and not vice versa. Hence Bengali emerges as a national language whereas Kannada has angst of becoming even a regional language.

Moving from the initial care and nurturing of the missionaries and the colonial state these cultural entrepreneurs took over the issue of politics of language in the early twentieth century. They provided cultural legitimacy for the political elites to press home the claim for a unified Karnataka.

In the post-Independent phase, the Kannada movement has become more strident. The Gokak agitation for the first time had a pan-regional dimensional. It drew support

\textsuperscript{21} Veena Naregal Colonial Bilingualism of Language and Power EPW Vol. XXXIV (49), 1999:3446

“...despite discontinuities and the hierarchical differences between the English and the vernacular spheres, there were few evident signs of hostility to English or the English educated elite within the vernacular discourse ...”

\textsuperscript{22} Alur Venkat Rao's concept of Karnatakathatva seeks to ground territory and language in a Hindu essence. Cited in Raghavendra Rao Unimaginable Communities Kannada University Prasaranga 2000.
from littérateurs, rabid language nationalists and most importantly the Raj Kumar Fans Association. Presently, it has arraigned itself against Tamil and Urdu sub-altern speakers. Notwithstanding its inability to contest English in economic and technological spheres, it has spilled over to the cultural-political sphere.

4.4 Nationalist Practice

The nationalists were keenly aware of the non-linguistic considerations of the demand for linguistic provinces. The relationship of language to religion, caste, class, non-Brahmin ideology and other factors were constantly examined. Should lines be drawn along natural boundaries or aggregate economically cohesive units? The demand for linguistic states was understood as a demand for more economic and political power. This kind of analysis became more frequent after Independence, more importantly after the partition of the country. Although, the Congress party initially advocated the idea of linguistic provinces, it withdrew from that position after it acquired power.

The Indian National Congress organized its party structure around linguistic lines from 1920's onwards. Perhaps, Tilak may be cited as the earliest Indian nationalist to voice opinion for carving administrative divisions that would reflect the linguistic differences. Though the idea of one language = one nation struck Gandhi for a while, the other leaders like Nehru, and Gandhi himself later, held a very pragmatic approach towards the issue. As early as 1891, Tilak set an agenda for the linguistic movement in this country. He wrote in his Marathi Newspaper Kesari on 17, November of that same year:

The present administrative division of India is the result of a certain historical process and in some cases is exclusively the result of chance circumstances ...if it is replaced by a system of administrative units created on a linguistic basis, each of them will be to some degree homogenous and will facilitate the development of the people and the languages of the respective peoples.23

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23 Cited in Robert King Nehru and Language Politics in India OUP 1998:59
It is interesting to note that the Marathi print language had already reached a recognizable phase in its literary development.\(^{24}\) It had already passed through a process of standardization, a script language becoming a print language, and from thereon to acquiring an aesthetic form. Returning to the main argument of the role of nationalists towards the idea of linguistic boundaries, Gandhi on the advice of Annie Beasant did not advocate the idea in 1917. Since the Khilafat movement was in progress, he feared that Muslims across the country may demand an Urdu state and also his project of visualizing a single language *Hindustani* for the entire nation may come to nought. By 1920, Gandhi had changed his mind and proceeded to argue for linguistic boundaries. The Congress party was revamped on the basis of linguistic identities.

The revamping of Congress on linguistic lines made the political commentator Selig Harrison remark "There can be no disputing Nehru when he cites the demarcation of Congress provincial machinery on a linguistic basis in 1920 as the turning point which saw the Congress transformed from a middle class assembly of leaders to a mass movement able to speak to the people in their own language."\(^{25}\) Gandhi was not satisfied with the dividends that Congress party reaped due to the linguistic revamping of the Congress party. He went on to formulate his utopian linguistics by refusing to accept that differential communal meanings can be attributed to a script in Devanagari and a script in Arabic for Hindustani language. Gandhi advocated the use of both scripts.

The Nehru Committee Report of 1928 reinforced the idea of linguistic principle. But Nehru drew the distinction between Congress party's stand in the 1920s and in the 1950s. He maintained that in the twenties, the Congress party had to communicate to the masses and therefore it had to encourage vernacular medium. For Nehru, that was not necessarily related to drawing internal boundaries based on linguistic principle in post-Independent India.

The distinction between the development of vernacular languages is not the same as drawing boundaries based on language. In these moments, Nehru was attempting to

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\(^{24}\) See Veena Naregal *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere* (2001)  
\(^{25}\) Selig Harrison *India: The most dangerous decades* Princeton UP 1960:276
foreground economics and administrative efficiency as important criteria for carving out meaningful political units. A left writer establishing the linkages of vernacular movements with the class factors put it more forcefully:

Let us be frank and accept the dal roti basis of this enthusiasm. It is the middle class job hunter and the place hunter and the mostly middle class politician who are benefited by the establishment of a linguistic state, which creates for them an exclusive preserve of jobs, offices and places by shutting out, in the name of promotion of culture, all outside competition.  

On the relation between linguistic boundaries and caste, Ambedkar responding to the debate on linguistic boundaries remarked: ‘Take Andhra. There are two major communities spread over the linguistic area. They are either the Reddis or the Kammas. They hold all the land, all the offices, all the business. The untouchables live in subordinate dependence on them’. He made similar observations about the formation of Maharashtra. Nehru too was aware of these underlying motives. In the Constituent Assembly, while conceding to the demand for the creation of Andhra Pradesh, he expressed his reservations at other instances. He remarked, ‘the creation of the provinces of Maharashtra and Karnataka involves greater difficulties’. Nehru clarified that these difficulties lay in the realm of economics and administration rather than culture.

While the Constituent Assembly Debates in a certain sense recognizes the state as a residual category, the Constitution posits the states as an artifice of the Centre. As Ambedkar argued in the Constituent Assembly, ‘the federation was not a result of an agreement, no state has the right to secede. The federation is a Union-because it is indestructible’. Elsewhere, reacting sharply to the consensus on a strong Centre in the Constituent Assembly, Prof. N.G.Ranga observed that “it is highly dangerous indeed to enslave these provincial Governments and place them in at the mercy of the Central

27 Cited in Robert King Nehru and Language Politics in India 1998: 71-72
28 Ibid p.102
29 Constituent Assembly Debates Vol V11 p.43
Secretariat and Central Government".\textsuperscript{30} But the dissident voices of Prof. Ranga and others were completely sidelined due to the tumultuous division of the country. K.Hanumanthiah, the Constituent Assembly member from Mysore State, sorely remarked:

The draft as it stands –I beg to differ from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar – is rather too much overcentralised. It practically makes the Indian Union a unitary state and not a federal state. In their anxiety to make the center strong, they have given too much legislative and financial powers to the center.

These debates only revealed the monolithic structure that was envisaged soon after the partition. This was never to be, as pressure mounted soon in the fifties for drawing internal boundaries on linguistic principles. Though there was tremendous pressure on the Indian State to immediately reconfigure India on the basis of linguistic boundaries, Nehru managed to delay the process upto 1956. The Constituent Assembly soon set up the \textit{Linguistic Provinces Commission} more commonly known as Dar Commission to study the feasibility of creating four new states namely Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharastra. The Dar Commission recommended that “no new provinces should be formed for the present….the consideration of linguistic provinces must be postponed for ten years”\textsuperscript{31}

Following the Dar report, the Congress Committee set up the Committee known as JVP Committee, chaired by Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaya in 1948. It held the view that ‘the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces could only be applied after careful thought’.\textsuperscript{32} However, Nehru could not delay it further. With the fast to death of the revered Andhra leader Sri Potti Sriramulu in 1952, Nehru was forced to concede Andhra in 1953. The States Reorganisation Commission was set up under such pressure. The Commission approved of drawing internal boundaries based on language in South India. Thus were formed the states of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Maharastra.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid p.350 
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid p.105 
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid p.108
The new Mysore State was formed as per the recommendations of the States Re-organisation Committee on 1st November 1956. This state largely corresponded to the Kannada speaking regions as it emerged after the decisive Fourth Mysore War (1799) between Tippu Sultan and the British. These regions were parceled out to various administrations belonging to both Princely States and the British India Provinces. The Princely State of Mysore remained the single largest Kannada speaking territory until Independence. The State of Coorg and Hyderabad contained Kannada speaking areas. The Presidency of Madras and the Presidency of Bombay had significant Kannada speaking population. In addition there were several principalities and feudatories. At the time of Independence, the Kannada speaking population were spread over twenty different administrative regions.

Given below is the list of the areas that were merged together to form the Mysore state in 1956 and Karnataka in 1972.

1. Mysore state
2. Madras Province → Ooty, Talavadi, Hubli, South Canara, Bellary district, Kollegal, Hosur and Madakashira
3. Bombay Province → North Canara, Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, South and North Solapur, Mangalvada
4. Coorg → Chief Commissioner’s rule
5. Hyderabad → Gulbarga, Bidar, Raichur, Koppal,
6. Kolhapur → Raibhag, Katakola, Toragal (autonomous Jagirs)
8. Miraj Province → Lakshmera
9. Mini Miraj → Gudugao and Gudugere area
10. The bigger Kurundvad state
11. The smaller Kurundvad of Vadgao state
12. Jamkhandi state
13. Mudhol state
14. Jath state
15. Akkale Kote state
16. Chowdhna state
17. Ramadurga state
18. Savanur Kingdom
19. Sandur Kingdom
20. Under Central Government → Bangalore, Bellary and Belgaum (Cantonment)
Till 1950, the territorial extent of Mysore State was only 75,412 sq.kms. The area corresponding to the old Mysore State territory was 75,412. 1950 and the following years witnessed considerable accretion of areas to Mysore state. These areas were transferred from neighboring states and provinces.

As per the Provinces and States (Absorption of Enclaves) Order 1950, there was an exchange of areas between Mysore state and the Province of Madras. The transactions resulted in an increase of area from 75,492 to 75,412 sq.kms. Between 1951-61, the state experienced two major jurisdictional modifications. These changes were a consequence of Andhra State Act 1953 and States Re-organisation Act 1956. As per the Andhra State Act 1953, Bellary district accounting for an area of 9897 sq km was transferred to Mysore State.

Considerable areas were added to Mysore State as a result of the recommendations of the States Re-organisation Committee. Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and Uttara Kannada with an area of 54347 sq.km. of the Bombay State were transferred to Mysore State. Similarly, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar accounting for an area of 35715 sq.kms became part of Mysore. They formerly belonged to the Hyderabad State. South Kanara and Kollegal with an area of 11171 sq.km were transferred from Madras Presidency to Mysore State. Finally, the part C Coorg State (area of 4131 sq.km) merged with the part B Mysore State. It seems likely that most of these territories were either bilingual or polylingual areas.

So far, historical and theoretical contexts to understand these issues have been ventured. This mapping of the context against the content and form of newspaper editorials provided cues to participate in the newspaper's self-understanding of the region. From here onwards the analysis of editorials of DH pertaining to 'Interstate Boundary Disputes' and 'Language Policy' will be undertaken. The editorials lie spread across 26 years, from 1958-1983.
4.5 Politics of State Boundaries

At the time of Independence, the Union of India consisted of Part A, Part B, Part C and Part D states. In 1956, the states were re-organized primarily along linguistic lines. The Princely State of Mysore, which acceded to the Union in 1947 as Part B state almost doubled itself in area after the reorganization of states. Between 1947-1955, Nehru and many important national leaders including Patel and Rajagopalachari were less inclined to draw internal boundaries based on language.

The Dhar Committee (1948) and the subsequent JVP Committee (1952) proposed to sideline the drawing of linguistic boundaries. But as pressure mounted with the death of Potti Sriramulu in 1953, a staunch Telugu nationalist who died in a hunger strike agitating for a separate Telugu State, Nehru is supposed to have relented, granting legitimacy to the idea of linguistic reorganization. It is in this context that the State Reorganisation Commission was set up in 1953. It was a response to the rising linguistic movements across the country.

The national leaders in the decades immediately after Independence held two dominant views regarding the question of drawing of internal boundaries. One viewpoint suggested that their primary concern should be centred on building a strong state. It demands its citizens to participate in the building of a national homogenous culture out of a diverse, pluralistic culture. The other view suggested the acceptance and recognition of India's plural culture. Notwithstanding the national leaders proclivities, the Indian state has over the years taken a consistent and coherent stand on how to engage with successive demands of leaders of language movements to redraw the internal boundaries based on language.33

In the editorials, it becomes very clear that the recommendation of States Reorganisation was enthusiastically greeted in Karnataka. Perhaps, for several hundred

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33 Paul Brass *The Politics of India Since Independence* Cambridge University Press 1999: 169

"Out of the conflicts which developed between the central government leaders, with their ideology of a strong state and a homogeneous or composite nationalism to support it, the successive demands of leaders of language movements for reorganization of the internal boundaries of the provinces, a set of rules and an overall strategy which were more pluralist in practice than the ideology..."
years, such a dream existed. Even as the then Mysore State welcomed the major recommendations of the States Re-organisation Committee especially the inclusion of Belgaum, Bellary, Bijapur, Gulbarga, Raichur, Mangalore and Karwar into its territory, it complained of Kerala acquiring the Kannada speaking Kasargod territory. Since the Mysore State was carved out of territories from adjoining linguistic areas namely Marathi, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam speaking areas, it shares its boundaries with Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. This resulted in some territories like Belgaum, Karwar, Bellary having a sizable non-Kannada population. It was from this vantage ground that the then Bombay State hotly contested the SRC recommendations of including Belgaum, Karwar and Nipani into the Mysore State. This led to the constitution of the Mahajan Commission. When the Mahajan Commission almost reinforced the decision of SRC, both Maharastra and Kerala contested these recommendations even more keenly till the late seventies.

Contrarily, Mysore did voice its dissent against the SRC's recommendations of including Kasargod into Kerala as it contained a significant Kannada population. Mysore criticized SRC for its decision to overlook factors like geographical and linguistic contiguity in its award of Kasargod to Kerala. The accession of Portuguese territory into the Union and the consequent claim of Maharastra over Goa led Mysore to question the supposedly illegitimate move of Maharastra. Since Nehru had advised a ten-year moratorium (1965-75) on elections in Goa, Mysore found the claim of Maharastra objectionable.

These editorials interpret Maharastra's claim almost a-historically. For DH, the histories of territory seem to start with States Reorganisation Commission and to end with the Mahajan Commission. There is a preponderance of a spatial analysis rather than historical analysis. This is not surprising as pointed out in the previous section, there can be little comfort in invoking such history. Theoretically, the newspaper's defense of SRC

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34 See Sheldon Pollock on Kaviraja Marga, a special issue on this text was published by Aniketana April-September 1999
35 A noted literary figure Govind Pai, who hailed from Kasargod, till the end of his life wrote his address as 'Kasargod, Karnataka'.
on the award of Belgaum and Karwar and its offense on SRC on its award of Kasargod to Kerala, seem to revolve around the view that language and territory has only an instrumental value in the former case and that linguistic principle has an intrinsic value in the latter case.

Territory, a Non-Sovereign Principle

The editorials by and large credit SRC for spatial editing of the nation into states and linguistic states in Southern India. In a particular editorial\(^{36}\), the issue of border dispute with the two states, Maharashtra and Karnataka are discussed in the context of the centre’s decision to appoint a One Man Commission to arbitrate between the parties involved. There are several points that this editorial seems inclined to make. Since the dispute is between two Congress ruled states, the solution to the issue lies with the Congress party at the centre. As Maharashtra is perceived as the more powerful of the contestants, the center is forced to listen to Maharashtra rather than Mysore. Though not explicitly connected, it is understood that with the presence of very chauvinistic outfits like Shiva Sena and Maharastra Ekikarna Samithi, the Congress both at the state and the center have to recognize and reckon with the incendiary rhetoric of such supposedly conservative politics. The editorials also raise the issue of the divided loyalty of Nijilingappa, one to the Congress party and the other to the Mysoreans.

This editorial deals with the Congress Working Committee’s directive to the two Chief Ministers to settle between themselves the terms of reference of the proposed One Man Commission, the Mahajan Commission. With the headline reading ‘Border Escapism’ the newspaper foretells that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee to set up a One Man Boundary Commission is “to make them formally to agree to disagree and so waste two months, prolonging the uncertainty, raising the tension and making for further consolidation”. In DH’s view, the resolution smacks of irresponsibility because the stand of both Governments are well known and supposedly irreconcilable. So to direct them to mutually agree on setting the terms for the Commission may be for other reasons.

\(^{36}\) DH July 7th 1966
Detailing a conspiratorial role for Maharashtra, the daily plots it thus “what must not be ignored is that the original – and, and in the opinion of even impartial non-Mysoreans- mischeavous resolution of the Working Committee adopted under evident Maharastrian pressure”. In fact, the acquiescence of the Mysore Chief Minister reminds the reader of the dubious role played by the Mysore Chief Minister thus: “what is worse, with the unfortunate, if not unwitting approval of Mr. Nijilingappa himself”.

The compliance of the Congress High Command in creating the vitiated atmosphere for drafting the resolution is also discussed. It presumesthat the role of the High Command was presumably aimed at Delhi’s decision “to play for time till the elections”. DH seems particularly suspicious of “If Mr. Nijilingappa’s recently reported, and as yet uncontradicted, statement that the Working Committee Resolution was an agreed time killer”.

In one sense, the phrase ‘agreed time killer’ is cited more than once across editorials in order to make the point that the One man boundary Commission need not be taken seriously. In another sense, it refers to the fact that before the regional outfits in Maharashtra use this as an issue for the impending elections, the Congress in the Centre and more so in the state must acknowledge this issue and go to the polls with their new achievement of ushering in the new boundary commission. It also implies that the issue will be given a more democratic face, as the electorate will discuss it too. Since outfits like Maharashtra Ekikarna Samithi and Shiv Sena are bound to make it an emotional issue, there is an implied fear in DH that the electorate may not display the necessary discernment, which the issue involves.

Of Principles, Procedures and Professional Codes

On this theme, three editorials of DH have been selected here for discussion. DHs adherence to principles, procedures and professional codes of modern law seem to vary with the decisions of legal or quasi legal bodies. If the decision is perceived as favourable, then these qualities are acknowledged and eulogised. If it anticipates that the decisions are not going to be in its interests then these qualities are trivialized.
For instance when the three states that are party to the dispute namely Mysore, Maharastra and Kerala do not submit their memorandum to the Commission for a while, the daily seems to explain the truant behavior of the two states namely Maharastra and Mysore towards the MC as stemming from a lack of formal legitimacy and seriousness attached to the Commission. In fact, it goes on to justify Mysore’s concerted delay. It states, “The commission was appointed by the Central Government to investigate Maharastra’s border claims on Mysore State wrongly called a dispute”. Since it supposedly perceives that the Commission has been set up at the insistence of Maharastra, it accuses Maharastra of delay in submitting its ‘claim statement’.

Much against such an impression of the Commission being constituted for the sake of just checking the ‘claim statement of Maharastra’, the editorials dramatically reverse the image of Commissions in general and Justice Mahajan in particular after the Commission announces the award in favor of Mysore. Of commissions, it held “Commissions such as these are the recognized instrumentalities in a democracy for adjusting inter-state differences”. Though the Commission set out merely to check the claim statement, after the announcement of the award, DH seems to have reversed its responsibilities. The responsibilities had become suddenly onerous. It began with “the fact that in assessing rival claims the Commission has brought to bear the highest standards of fairness, the most scrupulous regard for all the criteria adumbrated in its terms of reference”.

From focusing on the Commission in general, the editorial zeroed in on the person behind the Commission. It told its readers, “Mr Mahajan has held the scales even and after the most exhaustive consideration of all the material placed before him, has announced his conclusions with such a wealth of well docketed supporting argument for each of his finding, as if to invest them with a quality of a definitive and final

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37 DH Feb 18, 1967
38 DH Dec 7, 1967
39 DH Nov 5, 1967
assessment". When Maharastra and Kerala stoutly rejected the award, the daily presumably hurt went on to defend the person, Mr Mahajan, and the principle of arbitration in general. It stated that it was a gross discourtesy to Mr. Mahajan, a former Chief Justice of India and a man of unimpeachable integrity and stature but would in effect tantamount the very principle of arbitration through Commissions headed by distinguished public men and keeping alive acrimonious boundary disputes indefinitely at the expense of national unity and progress.

This effort of moving back and forth from 'principles' to 'persons' or to be more precise from 'the arbitration principle' to 'unimpeachable Justice Mahajan' is an acceptance of the fact that whenever it suits DH, modern principles, procedures and professional codes matter. It matters so long as it is in the perceived interests of DH. The daily characterised the Commission's task as one of examining the claim statement of Maharastra and there supposedly existed no dispute. After the award, it recognizes that there did exist a dispute with Maharastra and such differences are to be worked out within the framework of principles of arbitration.

Notions of Territories

Three notions of boundaries seem to inform the editorials of the regional newspaper. They appear to emphasize an objective dimension, a teleological dimension and a subjective dimension. The objective premise of boundaries insists that drawing of internal boundaries can be scientifically addressed and solutions found. Or the teleological variety stresses national unity and administrative needs of the Nation of the country as a whole. The subjective framework treats the issue of boundaries to be closely linked to people's habits, customs, languages, histories and cultures. "What has to be borne in mind is that an enduring solution has to be based on scientific assessments of objective conditions".

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40 Ibid
41 Ibid
42 DH Oct 10 1958
There are notions of boundaries which DH shares with its readers. One of the notions pertains to its presuming space as static. The need to re-configure these seemingly natural spaces according to the dictates of science partially informs the discussion on drawing of internal boundaries. The implied assumption in the above statement is that the problem of internally dividing the country should be conceived as a one-time task without any explicit social and political commitment.

Hence, the purported need for ‘an enduring solution’ and the fostering of an avoidance policy of a continuous redrawmg of territories. Also underlying the statement is the fact that boundaries objectively exist outside any cultural notion of territories. Since space objectively exists, boundaries are rendered amenable to scientific planning. Hence it writes that “taking the country as a whole they arrived at an impartial procedure for settling this difficult problem and, having the interests of national unity, and the needs of the administration, gave decisions which have duly become the law of the land”.

As per the present description of boundaries in the context of positively approving the State Re-organisation Committee’s award of Belgaum and Nipani to Mysore State, the editorials make ‘national unity’ and the ‘needs of administration’ as central to the marking of internal boundaries. Since they seem to serve the twin political and managerial objectives, they ‘have duly become the law of the land’. It is political in the sense that the effort is presumably aimed to create a national community and it is supposedly managerial because it has to administer to the development requirements of the masses. Both these questions addressing ‘national unity and needs of administration’ tend to reinforce the idea and ideal of the nascent Indian Nation-State. Through this inverse logic, DH seeks to foreground the nation vis-à-vis the region:

By any test, the Kannada areas now in Kerala ought to have been merged in greater Mysore when the States were re-organised; all the basic factors of the cause of integration, geographical continuity

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43 DH Aug 24 1962
administrative convenience and, above all, linguistic affinity, eminently justify the demand of the people for their reunion in the larger Kannada family through merger of the areas concerned in this state.  

This is one other way in which DH’s engagement with the question of reorganization of States relates to its invoking of the overlap between language, territory and authority. Even as it casts language, geographical contiguity and administration as decisive factors, it tends to privilege the linguistic factor. Since this criteria has been ignored in the case of Kasargod and the supposedly Kannada speaking area is awarded to Kerala, DH dubs it as ‘an irrational recommendation’ of SRC (1966).

Whereas the same factors are considered irrelevant and inadequate in the context of its argument against Maharashtra’s claim over Belgaum, Karwar and Nipani, the factors of geographical and linguistic contiguity are accorded sanctity in Mysore’s claim over Kasargod. This strategy of DH may be similar to what Foucault calls ‘points of diffraction’ in a discourse. The connection between language and kinship that DH establishes seem to engender a sphere of unconditional love and solidarity. DH seems to argue that reorganisation of states is but another name for spatializing this familial bond. In this instance, the SRC is criticized for failing to acknowledge this familial bond.

Of Personalities and Political Parties

Structures produce actors and actors inhabit and subvert structures. In the fifties and early sixties, the Congress party was the central political institution of the country surpassing even the parliament. Nehru represented the abstract values and processes of modern institutions. Indira Gandhi decimated the connecting institution between the state and society, the Congress party. Nijilingappa and Urs were the only two recognizable Congress leaders and only Urs could simultaneously boast of some autonomy from the

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44 DH Oct 13 1966
45 David Howarth *Discourse*, Viva, 2000:55
'points of diffraction' according to Foucault is when in a discourse the existence of antinomical statements are both permitted, yet incompatible, within the same discourse
High Command and considerable grassroot support. Interstate disputes were not only disputes between states but also between personalities and political parties. It is in this sense that the editorials of DH are being interpreted and understood.

The boundary dispute between Maharastra and Mysore was conceived in the editorials as more of a ‘claim’ rather than a ‘dispute’. DH constantly tells its readers that this claim was being adroitly reinforced by a jumble of national personalities like Nehru, Pant, Shastri, Indira Gandhi and other important central functionaries. Apart from support from the Congress High Command, the issue was being vociferously politicised by regional outfits including the Maharastra Ekikarna Samithi and the Shiv Sena in Maharastra. The Union Home Minister and Prime Minister intervened apparently not as impartial advisers but to throw their weight in favour of Bombay. They even went to the length of suggesting the surrender in what was called the “larger interest”. With powerful friends at court, and the support of so-called national parties whose leaders are unable to rise above narrow regional and linguistic considerations, Maharastra has contrived to float the proposal of seeking a national consensus.

DH posits that since the leaders of Congress saw that the prestige of Congress in Maharastra was at stake, they exerted powerful pressure on the Centre to argue for relocating Belgaum and Karwar in Maharastrian territory. In fact, it called it ‘backroom pressure tactics’ deployed by Congress men from Maharastra. The Home Minister, Pandit Pant and the Prime Minister, Nehru reportedly being vulnerable to the pressure, failed to rise as ‘impartial advisers’ as per the editorial cited above.

Apart from advising Mysore to ‘surrender’ Belgaum and Karwar to Maharastra, the Congress leaders from Maharastra cheekily claimed that such an action served the “larger interests” of the nation. Framing the dispute in a language of war, the term ‘surrender’ refers to some kind of defeat. DH seems to query thus: How can Mysore’s anticipated surrender and Maharastra’s future victory serve the ‘larger interests’? At

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46 DH Aug 14 1959
47 DH June 25 1968
times, DH makes it clear that the ‘larger interests’ is synonymous with the Central Congress Party, and at times the interests points to the Nation at large but invariably there is ample indication that these interests are tempered within the interests of Congress party in Maharastra.

Against the background of the *direct action* led by Maharastra Ekikarna Samithi in Belgaum, DH goes beyond the usual legitimating actors like the Zonal Council and the Congress High Command to solve the boundary dispute. Since the ruling parties in both Mysore and Maharastra belong to Congress, the editorials identify the Congress High Command as the site for addressing the boundary dispute. As the High Command ‘now indistinguishable from the Union Government’ tends to “supply different standards to suit almost identical situations in different places” DH foregrounds the central institution of the country by posing “whether direct action to reverse a decision by Parliament is permissible in the parliamentary system adopted at our own free will”. Nehru’s reticence over this issue causes it to note “though Nehru had repeatedly declared that any direct action to split up bilingual Bombay will be wrong, the same advice was not repeated in respect of the Samithi’s agitation against Mysore State”. In one case, Nehru seems to privilege Parliament as a site for resolving boundary disputes, in another he appears to ignore this rule.

**Fall and Rise of Mahajan Commission**

DH held diametrically opposite views on the Mahajan Commission from the time it was constituted till the time it pronounced its verdict. It advanced a theory that it was the trick of the Maharastrian lobby to influence the center to constitute the One Man Commission to decide the future of the boundary dispute between the two states. The moment the Mahajan Commission pronounced its verdict in favour of Mysore state, the newspaper decided to elevate the personality of Mahajan as an unimpeachable jurist, the principle of arbitration as a democratic principle, and commissions as instrumentalities of good governance. The following three excerpts are a case in point.
The assertion made that the Commission will be returned only after the election easily enables the present Government, in the name of democratic proprieties to avoid any indication being of the legal worth and value of the Commission's "final decision".

Mr Mahajan has held the scales even and after the most exhaustive consideration of all the material placed before him has announced his conclusions with such a wealth of well docketed supporting argument for each of his finding as if to invest them with a quality of a definitive and final assessment.

The time for revisions, excisions and reconsiderations is over and Mysore's principled and consistent stand has been vindicated by an authority whose impartiality and integrity are beyond question.

A continuum of opinions ranging from DHs initial tirade over the constitution of the Mahajan Commission and its grandiloquent defense later on, inform the editorial discussion on this issue. The consequences of the Congress Working Committee's resolution envisaging the Commission is translated to the readers as "a mischievous resolution of the Working Committee adopted under evident Maharastrian pressure".

Investing authority in the Congress Working Committee and delegitimating the Commission, it remarked, "It is the Working Committee that takes into consideration the fundamental basis of the re-organisation of States in India and not the proposed Commission that it is do duty in the light of the principles informing the States Re-organisation".

Without any compunction, it announces the Commission as 'a non-starter' as the Commission fails to receive memorandum from all the three States namely Maharashtra, Mysore and Kerala. It squarely blames Maharashtra for "it was for Maharashtra first to

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48 DH Apr 28, 1966
49 DH Nov 5, 1967
50 Ibid
51 DH July 7, 1966
52 DH Oct 11, 1966
submit what might be called a claim statement" and bails out Mysore because it "cannot be bracketed with Maharastra for, after all, it was the latter that thought it fit to peg out claims on the former".  

DH frames the terms of reference of the agency as "the Commission appointed by the Central Government to investigate Maharastra’s claims on Mysore State wrongly called a dispute." It is only a claim because "the territories on the border were merged with Mysore in compliance with the scientific principles" adopted by the States Re-organisation Committee. Criticising the Central government for reopening the boundary issue, the Daily presents a positive picture of the States Re-organisation Committee’s style of reasoning and recommendations:

...after the States Re-organisation Commission has fully investigated the problem on an All India basis, after its decisions have been carefully considered and ultimately incorporated into the statute book and after the reorganized States have adjusted themselves and settled down to work, the Centre comes down to upset the arrangements, it can result in chaos.

DHs warning posted long before the announcement of the Mahajan Commission prioritizes two criteria for drawing internal boundaries with respect to Mysore-Maharastra dispute. One deals with national unity and the other with administrative efficiency. But its yardstick for dealing with the States Re-organisation Committee’s recommendation regarding Kasargod completely differs. In fact, DH resented that the Mysore-Kerala border dispute also constituted the agenda for the Mahajan Commission. Whereas in the case of Kerala, an editorial announces that there is a ‘sound case before the Commission for transfer of Kasargod taluk’ to Mysore State due to the supposedly ‘artificial division’ created by States Re-organisation Committee.

53 DH Feb 18, 1967
54 Ibid
55 DH Aug 24, 1962
56 DH May 18, 1967
DH has registered its hostility at every stage in the constitution of the Mahajan Commission from the initiative of the Congress Working Party to set up the Commission to working out its terms of reference. Responding to the resolution initiated by the Congress Working Committee to address the boundary dispute in the form of a One Man Commission, the newspaper questions the legitimacy of resolutions passed by the apex body known as the ‘Congress Working Committee’. It notes wryly “that the fate of the Avadi, Nagpur and Bhuvaneshwar theses of the Congress has clearly proved that even these resounding resolutions are not considered by Congress itself as immutable”. 57 Therefore, the daily implies that the resolution envisaging a Commission ratified by the Working Committee carries no greater sanctity than the previous resolutions.

Earlier on when the Congress Working Committee had passed a directive to the two Chief Ministers to settle between themselves the terms of reference of the Commission, DH cynically queried as to “how the two Governments which have assumed these public postures diametrically opposed to each other are expected in private to agree on a compromise on the terms of reference is not explained”. 58 As the elections are on the anvil, the two State Congress Governments agree to give the Centre power to decide the terms of reference. But as DH points out the Centre in turn finally directs the Commission to evolve norms after some preliminary hearings. Even as the Commission begins to conduct its business and the two States refuse to present their memorandum, the daily seems to justify Mysore’s stand undermining the legitimacy of the Commission. DH studied indignation of the Commission undergoes a complete somersault after the Commission announces its verdict.

Contrary to this flow of events, the reader is told in the context of Maharashtra’s refusal to accept the Mahajan Report that the Commission observed “the most scrupulous regard for all the criteria adumbrated in its terms of reference”. 59

57 DH July 7, 1966
58 Ibid
59 DH Nov 5, 1967
4.6 Language Policy

The Nationalist movement produced a fluid nation that was not objectively linked to any particular language. Though important leaders like Gandhi and Nehru did evince interest in foisting a language to represent the nation or specific vernaculars to represent region, it did not translate itself into any rigid nationalist inflicted colonial policy prescriptions.

Prior to Independence, the most salient issue that the nationalist’s engaged with was the issue related Gandhi’s idea of national language. His proposals that Hindu’s could use Devanagari script and Muslims Arabic script for the proposed Hindustani language lasted only till the partition. In fact, the Constituent Assembly\textsuperscript{60} that was formed before the partition engaged with this contentious issue.

With Independence, the immediacy of associating the Muslim community to a language receded. The post-independence effort of Nehru, Patel and non-Congress leaders like Rajagopalachari to contain the language chauvinism did in fact precipitate at one level and absorb at another level, the rapidly growing fissiparous tendencies of the 1950s and the 1960s.

What should be the language of the nation? The idea of Hindi as a national language though enshrined in the Constitution was not accepted as a political given. The equation one language = one nation which seem to have gained consent during the heydays of the newly installed nation lost its legitimacy soon after in the non-Hindi speaking states. This isomorphic relation was played out between the incompatibility of Hindi and nation at one level and Hindi and English at another level.

Yet, another locus spun around Hindi’s relationship with other regional languages refashioning the North India-South India debate. The timetable as set out in the

\textsuperscript{60} Paul Brass \textit{The Politics Of India Since Independence} Cambridge University Press 1999:158

"The principal questions at that stage were whether Hindi in the Devanagari script, drawing its vocabulary—especially for coining new scientific, technological, and administrative terms—from Sanskrit should displace English as the sole official language of the country or whether Hindustani, the common spoken language of north India ... should replace English."
Constitution for the complete adoption of Hindi and simultaneous withdrawal of English also caused a rancorous controversy.61 As those fifteen years were drawing to a close (1950-65), the perceived pace of Hindification in the form of legislative and administrative fiats received strong editorial reprobation.

While the Official Language Act of 1963 reinforced that Hindi should be installed the sole official language, the non-Hindi representatives in Lok Sabha managed to influence the decision to continue English as an “associate language”. The Act recommended the provision of a parliamentary committee to monitor the situation ‘with power to extend the retention of English if Hindi had not made sufficient progress among the non-Hindi speaking peoples’.62 The Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967 was a less ambiguous legislation. It provided for dual use of Hindi and English in Parliament and for the use of English between Centre and the non- Hindi speaking states. It approved of writing UPSC Examinations in all scheduled regional languages.

In the editorial mapping of DH, there seems to be an oscillation from a monolingual to a bilingual to a multilingual imagination of the nation and regions as well. The daily has been stridently anti-monolingual, reluctantly bilingual and warmly multilingual. It appears that there is an effort to simultaneously delegitimize Hindi and valorize English as a trans-regional language. Alongside, it approaches with caution the cause of Kannada as the medium of the region. With Hindi supposedly lacking dynamism for governance and Kannada being a novice, English is invested with the power to represent and to represent power in North or South India and specifically Karnataka.

A continuing theme that runs through the editorials is the debate over Nehru’s engagement with this issue. Until his death, Nehru is cast as a betrayer but later he is retrieved as a person who seemingly has seen through the parochial pretensions of

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61 Ibid p.164
62 Ibid p.165
foisting Hindi as the national language and had argued for a more elaborate definition of language, nation and democracy.

Nehru’s discomfort with projecting language as a basis for imagining a national community is constantly invoked and his pledge, that English would continue till the non-Hindi speakers voluntarily accept, is tirelessly replayed. However, there is a silence regarding Nehru’s scepticism regarding the primacy given to language in the formation of states.

Another concern related to this issue is the problem of ‘national linguistic minorities’ and ‘regional linguistic minorities’. The non-Hindi linguistic minorities often referred to, linguistic majorities are prophesied as second-class citizens in the making. With Karnataka having been considered sensitive and responsive to its linguistic minorities, there is an obligation on the part of them to reciprocate by merging their identities with the majoritarian community. When hatred is turned on them at such occasions as the Gokak agitation, their history of having inhabited and labored in this part of the region for centuries is narrated. Such disclosures implicitly recognize the fallibility of the linguistic principle of territorial organization. In fact, the agitators turned the ire on DH when it commented on the conservative character of the movement.

The editorial conversation meanders in many directions. Here is an attempt to capture the multi-dimensional flow of the conversation.

“Will the choice of Hindi as the national language precipitate political instability?”

Political instability ranged ‘from growing disquiet of the South’ to hastening ‘the pace of disintegration’ to almost ‘another partition of India’. This was the response to ‘the insidious executive attempt to give the Hindi bloc an unfair and undeserved advantage over the rest of its citizens’. A 1965 headline read ‘Promoting disintegration’ wherein Kamaraj seeks to assuage the public by claiming that there was ‘provision for bi-linguism in Official Languages Act of 1963. DH deconstructed Kamaraj’s promise as ‘apt
to be seen as a fraud on public’ and felt that it lacked prescience to anticipate the forthcoming ‘serious disturbances that engulfed South India’.

Notwithstanding the fact, that the resignation of the Union Ministers, Subramaniam and Algesan forced Shastri and his cabinet colleagues to ‘have resiled from that rigid position which provoked the resignations’ the Hindi zealots were unfazed. Mrs. Gandhi’s effort to appoint a committee of senior Congress leaders to examine the effects of Official Language Act was reasoned as ‘done to restore Congress fortune in Madras’ and not at restoring national unity.

Jeopardize the Future Existence of English Language

Its initial non-inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and the date of expiry prescribed by Article 343 and the various attempts undertaken to dislodge English as the ‘official’, ‘link’ or ‘National language’ prompted an array of responses. The move to make Hindi a medium of examination for UPSC provoked DH to headline the story as ‘Language despotism’. The Official Language Bill (1963) was perceived as ‘going back on’ Nehru’s promise ‘for the continued use of English’. Even the 30 member Parliamentary Committee (1966) which recommended the ‘Two Language formula’ that seemingly establishes parity between Hindi and English was seen as a ‘sly attempt at jettisoning English’ and allowing English to continue ‘merely on sufferance’. The Language Bill (1967) seem to have fallen short of according ‘statutory guarantee’ for the continuance of English as an Official Language. When the Official Language Implementation Committee (1978) of the Karnataka Central Excise had taken a series of decisions aimed at progressive adoption of Hindi, the measure was decried as ‘the gradual elimination of English’ in non-Hindi areas. But the underlying emphasis of theses responses have been that English provided the basis for bureaucracy (official language), it connected various people (link language) and it was responsible in some manner for creating the ‘nation’ or the ‘national’.

63 DH Feb 18, 1965
64 DH Jan 12, 1968
65 DH Jan 20, 1965
66 DH July 6, 1967
67 DH Sep 27 1966
Advance of Science and Technology

Since Hindi reportedly is designated as an ‘immature minority language’, it is seen to lack ‘the richness and carrying power’ of English. The language of English offered ‘the only key to growing world of science’ and the question of English ‘for higher education, inter provincial intercourse and international contacts’ appears self-evident. In the area of education and administration, Hindi has had ‘limited experience’ and has ‘created complications’ over the years.

On the one hand, English has “been largely responsible for creating the cultural climate in which we live”, on the other hand, imposition of Hindi has impoverished the culture and ‘intellectual life of the Nation’. Since ‘Hindi is the language of minority group of states’ which happens to be ‘the most backward in the Union’ it is not desirable to herald it as an exemplar.

Equality of Opportunity in Public Services

Expressing the anguish that language despotism will lead to a ‘class of more equal citizens’ who would be ‘monopolizing the political and administrative machinery of the state’, it posts a grave warning ‘gradual elimination of non-Hindi speaking people from the All India Services’. There is no indication that a certain South Indian elite was being over-represented in the Indian Civil Services. Though the Centre agreed to fix quotas for states for recruiting candidates, this gesture is perceived as ‘the insidious attempt to give the Hindi Bloc an unfair advantage over the rest of the citizens’. Notions of citizen, class and linguistic/regional community are brandished to describe the structure of bureaucracy as a social class of power elites that stands to control society in the future. Caste and gender seem to have been glossed over in the analysis. This vivisection of the nation into citizen, class and community (regional and linguistic), is at once recognition of the absence of a discernible ‘national community’. Or in the absence of a democratic

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68 DH April 1959
69 DH Sept 27 1966
70 DH Oct 26 1966
71 DH Aug 13 1967
72 Ibid
73 DH March 6, 1964
74 DH Feb 4, 1965
society, is it plausible to put up a democratic nation-state? Since the elite English bureaucracy preceded vernacular democracy, should DH see Hindification of bureaucracy as an attempt to colonise the post-colonial Indian state or democratizing the state apparatus?

The Theory of Non-Compulsion

From 'enthronement of Hindi' to 'advancing the cause by artificial means' or 'Hindi by backdoor', DH has favored 'the theory of non-compulsion'. It was in fact Nehru who put forward this theory in his historic pledge that promised legislation for the continuance of English emphasized 'until the non-Hindi people would willingly accept Hindi as the sole official language of the Union'.75 While examining the policy of Mysore Government's making Hindi as compulsory subject for S.S.L.C. Examination, it suggested that it would have been fair had 'the students and parents willingly or voluntarily accepted study of Hindi'.76 The Karnataka Governor, Mr Dikshit's view that 'people should not get the feeling that it is being imposed on them' is hailed as he chooses a supposedly more democratic stance for gradual spread of Hindi across the nation.77 Towards the mid-seventies, the iconic power of Hindi is allowed to circulate without much restraint but the perceived instrumental power of the language is consistently contested.

Permutation and Combination of Bilingual and Multilingual Policy

A tri-lingual policy was found most appropriate for the Central bureaucracy operating in non-Hindi areas and a bilingual policy for the regional bureaucracy. In the domain of education, 'a duty is cast on the minority language groups to prove their earnestness by making conscious efforts to learn the regional language' with a caveat that 'there should be a provision for teaching of mother tongue as an additional subject'.78 Remonstrating against the inadequate facilities provided to the Kannada minorities in the neighboring state of Maharastra, it asked 'why the Kannada minority alone is singled out

75 DH April 16, 1963
76 DH Dec 6, 1967
77 DH April 8, 1968
78 DH Sep 4, 1969
for such discriminatory treatment?89 While much is made of the ‘great embarrassment to senior non-Hindi speaking officers’80 in the Central Services, a decade and half later, the non-Kannada speaking officers in the state Government are urged ‘to learn the language as quickly as possible’.81 Albeit, when the Union Education Minister, Dr V.K.R.V. Rao confessed that the Three-language formula had failed in the Hindi speaking areas, DH argued ‘that states can do with two language- the regional language for communication within the state and English for all India purposes’.82 It followed it up by attacking the legal mandate enshrined in the Constitution for the Official Language by vociferously declaring ‘constitutions are made by man, not by the Gods, and they can and must be amended in the light of reason and experience to promote national interests’.83

Spatialising Hindi, English and Kannada

With Hindi being the language of a minority group of states and English forming the language of trans-regional import, Kannada is deemed to occupy a pride of place in its region. Simply put, Hindi becomes the language of the North; English an all India language and Kannada the medium of Karnataka.

Reacting to the intemperate hurry in which the project of Hindi was being carried through by Mrs. Gandhi’s regime, there is a pointed reference to it being ‘spoken by a minority of the people in a well demarcated area which preens itself as the heartland of India’.84 Though Kannada is proposed as the medium of the region, DH qualifies the proposition by recommending English to continue to be the official language ‘for as long as it is necessary in the interests of efficient administration’.85 There is an admission that Kannada may not be an attractive proposition for carrying out ‘efficient administration’. It is in this context that Mr Devaraj Urs termed the suggestion to ‘make Kannada the sole official language as impractical’. The demarcation of the world into the practical and

89 DH Dec 19, 1969
80 DH Jan 20, 1965
81 DH Sep 13, 1979
82 DH July 14, 1970
83 Ibid
84 DH Sept 27 1966
85 DH Sept 13 1979
impractical is also the demarcation between English and the regional languages including Hindi and Kannada, the nation and the region.

After allowing the Kannada Sahitya Parishad (1970) to ‘rightly take credit for giving shape and content to the slogan of united Karnataka’ on its Golden Jubilee year, it goes on to warn that it should not soil its hands in politics but ‘remain a purely literary organisation’. This neat delineation of the political from the literary, the self-seeking politician from the littérateur, gets severely ruptured with the arrival of the Gokak Report and the consequent disturbances in the state. Though, it is a ‘matter affecting lakhs of students’, the matter ‘has been taken out of the hands of educationists and turned into an emotive issue by littérateurs issuing provocative statements’ and contributing to the general chaos. The recommendations of the Report are termed as ‘ill conceived’ and the corrective of making non-Kannadigas ‘to study Kannada at the second language level’ with English being relegated to an optional subject is considered by the protagonist of English language (D.H) as an ‘a reasonable compromise’.  

**Historicising the Language Issue**

Two dimensions of the issue are historised. One refers to the historising of the languages per se and the other to the changing debates on language. The most scathing comment on Hindi has been that the language belongs to a previous era and is profoundly inadequate for the present times. This is tellingly revealed with an editorial summoning C.R.Rajgopalachari’s view that ‘the introduction of Hindi may well take India back to the Mughal period’ and the juxtaposition offered on behalf of English as the language that has ‘been largely responsible for creating the cultural climate in which we live’. In the context of mounting an offensive on the efforts of the Hindi zealots to ‘elevate to all India primacy the Kulturkampf of Hindi, a patio of many dialects, undistinguished origin and low carrying power’, it took another distasteful dig at its stature and history. Such mocking epithets as ‘immature minority language’ and ‘stunted minority language’ also graced the debates on official language.

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86 DH April 21 1982
87 DH July 22, 1958
88 DH June 29, 1977
Much against such snide allusions to Hindi, Kannada is supposed to have ‘come on its own’ but with a caution that it would be regressive ‘on the part of Kannadiga to try to insulate themselves from the healthy influences of other languages’.

Quite strangely, English should supposedly continue as an official language along with Kannada ‘for maintaining continuity with the past’. On the one hand, Hindi’s culpability lies in its being fixated to a certain deplorable past and on the other, Kannada’s dilemma lies in its incapacity ‘for maintaining continuity with the past’.

Nehru and the Language Policy

Given the onerous task of designing modern India, the key architect looks like he fumbled with the deployment of linguistic resources that he had at his disposal in the building of the nation. The twists and turns of Nehru’s engagement with the Language policy have been congealed by the headlines ‘An act of betrayal’ or ‘A Bill of betrayal’. Nehru’s roll back on his ‘promised legislation for the continued use of English’ led a headline to query him thus ‘Mr Nehru must explain’. The proposed Language Bill (1963) was supposed to ‘act as a procedural dynamite for blasting English out of India’ and ‘not even Mr Nehru can convince the people that the Bill means what it does not’. Nehru’s acquiescence is perceived as him being ‘conscious of the breach of faith’.

Even as he is being cast as a betrayer, there is an effort to redeem him by suggesting that he is a prisoner of circumstances as well. The circumstances relate to the atmosphere created due to the Chinese aggression and the pressure built up by the absolutely chauvinistic Hindi zealots in the Congress Party. Nehru’s muddle-headedness over the issue of ‘national language’ or ‘linguistic reorganisation of states’ is either reduced to him being complicit in foisting Hindi or that he distanced himself from the policy of language despotism.

89 DH Dec 12, 1970
90 DH Sept 13, 1979
91 DH April 18, 1963
Hindi’s Isomorphic Relationship with the National

A formulation constantly contested was a kind similar to the kind invoked by mid-nineteenth century littérauteurs as Hindi = Hindustan. But this equation which lays ‘a claim to All India paramountancy’ is reworked as Hindi = North India or Hindi = Minority Hindi speaking linguistic states or more derogatively Hindi = Hindi speaking most backward regions. The ‘unwarranted elevation of Hindi’ as a national language can be read as an unwarranted attachment of the national to a specific language spatially and historically located. The issue at stake is to detach the national from language and the national need not necessarily become less national due to its circulation in English. In fact, it was English that has ‘been largely responsible for creating the cultural climate in which we live’ (1958) translating itself as English being responsible for the creation of the national in the first place. Displacing English would result in the division of the national into North and South or into fragments of language based regions.

If Hindi was in no competition with the other vernacular languages and only contending the ‘superiority complex’ of English, how is one to read Nehruvian cosmopolitan democracy against the post Nehruvian vernacular democracy? The disjunction between the English educated political class trained in the parliamentary decorum of liberal ideas soon giving way to a vernacular political elite mired in ideas of parochial identity becoming responsible for destroying the cultural climate that English had engendered over the last two centuries. With the colonial state and the nationalist movement affecting a structure of dominance, the parliamentary practice mediated through adult franchise was shaking the edifice of that structure, one of the prominent edifices being the English language. Displacing Hindi imperialism with English imperialism is to be perceived as retrograde whereas retaining English will result in ‘efficient administration’ and ‘national progress’. Perhaps, a distinction between the Indian State and the Indian nation is warranted. Though, DH is not making such explicit connections, it is likely that it is between the Indian State and English that the isomorphism is being established.
Vigilant and Informed Public Opinion

DH has its own way of working with and weaving the tale of the combustible element namely language/s and its abundance or lack of metonymic relationship with nation or region. More specifically, it sets out to perform “the only reliable safeguard against being confronted with a fait accompli is a vigilant and informed public opinion in non-Hindi states”\textsuperscript{92}. It is interesting to note that DH sees itself as a newspaper belonging to a non-Hindi state and representing all non-Hindi states. Its arithmetic that non-Hindi speakers constitute the majority seems to elide over the fact that English is not the spoken language of any particular state. To preempt a confrontation with the fait accompli, to affect the crusade against the imposition of Hindi and the crusade for retention of English, a vigilant and informed public opinion occurs to be crucial and necessary.

Further, the public seems to be split into an implied ‘Hindi public’ and ‘non-Hindi public’. In order to preempt a confrontation with the fait accompli, the non-Hindi public has to be informed of the overt and frequently, the backdoor moves to impose Hindi. That apart, they have to be armed with pro-English arguments to counter the hegemonic designs of the Hindi dominated powerful center. This public gets to acquire the shape of a counter-hegemonic public with the media geared towards obtaining consent for their opposition to Hindi and for their assent to English.

\textsuperscript{92} DH May 18, 1966