CHAPTER II
INDOLOGY TO SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

I

Historical ties between India and the United States date back to the year 1492, when Christopher Columbus stumbled upon America on his voyage to India. However, officially, "India's relations with the United States and vice versa ... started when General George Washington commissioned a Consul to Calcutta"¹ in November, 1792.

American contacts with India which began before the American Revolution were furthered by soldiers and sailors who had lived both in India and the American colonies. American merchants also fostered the ties between India and the United States. But the traders were interested only in commercial enterprise and showed no interest in India's intellectual life, history or politics. "The lure of India's wealth provided the impetus for the Age of Discovery"² and led to the subsequent economic exploitation of India at the hands of the West.

Before the outbreak of World War-II the United States had very limited contacts with the Indian subcontinent. "India was a faraway land, relatively unknown

to most Americans ..."\(^3\) and merely "evoked a picture of Maharajas, snake charmers, ... the rope trick,"\(^4\) yogis and sanyasis. Consequently, the earliest history of India was in the form of travel accounts written by foreigners who visited Indian ports for purposes of trade. Around the seventeenth century, priests and missionaries joined in and wrote highly colourful accounts about India; but these early writers were neither scholars, nor intellectuals, nor Indologists. "They were priests and businessmen, or possibly adventurers or soldiers, with their training in parishes, business houses, or parade grounds, and their roots in Portugal, Italy, France, Holland or England. In most cases they brought with them to India their diet, clothing, calendar and religion. Throughout their stay in India, their minds were set on the day when they would be 'going home'."\(^5\)

Even though they possessed enough knowledge of the Indian vernaculars, they were content merely to learn about local beliefs and customs and not about India's glorious cultural heritage.


Missionaries from American, however, did a commendable job in aiding and developing relations between both countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "The American Missionary movement was launched in 1810 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and was revitalised in the late nineteenth century when the Student Volunteer Movement began vigorously recruiting prospective missionaries on college campuses across the country." They began their activities in India on a permanent basis from 1813 onwards and were mainly engaged in establishing schools and distributing religious literature. From very humble beginnings, the number of American missionaries in India rose to 1,890 by 1912 and their number was second only to that of England.

"While these indefatigable men, ... have been impelled by a sense of religious duty, to the task of peacefully disseminating the benign principles of Christianity, they have also been making lasting additions to our knowledge of the moral and social condition of those distant nations; and ... they have greatly extended our acquaintance with the languages and literature of the oriental nations, and have furnished the most valuable additional materials towards the history of the human race and the completion of the science of ethnography. ..."7

7. Ibid., p.8.
Unfortunately, the missionaries generally looked upon India with a biased mind and depicted this country as a backward poverty-stricken land in their writings. Nor did they give any attention or acknowledge the higher and ancient culture of India.

Intellectual contacts between India and the United States started around the middle of the nineteenth century when some American writers like Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Hopkins and Whitney began to appreciate India’s glorious cultural heritage in their works.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century P.C.Mazumdar and Swami Vivekananda, two important Indian intellectuals visited the United States of America and lectured extensively in that country. In the beginning of the present century, an Indian Saint, Swami Ram Tirtha, visited the USA and had a profound impact on the American people. His visit was followed by those of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1905 and Rabindranath Tagore in 1912, 1916, 1920 and 1930. Through his interviews, lectures, published articles, etc., Tagore was able to expose an unprecedented number of Americans to Indian culture and thought. He also carried back to India many revolutionary ideas and views from the United States which helped in infusing good will between the two countries.8

Despite the activities of missionaries, writers, intellectuals, etc. contacts between India and the United States were meager and for many Americans the former continued to be "a land of soul-seeking omphalopsychites, hypnotic swamis, naked ascetics, bejewelled princes, of fabulous wealth and incomparable harems, gross superstition, bare skinned, poverty stricken, famine ridden masses where everyone was a beggar and caste was more important than life, the countryside terrifying with Bengal tigers, the houses, the fields infested with hooded serpents, a land where disease and depravity were rampant."9

The American Indologists came to India against this background. Most of them came from affluent families and had received the best education available. "Few of them had any compelling ideological or religious reasons for becoming Indologists, only and insatiable curiosity about India and a desire to correct misimpressions" that the West had acquired from the accounts of travellers and missionaries. They "had remarkable enthusiasm and capacity for language learning; with the meagerest of instructional facilities they became experts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian."10 A majority of

the Indologists focused their attention on Sanskrit and Hinduism and were held in high esteem in academic circles for their scholarship.

During the early years, Sanskrit in the United States was "taught in the context of historical philology... Sanskrit was considered valuable more as a part of linguistic project, on account of its relation to other Indo-European languages. ...Philology investigated the genetic relationships among languages by the comparison of their sound systems, grammatical structures, and vocabulary. By tracing the genealogy of languages, it hoped also to discover the original source language of the civilized world and the lines of cultural diffusion leading out from this source."\textsuperscript{11} The study of Vedic Sanskrit elicited a keen response among scholars as it was considered to be the mainspring of a large number of European and Asian languages.

One of the earliest references of the importance of Asian Studies was made in the United States in May 1783 by President Ezra Stiles of Yale College to the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut. In his sermon entitled, "The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor" which took four hours to deliver, Ezra Stiles asserted "that

the glory and honor of the United States are bound up with a knowledge of Asia."^{12}

The United States assumed the role of a world leader and as a defender of the free world. To discharge this duty in a satisfactory manner, "the need was seen for Americans to gain knowledge of the cultures, languages, literatures, politics, and history of Asia. The impulses of this new sense of mission were manifold: the need to know one's enemy and one's friend, deep humanitarianism, scholarly curiosity, and the quest for Asian spirituality. ^^13

Indian Studies in the United States formally began with Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814 - 1901). After graduating from Yale in 1832, Salisbury spent several years learning Arabic in Paris from Garcin de Tassy and de Sacy and Sanskrit in Berlin under Franz Bopp. He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Arabic at Yale in 1841 and held the double chair until 1854 when he gave up the Sanskrit Chair to his pupil William D. Whitney. Salisbury introduced the German and French traditions of Indic learning in the USA and though he did not personally produce much original

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work, he recognised Whitney's "brilliance and promise, and prevailed upon Yale to establish a separate Chair of Sanskrit with Whitney as incumbent,"\textsuperscript{14} and Salisbury contributed finances lavishly for the endowment of the Chair.

To further the cause of Indian studies, Salisbury along with a group of scholarly men, mostly from Boston, founded the American Oriental Society in 1842. "Salisbury served as Secretary of the American Oriental Society from 1846 to 1880."\textsuperscript{15} The inception of the American Oriental Society marked the beginning of organised scholarship on Asia and it was the only learned society which served the interests of American students of Asia until 1948.

William Dwight Whitney (1827 - 1894) is considered the first great American Sanskritist. His interest in Sanskrit and comparative philology had been aroused by a chance reading of Franz Bopp's Sanskrit grammar. He first studied Sanskrit under Salisbury at Yale in 1849 - 50, from where he worked under Albrecht Weber and Rudolf von Roth for the next three years. In 1854 he became Professor of Sanskrit at Yale, a position he continued to hold for forty years. He was also appointed Professor of Comparative


\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}
Philology at Yale in 1870. Whitney's attainments were tremendous and his important Sanskrit works include the translations of the Atharva Veda, the Taittiriya Pratisakhya, and the Surya Sidhanta, and a masterly Sanskrit Grammar, written in 1879, through which generations of American students have been introduced to Sanskrit. "Whitney had a profound influence on the American academic world through his scholarship and infact all American Sanskritists of the time were either directly or indirectly students of Whitney."16

Other great American Sanskritists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Charles R Lanman (1850 - 1941), Maurice Bloomfield (1855 - 1928), Edward W. Hopkins (1857 - 1932) and A.V. Williams Jackson (1862 - 1937). Lanman and Bloomfield studied directly under Whitney, but all four scholars were well-trained in the German method of Indological scholarship. Apart from Yale, other important centres of Sanskrit in American were universities like John Hopkins, Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, Berkley and Pennsylvania. Due to the efforts of these Indologists "the West received a completely new view of the great cultural traditions of South Asia ... thanks largely to the influential New England Transcendentalist Movement, what

16. Ibid., pp.105-106
were then known as "Oriental Studies" were established in America's leading universities. Academic interest in the philosophies, religions, and learning of South Asia increased dramatically in subsequent generations."

Indological studies in the United States greatly benefited with the appointment of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy as keeper of Indian and Muhammadan Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1917. Coomaraswamy held this position till his death in 1947 and published a number of widely-read and acclaimed works on Indian architecture, sculpture, painting and other arts. Stella Kramrisch at Pennsylvania and Ludwig Bachofer at Chicago are other notable persons to have written extensively on Indian art history and its allied themes. To further promote Indic studies in the USA, in 1938 the Carnegie Corporation of New York gave the Library of Congress funds to appoint an Indian specialist in the Division of Orientalia, as a result of which the library of Congress has been able to build up a large collection of books and manuscripts on India, besides assisting various universities to create their own centres for South Asian and Indian Studies.

By the twentieth century, the Indologists had provided a rich legacy of Indian materials for the American intellectual world. Notwithstanding these pioneering efforts, early Indology was mainly concentrated on ancient Indian scriptures, law books, and selections from epics, myths, drama and poetry. The study of India, therefore, had a lopsided structure - rich on the humanities side, but poor in respect to the social sciences. Americans were lamentably ignorant of the Far East, its peoples and cultures. Work on ancient Indian history concentrated mainly on tracing the birth of Indian civilization and culture: the Hindu religion, India's contacts with the Greek world and the impact on India numismatics. Political history was confined largely to the Mauryas, with special emphasis on Ashoka.

II

Before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the study of Asia occupied a marginal position in American education. American interest in international studies existed primarily outside the university, and American academicians remained largely isolated. The international studies community was therefore mainly made up of missionaries and their offspring, foreign correspondents, free-lance writers and members of the Diplomatic Corps.

The commencement of the Second World War in 1939 made the United States look towards India with renewed
interest and vigour. Even before America's official entry into the War in December 1941, it was realised that India "is a vast reservoir of manpower, and occupies a dominant position in supplying certain strategic war materials, and that her resources permit the development of additional supplies which in certain contingencies might well prove crucial."19 This period therefore also witnessed "a new turn to American interest in Indian nationalism."20 India had to be wooed and "converted into an active, rather than a passive, partner in the attempt to preserve a system of free cooperation among nations,"21 by securing her active participation in the war effort.

President Roosevelt had correctly gauged the world situation and danger to American security after the Munich Crisis in September, 1938. He then decided that America had to shun isolationism in favour of a forward foreign policy and more active participation in world affairs. "With the thundering and terrifying success of the German hordes in 1940, more attention began to be paid to various countries as to their political philosophies, internal political

conditions, industrial productivity ... And of course, after the Japanese declaration of war, the whole of the East began to get ... much attention."22

America became greatly concerned over the situation in the South Pacific region due to the rapid advances being made by the Japanese. The United States was alarmed at the possibility of the Japanese striking a blow, paralyzing Great Britain and extending their own hegemony over Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and Singapore. This, the United States feared, would lead to the "formation of the Great Pacific and Asiatic Empire that could jeopardize the whole of the Pacific area and compel the United States to maintain a huge navy and eventually go to war."23 Besides, this would interrupt America's supply of rubber and tin, two essential war commodities, for which the United States was wholly dependent on foreign sources.

Therefore, for the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific, Japan had to be restrained and prevented from making her way along the southern coast of Asia to the borders of India. American aims and strategy in the Far East could not hope to succeed without India's whole-hearted cooperation. Thus, "the duel between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism ... became one of the

Anti-Imperialism had always been an important tenet of American foreign policy. President Roosevelt felt there was enough evidence to show "that colonial areas fell easy victim to external attack, were internally unstable, and did not contribute to American security." Consequently, the year 1939 saw the United States getting "increasingly concerned over the status of dependent areas throughout the world." 

Asia became a region of primary interest to America as on this continent approximately half the world's population lived under some form of imperialism or the other. Even a renowned, capable and far-sighted person like General Douglas MacArthur felt that the future of the United States was linked with events in Asia. During the course of the war he declared, "Europe is a dying system.... It is worn out and run down, and will become an economic and industrial hegemony of Soviet Russia .... The

lands touching the Pacific with their billions of inhabitants will determine the course of history in the next ten thousand years."\(^{27}\)

In Asia the United States was particularly worried about India, "the world's second most populous country and the core of the British Empire."\(^{28}\) India assumed greater significance for America as the war progressed and more especially after Pearl Harbour, to counter the Japanese wave of conquest sweeping over south-east Asia. After 1939, therefore, "anti-imperialism became a military necessity as well as an ideal for the United States."\(^{29}\) Due to the changed world situation it was now imperative that the United States have "an active, cooperating India - a strong producing base with manpower suffused for attack and fighting for the United Nations ..."\(^{30}\) as an ally. As the War progressed, the United States was fortunate enough to be able to expand its economic and diplomatic links with India. This was mainly due to the inability of Great Britain to


maintain its normal trade relations and also because of its growing dependence upon America for assistance.

The Second World War altered the existing state of affairs in Indo-US relations by accelerating American involvement with Asia on many planes, including academic. Strategic considerations led to a demand for staff to deal with the Indian role in the war, but people with specialized knowledge of Asia, and India in particular, were not easy to come by. The few Asian and Indian Studies specialists, who were available, were mobilized at first temporarily, and later for continuing careers, in government service to apply their knowledge and skills to war problems either in Washington or overseas.

These specialists were given intensive training in Asian languages and sent as interpreters and intelligence officers to the East. Some to them along with the hundreds of other Americans who experienced military service in India during the War, were fascinated by India. In the post-war years, these people dedicated themselves in preparation for scholarly careers in Indian Studies. One such person was Professor W. Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania, who headed the Indian Branch of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. After the War he involved himself, and motivated others, too, to work whole-heartedly in furthering the cause of Indian
Studies by encouraging wide-ranging interest in India among the Universities of the USA.

W. Norman Brown had a long association with India both as a missionary's son and as a scholar. Born on June 24, 1892, in Baltimore, Maryland, he first accompanied his parents to India when he was eight years old. These years had a deep impact and were to determine W. Norman Brown's future career, and a lifelong association with India. He earned his Ph.D in 1916 from John Hopkins and in his dissertation he studied the relationship between the Panchtantra and Modern Indian Folklore. W. Norman Brown made numerous visits to India over the years. He had a deep insight into Indian thought and a sympathetic understanding of the country and its culture.

By virtue of his deep interest and knowledge, W. Norman Brown became the senior-most Sanskritist and exponent of Indian thought and culture in the United States. From 1936 to 1947 he was Chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies in the University of Pennsylvania though most of Brown's time during World War II was spent in Washington in the Research and Analysis Division and the Office of Strategic Services. Here he directed a staff which included Holden Furber, Daniel Thorner and Dorothy Spencer. "His Washington experience, his constant involvement with
current Indian affairs, were to have important consequences for American higher education."\textsuperscript{31}

He was of the firm opinion that the teaching of South Asian languages and current affairs was of paramount importance, something that should not be dis-continued once the world crisis was over. After the war he set up a South Asia program at the University of Pennsylvania and also drafted a comprehensive plan for the development of Southern Asian Studies in the United States. The most important consequence of his pioneering efforts was the creation of the American Institute of Indian Studies in 1961 with headquarters at the University of Chicago to provide long and short term research fellowships to American scholars for research in India. "Indian studies in the United States ... from Vedic religion to contemporary social problems, from Indic philology to Carnatic music - are vigorous and prospering, largely because of the attention, the vision, and the tenacity of W.Norman Brown."\textsuperscript{32}

As a result of these post-war efforts the scope of Indology was widened to include Indian studies and its inquiry now began to penetrate all of the traditional humanistic and social science disciplines and was no longer

\textsuperscript{31} W. Norman Brown, \textit{Man in the Universe - Some Cultural Continuities in India}, Los Angeles, 1970, p.XX.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, p.viii.
confined to fables and exotic tales which had nothing in common with the academic mainstream.

The impact of World War II was also felt by American universities. The War "pushed universities in the direction of curricular relevance, particularly with respect to international studies. The universities and faculty gained practical experience with new educational methods, particularly in intensive language training and the interdisciplinary study of World areas. These new methods... furnished a new model for more academically oriented post-war programs in area studies." A "principal lesson" learnt from the War was that "the United States could no longer isolate itself from the affairs of other continents ... Global warfare had made plain the fallacy of isolation, which, if followed now, would lead the people of the United States to political, economic, and social disaster."33 There was a growing awareness of the importance of Asia within the social science disciplines and Americans were attracted to different aspects of Asia - its cultures, languages, thought, art and music.

Strategic considerations led to the establishment of centres for the study of contemporary South Asia on a permanent basis on American university campuses. Therefore "one of the considerable achievements in higher education in the United States in the post - Second World War era has been the widespread movement to make the humanities more cosmopolitan and the social sciences more universalistic." An effort was made to "expand the curriculum beyond subjects and examples pertaining exclusively to North America and Western Europe and to include the rest of the World, an effort often referred to as International Studies, was seen in 1945 as a virtual necessity for a nation that was to assume global responsibilities."

A spectacular change took place in the sphere of the social sciences in American universities. There developed a new theoretical framework and the latest technologies of quantitative measurement were introduced with the application of the theories of Weber, Durkheim, Manheim, and others. With assistance form the Government and major philanthropic foundations, inter - disciplinary programs were established first at the University of Pennsylvania, followed by Berkeley, Cornell, Chicago, Michigan and Wisconsin. "Students were trained in South

Asian history and in the contemporary civilization, governments, politics and economic characteristics of the sub-continent."36 Arrangements were also made for language training despite the fact that language teachers were few and teaching tools inadequate in the initial years.

The emergence of the Cold War at the end of World War - II ushered in an "era of nuclear weapons, unmanned missiles and space flight ... Here also the universities were enlisted. Foreign language and area studies under the National Defense Education Act, assistance to less developed nations by faculties under contracts and grants from the Agency for International Development, and even the training of Peace Corps Volunteers by university staff, on and off the campus - all were evidence of the continued mobilization of the American University...."37

As the United States came out of isolation and "extended its global investments, its educational system was expected to prepare students for a future in which Americans would be increasingly involved throughout the world, either


Consequently, out of necessity the American government came to regard the universities as "a major national resource for personnel, research, and training in non-western language and area studies, and the universities reciprocally began to realise that government could help them financially in establishing new programs useful to the national interest."  

Coming to the assistance of the Indian Studies program were a number of private philanthropic foundations - especially Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie - and also the Federal Government through the National Defence Education Act. Research funds were allocated to centres and institutions with international interests and having facilities for Indian language studies. The country's three largest foundations began to enter the field of education in a big way, pouring in "seed" money to grow a new crop of university programs." Some universities and libraries also benefited to a great extent through revenue from post war loans and food exchange arrangements, like the South Asian P.L.-480 Library Program.

38. Seymour Fersh, Asia: Teaching About/Learning From, New York, 1978, p.4.
40. Ibid., p.20.
The Carnegie Corporation of New York first gave funds in 1947 to support South Asian Studies in order to "make the country more literate and more emotionally mature in international affairs." Under its President, Devereux C. Josephs, the Carnegie Corporation made grants for international studies to a dozen universities and "between 1947 and 1951 Carnegie grants in academic international studies exceeded $2.5 million." Major funds allocation of the Carnegie Corporation, however, went into financing the Centre for Japanese Study at the University of Michigan and the Russian Research Centre at Harvard University. The Carnegie Corporation also gave funds to set up the Joint Committee on Southern Asia of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Sciences Research Council in 1949. The Joint Committee submitted its report in 1951 under the title "Southern Asia Studies in the United States: A Survey and Plan," according to which a comprehensive eight-point plan for the development of Southern Asia Studies was drawn up. The Carnegie Corporation Plan was successfully implemented within ten years of its issuance.

The Rockefeller Foundation had been financing international research since the early 1930's mainly through

the American Council of Learned Societies. Its "backing for international studies increased significantly during World War II. In 1944 grants totalling $260,000 went to Standford, Berkeley ... and the University of Washington for expansion of existing programs in Far eastern and Russian Studies. The following year ... the Rockefeller foundation made a grant of $250,000 to Columbia for the establishment of its Russian Institute. By 1951 the Rockefeller Foundation's investment in academic international studies totalled $6 million."42

Of the three leading American foundations, the Ford Foundation is the most important organisation involved in India. "The Ford Foundation which began as a family charity incorporated under Michigan Statutes in 1936, had by 1948 become the World's largest foundation following the death of Henry Ford in 1947. In order to avoid paying a prohibitive inheritance tax of 77%, members of the Ford family gave over 90% of the stock owned by Henry Ford and his son Edsel, who had died in 1943, to the Ford Foundation, which was a tax - exempt institution. Henry Ford - II appointed a Committee under H. Rowan Gaither to draw up a "set of principles to guide the foundation's donations, specifying five "program areas" as ways the foundation could best work towards

42. Ibid., p.134.
"advancing human welfare." A distinctive feature of the Gaither Report was its spirit of internationalism. The Program Areas identified for special attention were:

I. The Establishing of Peace
II. The Strengthening of Democracy
III. The Strengthening of the Economy
IV. Education in a Democratic Society
V. Individual Behaviour and Human Relations.

The Ford Foundation, which ploughed $190 million into international studies in the universities, and an additional $35 million in graduate fellowships over the next two decades, "began its work in India even before official US Government agencies began operating. In 1951-52 it gave a grant of 1.9 million dollars to set up training institutes for village extension workers. At the same time, funds were provided for training social education organisers ($375,000), rural public health training centres ($353,000),... extension departments in five agricultural colleges ($420,000)...."44

In this way the rapid growth of language and area studies continued through the nineteen fifties and received a definite momentum with the passage of the National Defence

Education Act in 1958.45 "Motives behind NDEA were mixed, with conservatives viewing the bill as a move against Communism, and liberals seeing language and area training as a means of widening international understanding. Whatever the cause, however, the passage of NDEA in 1958 set off a burst of growth in area studies including those involved in India."46 Pursuant to the terms of the NDEA, funds were allocated liberally for language and area training, development of language teaching devices for grants to students wishing to study South Asian languages. By 1970, there were roughly twenty South Asia Programs in America which received financial support under the terms of the NDEA. The University of Chicago, which received $1.8 million over a ten year period for its South Asia Program, was the biggest beneficiary "There are above 2000 faculty members in the 107 NDEA centers and about 4000 in all the about 150 programs which received title VI fellowships"47 during 1970.

The most important source of revenue "which assisted universities and research institutions in India to

45. For details, see Appendix 'A'.


develop their libraries and library collections, was the India Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Program. This was the largest and most complex (U.S) aid program involving a single country's (India's) university development during the 1950's.

The India Wheat Load Educational Exchange Program was launched in 1951 when the US Congress passed the Emergency Wheat Loan Act of 1951 (PL 48). It was followed by the Mutual Security Act and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (PL 480). In 1951 the United States Congress sanctioned a load of $190 million to India for the purchase of two million tons of foodgrains from the U.S.A. to tide over its food crisis of 1950. A loan provision stipulated "that the first $5 million paid by India as interest was to be placed in a special deposit account in the Treasury of the United States to remain available, until expended, for the purpose, ... of the rehabilitation and/or development of the Indian Universities and Institutions of Higher Learning." Public Law 48 provided that "American scientific, technical and other scholarly works as well as books of American literature may be supplied to Indian institutions."


49. Ibid., p.125.

50. Ibid., p.128.
The need was felt by American scholars working on India to further develop library holdings and to have greater access to India. As a result of their intense lobbying, Representative John D Dingell of Michigan successfully introduced an amendment to Public Law - 480 in the US Congress in 1958. With this amendment, books and journals printed in India could now be purchased for libraries in the United States from the accumulating rupee account in India. The Library of Congress "was designated to serve as agent, and, with $84,000 turned over to it by the Department of State, negotiated with the Indian Government to procure and dispatch all publications of the Central and State Governments of India to three research centres in the United States, ... : The University of Pennsylvania, the Midwest Inter - Library Center in Chicago, and the University of California at Berkeley."\(^{51}\) To co-ordinate its work in India, a special Procurement Unit, staffed by Indian nationals, was set up within the Ministry of Education on January 1, 1959. It functioned till 1965, when funds were exhausted.

America gave significant aid to technical education in India and U.S. grants from P.L. 480 helped in setting up 14 regional engineering colleges, one each in all the major

states. PL 480 funds were also donated for the promotion of primary and secondary education in India.

Last, but not the least, the Fulbright Act of 1946, which was the inspiration of Senator J. William Fulbright has helped "to build intellectual bridges to countries that had just demonstrated the need for it in World War - II, and thereby foster a deeper mutual understanding."^2

The Fulbright Program came into operation in India on February 2, 1950, when the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson signed an agreement in New Delhi establishing the United States Educational Foundation in India (U.S.E.F.I.). The Fulbright Program "achieved several things at once. It cut across the class nature of travellers in the past, where only the rich or very rich could afford to visit distant countries. It enabled those from poor or middle class homes to receive a foreign education. It laid emphasis on scholarship .... The best minds in both countries thus received opportunities to improve their knowledge and technology that otherwise they would never have been able to do."^3

Indo-US co-operation in the field of education has yielded encouraging results. It has made it possible for universities and scholars to form "a partnership to insure the maintenance of international dimensions of education," which has proved to be mutually beneficial to both India and the United States.