CHAPTER - II

INDIA AND ITS INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

The problem of national integration is not a peculiar one to India alone. It is a global phenomenon varying in its nature and intensity from country to country. It is purely a human problem. The reason at the bottom is the same in all the countries. It is caused due to the sense of ‘exclusiveness’ and ‘separatism’. Psychologically, man is endowed with two natural and inseparable human urges viz. sense of ‘belongingness’ and ‘self-identification’. If he is deprived of them, he creates his own group.

Let us now examine the relevance of the concept of ‘nationalism’ as it has evolved in Western Europe to the situation in India and to our approach to the problem of ‘national integration’. In considering this problem in India, we must take extra care to be objective because much of our thinking is clouded by certain pet beliefs that have been fed by nothing more than the traditional political folklore inculcated by patriotic leaders of the country for the last hundred years or more. We must take fully into account the sociological, cultural, historical and geographical realities without any prejudice.
PART I

THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA SINCE THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

2.1 The British Rule and Indian States

We have to accept the fact that a sense of community, a consciousness of belonging to the same group created by factors that helped the growth of 'modern nationalism'. Such factors are the community of language, culture, racial origin and historical experiences. The common governmental and administrative institutions and structure, has hardly even existed in the past on a truly pan Indian basis. Even during the British period, there was not really one common system of administration and government for the entire length and breadth of India. Hundreds of princely states were allowed to have their own laws and administrative systems. British rule did result in the creation of a certain sense of unity but that was largely of a negative nature based on common opposition to foreign rule. However, here again, the hostility against foreign rule, varied in its intensity as among people living under direct British rule and those living in the princely or native states. Even within the territory covered by direct rule of the British, the degree of opposition and resistance to the foreign rule varied from region to region and from class to class. During certain very critical periods of its survival in India, British rule could secure support from the people of some part of the country or another. Of course, as is well-known, they positively utilised the
princely states as a bulwark against the onslaughts from nationalist forces that were gathering strength in numerous parts of British India.

2.2 The Europeans and the Indian Intelligentsia

In the second half of the nineteenth century the nationalist sentiment then operating so powerfully in Europe became part of the thinking of important segments of the Indian intelligentsia. The national movements that had ended in the unification of Italy and Germany were well known to them. And also Mazzini’s writings were popular in translations in both English and Indian languages. Such analysts of the political process as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Auguste Comte were familiar to the intellectuals in the great new urban centres of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. More so, the intellectuals had memorised in school, Shakespeare’s patriotic speeches and Milton’s defence of political liberty. English literature and European history thus provided Indian nationalists with their illustrations and metaphors. Using European models, they created out of India’s past what John Stuart Mill called the strongest cause for the rise of a sense of nationality: “the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past”.2

The development of such a sense of nationality was everywhere complex and haphazard, but there were especially complicating factors in the Indian situation. One factor was that the ‘changes in political institutions’ and the whole process of national unification had to take place in the context of a vital traditional society. Because India’s economic and social structures were different
or in a different stage of development, from those in which European nationalism had flourished. The other was the inescapable fact that the instrument of ‘political transformation’ was an alien government.

2.3 The British Rule and the Indian Nationalism

Many attempts have been made to analyse the effects of British rule on India. British rule and Indian nationalism were organically related to the society in which they operated, and the antithesis often made between them is false. British rule was, in the common phrase, “imposed” on India but its manifestations - political, social and economic - were inextricably blended into Indian life. For once they were accepted by large segments of the Indian population, they “CEASED TO BE BRITISH” and became simply aspects of ‘modernity shared by India’ and the rest of the world. At the same time, there were many levels of Indian life, especially those relating to ‘religion and the family’, that were scarcely touched by the Western intrusion.

Due to the mingling of modern and traditional elements, the search for ‘national identity’ in India is marked by paradoxes and ambiguities that make possible conflicting interpretations of its historical development. The struggle for independence against an alien invader can be seen as the dominant theme, with emphasis on the dynamic role of the Indian National Congress from its founding in 1885 to the moment of triumph in 1947. The Hindu-Muslim tensions can be seen as the central motif of the period with the partitioning in 1947 of the united India created in the nineteenth century as a proof for an irreconcilable division within the social fabric. From a quite different standpoint, modern Indian history
may appear as an exercise in Western 'trusteeship'. The growth of constitutionalism and responsible government is, in this version, not the achievement of the nationalist movement, but the British administrators and civil servants.

All these interpretations deal with the same sets of facts and they share an overestimation of the uniqueness and the power, for good or evil, the presence of the British in India. What is important is not that the rulers were British, but that they were the bearers of the institutions of political modernisation. The specific concern of this analysis is the interaction of these institutions with an increasingly articulate expression of the nationalist sentiment underlying modern Indian history.

2.4 The Nationalistic Sentiment and Social Cohesion

Almost everyone agrees that the genuine nationalist sentiment emerged in India some two decades after the Mutiny of 1857. The nationalist leaders must be praised for this. At a much earlier stage, Bankim Chandra had realised that because one of the main problems of Indian politics was the 'lack of social cohesion', it was this that needed to be given more attention than perhaps nationalism itself. Indeed, a prerequisite to nationalism was the close identification of the individual with a particular community, and the differentiation of the interest of the particular community from other communities. Thus, some of the earlier nationalist leaders were viewing cohesion as a piecemeal process.
2.5 The Indian Unity and Europeans

The dynamics of colonialism itself created conditions for unity. In addition to the political integration perpetrated by the British conquest, the widespread use of the English language as the *lingua franca* made it possible for the whole nation to share views and learn from each other. Low-priced printing presses and postage stamps were the additional tools that helped create a sense of unity never before accomplished in India. The railroads in particular accelerated the process of political unification, largely because the travel was made possible throughout the country. During the last three decades of the 19th century, the impact of vernacular and English-language newspapers, if not consistent, was significant among the elite in India. McCullay provided evidence of up to 'four hundred newspapers' which were published in India during the mid 1870s.³

Also the role played by the 'Public Schools' was significant. The education provided through these schools was abundantly rich source of knowledge for the middle-class children. They were exposed to the political philosophy of John Locke and Jean Jacque Rousseau and their 'social contract theories', prescribing a just revolution. This kind of 'educational exposure' eventually inspired the Indian populace 'to promote' their own case for the rights and liberties. Having been enlightened about their goal of 'self-rule', and certainly 'not anti-English', for as a civilised people they were confident that sooner or later the British government would grant them independence. In addition, the Indian nationalism was also strengthened by the recovery of India's past heritage and culture, which was, before the nineteenth century, almost sterile, especially during
the pre-Mogulera. The Hindu nationalist leaders saw in the movement a revival of their heritage and culture.

Other efforts were equally significant. Several well-meaning Europeans in India, most of them scholar-administrators, carried out archeological, historical and linguistic researches of indomitable value. They put up an organised effort such as the forming of the ‘Asiatic Society of Bengal’, which did much to recover India’s glorious past. The Indian nationalists owe a great debt to such foreigners as Henry T. Colebrooke, Alexander Cunningham, Charles Wilkins, James Prinsep, and Sir William Jones. Historian, K.M. Panikkar, has appropriately acknowledged their genuine contribution thus:

Today, when we talk of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Chalukyas and Pallavas, let it be remembered that the story of these great ages of Indian history was recovered to us by the devoted labours of European scholars in the service of the British Government in India.⁴⁰

2.6 The Political Inception of Indian Nationalism

The nationalist movement in India became evident in the 1860’s but in 1870’s during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton (1876-1880), it assumed a powerful force. During Viceroy Lytton’s days there was almost no sensitivity shown for the Indian nationalism by Her Majesty’s colonial subjects. A law of press was enacted encompassing the government with better control over Indian vernacular newspapers. The administration, that is the Indian Civil Service, was kept out of reach for the Indian officials. Whatever token measures the home government might have taken in the direction of providing some opportunities in the
administrative services for the Indians were obstructed at every step by the British bureaucracy in India.

Another historical event that highlights this problem of restricted recruitment to civil service occurred in 1877, when the age above which candidates for the Indian Civil Service could not appear to examinations in England was reduced from twenty one to nineteen years, this action created a great deal of commotion in India. Surendranath Banerjee, who observed these reactions, described the indignation that prevailed throughout India, as a deliberate attempt to blast the prospect of Indian Civil Service. He himself disappointed in his ambition for a government career, and turned to politics. Thus, in 1876 he created the ‘Indian Association of Calcutta’ with branches in the major cities of northern India. Certainly, this political organisation was nationalistic in origin and intent. A petition was developed and forwarded to the British House of Commons by organising a massive campaign in 1877, requesting that the age for entrance for the examination be raised, but of no avail. No doubt this agitation with respect to the Indian demand to reform civil service played a significant role in ‘the political inception’ of Indian nationalism.

2.7 The Birth of Indian Nationalism

Not all white men carried the air of superiority. One such notable person was none other than Lord Ripon, the Governor-General after the notorious Lytton. Ripon was a liberal, and during his tenure (1880-1884), he made sincere attempts to liberalise the British government in India. One of his dramatic moves consisted of what is known as the ‘Ilbert Bill’, introduced in 1883, and geared
toward removing the unprecedented privileges enjoyed by Whitemen. No doubt, the Ilbert Bill sparked a disorderly anger on the part of the European community in India. They started an organisation of their own Defence Association - and carried on an explosive resistance against the Ilbert Bill. Consequently, the measure was diluted and weakened. The result was a positive invigoration of Indian nationalism. Thus, the European resistance over the Ilbert Bill taught a lesson to all Indians as to the racial arrogance of many Englishmen in their own country. The Indian vernacular press found a new excuse in attacking the British government. By this time the press had assumed an important role in shaping public opinion.

In the early part of 19th century, there existed many localised political associations which were the logical precursors to the Indian National Congress. These local political associations were to play a significant role when issues of national importance began to surface. Consequently, as is claimed by scholars, 'the Birth of Indian Nationalism' in its true meaning took place with the Ilbert Bill episode in 1883.

2.8 The Ilbert Bill Lead to Indian National Congress

Soon after the agitation, caused in response to the Ilbert Bill, the nationalist leaders met in 1883 at an all-India gathering in Calcutta led by Surendranath Banerjee. Consequently Allan O. Hume the sensitive man with a conviction to help resolve India's problems, in 1883 mailed out a letter to the alumni of the University of Calcutta compelling them to help him organise an association for "the mental, moral, and political regeneration of India". Soon
thereafter, another meeting was held in December 1884 in Madras, which developed the momentum for the nationalist spirit under the sponsorship of the Theosophical Society. In addition to Surendranath Banerjee, this meeting was attended by such Indian nationalist leaders as Dadabhai Naoroji and S.S. Iyer. The following March another circular was mailed out, this time inviting the representatives to come to a meeting at Poona to be held from December 25-31, 1885. The goal of that Assembly was to:

.... form the germ of a Native Parliament and ... (to) constitute in a few years an answerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions.\(^6\)

This historic December 1885 meeting held in Poona came to be known as the 'Indian National Congress'. Seventy delegates - educators, journalists, lawyers - including two members representing the Muslim Communities, attended the gathering. About this, Banerjee states:

I ask whether in the most glorious days of Hindu rule you could imagine the possibility of a meeting of this kind ... Would it have been possible even in the days of Akbar for a meeting like this to assemble, composed of all classes and communities, all speaking one language?... It is under the civilising rule of the Queen and the people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, freely allowed to speak our minds without the least fear or hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule, and under British rule only.\(^7\)

2.9 The Resolutions Passed in I.N.C. and their Feedback in India

At the same meeting several important resolutions were also passed requesting for a Royal Commission to investigate the operation of Indian
administration, the liquidation of the India Council in London, the right to scrutinise the revenue sources and expenditure of government as submitted to the Legislative Councils, and the organising of a Standing Committee in the British House of Commons to receive formal complaints from the Indian members of the Legislative Councils.

Following 1885, the Indian National Congress met each December in various parts of India. The Congress undertook a thorough publicity in 1880s by distributing pamphlets and scheduling innumerable public addresses. When the meeting was held in Madras in 1894, those attended the Congress numbered fifteen hundreds delegates, and some three thousand visitors also came. These official representatives deliberated upon several problems associated with British rule in India. They passed resolutions demanding the ‘spread of education’, the desired cut back in military budget, the availability of government employment for the natives, the advancement of the status of Indian nationals in South Africa, and the abolition of the countervailing excise tax of 3.5 percent on domestic cotton goods manufactured in India for national consumption.

Conceived by many concerned leaders, Indian nationalism had to be expanded and enlarged in its scope. If it was to be lifted above the jargonistic rhetoric of the I.N.C.’s annual formalistic deliberations, it had to escape superficiality and enter incisively into everyone’s psyche. According to Bipin Chandra Pal, once the nationalistic feelings were internalised, they touched upon every aspect of life.
2.10 The 'Servants of India Society'

Be that as it may be, during this period, the I.N.C. was coordinated by the first generation nationalists. They were people like Surendranath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Dadabhai Naoroji. They were superb scholars of philosophy and held a Western view, ranging from moderate to liberal. They admired the British and sought their cooperation. Notably, Gokhale was by far an important political leader, born in Bombay Presidency in a Brahmin family. He received an excellent education and became a professor of Law at Fergusson College. In 1899 he entered politics and became a member of the Bombay legislative Council. From 1902 to 1915, Gokhale was a member of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council. His political career practically coincided with the first thirty years of the Indian National Congress. No one could match his qualities of speech and oratory in India, and in his public addresses he advocated 'self-government and compulsory education'. He served as President of the Indian National Congress in 1905. The same year he founded the 'Servants of India Society', an idea copied from the Jesuit Order. The Society's purpose was, to train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country. Before being admitted to the Society, the potential members had to devote five years as apprentices, during that time they could neither marry nor earn more than 4 £ per month. Clearly this Society occupied itself with 'social reforms'. And it also focused on improving the status of women and uplifting the depressed and the untouchable classes.

Although there were many notable and moderate Indian leaders, Gokhale was the most outstanding of them all. According to one English writer, he had the
finest character that India has produced, blending accurate knowledge of Western thought with a profound understanding of the Indian mentality and of the Indian civilisation that has moulded it.

2.11 The British Officials Vis-a-Vis the Indian National Congress

It is interesting to note the peculiar attitude of the British officials vis-a-vis the Indian National Congress. In the beginning stages, the officials of the British government participated in the I.N.C. Even the governors of several provinces gave official receptions for the members. This friendly posture, however, soon evaporated. Even when it faced the official neglect, the Congress movement continued to flourish. It was supported by worthwhile but unofficial British elements. One such source, was Allan O Home, the "Father of Congress". Until 1917, he was (at time sharing the leadership with others) the head of Congress Secretariat. While visiting England, he sought and secured the support of two other British officials - Charles Bradlaugh and John Bright.

2.12 The Creation of a Nation - India

The Indian nationalist leaders came in many varieties and manifestations. They included political agitators, poets, statesmen, saints, and social reformers. They were both Indians as well as the British. They lead the nationalist movement somehow toward the 'creation of a nation', which had as its prerequisite a sense of common purpose and identity among the people in general.

Although the nationalist movement failed to bring into its fold the middle-class Muslims, eventually it succeeded in its objective of securing national
independence. It succeeded in retaining a 'Western Model of Democratic' institutions inspite of numerous efforts for the 're-juvenation of traditional Indian morals'. Ostensibly, nationalism in the twentieth century has been a major force in the struggle of dominated and oppressed peoples to overthrow the foreign rule. But, at the same time, peace, prosperity, and freedom have not automatically accomplished national independence. It is obvious that in colonies such as India, an educated middle-class, with the guidance of the British rulers funnelled the fight for independence in a constitutional direction.

While the Congress' political deadlock with the British continued during the 1939-41, the Muslim League was able to gain support with the Viceroy for a separate Sovereign Muslim State. As a result, on March 23, 1940, at Lahore the Muslim League passed its famous "Pakistan Resolution". In August 1940, the British Government made an announcement known as the "August Offer", according to which the Government planned to expand the Governor-General's Council. Included in this Council were the representatives of political parties. The Congress rejected the Government's "August Offer", and the gap between the two became wider than ever before. Thereafter the leaders of the Indian National Congress undertook an anti-British campaign. Strong words were spoken. Thereafter, many Indian nationalists began their civil disobedience. As a result, prominent members were arrested and imprisoned. This was the start of something big, and the Pre-Independence history of India began to unfold.

Six major categories of episode that fully cover the constitutional means that eventually led to India's independence are:
1. The Cripps mission
2. Congress' Quit India Revolution
3. The Wavell plan
4. The Cabinet Mission Plan
5. The Mountbatten Solution, and finally,

It is the right time that we must be aware of the mightiest contributions, from the pre-independence period - 'National Leaders on National Integration' (Vide: Appendix-Article No.1.) before we analyse the sixth episode, 'The Indian Independence Bill, 1947.

2.12.1 The Indian Independence Bill, 1947

This independence bill introduced on July 4 in the House of Commons was a measure to transfer power into the Indian hands was mooted out swiftly. It was given the Royal Assent on July 18, 1947. Thus ended the long road to India's Independence. Although there were many reasons for Britain's withdrawal from India that were historical and circumstantial in nature, it is also true that as nationalist feelings along with communalism intensified, the British were quick to find a final solution. That solution was constitutional in nature, resulting in the creation of two dominions, India and Pakistan.

As India is a huge country, its governance has always been a challenging task. To execute the partition of a country of 400 million people and accomplish the transfer of power to two dominions in about ten weeks was not an easy
undertaking: To inaugurate the dominion of Pakistan, Lord Mountbatten was present in Karachi on August 13, 1947. From there he went to Delhi on August 14, to do the same for the dominion of India. When the Constituent Assembly met in New Delhi on the night of August 14, Jawaharlal Nehru gave a memorable speech challenging the whole nation to dedicate themselves to serve India, (Vide ; Appendix - Article No.2). Indeed, it was the most memorable occasion in the entire history of 'Indian nationalism'. At last, India awoke to life and freedom.

The commendable manner in which the last scene in the nationalist drama was played out depended a great deal upon the sagacity and perseverance of Lord Mountbatten. It was a fitting recognition of his dedicated service to India that the Constituent Assembly unanimously endorsed the Congress proposal that Lord Mountbatten should be appointed as the first Governor General of India. Mountbatten humbly responded in the affirmative and said that not only that he was proud of this honour bestowed upon him, but that he would carry out his duties in a constitutional manner. He was sworn in as the Governor General on August 15, 1947, and thus began a new era, ending the 182 years of British rule in India. The achievement of India's independence was perhaps one of the greatest events in modern history. The struggle lasted some sixty-two years before the goal was realised. Indeed it was a unique historical event for a huge territory and population to achieve independence in a short time and with a small sacrifice. The technique was also uniquely non-violent. Noteworthy also was the graceful manner in which the British handed over the power.

What might have been the underlying causes? Of course, the main reason for this success was the strength of the Indian nationalist movement created by
the National Leaders. The events that intensified the spirit and zeal for nationalism, were World War II and the constitutional crisis, the "Quit India movement", in 1942, the speeches of the nationalist leaders, after their release, before the Simla Conference of June 1945, the Indian National Army (INA) trials among others, the public trials of the Azad Hind Fouz soldiers on charges of treason helped to rouse the people's patriotic emotions. The Indian national leaders never forgot that it was the constitutionalist path they had chosen to achieve their independence. Therefore, they were engaged in the psychological warfare and were preparing the nation as a whole to expect dramatic changes in their lives and in the life of the nation.

The mood of the nation during the 'Quit India' movement, for example, was summed up by Gandhi in the slogan : "Do or Die". After World war II, the cry of the nation was; "Now or Never". The indigenous national leaders did succeed in intensifying the spirit of 'nationalism' and hence demonstrating to the colonial power that they have no alternative but to transfer rule into the native hands.
PART - II

THE FACETS OF NATIONAL GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT
AND INTEGRATION DURING THE
POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

2.1 A Nation Of Intent - A Critical Estimation

The Indian Freedom movement was aimed to achieving the independence not only of any particular part or region, but of the whole country. It came to be called also as the "national movement" in the sense of being a supra-regional freedom movement. It was an example of nationalism in the political, statist, rather than 'ethnico-cultural' sense as there was no "Pre-existent" homogenous entity, as a recognisable cultural unit. We had in India only a "nation of intent". Since Independence, Indian nationalism has needed a positive stimulus and thus the negative stimulus of opposition to foreign rule having exhausted itself and rendered irrelevant after independence, to resolve the ever increasing disintegrating elements.

2.2 The Constitutional set-up: Linguistic Reorganisation of the Units of Indian Union

After the achievement of Independence, the first measure of great importance that was successfully completed by the Indian Government was the integration of hundreds of erstwhile "Princely states" with the constitutional and administrative structure of the rest of the country. This was a great step towards
the constitutional and political integration and unification of the country. However, soon thereafter the regional diversity of the linguistic and cultural plane asserted itself and sought the reorganisation of the units of the Indian union more or less on the linguistic basis. Because of a number of considerations, this had to be conceded by the Indian leadership, however reluctantly that might have been. And hence the Congress party also had unequivocally supported the organisation of administrative units on a linguistic basis in order to suit the local requirements of each state.\(^{11}\)

It was not easy then for the congress leadership to disown their commitment after acquiring power. Whether the linguistic reorganisation has been, or will be in the long run an important milestone towards integration or towards disintegration continues to be debated. However, looked at in it’s historical perspective, it appears to have been an unavoidable measure and looked at in a broad perspective, it was also a wise step. Because in the long run, it will provide a deep and stable foundation to the political and emotional integration of the Indian Union in general and among citizens of each state in particular, respectively.

2.3 The Need of a Strong Centre with a Federal Plan Structure

To understand fully the dimensions of the problem of national integration, it must be viewed also in the political-constitutional setting. The union government’s democratic and federal nature, are the two outstanding characteristics of the Indian Political-constitutional system. It is essential to stress the point that realisation of democratic government, requires considerable degree
of decentralisation of decision-making power. Hence the centralisation of power and democracy are essentially incompatible. Gandhi was fully aware of this truth and he advocated: "Decentralisation not only in the political but also in the economic sphere, his ‘ideal social order’ consisting of self-contained village republics. All higher levels of government were to be elected by the one below.\textsuperscript{12} Our constitution also recognises, in the Chapter on ‘Directive Principles of State Policy’, the desirability of decentralisation in the economic as well as governmental spheres.\textsuperscript{13}

2.4 The Concepts of Federalism and Democracy

It is on the federal nature of our policy that we may dwell here at some length. A general observation that may not be out of place here is that there is great consonance between federalism and democracy as both stand for decentralisation of power to be achieved in different ways. The federal principle stands for dividing governmental power between the government at the national level and the governments of the several territorial units, whether called "States" or "Provinces" or "Cantons" into which the whole country is divided. The national level government and the governments of the constituent units are being independent of each other in their respective spheres of power. It is admitted that as amongst countries that may all qualify technically to be classed as federal, there are great variations in the distribution of power as also in the relationship between the centre and the units owing to differences in the federal systems in regard to their history, the political status of the units prior to the formation of the federal union, the needs of the constituent units, and so on. It is difficult, therefore, to formulate a narrow and rigid definition of the federal system that
would admit of universal application. A board and loose definition is given by Freeman thus: "The name of Federal Government may, in this wider sense, be applied to any union of component members, where the degree of union between the members surpasses that of mere alliance, however intimate, and where the degree of independence possessed by each member surpasses anything which can fairly come under the head of merely municipal freedom."

2.5 The Essentials of Federalism

When, however, we consider the extent to which the Indian, or any other, system is truly federal in nature, we have to go by comparing it with a system which is generally accepted as a perfect or ideal federal type. "There is what may be called a certain federal ideal, which has sometimes been realised in full, or nearly in its full perfection, while other cases have shown only a more or less remote approximation to it."

As the pristine form of something usually serves as the norm, the Achean League of the third century B.C. Greece has been held up as a federal system in its fullest and purest form. In the modern period, it is the federal system of the United States that is held as the example of a perfect federation. Freeman says that the Achean League of ancient Greece, the United States in the modern times are "indeed the most perfect development of the federal principle which the world has ever seen."

The essence of the federal principle consists in the constituent members being wholly independent in those matters which concern each member only, while all must be subject to a common power in these matters which concern the whole body of members collectively ...

A federal union, in short, will form one state in relation to other power, but many states as regards its internal administration. It is true that some scholars,
holding a rather technical view, that if the governments of the units and the
government of the federal centre exist as two co-ordinate and independent
authorities, we have a federal system regardless of the quantum of power vested
in the common central government or that in the government of the units. Yet,
it is hardly disputable that the federal principle stands, above all, for emphasis on
the independence of the constituent units in all internal matters. We are aware
of the trends like federal centralisation and the growth of a co-operative-
federalism. In a truly federal system, nevertheless, the common federal
government cannot interfere in the internal matters of the units, without their
consent. There would, otherwise, be little sense in opting for a federal system in
preference to a unitary system.

2.6 A Strong and True Federation

As a well known student of federal systems has observed, “recognition of
differences may be a strategy in integration of loyalties and recognition of
diversities at the outset may be the wisest course”. Similarly, there is much truth
in the observation of Whyte that the strongest federal unions are those in which
local patriotism finds a comfortable place within the embrace of the larger
national patriotism.

2.7 The Segregation of Power

After the above exposition of the essentials of the federal system, it may be
left for people to form their own assessment of the extent to which, and the sense
in which, our constitution provides for a federal government. The Constituent
Assembly adopted the present scheme, according to the then Indian leaders' perception of the interests of the country, in the circumstances following the participation of the country that accomplished its independence. It may not be impertinent to point out here that perhaps the partition could have been avoided under a scheme that provided from minimum powers for the common all India Government. The cabinet mission plan of May 1946, which was accepted by the Congress party in toto not so completely by the Muslim league, offered the best chance of achieving independence without partition. The centre, under the plan, was to possess only specified powers, over foreign affairs, defence and communications, while the residuary powers were to be rested with the provinces.

2.8 The Regional Sub-Nationalism vs Integrity of India

In the post-independence period, the awareness of regional identity, based largely on community of language and sub-cultural and, to some extent on economic considerations, has kept increasing. The trend has been strengthened by certain political factors such as the feeling of too much domination and interference by the centre. The regional feeling has resulted in the rise of regional leadership and parties who demand greater powers, political and financial, for the units of the Indian Union. Many persons view it as the expression of regional sub-nationalism that does not auger well for the growth of a strong Pan-Indian nationalism.

Some of these people take a more pessimistic view and think that the sub-nationalism of the distinct regions in an incipient form of nationalism that may
seriously undermine the political unity and integrity of India or even lead to its dismemberment. The panacea to prevent this possibility, in the eyes of such people generally, is to vest even greater powers in the centre at the cost, unavoidably, of the constituent units so that the system come even closer to a unitary one, such people seem to look at the position, particularly the "powers" of the centre vis-à-vis ‘the states’ in the narrow legalistic sense. Such people, it appears, possess little knowledge of the working of federal systems in the real world, and even less of fore-sightedness and wisdom.

2.9 Nationalism - An Attitude of Mind

Several scholars have defined nationalism in more or less identical fashion. Hans Kohn considered nationalism as the "first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness". Heimsath defined nationalism as:

... an attitude of mind, or set of beliefs, that is shared by a group of people large enough to be influential, and that embodies ideas of the nation and the nation’s goals, elevates those ideas to a prime position over other public values, and compels the assertion of the identity and the aims of the nation. (22)

Hayes included four different meanings of nationalism. They were: (1) the name of a historic process; (2) the ideas embodied in that process; (3) the activities of a particular party, and (4) a condition of mind among members of a nation. Most genuine movements of nationalism must include all of these, different dimensions. Particularly, Indian nationalism includes the components of all of these, and the definition proposed by Heimsath is broad enough to encompass a variety of activities, in order to realise the aforesaid definition of Hans Kohn.
2.10 The Integration - A Gradual and Unique Process

What needs to be emphasised most is that deliberate effort to force the pace of national integration, especially in 'the cultural domain' is bound to be 'counterproductive' in a situation like ours. As elsewhere in the world, in India also regions conscious of their distinct linguistic cultural identity are keen to ensure their protection by acquiring better constitutional status and greater political power. The entire South felt strong resentment, that entailed a feeling of political alienation to the great detriment of the efforts towards national integration, against what is considered to be an attempt at cultural domination by the North through the "imposition" of the Hindi language. More recently, the leaders of the separate Gorkhaland movement gave the desire for the preservation of the identity of the Gorkhas to be the reason for the demand for a separate state. They denied that the question of economic development was linked with it. To avoid fear of cultural domination on the one hand, an unnecessary feeling of frustration on the other, we must set our sight according to our country's socio-cultural realities. We should neither desire, nor expect to achieve within the foreseeable future, the kind of nationalism that has developed in countries with smaller, more homogenous population and much less pronounced, if any, cultural diversities. In our situation, the standard form of nationalism as it evolved in the Western Europe, which is generally both political and cultural in content, is utterly inapplicable and irrelevant.

Therefore, we must know and accept as realistic and desirable, that the Indian people constitute a political nation with a DISTINCT IDENTITY in the world of nation-states, although "intensive identification with a nation state ...
does not exclude ... a simultaneous allegiance to supra-national and sub-national communities", that, with the passage of time, Indian people's common loyalty to the Indian Union will become stronger than, and definitely prior to, their loyalty to any region or smaller unit. With the growing awareness of substantial advantage of being past of the great union of India, the people living in its different regions will develop stronger attachment and loyalty to the union and place it above attachment and loyalty to their respective units. Ours is a plural Cosmopolitan Society, blessed with a rich linguistic and cultural diversity that we should never want to replace by 'a cultural uniformity' that we should never want for nationalism of the narrow cultural kind but of a nation of composite culture by the best of common culturo-religious traits or values, underlying the fundamental philosophical principle (Dogma) "Unity in Diversity".

2.11 The 'Nation' - A Unique Social Organisation

The further analysis regarding the Development of a nation, as the social organisation in the Indian context is done in comparison with the Western type. The 'nation' is the highest and best form of social organisation, demanding complete allegiance from all those who live within its territorial boundaries and taking precedence in its claims over such other centers of loyalty as religious institutions, class, and family. The groups of people constituting the nation are regarded as bound together in a common destiny. In the nineteenth century constitutional government and representative institutions were generally accepted as the political forms most conducive to national well-being, but transcending the commitment to any particular political pattern was always the emphasis on the uniqueness inherent in being German or American or French.
2.12 The Individual and National Identity

One new and supremely important political consequence of the definition of the 'State' or 'Nation' in terms of 'nationality' was the insistence that the rulers and the ruled should share a common nationality. In India's past, as in the rest of the world, the rulers frequently had been alien to culture and race. A related characteristic of nationalism of significance for India in the late nineteenth century was the sense that "individual identity hinges on the existence of a national identity". The leaders in the search for nationhood, identify their own needs and aspirations with those of the society as a whole. In the beginning of a nationalist movement there may be great disparity between the aspirations of the leaders and the masses, which was the case in India. But the triumph of nationalism comes when the masses share some of the 'sense of correlation between national and personal identity'. Therefore, National Identity or Integrity is fundamentally related to the individuals' emancipation, solidarity and excellence.

2.13 The Political Integration of India

The constitutive assembly felt that neither a 'strong centre' which would represent a 'unitary feature', nor a 'federal structure', which obviously would mean a 'federal feature'. But only the central initiative and the decentralised structure alone, would provide a suitable model to meet out the requirements of the greatest unity that we aspire, with the philosophic-religious and culturo-socio-republic structure, in the Indian constitutional UNIQUE PATTERN of government. (Vide ; Chapter I, P.36. "The Philosophical
Analysis: The Problem of One in Many. The same idea is stressed by our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "A strong centre with a federal plan structure". This dual policy under the constitution consists of union at the centre and the states at the periphery each endowed with sovereign powers, to be exercised in the field assigned to them. This inseparable cordial relation between the union and the states is called the political integration (or) identification (or) unity in diversity. In addition to this union list and state list there provided a concurrent list that is for both the centre and state governments, to launch suitable programmes, to execute the plans quickly for the development of emotional integration and national identification in India.

Let us analyse the salient features of National Integration putforth by our late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi (Ref. Appendix - Article No.3) in order to strengthen our stand point of developing the "ATTITUDE OF MIND" for Emotional and National Integration in the pursuit of 'Indianness' as the core of the thought process and action oriented, practico-practical (the linkage between theory and practice) livelihood.

With this critical and evaluative analysis on the political growth and development of India during the pre and post independence periods, let us analyse deductively the present 'DISINTEGRATING FACTORS IN INDIA' as the next chapter in depth, in order to achieve national integration through human integration, emancipation and solidarity by the suitable remedial or resolving measures, that would be dealt with in the follow-up two other chapters, in this thesis.