CHAPTER - III

THE DISINTEGRATING FACTORS IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

We know that the Country ‘India’ is a ‘nation’ by the valid ancient and modern criteria about which we saw in the first two chapters, in addition to the continuously built-up consensual republic state.

After the independence, the founding fathers who framed the constitution of India place in the hands of the centre the adequate powers to ensure the unity and Integrity of the country. The divisive forces that were at work throughout the history of India and conditions that existed at the time of the framing of the constitution compelled them to do so. Even after 44 years of constitutional form of government in the country, it is the fact that we have not attained yet the unity and integrity.

National integration means national unity or integrity or identity. It is not the sense of ‘exclusiveness’ and ‘separatism’ but the sense of ‘belongingness’ and ‘self-identification’ brotherhood with all sympathy, care, concern and conviction on only ‘Indianness’.

A fully democratic constitution like India, does provide adequate scope for self-expression to most of the individuals, and even as members of groups, in addition to consensus. The question of national integration should have been
considered as finally settled. Yet we are now much worried about 'India's integrity' because of the burning issues in the multi-lingual, multi-racial, Multi-Religious, multi-Regional and multi-ethnic groups of individuals and at the same time these individuals, belong to India as its bonafide citizens. Due to so much of diversity the conflict and disharmony do arise frequently in different sectors of the country and those, of course stand as grave challenge to the very integrity of India not only as a political unit, but also so far as its national as well as cultural integrity is taken into account. Is national integration primarily a political concern? It would be argued that as long as nation continues to remain, the spirit of nationality is obviously a living phenomenon which again is due to various psychological, sociological, political, cultural and economic factors. So the issue of national integration can never be consistently framed being divested from the political origin. Now-a-days, there has been a tendency in certain quarters of India, to establish a view that political decision to either form a nation or to sustain a nation largely upon the religious beliefs and attitudes which the people at large belong to a particular region commonly share.

The unprecedented multi-dimensional crisis the country is going through and implored the public to turn a deaf ear to all appeals based on Parochial considerations and resolve to hold the high moral values and cultural traditions that have enabled the country to survive and remain a strong and democratic republic. It is pertinent to note that never before has India faced a situation like this when several forces of disintegration were trying to tear apart the fabric of national unity. It is because the consensus of democratic norms and conventions that had emerged during the early days of our freedom had got shattered on the
rock of political power. It is the right time to discuss and analyse the relevance of this study in order to stop the much worried and unhappy situation that the Indian society is being sought to be divided along religious, caste and regional lines. It is the imperative inner command that compels us to do this study because if these situations are allowed to go unchecked there would be every danger that the Indian society would disintegrate in this generation itself. Therefore it is highly relevant, to curb these acute problems without any delay in order to develop the spirit of ‘oneness of humanity’ and ‘universal brotherhood’.

The problems of national integration which are posing serious threats to India are to be critically analysed under the two headings, the psycho-sociological problems and the problems concerned with culture, politics and economics in this chapter. In this analysis, an attempt is made in finding out the causes, origin and the effects and affects of the problems in Indian Society. The remedial measures with the concrete ways and means and the methods and modes to resolve this social melody are dealt with in the follow-up chapters.
PART I

THE PRESENT PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
IN INDIA

As mind is the measure of all things, the 'will' should say 'yes' to the mind's commands for all actions without any reservation, when mind is very clear about the choice and selection of the actions.

3.1 The Curse of Untouchability and Casteism

Is it the perennial evil in the Indian society? How?

a) The Problems

The practice of untouchability and caste-discrimination are of the very acute and fundamental crucial problems for the integration in India. It is not the newer problem but from the dawn of history, it is practised by suppression and oppression of the so-called upper caste-people on the lower social groups. It has got the support somehow from the Manava Dharma Shastra - the religious principle prevailing very exceptionally in India alone. How can this be curbed at least now for the national unity and solidarity? This is the ultimate problem of the study, in an analytic and systematic way in this sub-division.

(b) The Origin of Untouchability - (A practical forum)

Several thousands of years ago, people lived in small groups moving from place to place. They were food-gatherers and hunters. There was no property or
possessions. It was an age of primitive communism. Eight thousand years ago, a section of the human race began to settle down in river valleys, developed agriculture, constructed houses, produced pottery and domesticated animals. With increasing incest taboo, family system was established. The concept of ownership took roots. The dominant possessed property - women, children, slaves, domesticated animals, grain, house and land. The manual labourers degenerated into slaves. They are to be universally found.

Intellectual and priestly activities were valued at the expense of manual labour. Kings, priests, warriors, landlords and intellectual elite conspired and the manual labourers were condemned to live in perpetual poverty, generation after generation. It became an hereditary affair. Thus they developed a distinctive culture. They became the sudras and untouchables. Treatises were written and sacred books were tampered in favour of untouchability. Division of labour is useful and necessary, but once it becomes hereditary and a social stigma is attached to it, it degenerates. This exactly happened in India. The Hindu society was thus became 'a divided home' so that the foreign elements could exploit such a situation tactically in a clever way.

(i) Whether Untouchability is an Indian Problem Alone?

Similar problem exists in other countries under various names. In North America (USA and Canada), the original inhabitants (the Native or Red Indians) were genocided and some of them are still living. But their condition is much worse than that of our untouchables. They are kept in reserve areas like the domesticated animals. Again the problem of the Negroes in USA and other white
nations the condition of Asiatic Muslims in USSR, the minorities in various countries, the Apartheid Policy of South Africa are all only standing examples of ill-treatment of the weaker sections by the dominant elite. All these should go. Gandhi's 'removal of untouchability' programme thus has a universal base.  

(a) **Dharma-Sastra-Manu-Smṛti**

_Smṛdis_ (Traditions) have been named as _Dharma Shastras_ - religious. The _Manu-smṛti_ is the oldest amongst them. As it is the creation of _Manu_, the first man upon this earth, it is also known as the _Manava-Dharma Shastra_. _Manu_ has been admitted to be the first political thinker and social organiser. Plato and Aristotle are said to have been influenced by _Manu_. The existence in Plato's idealistic kingdom of the philosopher, the guardian, and the servile classes resting on the three inherent attributes (reason, spirit and appetite) is impressed upon by the Indian Social Organisation as depicted in the _Manu-smṛti_, wherein the society has been taken to be dependent on the mutual co-operation of the Brahmin, the _Kshatriya_, the _Vaishya_ and the _Sudra_, who represent the three human tendencies _viz._, _Sattva_ (pleasure or purity), _rajas_ (pain or activity) and _tamas_ (indifference or indolence).  

How can the psycho-philosophical speculation of Plato and _Manu_ be the cause for the origin of caste in India as well as the world as a whole by means of mutual help among the people? Whether the formation of casteless and classless society in India is an Utopia? More so, _Manu_ also states: The _Sudra_ becomes a _Brahmana_ and a _Bhramana_ becomes a _Sudra_ by conduct. Know this same rule to apply to him who is born as a _Kshatriya_ or a _Vaisya_.  


In the *Mahābhārata*, (Vana-parva), it is also stated thus: "Not birth, no *samskāra*, nor study of the Vedas, nor ancestry are causes of *Brahminhood*. Conduct alone is verily the cause thereof".5

(b) **Rig-Veda**

After caste had been established in the days of the *Yajurveda*, priests did not find any support for caste in the Rigveda. Then they adduced (created) evidence in favour of caste, by tampering with the text of the *Purusha-Sukta* (Rv.10.90). There is no reason to feel alarmed when it is proved that the priesthood tampered with this text to fabricate evidence in support of caste:

We shall prove to the hilt, that was so. Against the over-whelming mass of evidence from most of the Mandalas or Books of the Rigveda, that we have adduced, a spurious ‘Rik’. "Brahmano’sya Mukhamasiti", etc. (10.90.12) "the hymn-Singer was His mouth", etc. misrepresented, and misinterpreted for ages past by the high priests of "Varna Dharma" to mean "Mukha-bahu-rupa datah Brahmanam Kshatriyam Vaishyam Sudramcha niravartayat" (M.S.1-31), "From His mouth, His arms, His thighs, and His feet, the creator created the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Sudra, against the over-whelming mass of evidence we have adduced to show that according to the Rigveda, all mankind are the children of one father, Sons of one family".[6]

The matter is so serious, as it vitally affects our healthy growth and vitality as a nation. We propose here to sift the matter to the bottom.

Similarly the high priests tampered the text of the Rigveda for creating authority in support of widow-burning (*Suttee* or *Sati*). It is ‘well-known among scholars’ that the priests changed;
‘Arohantu Janayo Yonim agre’ (of the Rik "Imanariravidhavah, etc. (Rv.10.18.7), which means, - Let the wives enter the house first" - into "Arohantu Jala - Yonimagne itu" (Raghunandan’s Ashtavimsati Tattva, P.430, who follows Apastamba, as he says), - ‘Let the wife enter the fire, which produces steam, ‘Saha bhartrisharire na Samvishanthu Vibhavasum.... [7].

Poor Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the social-reformer who questioned and stopped the worst practice of Suttee, in the Hindu-practice did not know that the Rig-veda had been tampered with, that the "agre" ‘first’ was changed into "agne" ‘of the fire’. To substantiate the continued practice of Suttee with the sanction of Vedic practical principle, when two statements of the Vedas contradict each other, any course of action may be followed.8

(c) The Concept of Dharma

According to S.V.Ketkar, the concept ‘dharma’ had various shades of meanings. It meant law proper, rule of right, morality, religion, innate quality, justice and above all, duty. Later on, the ideas grouped under dharma became more and more definite. In the Brahminical literature, the word ‘dharma’ was divided into :

(i) Achāra Dharma ("usages" - rules of custom and (ceremony),
(ii) Vyavahāra Dharma (Law proper),
(iii) Prāyāschitta Dharma (rules regarding to atonement and penances).

During the time of Manava-Dharma-Shastra, this threefold division was in the state of incubation. It is pertinent to recall the three human tendencies; Sattva, rajas and tamas as the source of incubation as stated above.
(d) The Kinds of Castes

As we are interested in the causes which create differences amounting to caste, the following kinds of castes are distinguished by S.V. Ketkar, A.M. Cornell,

1. Four original varnas.
2. Castes which are supposed to be produced by the mixture of pure and mixed caste.
3. Castes which have lost their status on account of neglect of sacred rites.
4. Castes due to the exclusion of persons from the community.
5. Slaves and their descendants.
6. People excluded from the community of four varnas, as well as their descendants.⁹

(e) The Racial Zones in India

Risley has divided India into seven racial zones, Turko-Iranians, Indo-Aryans, Aryo-Dravidians, Scythio-Dravidians, Dravidians, Mongolo-Dravidians and Mongolians. It is in a sense, justifiable. He is of the opinion that "All the people of India today with the probable exception of the Bengalese and the north-eastern frontier tribes are peoples of the Caucasian race. He considers Dravidians as a branch of the caucasians. Excepting in the complexion, the Dravidians do not differ very much from the caucasians of Europe.¹⁰ So, like the physical difference between the recognised descendants of Aryans and the descendants of Dravidians, is not any greater than the physical differences between the Jews and the gentiles
of Europe. Of the present Indian population, what part is descended from the ‘Rig Vedic Aryan immigrants’, and what part is descended from those who were ‘already natives of the country’ at that time is a question not yet properly approached. Again, we are not yet positive that all the people in India, at the time of Rig Vedic immigrations spoke "Dravidian languages".

(f) A Challenge to All Whom It May concern

According to the Rigveda, the entire mankind is the children of one father, called Manu, Manush or Nahush. The Rigveda is the sole authority for Hinduism and is universally recognised as such by all the Hindu sacred books. The Rigveda repeatedly says that "All mankind are the children of one and the same father, so that caste and untouchability can have no place in true Hinduism." Therefore, it is certain that caste and untouchability is not the practice of ‘true Hinduism’, according to the Rigveda.

(g) The Caste and Untouchability in Hinduism

The Veda is recognised as the Sacred books and as the soul of genuine Hinduism. When the Veda and the traditions disagree, the Veda is to be respected as the higher. When a tradition disagrees with the Veda - it should not be ‘taken notice of’. Those traditions that have no basis in the Veda, are all evil conceptions, are useless after death, they are unalloyed darkness. Rigveda is a divine revelation, the Yajurveda is man-made. The Atharvana Veda is not even given a place as a Veda. Indeed the Yajurveda and Atharvana Veda seem only to have been euphemistically called Veda because of the copiousness of their quotations
from the Rigveda. What is taught in the Rigveda is therefore true Hinduism, pure and unalloyed - the distinction between what is necessary - Universal and what is local contingent, being of course borne in mind.\textsuperscript{12} But the tampering of Rigveda for the purpose of caste-discrimination and widow-burning leads to the question, the veracity of Rigveda.

c) The Effects and Affects

(i) The Sons of One Family Vs the Curse of Caste and Untouchability

The Rigveda is teaching us (as Manu) as Koran, 'All the different races of mankind are born from Nahusha' and so like Koran (10.19), 'All mankind are nothing but one nation thus declaring all mankind to be brothers and 'sons of one family'\textsuperscript{13}, - both are divine.

But the Gita with its (4:13) "The fourfold caste has been created by me according to the differentiation of Guṇa and Karma, though I am the author there of know me as non-doer and immutable".\textsuperscript{14} And so like the teaching of 'Varnadharma' dividing mankind into hostile water-tight compartments, and rendering our Hindu nation most important and unable to stand, being 'a house divided against itself'\textsuperscript{15} - because of the perpetual course of caste and untouchability in the Indian society.

The divine mandata (Rigveda, Manu and Koran, etc.) explicit that the entire mankind are 'sons of one family' - the effective (impression) aspect of the above universal statements. But, the affective (disposition) aspect of these statements tend to stick on to the sayings of Gita and Varnadharma to justify the
practice of 'caste and untouchability' in the Indian society. How are we going to
rectify this social drawback for achieving National Integration in India?

(ii) The Casteism in India - A Social Stigma

It is so observed by S.V.Ketkar that as long as caste in India exists, Hindus
will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders. If the Hindus
migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem. In
turn, an outsider comes to India and stays for centuries would remain an outsider
and could never be assimilated. For the gradual unification of the world,
one-fifth part of which is entangled by the caste-system because there
is no other obstacle of equal magnitude.16

The psychology of endogamy deals with bondage of marriages. Affection
depends in a very high degree upon sympathy. Though these two are of distinct
aptitudes, these emotions are mostly intimately connected; Affection is
strengthened by sympathy, and sympathy is strengthened by affection.
Community of interest, opinions, sentiment, culture, mode of life, as being
essential to close sympathy, are, therefore, favourable to warm affection. If love
is excited by contracts, it is so only within certain limits. The contract cannot be
so great as to exclude sympathy. Human relations are restricted to those who are
similar to them in affection and sympathy. People differing in race, religion,
civilisation and customs are also different in those essentials of close sympathy,
and human affection. For they are always guided by race, religion, customs,
culture and social position. Our experience shows that it is not true that these
factors always restrict man's choice. Marriages do take place where these factors
are not considered in very rare cases as a romance, and people feel like writing novel or an invective when such cases occur. It is because of the discouraging conditions that prevail in religious aspects in addition to the caste barriers. It is the pity that Muslims and Christians do not be in favour of inter-religious marriages between Roman Catholics, heathens, Jews and Protestants. But now to a certain extent, in the cosmopolitan cities very rarely in urban and village sectors this discouraging attitude diminishes considerably.

(iii) Dr.B.R.Ambedkar's Views on Caste: A Critical Analysis

Dr.Ambedkar emphatically states: 'Hindu Society as such does not exist. It is only a collection of castes. Castes do not even form a federation. There is an utter lack among the Hindus of what the sociologists call 'Consciousness of kind'. There is no Hindu consciousness of kind. In every Hindu, the consciousness that exists is the 'consciousness of his caste'. The 'caste system' prevents 'common activity' and by preventing common activity, it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a society with a unified life and a consciousness of its own being. This divisive effect of the caste system even on the converts to other religious beliefs is also a well recognised phenomenon. It is shown very well by Prof.Parvathamma of Mysore University, and also by V.Nalini on her field study 'untouchability and conversion'. That is why Dr.B.R.Ambedkar explicitly says that "caste is inconsistent with conversion".

Therefore, the first and foremost thing that must be recognised is that the "Hindu Society is a myth. The name Hindu itself is a foreign name. It does not occur in any Sanskrit work prior to the Mohammadian invasion. The existence
of castes and their influence in human activities are pointed out by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as early as 1962. Thus: "Caste has ceased to be a social evil, but has become a political and administrative evil." Any attempt at 'societal change or development or reconstruction' in this country cannot now escape from tackling the problem of caste, and now casteism and untouchability. How can it be achieved in the Indian social set-up? - is the major part of our analysis in this re-constructive, existentialistic - pursuit.

(iv) The Hindu Religion, Caste System and Untouchability:

Gandhi vs Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Gandhi called the vast number of Indians who were called untouchables as children of God, harijans, hoping that would make for a better human treatment of this suppressed conglomeration of fellow human beings. He thought that an appeal to the Hindu conscience and bringing in God to assist in the process may help. So much so, Gandhi did not consider untouchability as inherent in the Hindu religion. Had he thought so, he would not have remarked thus: "Today our eyes are dirty, thoughts dirtier and bodies dirtiest of all because we are denying Hinduism".

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, on the other hand, traced the entire caste system with its allied phenomenon of untouchability to the Hindu doctrine of pollution which he identified with the Hindu religion and the 'differential treatment' enshrined in the Manuśmṛti and the 'Shastras' which again he identified with the Hindu religion. To him, therefore, the Hindu religion, the caste-system and the practice of untouchability all constituted one integrated complex, which was not
amenable to reform and, therefore, there could be no mending of the Hindu system. The only solution was its ending, which meant that the untouchables should renounce the Hindu religion in masses and strive for a position of 'separate but equal' in place of the current position of 'unified but unequal'.24 Therefore, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar doubted the possibility of caste being abolished from Hindu Society. Calling such a belief a gross error, he said "caste is Religion and Religion is nothing but an institution. It may be institutionalised, but is not the same as the institutions in which it is embedded".25

(v) The Living Thought of Mahatma Gandhi on Caste and Untouchability

Gandhi offered his resourceful thoughts regarding the curse on caste and untouchability as follows: "A religion that establishes the worship of the cow cannot possibly countenance or warrant a cruel and inhuman boycott of human beings. And I should be content to be torn to pieces rather than disown the suppressed classes. Hindus will certainly never deserve freedom, nor get it, if they allow their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability....

I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn I should be born an untouchable so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and affronts levelled at them in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition. I, therefore, pray that if I should be born again, I should not be born as a Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra, but as an Atishudra.26]
That is why, he commented on the nature of our country before he started *Sātyagraha* movement as "The country was not ripe for *Sātyagraha* without abolishing the social inequality, untouchability and unemployment".\(^{27}\)

It is the noble practice that not only purifies the heart of its practitioner but destroys his evil qualities too. The concern for down-trodden by Gandhi is reflected "In the measure, legal and other for the abolition of untouchability and for the uplift of the Harijans and other backward classes".\(^{28}\)

3.2 **The Tribal Communities and their problems in India**

(a) **The Problems**

There are many problems of the tribal both socio-economic and cultural. Their socio-economic problems arise from the age-long exploitation of the tribal people by plain-dwellers. This led to their indebtedness, eviction and serfdom. The overlords and the petty government officials, in the past extracted forced labour \(\text{practised}\) without payment of wages. This system is still in many places in India. Some other serious economic and social problems have arisen under the impact of new revenue policies, land tenure systems, restrictive forest policies and application of the All India Civil and penal codes.

(b) **The Causes**

These socio-economic problems are caused due to holding on to traditional and primitive ways in their system of production. Agriculture has been their mainstay and they still depend on primitive methods. Shifting cultivation is \(\text{practised widely which is not only inefficient and uneconomic but also leads into}\)
a blind alley. The separation from the mainstream is the main cause for this isolation.

The tribal people and scheduled castes together form one fourth of the total population in India. For centuries, the tribal people have lived in seclusion and isolation. They are distributed both geographically and demographically, into regional groupings and zonal classifications. The geographical classification as North, North-Eastern, the central or the middle zone, and the Southern zone, are co-inciding with the linguistic and racial activities of the tribal people, living in these three zones.

(c) The Linguistic Symptom - Origin

First, most of the tribal people in the North, North-Eastern region speak either Sina-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese, though the Khasi speak an admixture of the Mon-Khmer (Austric). The Austric family of languages is generally spoken in the central zone. But there are other important tribes like the oraon and the kolan, the khond and the gond who speak languages having a Dravidian affinity. The language of the tribal people in the Southern zone belong to the Dravidian stock, which includes Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese or Coorg.

As far as racial affinity is concerned, they are found, mainly in two groups, Dravidians and Mongoloid types. Many anthropologists have classified the tribal people into different groups on the basic of their cultural distance from the rural - urban groups. Indian conference of social work 1952 appointed a Tribal Welfare Committee which has suggested the following classification : Tribal communities,
semi-tribal communities, uncultural tribal communities and totally assimilated tribes.

(d) **The Effects and Affects**

(i) **The Social Status : The Tribes**

The large number of people who are called scheduled tribes, generally reside in hill stations, forest and other areas largely outside the mainstream of Indian social and economic life. Their social status does not have the stigma associated with that of the untouchables and unlike the latter, they are concentrated in certain areas like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and the North-Eastern Regions like Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and parts of Assam. Having been outside the mainstream of Indian life for many centuries, they retain customs, beliefs and way of life alien to the rest of Indian people and are educationally and economically backward (except Nagaland) and have suffered more economic exploitation than the rest of the country.

3.3 **The Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in India**

(a) **The Problems**

(i) **The Constitution of India and the Practice of Casteism**

Much has been said earlier regarding the social practice of Casteism in the Indian society. The constitution came into force on January 26, 1950 and the planning commission was set up in March of the same year with a pointed reference in its terms of reference to the directive principles of state policy and in particular of Article 38 which read as
The State shall strive to promote the 'welfare of the people' by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which Justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.[29]

The constitution makes India into a Sovereign, Democratic Republic to secure all its citizens, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. More so, the political democracy must be a 'social democracy'. Political democracy cannot last long unless there lies at the base of it social democracy; it means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a 'union of trinity' in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from fraternity. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is 'complete absence of two things' in Indian society. One of them is 'equality', the second thing we are wanting is recognition of the 'principle of fraternity'. How we are going to bring these two principles to liberate or emancipate us, is the primordial issue of our study.

(ii) The Social Structure of India

Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer and Prof. Andre Beteille asserted and cautioned the need and the direction of our constitution. The keynote thought of the constitution is "social revolution, its juridical signature is social justice, its political motif is government for the people, by the people".30 A constitution may indicate the direction in which we are to move, but the 'social structure' will decide how far we are able to move and at what pace we draw the attention to the fact. We are at every step confronted by the divergence between what exists as social
reality and what ought to exist according to the laws we have created for ourselves.

(iii) The Hindus, Casteism and Backward List in India

In addition to the points mentioned already about the caste-system, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s assertion that “the caste system prevents common activity and by preventing common activity it had prevented the Hindus from becoming a society with a unified life and a consciousness of its own being”. Therefore, the practice of fraternity to equate all of us, is curtailed by the so called caste-system. How we are going to eradicate the curse of caste-system instead of developing new and newer lists of backward classes with caste as the criterion? - is the major problem of our analysis in this sub-heading for social re-construction in India.

(iv) The problems in Drawing the Backward List in India

There has been no accepted definition of these ‘other backward classes’ while there is no ambiguity about the definition of scheduled castes because of untouchability, and of scheduled tribes because of their ‘seclusion and isolation’ and both these categories have been given ‘concrete connotation’ by the official listing of specific communities that are brought under these categories, there is no such concreteness attached to the expression ‘backward classes’ other than the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Although an attempt was made to draw up such a list by the Backward classes commission appointed by the President in 1953, the drawing up of this list even now poses much problems in our country. It is because of the ambiguousness of this concept.
(b) The origin of the problems

(i) The concept of Backwardness: An Analysis

As dealt with the problems of scheduled tribes earlier in details along with scheduled castes, we come to know that the Indian constitution lumped together the ‘scheduled castes and scheduled tribes’ as needing special protection and differential treatment. But the word ‘backwardness’ is sufficiently conspicuous because apart from the categories of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, there are also other ‘sections of the population’ which suffer from backwardness, even though they do not share either its social stigma of seclusion or isolation from the national mainstream. These are what are generally termed as ‘other backward classes’. Article 46 of the constitution of India, which deals with the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also deals with these ‘other backward classes’ as

The state shall provide with special ‘CARE’ the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. [32]

But this article contains no definition or what are the ‘weaker sections’ and how many of them are there.

(ii) The Weaker Sections of the People - An Analysis

Article 340, which deals with the ‘weaker sections’ other than the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, now uses a new nomenclature namely, "socially and educationally backward classes". This same article directs the authorities, the President of India, to appoint a commission to investigate their conditions and the
difficulties under which they labour, and to make recommendations as to the steps that shall be taken by the union or any state 'to remove such difficulties' and improve their condition, and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or State Governments. The commission's report is required to be placed before the parliament together with a memorandum on the action taken thereon.

Therefore article 16 clause 4, limits the provision made by clause 1 for equality of 'quality of opportunity' for all citizens in employment under the state. Thus clause 4, article 16 reads,

Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making 'any provision' for the reservation of appointments of post in favour of 'any backward class' of citizens which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the service under the state.[34]

The term 'state' in this context includes both the union and the state governments.

(c) The Effects and Affects

(i) The First Backward Classes Commission

As pointed out by Mare Galanter, the commission did not use 'criteria of backwardness' to isolate categories of 'backward persons' but to isolate 'backward communities'. He has pointed out that "the units to which these tests were applied for the most part caste and sub-caste groups. In identifying the backward, the commission used 'caste' in two ways: first, it used caste groups as units or 'classes' to be classified, and second, it used the 'position or standing' of these
groups in the social hierarchy, as the principal criterion for determining their backwardness". And it made extensive and far reaching recommendations for the improvement of their conditions mainly in terms of economic position, reservation in government service, and educational institutions and in property relations in the obvious belief that this would also improve their social hierarchial status.

(ii) The Controversial Issue

The commission's recommendations ran into trouble from their very inception.

The chairman stating in his forwarding letter that it would have been better if we could determine principles of backwardness on 'principles other than caste', and expressing the view that the caste test was 'repugnant to democracy and inimical' to the creation of the desired 'Casteless and classless society'.

The report also ran into rough weather when it was placed before parliament, the Home Minister asserting that its emphasis on 'caste' was only strengthening the greatest hindrance to national progress towards an 'egalitarian society'. As so the comments of Mare Galanter run as such: "The recognition of specified caste as backward may serve to retain and perpetuate the existing distinction on the basis of caste".

(iii) The Critical Position of the People of India

The Central Government decided that no national list of 'other backward classes' should be drawn up and asked the State Governments to draw up their
own lists, adding, however, that it was better to apply economic tests than to do by caste. The central government’s efforts to get the states ‘to adopt economic criteria’ for determining backwardness were strengthened by ‘the Supreme Court’ striking down the Mysore backward classes list which placed exclusive reliance on caste, standing as a measure of backwardness. And the report of the Backward class commission was finally rejected by the Central Government in 1965 with its spokesman informing the parliament that ‘caste-criteria’ were not only administratively unworkable but also contrary to the first principle of ‘social justice’ in their unfairness to ‘the other poor’. The matter thus reverted to the states with the result that the composition of the ‘other backward classes’, the scope of preferential programmes and the level of benefits continued to vary widely from state to state.

These lists however, relied on caste and communal classifications as the predominant criteria for determining who is backward, with income tests also being employed in many cases and sometimes also independently. Summing up the position as it prevailed in 1978, Mr. Galanter writes,

Some would confine this category to the lowly - those "far below" the mean in welfare and resources, or those whose deprivations are comparable to those of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; others use the term Backward Classes to describe a wide middle stratum of Indian society, who require and deserve special help because they are lagging behind the most advanced groups. There is further disagreement on whether the term refers to the ‘less well-off in all communities’ or whether the term refers to the ‘less well-off in all communities’ or whether it encompasses only those ‘communities’ that suffer backwardness as a group.[38]
(iv) **The Second Backward Classes Commission: The Mandal Commission, 1978**

And the whole question was brought up again and again for a definitive solution by the appointment of a second backward classes commission named after its chairman, popularly known as the Mandal Commission by the Janata Government in December 1978.

(a) **The Implications of the Recommendations of the Mandal Commission, 1978**

This commission arrived at the figure of 52 percent of the total population for other backward classes. The reservation for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was already 22.5 percent. But according to the supreme court judgement, the total reservations for SCs, STs and O.B.Cs cannot exceed 50 percent. So, this commission recommended only 27 percent as the reserved quota for all O.B.Cs with the provision that states which have already introduced reservations for O.B.Cs exceeding 27 percent will remain unaffected by their recommendation. This unprecise and unspecified recommendation of 27 percent quota for all O.B.Cs created much problems in the states which introduced more than this stipulated 27 percent of reservations for O.B.Cs. More so, our constitution did not specifically state that the existing level of 69 percent or less but more than 50 percent of reservations of any state (particularly Tamil Nadu, 69 percentage of reservation) should be restricted within 50 percent. Such a stipulation if any is also against the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.
(b) The Indian Strategy on Backwardness and National Unity

The main strategy followed by the Indian Government and its planners in dealing with the problem of backwardness has been legislation, penal provisions for its breach, reservations in jobs and admissions to educational institutions, and special grants and specific programmes for the educational and economic uplift of the backward sections of Indian society. And the backwardness have been identified either with the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes or 'other backward classes' based largely on caste or individuals and classes based on the economic criteria of occupation, income and poverty. It is not necessary to add that the last two categories cut into each other and are not mutually exclusive. While both categories compete with the first for the allocations available with Government for social expenditure and the means for the implementation of social policy.39

(c) The Irreversible Increaseamnet : The Practice of Casteism

Although untouchability has been abolished constitutionally by the 'Untouchability Offences Act of 1955' and then by more stringent penalties and less rigid procedures in 1976 by remaining as protection of Civil Rights Act 1955', the atrocities on scheduled castes have not ceased or diminished. As per the drinking water, the state has provided a scheme by providing a separate source. This instead of treating jointly with other people, create a separation (or) seclusion or isolation. The scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes are treated in a special manner for their well-being by social plannings. But the improvement even after 44 years of the constitutional service is not so
fruitfully come out except some form of educational development. Above all, the 'caste based criterion' of determining the backwardness is so badly against the vision of our national leaders, because it promotes the caste feeling and the separation among people instead of aspiring for National unity by emotional integration. It is the biggest problem still more vigorous in our present Indian set up. Unless and until we are ready for a total revolution, this melody would not allow us atleast to breathe the fresh air in the near future because 'mind of man is ultimately the origin for all problems'.

(d) The Retrieval of the Problem

Subsequently, Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer in his Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Memorial Lectures (1980) has referred to this issue, the statements made by the former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, as far back as 1971, as such:

We should be against making backwardness a vested interest. We thought the word 'backwardness' would gradually go out of our vocabulary but we find more and more people seeking to get listed as backward. It is being joked that at this rate the whole population would get listed as backward. This is a backward-looking approach. [40]

Nearly ten years (from 1971 to 1980) later, Mrs. Gandhi also addressed a function organised by the backward classes commission, that was quoted by V. K. R. V. Rao, thus: "we are committed to a secular, socialistic society and planned development of the country. This is meaningful only when the backward classes are helped to share the progress.... and for which she cautioned the country to wait for a widely accepting nation-based formula, as such:
We shall have to devise a formula which commands wide acceptance and strengthens and not weakens the national fabric' and gave expression to her apprehension "sometimes it seems to us, that there is a competition to be categorised as backward classes. [41]

As against this cautious and balanced approach of Mrs. Gandhi from 1971 onwards regarding this controversial issue (whether the economic or the caste factor should be the basis for identifying the backward classes) however the conclusions reached by the All India Seminar on Backward Classes (held in March 1979) that 'the caste alone' could be the criterion for backwardness, as the second backward classes commission recommended. How are we going to eradicate the caste-system in India? - to produce the casteless and classless society. It is really a persisting problem and a burning issue at present in the Indian social fabric.
PART II

THE PRESENT CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA

As the agent so is the action. A man is the mini-creature. The present cultural, political and other economic problems are centre around only on the individual man’s actions and the rear consequences of his actions in the society. Let us analyse how the undue actions of man or men (against the due actions), create problems for himself and for others too in the social rather national fabric.

3.1 The Construct of Nationhood in India

(a) The Problems

Nationhood is made up of certain tangible and intangible elements.

1. The Tangible Elements

   a. A well-defined territory

   b. Political unity represented by a constitution (written or unwritten) and common citizenship.

   c. Government with authority over the entire territory and power to deal with other nations.

   d. In multi-lingual nations, a workable medium or media of communication between the Constituent units.

   Indian nation does have all these elements. In the respect of (d) the situation is almost satisfactory because of the introduction of 'three language
formula' through the National Policy of Education, 1968. But the single medium for oral communication is suggested in the 'language issue' - in the second part of the next chapter.

2. The Intangible Elements

The 'intangible elements' which really make the nationhood. These elements, may be expressed in terms of 'attitude of mind' mentioned as below:

(a) 'An attitude of mind' that makes it, natural and normal for 'every citizen' to regard 'loyalty to the Nation' as being above the group and sectional loyalties.

(b) 'An attitude of mind' that makes it, natural and normal for 'every group or section of the Nation' to subordinate its interests to the 'national interests'.

(c) 'An attitude of mind' that makes it, natural and normal for 'the Nation' to think of 'the interest of every citizen' and of 'every group and section of the Nation'.

Unfortunately these intangible elements are not fully present in 'all the citizens' of the Indian nation.

(b) The Causes

It is because of the lack of 'integrity in individual', society, panchayat, block, district, state and national levels, because of Psychological, Sociological, Political, Religious, Cultural, Linguistic and Economic disunity, the intangible
elements are not fostered well in the minds of the Indian people. It was during the struggle for freedom against the British rule that the people of India got united. But as soon as India won her independence, a decline of public spirit and national outlook set in again.

(c) The Effect and Affects

The people became preoccupied with personal and local interests in the due course of their day-to-day way of life after Independence. This is good in a way for the nation. But too much of selfishness leads us even to the extent of questioning the very integrity of our nation. That is why the presence of disintegrating elements compel us to proceed with the measures for the development of emotional identity and consequently individual identity for the National unity and integrity of India.

3.2 The Concept of Secularism in India

(a) The Problems

India, as a secular state, aims at National Integration not by developing an adverse and negative attitude towards religion but by showing equal respects to all religions. It is highly controversial among the citizens of the nation because in the year 1950, those who framed the constitution included only sovereign, democratic and republican values. In the year 1976, the secularistic dimension of value found its fullest inclusion. Finally in the year 1981, the socialistic aspiration of value held its highest place in the constitution. The Gandhian ideals 'Sarvadharma samanatva' i.e. equality of all religions and 'Sarvadharma
samabhava' i.e. equal respect for all religions, stand as the primordial principles in the determination of secularistic dimension of the constitution in force in India.

The following are the specific issues in the actual execution of the ideal ‘secularism’ among the communal based divergent - Indian Society. We should be clear about the concept of Indian nationhood. The concept of a ‘single, composite and secular’ nationhood alone can form the basis for national integration in India. As far as the concept of secularism is concerned, freedom guaranteed in the constitution to practise and preach any religion is not adequate; it could, at best be described as ‘communal secularism’ which has played a very limited role in promoting communal harmony.

(b) The causes

The implementation of the secularistic and socialistic principles in the practical arena causes much tension and anxiety in the minds of the people, of those who are devoid of the above mentioned three intangible elements of nationhood. The experience has amply proved that it is ineffective in deciding the tenor of social and national life. The reasons are obvious; India is a multi-religious country. Religion in this country is a major factor in forming the basis of the contours of the social order. As a result, ‘politico-social secularism’ and ‘religio-cultural communalism’ are at logger-heads with each other in the growth of a ‘composite-secular nationhood’. Indo-pakistan hostility has proved a serious danger to secularism in this country. India’s secularism is being threatened by the rising tide of militant nationalism. The concept of secularism should include ‘secularisation of social life’ and not merely freedom of religions. Communal and
other forms of riots are becoming rampant and involving greater numbers both as its victims and as its perpetrators. This situation is creating panic and insecurity among various sections, eroding their faith in law and order. Riots are increasingly acquiring a moral sanction behind them. How are we going to implement the ideal of secularism properly? That is the problem we must seriously look into.

(c) The Effects and Affects

(i) The Religion and Regionalism

Religion and Regionalism reduce the effectiveness of democracy as a living force. Of the two, religion has been a source of greater mischief in the past. It is not suggested here that people in a secular democracy should not be allowed to profess a religious faith. What, however, is suggested is that religion in the life of a citizen should be kept in its proper place, that is, it should be the private concern of individuals and that it should not breed narrow bigotry, intolerance and disrespect of other faiths and their followers. Again, it should not be a determinant of broader national policies and objectives. A ‘secular democracy’ has to keep itself free from religious determinism, and yet allow every citizen the freedom to profess, practise and preach the religion of his choice. Fortunately, this has been provided for in the political constitution of India among the fundamental rights. Democracy stands for a ‘macrocospic unity’ in a ‘microcospic diversity’. The same notion is very aptly expressed in a different context. "Democracy stands for cultural pluralism, for integration of various norms into a kind of orchestrated heterogeneity in which different groups function in harmony."43
Communalism and regionalism are the two other handicaps of the new secular democracy in India. Communalism, rooted in a common religion, has a long history, but it flared up on the eve of the attainment of independence in 1947. The two-nation theory of the Muslim League party of the pre-partition days had filled the minds of the Muslim masses with the varieties of communal hatredness. Other communal and sectarian organisations naturally reacted to this by their own communal ideologies and behaviour. The congress, which was a nationalist organisation to the core, could not restore sanity and light in the dust storm of communal passions which were responsible for riots between Hindus and Muslims, the major communities of India. A narrow and circumscribed outlook gripped the minds of the people and a rational and national point of view forsook them. But communalism, as has been observed above, is of much older origin and long before its volcanic eruption in 1947. Many misguided people in authority showed predilections for bestowing wrong favours primarily on their co-religionists by throwing the principles of fair play and justice to the winds. This persists in some quarters even today.

However, there is some consolation to find that since the adoption of secular constitution, some of the communal and sectarian tendencies have been somewhat on the wane. Perhaps the rising tide of new nationalism has either partially subdued such organisations or forced them to give a slightly new orientation to their programmes and policies, more suited to the spirit of the changing time. Yet ideas of creed and community, based on ‘common religion’, are so deeply embedded in people’s minds that it is not often an easy matter for many
of them to disregard them in the performance of their duties and obligations in a detached way. Therefore, democratic way of life suffers seriously from the dynamics of sectarian mentality of people in national life.

(iii) The Secularism and Communalism

The term ‘secularism’ has been used in the context of separation of politics from religion. But its application has been restricted in India under the present constitution. The word, however, has not been mentioned anywhere in the constitution (before 1976). The constitution provides to different religions full freedom to enjoy ‘equality of status’ with respect to their practice, growth and development. This, however, serves a very limited purpose as it is only a preventive rather than a curative measure to promote communal harmony in a multi-religious country. For in the first place, most religions are social rather than individual, and secondly the practice of religion by a set of individuals can and mostly does interfere with some of the basic freedom of the others. This would naturally lead to a feeling of resentment and injustice. For example, while it is intolerable for the Hindus to allow the slaughter of cows for food, it may well be intolerable for the Muslims not to allow this freedom. Similarly, controversies may arise on other subjects like polygamy, eating of pork, marriage among close relations, public holidays and so on.

(iv) The Concept of Hindu Rashtra

The R.S.S.S (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) is the main protagonist of the concept of the Hindu Rashtra. It advocates that "a well consolidated Hindu
guise of pseudo-secularism and democracy. It is the major problem for the integration of our nation. The groupism, gangism and gundaism are the other ways of promoting this type of temporal, disintegrating, falsified, mundane, selfish and 'parochial majoritarianism'. It exploits the innocent people to the extent of giving away of the national feeling for sectional, regional, communal, linguistic and class or caste-based interests.

(vi) The Muslim Communalism

The Muslim communalism has not yet been able to reconcile itself with the secular concept of nationalism. The ideology of the Jammat-e-Islami, Maulana Maudoodi, is opposed to secularism, democracy and nationalism. Jammat-e-Islami's interpretation of the concept stems from his view of Islamism.

Soon after independence, he said to Indian muslims "that the non-religious or secular conception of national democracy runs counter to the Islamic view of life". He has therefore advised the muslims to condemn the concept of nationalistic and secularistic principles of democracy. Islamism, according to him, is not merely a religion but an ideology for a perfect world order fit for all ages and claimants. It is a total ideological system (Islam) aiming at the establishment of an Islamic World order and needs no change for it had been revealed to the Prophet by God himself. 'secularism' to the Jammat-e-Islami is therefore 'anti-Islamic'.

The emergence of militant Hindu nationalism vis-a-vis the Jammat-e-Islami's view of Islam poses a serious danger to the concept of secularism. In
addition to the fear-Psychology, and the pre-Independence period and the present Indo-Pakistan related experiences, there have been genuine grievances of the Muslim community. They are the discriminations in the maintenance of law and order, encouragement to Hindu religious practices and beliefs in various educational institutions aided by the state, neglect of Urdu, and discrimination against them in the recruitment to jobs in the government departments and non-official bodies.

3.3 The Cultural Problems in India

(a) The Problems

The domination of the tribal people by the people of the plains in the past even now has created a rigid, stratification in terms of the 'superior aliens' and the 'interior natives' in the mind of the tribes. This has been an attempt to impose an alien culture on the tribal people by alienating them from their traditional ways of life. This becomes really harmful when such alienation takes place too rapidly. The tribal culture, instead of adjusting and adapting to change, tends to disintegrate and results in a socio-cultural schism in their society. One of the consequences of the contact has also been the growth of bilingualism among the tribal people resulting in the neglect of their language. Over the past few decades their efforts are directed more at learning the language of the neighbouring non-tribal people. Evidently, it had led to their cultural disintegration.

Due to the coming up of new industries in tribal regions, the tribal people now come into more frequent contact with the plain dwellers. They notice the
sharp differences between themselves and the people of the plains. The cultural polarity between the two contrasting communities tends to become sharper in this situation. The growing consciousness of contrast breeds an alarming sense of insecurity which in turn, leads them to take a view, quite natural and inevitable, to preserve their identity and distinctness by an over valuation of some of the traits of their culture.

The same kind of alienation is much prevalent in between the rural agricultural sector and urban communities and also in between urban sectors and city dwelling people in India. These are mainly due to the socio-economic and cultural diversities find in different levels in the different regions of our country. The process of cultural development and the preservation of its heritage in India has got the three dimensional effects viz., ‘Transmission by conservation or preservation of cultures’, ‘Transformation by composition of cultures’ and ‘Transliteration by assimilation or amalgamation of cultures’. How we are going to achieve this? - is the major problem at present in the modern (or) cosmopolitan Indian social order.

(b) The Origin of the Problem

(i) The Religions and Their Fundamental Values: The Need for Cultural Unity

For above one thousand years at least, large number of religions have flourished in India, each with its own philosophy, theology, mythology, ceremonies and rituals. Yet, despite this diversity of religious beliefs and practices, the vast bulk of the people of India have certain common fundamental values of life and
norms of conduct. Their thinking about matters like the role of the individual and the value of his life in this world, about spiritual life as distinct from life on the material plane, about the effect of conduct in this world upon life hereafter, about things to be avoided or discarded and things to be valued and sought are similar, or, for large masses of people, even identical. This is what amounts to the ‘cultural unity’ of India.

(ii) The Cultural Heritage of India

As certain important ingredients of culture such as language and literature, we are acutely aware of their rich diversity. The important point to be noted for our present purpose, however, is that this cultural or spiritual unity of the Indian people has hardly ever been concerned with corporated political life and found expression on the political plane, nor is it known to have helped the growth of a feeling of ‘social solidarity’ or a sense of political community on a country-wide scale. Hindu society has tended, since time immemorial, to be divided into a number of sects and hundreds of castes and sub-castes. For hundreds of years, different religions have flourished in India and their followers have not always had very brotherly and harmonious relations. There has also been a plurality of language, ethnic and racial groups. In fact, India has often taken pride in her plural society with rich cultural diversity and religious tolerance with respect. It is due to the noblest and best practice of the fundamental principle; ‘unity in diversity’, in honouring the uniqueness of Indian Cultural heritage, transmitted from the ages past. How are we going to uphold this necessary principle without dishonouring the heritage by multiplying the aforesaid past errors?—is the crux of this analytic study.
(c) The Effects and Affects

(i) The Linguistic Cultural Regions in India

The political geography of India has an important role in the developments relating to our political system. Relevant for our purpose here, the linguistic-cultural regions possess a sense of regional solidarity identity and loyalty. It has generally been accepted as one of the most potent factors that contribute to the development of the consciousness of distinct identity of a group, particularly when the group occupies a region in a compact manner.

(ii) National Identity is a Psycho-cultural Necessity

One of the basic features of the Indian situation is that the units are generally large in size and each is populated by millions of people who constitute distinct linguistic and cultural groups with their own fully-developed regional language and, most often, a rich literature, besides other cultural peculiarities. They also have their separate regional history, the broad division in this regard between the Northern part and the Southern peninsular part of the country. The development of a Pan-Indian nationalism cannot be accomplished simply by ignoring these realities. Elimination or submergence of this rich cultural diversity is neither possible nor desirable. 'Modern nationalism' is characterised by supreme allegiance of the people to the nation and the nation-state. Such an aim can be achieved in our conditions only over a long period of time because narrower local loyalties and attachments come more naturally to man. In a comparatively small state with a homogeneous population, patriotism and the national sentiment, or citizenship and nationality, may totally coincide and loyalty to the state and
loyalty to the national group may virtually mean the same thing. It may not be so in a state with a plural society having several distinct linguistic and cultural groups concentrated in a compact manner in separate regions of the country. The desire to identify with a group is a 'psycho-cultural necessity' but in several societies there is a hierarchy of groups and several levels of community that compete for man's loyalty and allegiance. Beginning with the narrower 'Circumference of Sympathy' which circumference has tended to get wider with numerous changes in social and economic life as witnessed in the course of history. "Beginning with the nineteenth century in the Western World, and with the twentieth century in the Orient, the circumference was set by the nationality"48. The nationalist demands that man's supreme loyalty be given to the nation which is described by Rupert Emerson as the terminal community. Supreme loyalty to the nation of course, entails supreme loyalty to the nation-state as well. However, because of the existence of numerous groups within the state (nation) itself every individual may owe differing degrees of allegiance. It may require every individual to have a prolonged effort to ensure the other loyalties as the citizen. Therefore at large, his whole hearted loyalty to the 'nation' and to the 'nation-state' should be necessarily identical.

3.4 The Linguistic Problems in India

(a) The Problems

The danger from linguistic fanaticism is second tragic consequence, only to that of religious frenzy. The language riot in Assam and the Hindi agitations against English and Tamil agitations against Hindi, are the pointers to the magnitude to this problem. The anti-Hindi agitations still in vogue in the
Southern regions is a big issue in addition to the irritants caused due to the linguistic re-distribution of states. On the whole, there have been four main phases of language stir in our country. They are the National language, the Regional language, the Medium of instruction and a common script.

(i) The National Language

While the constitution of India had provided the change over of the national language from English to Hindi by 26 January 1965, opposition was so serious in the non-Hindi speaking regions. The parliamentary committee constituted the official language commission under Article 334(4) of the constitution. This committee after much opposition had recommended that Hindi should be the official language and English a subsidiary one, with no target for the switch over.

The term 'subsidiary' created much criticism from the non-Hindi speaking regions. Then the government of India later substituted 'additional' and associated for the term 'subsidiary'. Even then the Madras agitation never stopped. Twenty or more people died in a day and most of the post-offices and the central government offices were burnt very badly. Then, the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the assurance that there would be no time limit to have Hindi as the National Official language till the non-Hindi speaking people accept themselves Hindi, instead of their official language. This problem is still fresh in the state of Tamil Nadu alone although Hindi is introduced in all other educational institutions except Tamil Nadu government schools and colleges. How are we going to rectify this official language issue in the Southern regions, particularly in Tamil Nadu and in the rest of the nation? This is the matter of the study.
(iv) A Common Script

The question of script also poses a serious problem in abandoning the Urdu script for giving instruction to the people for learning Hindi. Although we have different Indian Regional languages, 'a common script' is needed at least for communicative process throughout India, for our national unity and integrity. How are we going to achieve this in the midst of 14 to 16 constitutionally accepted National languages? This is also another crucial issue of our analysis in this study.

(b) The Causes

Mahatma Gandhi repeatedly insisted Hindi-Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani to be the official National language for India. Although all these three terms, indicate 'only Hindi' in a very wider sense, we have, in addition, English because of British intervention and Regional languages too because of linguistic states by constitutional provisions. It is really the absence of 'a common language' in the midst of 1652 mother tongues, stands as the first barrier, for the emotional integration and National identification of one nation. Because of this mixed composite culture, it is very difficult to achieve the common psychological made-up of unity among the citizens of India without a common language, at least in the colloquial level. We should have the right to claim for it because we have single citizenship rights as the sons of Bharat Madha. Thus Gandhi ascertained the importance of a single Indian language, "I do not say that you should not learn English; learn it by all means. But, so far as I can see, it cannot be the language of the millions of Indian homes. It will be confined to thousands or tens of thousands but it will not reach the millions" - The Living Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi (Vide; Na.Refs. No.26 of this chapter).
(c) **The Effects and Affects**

(i) **The Linguistic Redistribution of States**

The states in India were demarcated after independence on the recommendations of the states re-organisation commission. Language was the basis of the new re-organisation. And yet several main irritants underlying this problem persists. The process of separation in Punjab and Assam has been met with problems. The re-organisation itself has raised many border disputes in several states. The border disputes between Mysore and Maharashtra, Nagaland and Assam, Punjab and Haryana over Chandigarh and the present Kashmir issue are very alarming issues in India.

(ii) **The National Languages**

In addition to Hindi and English, 14 other regional languages are accepted constitutionally as national languages for conducting All India recruitment examinations like IAS, IPS and union and state level public services.

(iii) **The Language Policy in India: The Official National Languages**

(a) Hindi (in the Devanagari and Roman scripts) will be the first union official language for India.

(b) English (in the Roman script) will be a second or additional official language of India, as long as it is so desired by any member state of the union.

(c) Regional languages as the official languages of the respective states in India.
(iv) The Language Policy in India NPE, (1968)\textsuperscript{49} : The Medium of Education

For the sake of convenience, the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1968, so far as it concerns the development of languages, is stated (11.3.0) below:

(a) Every effort should be made to promote the development of 'Hindi', according to the Article 351 of the constitution, as the medium of expression for all the elements of the 'composite culture' of India. In non-Hindi states, the colleges and other Institutions of higher education which use Hindi as the medium of education should be encouraged.

(b) The 'Regional languages' are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of education at the university stage. For energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a \textit{sine qua non} for educational and cultural development.

(c) Special emphasis needs to be paid on the study of 'English' and other 'international languages'. India must not only keep up this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to the growing knowledge at a tremendous pace, especially in science and technology.

(d) Considering the special importance of 'Sanskrit' to the growth and development of Indian languages and its unique contribution to the
'cultural unity' of the country, facilities for its teaching at the School and University stages should be offered on a more liberal scale. Development of 'new method of teaching' should be encouraged with the possibility of including this in those courses (such as modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology and Indian philosophy) at the first and second degree stages.

(e) At the second stage, the state governments, should adopt, and vigorously implement, the three-language formula which includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the 'Southern languages', apart from 'Hindi' and 'English' in the 'Hindi-speaking states', and of 'Hindi' along with the 'regional language' and 'English' in the non-Hindi-speaking states. Suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in universities and colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards.

(d) **The Present Position of Official Language in India: An Emotional Analysis**

(i) **Hindi and English: At National Level**

English as the official language of India to a period and too an indefinite period. The non-Hindi people, by and large are not against the use of 'Hindi' as the official language nor the Hindi people by and large against the use of 'English' as an additional official language of India. Wisdom, therefore, seems to indicate that the present position regarding the official language of India could be resolved.
by both English and Hindi as long as it is desired by any member state of the union, to retain English as the additional official language, in addition to Hindi.

(ii) Hindi in Tamil Nadu: A Speculative Analysis

Compared to all other states (accepted Hindi) in India, in Tamil Nadu alone, Hindi is introduced in the rest of the educational institutions, except government schools and colleges. Wisdom therefore, suggests that the coming generation in Tamil Nadu definitely will realise the importance of Hindi, in order to hope up with the national fabric, as they felt the importance of 'international language', 'English' for Global, like Hindi at 'national level'. The interest in us for learning other foreign languages like German, French, Latin and Greek need not diminish the learning of 'Hindi'. Let us be 'the nationalist' first, then be 'the internationalist'.

(iii) A Common Communicative Oral Script: The Hindustani

Gandhi fought throughout his life time and so hard during his last years, only to enrich 'Hindi' through the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani. But V.K.R.V. Rao, the former union Minister has attempted his level best to give 'a common communicative oral script' for our national unity, to fulfil Gandhi's national vision, which will be discussed in details (vide; Figure No.2, P.171) in the second part of the next chapter.
3.5 The political Problems in India

(a) The Problems

Even after 47 years of Independent governance, we have not achieved social equality. It is because as we know that we entered into the life of contradictions. We aimed at 'equality' where there is 'inequality', justice where only 'injustice', freedom where 'bondage', and fraternity where only inhuman practices like casteism and untouchability, religious fanaticism, superstitious beliefs and custom and practices and all other parochial views and practices upto the teeth and nail. For the constitution itself stands as a major problem for many of us. People often even the elites use to say that the constitution is an utopia. How we are going to answer them in positive terms? - is the matter of our critical, evaluative, explorative and re-constructive analysis in this study.

(b) The Causes

(l) The Forces of Disruption

The forces of 'disintegration and disruption' are more active to-day than those of 'integration and unity'. This places a very big question mark before the country. In the past, India has however displayed unity and solidarity in the event of an external aggression. The leadership at that time had also played a role in rallying the 'nation' behind it. But external aggression is an abnormal condition and forces operating in favour of unity and cohesion under such circumstances won't be available in normal times. The political leaders are much more divided today than ever before. They are busy in sabre-rattling and slogan-mongering, disunity and split have become their landmarks.
(ii) The Political Parties in India

The political situations in recent years have deteriorated from bad to worse. The monolithic image of the congress, which has been ruling over this country since independence, has been reduced in such a way not able to get the full majority both at the centre and at the states. The experience of having a coalition government at the state level has not been encouraging. It only aggravates the inter-party rivalry. The politics of defection and violence has become more widespread which is undermining, not only the health of democratic institutions but also the processes of integration, social change and development. For which, the non-availability of proper education and other mass media is the main cause, particularly in the rural and sub-urban sectors.

(iii) The Size of the States and Their Districts, Taluks, Blocks and Panchayats

Some of the states in India are too big and unwieldy. This bigness in size is neither desirable for the development of the state nor does it provide to the people opportunities of participation in administration. It also has many serious political, social and economic implications. Some districts in some other states are very bigger and they are standing as the barrier for immediate remedy when the people are at serious problems. Some other unit villages are segregated into two to four pieces, when the different panchayats coincide in the territories of that particular village. It is an unnoticed drawback that really affects the developmental activities and the total participation of the entire village people. Among many districts, the district of Tiruchirapalli is an ample example for
district level and Keela Michaelpatty of Nayaganaiperiyal Panchayat, Udayarpalayam Taluk, in the same district as the example for a fragmented unit village. We believe that the noble principle ‘Decentralisation of Political Power’ advocated by Gandhi, may be able to provide greater opportunities to the people, to make use of their rights and participate in administration and also to prevent its misuse. Therefore, there must be thorough check-ups and remedial measures of these kinds, in rural and urban sectors, for the smooth functioning of all panchayats and municipalities, with the joined endeavour of Centre and State governments, in order to put a strong foundation, for our National unity and Integrity. Until the dream of Gandhi that ‘India lives in villages’ happens to be a reality, villages will stand as backdrops.

(iv) The System of Election in India: A Critical Analysis

It is surely a matter of great concern that the election to the parliament and state legislatures have been growing more expensive and the rise in fraudulent means of collecting votes. If certain concrete measures like photo identity card system for voters and other innovative steps are not taken soon to make it cheap and just, democracy in India would certainly become the play-toy of a few wealthy families alone. Then the problem of have and havenots will be on the increase which will certainly stand as the fundamental barrier for our National unity and solidarity.

The very fact that we have introduced the ‘passport size photo identity card’ for the eligible aged (18 years) voters in the elections clearly shows that the people have not developed yet to be honest and sincere because of illiteracy,
poverty and lack of responsibility in choosing the right candidates as their representatives for a fair and peaceful administration in the Panchayats, States and Central levels. How are we going to eradicate this social degradation? It is the major issue which must be tackled very soon.

(c) The Effects and Affects

(i) The Fundamental Principles: The Nature and Pattern of Indian Government

The Satyagraha and Sarvodaya principles are the fundamental principles in establishing the decentralised type of government. Thus, Gandhi translated the 'magic spell of a book' (Unto This Last by John Ruskin) into Gujarati, entitling 'Sarvodaya' the welfare of all. The principles of this book as such:

That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. That a lawyers' work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. That a life of labour (i.e.) the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.[51]

The decentralisation of economic and 'political power' is a natural corollary to non-violence. To Gandhi, economic exploitation was the essence of violence in society and wars in future could be eschewed only by following a bold policy of decentralisation through the organisation of largely self-sufficient village communities. "Self-sufficiency" said Gandhi, does not mean narrowness. Man is as much self-dependent as inter-dependent, when dependence becomes necessary in order to keep society in good order, it is no longer dependence but becomes cooperation, where each one is equal to the other.[52]
The Co-operative Commonwealth of Nations

It was for such a co-operative commonwealth of Nations that Gandhi worked ceaselessly throughout his life. He did not believe in the world efficacy of the atom bomb; instead, he pleaded for the volition of the Ātmāk or soul-force or love-force and regarded the world as his own family, irrespective of any distinctions of race, colour, caste, language and religion. As admired by Arnold Toynbee, Gandhi taught mankind a moral lesson in the field of politics on the eve of the opening of the atomic age. As Shriman Narayan’s appraisal, Gandhi’s ideas regarding village self-sufficiency and world brotherhood may appear somewhat anomalous and paradoxical. But by his request, one day in sevagram to clarify this apparent contradiction, Gandhi states: “I need not rush to the ends of the earth for satisfying my primary wants of food, clothing, and shelter while living a simple and peaceful life in sevagram village, I aspire not only to identify myself with humanity, but even to be in tune with the infinite.” How far we have reached this state of ‘decentralised structure’ of government administration, even after 47 years of Independence? How can panchayatraj - type of government machinery, help this decentralised type of government? These are the two major questions that must be answered positively by solving all disintegrating elements that are dealt with in this chapter.

3.6 The Economic Problems in India

(a) The Problems

The economic imbalance is the crystal clear phenomenon in all the ‘under-developed’ and ‘developing’ countries in the world. But India has got a peculiar
type of Inter-sectoral, Inter-Regional and Inter-State imbalances. What are the main reasons by which these imbalances are caused? How are they affecting the systematic development of each state for the total development of the country? These are the major problems that we deal with in the economic perspective of this analysis.

(b) The Causes

Economic deficiency is the top most cause among the psychological, sociological, cultural and political problems in India. It is because of the rural population which is mainly dependent on only in agriculture that too as the wages and few of them as shareholders and tenants such problems emerge. The countable literate classes develop a gap with the densely populated illiterate masses. There is no sharing of ideas and mutual co-operation among the people. As population increases day by day. People are so selfish and parochial in their outlook and cause all sectarian types to fulfil their selfish motives.

The government is also not able to instruct the people regarding the importance of 'dignity of labour' and the methods or modes and ways and means of improving the production of all sorts. More so, the urban industries cause much havoc in the productions from the fields because of air, water and other cosmic pollutions. Above all, the unemployment problem is causing much danger in the rural areas than in the urban and city levels because it discourages the people who are sending their wards to the school and justifies the people those who are not sending their wards even to the primary classes.
Although Gandhi was condemned for his economics by the West, finally they admired the beauty of it. But the Indians neither condemn nor praise, nor follow the Gandhian approach in developing the rural sectors in their economic growth. We must understand fully the intention of Gandhi and then only the ideas of equality, non-violence, justice and reverence for life can be realised with the help of Science and Technology. That is why, all the problems that confront us are devoid of common basic ethical values because of the Science and Technology of the West. But understanding in a Gandhian perspective alone can solve all these disintegrating elements in India and the worldwide because, "He (Gandhi) was for a humanized and revolutionary Science and Technology". How are we going to utilise Gandhian way of improving our economy, i.e. by the appropriate technology in our country?

(c) The Effects and Affects

(1) The Inter-Sectoral Imbalance

There has been a high rural-urban co-efficiency with regard to income-distribution. Most of the rural population is engaged only in agriculture in the form of landed owners and landless workers. But in the urban areas people are engaged in small scale industries and other businesses that will have value-based productions in the major cities. The low income sectors in the rural areas are in desperate situation compared to urban and city population. How can this monopoly of rural low-sectors rectified? How can we establish the national minimum income to each individual?
(ii) The Inter-Regional Imbalances

An analysis of the disturbances in Telengana (Andhra Pradesh) and of Gorkha Bengali riots in North Bengal, Kashmir riots and Ram Janma Boomi and Bhabar Majid riots in Ayodhya reveal to us the problems of Inter-Regional imbalances. They are much bauxite with violent and destructive repercussions as the problems of linguism, communalism and regionalism. The past experiences have shown that linguistic affinity alone is not a sufficient cohesive force. Social justice, achieved through reduction of inter-sectional, inter-regional and inter-religious inequalities within a unilingual state, is necessary for reducing social tensions.

(iii) The Inter-State Imbalance

India is made up of 25 states and 7 union territories. But these states like ‘nations’ of the world can be split into ‘developed’ and ‘under-developed states. Madhya Pradesh is rich in the natural resources like iron, coal, manganese, copper, baxite and lime stone and occupies the third place in the country with regard to minerals. In agriculture also this state is in a comfortable position. Similarly, Orissa has got the same advantages. But both of them are relatively ‘under-developed’ and backward states. In the national fabric all states are not treated equally according to their needs and necessities. Therefore, there prevails a major imbalance inside states and in relation to other states particularly in the economic forum. How can these inter-state imbalances are rectified without affecting the ‘developing conditions’ of each state? This is due to the deficiency or paucity of fund at the national pool (or) due to the absence of ‘decentralisation of power’ in the Indian political arena?

With this deductive analysis on ‘The disintegrating factors in India’ in detail, let us take up the serious venture, "THE MODERN WAYS AND MEANS OF RESOLVING THE MULTIPLE PROBLEMS TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION IN INDIA", in the next chapter.