

Thirty fifth year Commemoration Volume

EDUCATION
FOR
NATIONAL INTEGRATION
(*A SYMPOSIUM*)

Edited by :

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA MISSION VIDYALAYA
COIMBATORE DT.

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Dedicated

to our affectionate students and co-workers
to whose
dedication, love and hardwork
the Vidyalaya
owes its growth from one boy to the present stage.

FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to learn that a volume on Education for National Integration is going to be published in commemoration of the thirty-five years' service of the Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya. It will be an interesting symposium on national integration from various standpoints.

The residential Secondary School, the central Shrine, the College of Rural Higher Education, the Schools of Agriculture and Engineering, the Maruthi College of Physical Education and the B. T. College are but a few of the many achievements for which any institution may be justifiably proud.

National integration is the need of the hour. How are we to achieve this? Post-freedom era has shown that mere economic planning or social achievement, science or technology cannot guarantee national unity. On the contrary, fissiparous tendencies and centrifugal forces are discernible in many directions. If we are to achieve national integration we must recognize that spiritual values constitute the backbone of our national life and national integration can be achieved only through this. Swami Vivekananda was never tired of pointing out this truth. Our failure to perceive this spiritual ideal has deprived the nation of a sense of unity and purpose. We have, therefore, to turn to the spiritual tradition of India and base our education on it for achieving national integration.

May the Vidyalaya flourish ever more by the grace of our Lord is my earnest prayer.

Ramakrishna Math
P. O. Belur Math, Dt. Howrah
2-3-1967

SWAMI VIRESWARANANDA
PRESIDENT
RAMAKRISHNA MATH AND MISSION

OUR THANKS

This volume is published in commemoration of the Thirty-five years' service of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore District. We are grateful to all the distinguished authors, who have contributed on this very important topic of Education for National Integration. But for their enthusiastic support, this volume would not have been possible. Prof P. Rangaswamy has been solely responsible for doing all the work in connection with the printing of the book, and our grateful thanks are due to him for giving his time and labour for that purpose. Our thanks are due to His Holiness Swami Vireswarananda, President, Sri Ramakrishna Math and Mission for his affectionate foreword and blessings.

The Vidyalaya has grown from one boy to its present stage. God willing, the proposals to deem it a University under Section 3 of the University Grants Commission Act may fructify in the course of this year. This has been made possible by the dedicated and devoted work of our numerous workers. Our heartfelt gratitude goes to them, and to God's grace who has made us His instruments for this great work.

Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya
Coimbatore Dt.

T. S. AVINASHILINGAM

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IN COMMEMORATION

This volume is published to commemorate the 35 years' service of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya. It was founded by Sri T. S. Avinashilingam with one boy on the morning of 3rd February in 1930. On the previous night there was a great deal of discussion as to whether Harijan boys should be admitted in the institution. People who know only the condition of today cannot visualise the resistance that could be possible against this innocent measure nearly four decades back. After a great deal of earnest discussion, it was resolved to admit them even if it meant other communities boycotting the institution. And so did it happen. For many years the orthodox and well-to-do kept out. But the Vidyalaya had the Lord's blessings and it went on.

In the early days there was much thought and discussion as to where the Vidyalaya's permanent location should be. It could not be in the city as only limited land was available within the precincts of the Coimbatore Municipality. It was first started in a bungalow in the Race Course belonging to the late Sri K. Subramania Chettiar. Later it was shifted to Vellakinar to a garden land very kindly provided by the late Sri V. C. Vellingiri Gounder. We can never forget the paternal help provided by him and Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar in those difficult times when finance was short and workers were few. Things were made more difficult by the political situation due to which our Founder had to face imprisonment four times. Many a time it seemed as if the hand of the Government would fall heavily on it and the institution would be closed. But due to the grace of the Lord, that never happened.

In Vellakinar it had certain difficulties and was shifted to Podanur in a bungalow belonging to Sri A. Kandaswamy Chettiar and Sri G. D. Naidu. We thought of settling there on a plot of land given by Sri T. S. Kalyanasundaram Chettiar, whose devoted services, we always remember. But in Podanur, there was acute

shortage of water supply and so we had to find a new place. There were great misgivings about where to go. We had explored north and the south. The west with its marshy garden lands was not healthy, the east was an industrial area full of dust and din. While we were discussing, two friends came in a bullock cart and asked us what we were discussing. When we told them about our difficulties, they said that if we could come so far as Perianaickenpalayam they could offer us a land of 14 acres for the Vidyalaya. When this matter was discussed with our workers and well-wishers, many stoutly protested that shifting to a far off place 11 miles from Coimbatore, would make communication so difficult that it might affect the growth of the institution. But yet with faith in the Lord that He had shown the way, the Vidyalaya was shifted to Perianaickenpalayam. We will always be beholden to Sri R. Ramakrishna Naidu for his gift and Sri N. Ramakrishna Naidu who has been a life-long friend. Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman who joined as Joint Secretary in 1933 has continued to be our life-long friend and fellow worker and is now the President of the Vidyalaya Committee.

In the meantime many important events had happened. The Vidyalaya grew into a residential elementary school, which was later upgraded into a high school. Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation stone in 1934 and in the same year it was affiliated to the Ramakrishna Mission. It thus became a part of the main current of the mighty spiritual force inspired by Swami Vivekananda for the regeneration of humanity.

In 1939 the primary basic school and in 1942 the Basic Training School were started and these were to be among the first basic institutions in India, the latter retraining for a long time, staff of Basic Training Schools in the Madras State. Shortly after, a small industrial section was begun and this did not make much progress until it came under the dynamic direction of Sri D. Balasundaram, with whose guidance it has now become one of the sizable workshops in this area providing the much needed inplant training for our engineering students, at the same time producing electric motors, pumpsets, sugarcane crushers etc.

The post-independence era has inaugurated a new life and growth throughout the country and that was reflected in the Vidyalaya also. The Post-graduate training college came into existence in 1950. The Rural Institute with its three wings namely the College of Rural Higher Education, the School of Engineering and the School of Agriculture was born in 1956 and inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the then Vice-President of India. The Rural Institute seeks to give a much needed orientation to our higher education, by introducing elements of work, extension and research, thus making education more meaningful. The Maruthi College of Physical Education and Social Education Organisers' Training Centre also came into existence about the same time. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India delivered the first Convocation address to the graduates of the Rural Institute in 1960 when Post-graduate courses in Co-operation and Education were started. A High School was started in 1960 to meet the pressing demands of the children of the surrounding area in the name of Swami Shivananda, a direct disciple of the Great Master and the Master of our Founder. The latest institution in the Vidyalaya is the Arts College with the Pre-University course in 1964 which was opened by Swami Madhavananda, President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission. The same year also saw the publication of the Journal of Educational Research and Extension.

The Vidyalaya has had a Shrine from the very day of its inception humble though it may have been. This Shrine has been shifted from place to place from the bungalow in Coimbatore to its present habitation. Places have changed, the boys doing worship have changed, the buildings in which it was situated have changed, and the participating staff and pupils have changed, but the morning and evening vigils have never failed in these thirty-five years. If there is a spiritual force and power in the Vidyalaya, we believe, it is due to this continuous worship and observance. A beautiful Shrine was built and dedicated by Swami Yatiswarananda in 1953 on the birth centenary of the Holy Mother, Sri Sharadamani Devi, along with Akhanda Puja i. e. continuous devotion with Bhajan, Archanas etc. for six

continuous days and nights. There was again Akhanda Puja for 101 hours on the occasion of Swami Vivekananda Centenary in 1963. The centenary celebrations were inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India which began with a National Seminar on 'The Place of Spiritual Values in Education'.

The Vidyalaya in the last 35 years has grown from one boy and Rs. 5.75 to its present dimensions. Along with the Vidyalaya has grown another set of institutions for women under a Trust made by our Founder in Coimbatore, which have been born and serve under the same spiritual guidance of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. Theirs was a manly message that Religion is not ceremonials or talking, but living a life of purity, dedication and service. These institutions are the result of life-long devotion of many dedicated workers and helpers devoted to these ideals. We have always believed, while money is important and useful, great and enduring work have as their background and foundation, hard work and dedicated endeavour of many individuals. Above all, these institutions have the protective guidance of the Divine, without whose grace, no great task can be accomplished. Many who have helped in the early days have passed away. May God bless them and may their souls rest in peace! Amongst those still living with us sharing our work are our Founder and many others who have worked for the Vidyalaya almost from its inception. As part of the 35 year celebrations, the Vidyalaya honoured all the workers who have served the Vidyalaya for over twenty-five years.

Amongst those who were honoured on the occasion were our Founder, Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman, Swami Sarvagnananda, Swami Somananda, Swami Mukthananda, Sri R. Ramakrishna Naidu, Sri N. Ramakrishna Naidu, Sri M. P. Periaswamy, Sri K. V. Thiruvengkatachari, Sri K. Arunachalam, Sri K. Venkatachalam, Sri T. S. Dhandapani Chettiar, Sri K. K. Subbanna Gounder, Sri A. Venkatachalam, Sri S. Pattabiraman, Sri G. S. Gangadharan, Sri Y. Rajanayagam and Sri Thirupathi. Swami Sarvagnananda presided when Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon presented

them with 'pon-adai'. It was a solemn function, when the staff and students present dedicated themselves once again to the service of the institution, God and country.

Institutions like these which are born out of the great cultural heritage of our past and inspired by the prophets of modern India are permanent landmarks in the educational history of the country. We have heard of Nalanda, Rajagriha and Taxila which carried the torch of learning to the world for many centuries in the past. We know of Oxford and Cambridge which have held the torch of learning for the last many centuries in the modern world. India should light its torch of learning and culture again. We believe that institutions like the Vidyalaya based on the cultural traditions and spiritual message of our great country have a role to play in carrying this torch. May many dedicated souls with faith and steadfastness in God and country, with fire and enthusiasm in their minds come forward to carry the torch to future generations yet to come. May the Lord who has guided us in the past show us the way for the future and give us the strength to follow it.

EDUCATION
FOR
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

I

EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Sri T. S. Avinashilingam

India is a vast country with many languages, religions and ways of life. The manner of living, dress, habits and customs in the Himalayan region where water freezes in the evening has necessarily to be different from the South, where one never experiences the severity of cold and all the year round it seems to be one perpetual summer. The difference in language has been the basis of growth of varied literature in the different parts of the country. India seems to be an epitome of the world, in that it is a mixture of many ethnological groups, such as Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian. But yet, it is amazing to see the wonderful unity of India under this superficial diversity. Thousands of years of living together has knit us into a big cultural unit. More than a thousand years ago, Sri Sankara demonstrated the unity of India by founding his centres of learning in the four borders of India — at Badrinath in the north, Sringeri in the south, Dwaraka in the west and Puri in the east. Even today the priest who does puja in Badrinath is a South Indian who comes from near Cape Comorin, and those who offer worship at Rameswaram are from the North.

Even looking at our languages, those who have studied more than one Indian language, have been struck by the remarkable fact that almost all sayings and proverbs in one Indian language have their exact counterparts in the other languages of our country. This is not only true of the four Dravidian languages

of the South, but also of all the languages in India. There is evidence to show that there has been large action and counter-action between the various tongues. Pilgrims and merchants travelled freely all over the country with the result that cultural influences were felt far beyond the region of their origin.

The festivals celebrated in the various parts of India have been another unifying factor. What is celebrated as Durga Puja in Bengal is celebrated as Navarathiri in South India. Shivaratri, Ramanavami, Gokulashtami, Vinayaka Chaturthi, Deepavali and a host of other festivals have been celebrated throughout India for thousands of years. Religious fairs like Kumbha Mela have been periodically held once in twelve years in such far off places as Haridwar, Allahabad, Ujjain and Nasik from very old times when there was no faster conveyance than foot or the bullock-cart. Pilgrim centres widely separated like Kashi and Rameswaram, Dwaraka and Kamakhya have encouraged pilgrimages of all-India character from times immemorial, thus helping in the evolution of a common culture for the whole of India. The modern celebrations of Independence and Republic Days and Gandhiji's Birthday have added to these festivals. Christmas is one of the festivals of India now and it is being celebrated all over India. Important Muslim festivals are also celebrated throughout the country.

People who come from foreign countries are struck by a common culture which prevails from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin in spite of differences in language, religion and dress. At the same time in recent times there have also been signs of fissiparous tendencies, based mainly on religion and language. One of the fundamental policies of our educational system should be to cultivate the elements of unity, while recognising the proper place to be given to the development of our various languages and while giving freedom to the religious groups to follow their own practices without fear of interference. The educational system as well as its content should be such as to emphasise the fundamental unity of the Indian people which transcends the

differences of religion and language and which makes us one people and one nation.

In this connection we should understand that we are a secular democracy as against theocratic states like Pakistan. In a theocratic state, which has made religion its basic guiding factor, the people belonging to that religion alone become the full citizens of that State, while those belonging to other religions are at best tolerated with a patronising spirit. But in a secular state all are equal. Without secularism, there cannot be a real democracy and without secularism, there cannot be liberty of thought, expression and belief, equality of status, and opportunity to all the citizens. Therefore it is, that after considerable thought that we the Indian people have opted for a secular democracy, establishing equality before the law for all its citizens to whatever religion, sect or belief they may belong.

It is necessary for us to understand what it really means when we say that we are a secular state. Many times it has been misunderstood to mean that we stand for irreligion or that we are anti-religious. Nothing is farther from the truth. It does not mean that we have foresworn religion or religious practices. The ideal of secularism only implies that we abandon the inhumanity of religious fanaticism and give up prejudices against others who follow a different religion and extend equal treatment and privileges to followers of all faiths. In a secular state there will be the spirit of true religion and the environment necessary for the development of a cultured and considerate way of life. When India is said to be a secular state, it does not mean that we as a people reject the Great Divine or the relevance of religion to life or that we exalt irreligion. This only means that the state will not identify itself with any particular religious faith and that no person shall suffer any disability or discrimination on the basis of religion. All will be free to share to the fullest degree our common national heritage. This is the meaning of secularism and this view of religious impartiality plays a great role in moulding our national life.

Even apart from religion and language there are a variety of factors which tend to divide the people. The country experienced a wonderful, exhilarating feeling of unity under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during the struggle for freedom. But after the winning of freedom, we have found that the disintegrating factors such as loyalties towards one's language or state and attachment to castes and communities had begun to come to the forefront. Again at the time of the Chinese and Pakistani aggression, a wonderful sense of unity swept over the country. But we should not always be dependent upon a common enemy or external aggression to keep up this sense of oneness. It should depend upon the surer foundation of cultivation of positive qualities of love and devotion to the country, transcending the differences of religion, language or geographical loyalties.

The creation of this sense of unity is one of the basic purposes of Education. Social and national integration is crucial to the creation of a strong and united nation and education alone can achieve it. There are other agencies which may help in varying measures. But a national system of education is the only agency that can reach all the people, in the nooks and corners of India, living in various conditions of economy. Education as an instrument of national integration has served other countries. There is no doubt this instrument can serve India also, if directed with clarity of purpose and strength of will and dedicated service. Such an edifice of national education will have two essential features. These are firstly, cultivation of a deep sense of national, social and spiritual values and obligations of citizenship and a growing identification with the nation as a whole, transcending sectional loyalties; and secondly, evolving of steps so that the gulf between the rich and poor, the privileged and under-privileged, the urban and rural and the educated and the uneducated would be bridged by provision of adequate facilities to all for their development.

This will mean that the educational system must make its contribution to the development of habits, attitudes and qualities

of democratic citizenship and to counteract the fissiparous tendencies which seek to divide the country. Citizenship in a democracy involves the cultivation of many intellectual, social and moral qualities. These qualities do not grow of themselves but by their constant cultivation in the home and the school. The first requisite will be to develop the capacity for clear thinking and receptivity to new ideas after proper examination. A dispassionate examination of ideas and the courage to accept or reject as they may be good or bad for the nation can come only by constant training. And this training should begin from the early stages of education. At the same time we should develop the quality of idealism to give up our personal benefit for the good of the country. As Kennedy said to the Americans, we should constantly be asking ourselves, not what India has done for us, but what we can do for India.

The cultivation of these qualities is the essence of Indian culture and tradition and as such should form an important aspect of our educational system. In view of the importance of this aspect of education, it is being dealt with later in some details.

Now we come to the second aspect, namely the organisation and administration of education, in a manner which will help national integration. The framers of our constitution have gone deeply into this matter and have incorporated wise provisions in this regard. The following are some of the general provisions :

Article 16 (1) says : There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against, in respect of any employment or office under the State.

Article 19 (1) says that all citizens shall have the right —

- (a) to freedom of speech and expression;
- (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms;

- (c) to form associations or unions;
- (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;
- (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;
- (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and
- (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

Article 25 (1) gives absolute religious freedom to all its citizens. Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

The following provisions deal directly with Education:

Article 28 (1) : No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowments or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institutions or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

These provisions have been made not because we are against religion, but to avoid quarrels in the name of religion. But it may be observed that this does not bar the cultivation of moral and spiritual values.

Article 29 (1) says: Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30 (1) : All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

These provisions are very clear and guarantee that all citizens whatever their caste, creed, religion or language, will be entitled for admission into all educational institutions, and at the same time have the freedom to follow their own religious convictions. Provision has also been made for the protection of the language and culture of the minorities.

The Government in the Centre and the States have taken steps for the implementation of these fundamental rights. On this important subject, the National Education Commission in its valuable report has said as follows: Social and national integration is a major problem which will have to be tackled on several fronts including education. In our view, education can and should play a very significant role in it by—

- (a) introducing a common school system of public education;
- (b) making social and national service an integral part of education at all stages;

- (c) developing all modern Indian languages, and taking necessary steps to enrich Hindi as quickly as possible so that it is able to function effectively as the official language of the Union; and
- (d) promoting national consciousness.

At present there is a common educational system of schools in all States, especially in the primary and secondary stages. But this is vitiated by one fact, namely while it is free, its standards are very low. With the result, a set of schools run on payment, but providing better education, have come into existence throughout the country. These special schools largely cater to the rich and educated minority, while the poor and backward people get comparatively low standard education. If we are to integrate the various classes, we should have a common system of national education, which will be open to all children irrespective of caste, creed, religion, economic conditions and social status, where access to good education will depend not on wealth or class but on talent, which will maintain adequate standards in all schools and meet the needs of average parent, so that he would not feel the need to send his children to expensive schools outside the system. Such a system has come into existence in the U. S. S. R. and other countries and such a system must be brought into existence in our own country.

In our country today, as mentioned before, there is a deplorable gulf between the poor and the rich, educated and uneducated and the intelligentsia and the masses. They can only be brought together when they can get opportunities for working together. For this purpose the Education Commission has recommended some forms of social and national service. These can be organised either on a part-time basis during the period of education or on a full-time basis as recommended by the National Service Committee. The former has been recommended as more acceptable. These can be organised in two ways, namely,

(a) by making participation in community services in schools and colleges as a part of our general education or (b) by providing opportunities for participation in programmes of community development or national service.

Development of a proper language policy is a must for our national integration. In countries where all the people speak one language, this does not present any difficulty. But in a country like ours, which has fourteen languages recognised in the constitution, it presents considerable difficulties. Besides, language like religion is a matter of great emotional attachment and so has to be approached with considerable care. Along with the question of language development is intertwined the problems of medium of instruction in schools and colleges and the development of a common link-language for the whole country. This continues to be a very important problem and must be satisfactorily solved. *

Our Education should concern itself both in its content and methodology, in the promotion of a national consciousness amongst our students in all stages of Education. The deepening of national consciousness can be fostered by two programmes: (1) the understanding and re-evaluation of our cultural heritage, and (2) the creation of a strong driving faith in the future towards which we aspire. The first would be promoted by a well-organised teaching of the languages and literatures, philosophy, religions and history of India, and by introducing the students to Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama. In addition, it would be desirable to promote greater knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the different parts of India by including their study in the curricula, by the exchange of teachers wherever possible, by the development of fraternal relations between educational institutions in different parts of the country, and the organisation of holiday camps and summer schools on an inter-State basis designed to break down regional or linguistic barriers. It will also help to establish and maintain all-India

* dealt with separately in another chapter.

institutions which will admit students from different parts of the country. Faith in the future would involve an attempt as a part of the course in citizenship, to bring home to the students the principles of the Constitution, the great human values referred to in its preamble, the nature of the democratic and socialistic society which we desire to create.

For cultivating democratic values, special emphasis has to be laid on the development of qualities such as a scientific temper of mind, tolerance, respect for the culture of other national groups, etc., which will enable us to adopt democracy, not only as a form of Government, but also as a way of life. As stated earlier, the population of India consists of persons who profess different religions, speak different languages, belong to different races, castes, classes and communities. A healthy development of democratic trends will help to soften the impact of this division into social, economic and cultural groups. The task is admittedly difficult; but it can convert the differences of language, cultural pattern, religion etc., into the warp and woof of a very rich and rewarding social and cultural life.

The problem of national integration is essentially one of harmonizing such differences, of enabling different elements of the population to live peacefully and cooperatively and to utilise their varied gifts for the enrichment of the national life as a whole. We have to cultivate a spirit of large-hearted tolerance, of mutual give-and-take, of the appreciation of ways in which people differ from one another. This is a very exacting 'experiment in living' and our educational system should be so shaped and directed that it can imbue the future generation in our country with these very desirable qualities in the interest of our national integration and achievement.

II

CONCEPT OF
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Dr. K. G. Saiyidain

I would like to start with saying that there is no country in the world which has not to face the problem of national integration, in some measure, in one form or another. The idea that this is a peculiarly Indian problem—or a problem of some problem countries!—is basically incorrect. Human nature being what it is, there are always conflicts, clashes and differences amongst the people of a country, due to various causes. It should be the object of statesmanship **not** to abolish the differences that exist—for statesmanship cannot fight successfully with nature—but to create conditions, material and psychological, which will make it possible for people to live with differences in a spirit of tolerance and understanding. You cannot, for example, abolish the colour or facial differences between the whites and the negroes in the U.S.A or South Africa but you have to teach some of the whites out of the conviction that they are a superior race or the favourite children of a God who is white. Similarly, you cannot wish away the differences between “Aryan” and “Dravidian” features but you can educate people out of the mistaken notion that this makes either of the two groups *ipso facto* superior to the other! This kind of process is a continuous process — it is not only a racial or religious or linguistic problem but it assumes many different and changing forms. Even a country which had only one language, one religion and one race—and there are countries which satisfy these conditions — will have to tackle the problem of reconciling differences amongst different groups and classes that are bound to arise.

But we have to recognise that in India this problem has much larger and more numerous dimensions. It is a country which has been described as a museum of cultures, races, religions, castes, communities and languages and it is so vast that it harbours all stages of development within it. Integration in such a context is a more challenging prospect and also more rewarding. Uniformity has certain advantages, but it is less likely to produce richness of culture. Diversity, on the other hand, creates more problems and complications but it can be manoeuvred into a more attractive tapestry of culture. Now that India has attained her political freedom, she has to accept squarely the responsibility for her future destiny and to weave it out of these variegated elements in her culture.

In the history of India there have been many forces in operation—centrifugal and centripetal—but, over the long period of time, the tendency has been towards unity and unification. Many schools of thought, philosophical and artistic traditions, racial streams and social patterns poured into the mighty stream of Indian culture and they were all absorbed, more or less, harmoniously into it. This is the genesis of our claim that our genius is essentially assimilative and tolerant. It is also perhaps a part of the reason for the survival capacity of our culture. Any culture that tends to become in-bred and fails to welcome new and health-giving influences from outside runs the danger of becoming lifeless and anaemic. Yet, it would be well to recognise that while, philosophically and intellectually speaking, it is broadly true, there have been in our history many instances of social intolerance and narrow-minded practices which the best of our thinkers and reformers have always struggled to correct and control.

During the British rule this process of national integration was, to some extent, arrested. A foreign rule is usually not interested in promoting national unity and consolidating the peoples of a subject country. Diplomacy demands that it should be able to play off groups against one another and thus consolidate its own position. This situation was developed in India with

great skill. It cannot, however, be said that the blame for all the communal and class conflicts that developed can be laid at the door of the British Raj. This is proved by the obvious fact that we lacked the political sense to see through their game and by the more damaging evidence provided by what has been happening since the attainment of political freedom. I am not, however, concerned here with the historical background but the contemporary scene which, in spite of what many political leaders and others offer as partial justification, really gives little room for complacency. I am neither satisfied by the plea that it is also happening in other countries, nor by the argument that the clashes and conflicts which disrupt national integration are confined to a comparatively small fraction of the total population nor by the statement that this is an inevitable aftermath of partition or freedom. There is a small kernel of truth in all these explanations but an explanation is not necessarily a justification.

I realize that, in this chapter, I have to discuss the **concept** of national integration and not so much the ways and means of realizing it in practice. It should, however, be appreciated that the concept itself cannot be made clear and concrete except in relation to the factors that retard its growth at present and the ways in which it can become a reality. I have the feeling that, basically, a sense of national integration springs from two sources: a realization of the fact that the people have, in spite of their many differences, a strong **community of interests** covering a broad front and a **feeling of pride in one's own country**. If either of these motives is lacking or weak, you will have an essentially dis-integrated people, at best held together by some kind of political or constitutional red-tape. Or, they will have to depend on some crisis or emergency like a struggle for independence or a war to experience the thrill of integration for a brief period and then lapse back into internecine conflicts. We have seen this happening in our country within the memory of the present generation when, for instance, the country responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi to unite in the struggle for freedom or during the two recent aggressions against the country which

shocked the people into a realization of their essential unity. But both these national demonstrations of unity, magnificent as they seemed at the time, failed to achieve any permanent integration. As the struggle ended or danger of war rolled away, we returned to 'business as usual' which involved linguistic and class conflicts, political and personal bickerings and other unwelcome exhibitions of the same genre. I am not implying that political or class differences are avoidable or that it is even desirable that they should be eliminated. They are part of a democratic set-up. But there are certain traditions of parliamentary democracy, certain rules of decorum in the political dialogue, certain minimum standards of national discipline and decency that some of us thought we had slowly and painfully built into our national institutions and character. But we find that, in the lust for personal power and profit, they are being increasingly sacrificed and no political party as a whole can be made an exception to this charge. My purpose in referring to them here is only to point out that national integration is impossible to achieve unless our perfectly legitimate political and other differences are discussed and decided within the frame-work of parliamentary institutions and the use of patently unfair means is eschewed, e. g. exploitation of students for political and party ends. There should be an agreement on the broad **national** objectives which should guide our policies and the social and political ends that we wish to achieve. These have been defined in our Constitution and, so long as it remains unchanged, they are binding on us **all**. The means and instruments of progress and change in national life will naturally differ from party to party but, unless a fundamental **community of interests**, in the broadest sense of the word, comes to be shared by the people and differences are looked upon as if they were differences to be settled in a family, there can be no real national integration. We who speak of the world as **potentially** at least, a growing family and have based our foreign policy on that assumption, cannot afford to apply a different yardstick in dealing with our **national** problems. This is not only detrimental to our national prestige but also weakens our inter-

national standing and the weight of our voice in the councils of the nations. If we are to treat the problem, for example, of our State boundaries or our water disputes or our linguistic differences as these matters were usually dealt with in the past, in inter-country relationships, it is neither wise nor expedient. I know it is easy to say so and very difficult to create the climate of opinion in which this can be done in a temper of tolerance and reason. But, unless this is done, I see no hope for the future.

This is an important **condition** for building up the community of interests which I have stressed at the outset. But it is necessary to go further and examine the other conditions which are necessary for the purpose. I see no likelihood of national integration being achieved unless we can ensure for all classes and communities a just social order and an equality of opportunity—not complete social or economic equality which is very difficult to achieve and, if at all practicable, will take a long, long time—but conditions in which every citizen will feel that he **can** improve his lot and the State is deeply concerned with minimizing his deprivations and handicaps. This is not the time to work out all the practical socio-political-economic implications of this position but they must be taken into account if integration is to become a reality. They who think that, merely by making some minor changes in text-books or curriculum or making some ‘subject’ compulsory, this problem can be solved, are either deceiving themselves or they do not know how tough this problem is. I realize that these measures have their own importance but I do not propose to discuss them here, because they have been analysed and stressed by many distinguished writers and committees and there is no point in going over that ground again.

Another dimension of this issue to which I referred at the outset is the promotion of **pride in one’s country** — its cultural heritage, its intellectual triumphs, its inventions and discoveries, its pattern of social life etc. With this statement every one will agree but the point which I wish to stress is that one can be genuinely proud of one’s country where there is adequate reason

for it. Sometimes, people are only proud of their past which is a sentiment one can understand and respect. But, if a country has had a rich heritage from the past but the present is hollow, this is not a cause for pride but for being ashamed. Some people are attached to their country because it is their "mother earth." This again is a sentiment which one can understand, particularly at the level of simple, unsophisticated people. But, at the sophisticated level, this "earth-rootedness" can become—and often is—a great handicap; it means an incapacity to visualize patriotism in larger and more meaningful terms. It is good, for instance, as an inspiration for a poem, not as a basis for the philosophy of life. In one of his early patriotic poem, the great Urdu poet, Iqbal wrote:

*“Pathar ki murutun men samjha hai tu **Khuda** hai,
Khak-i-watan ka mujh ko har zarrah dewta hai”*

*(“You think God is hidden in the idols of stone;
To me, every particle of my country’s earth is a God.”)*

As a stirring expression of a certain mood, it is a fine couplet. But the poet realized later—as we should all do—that it is only a figurative way of expressing one particular facet of a whole truth, that one cannot exalt everything pertaining to a country to that level, that man’s ultimate loyalty must be to truth, justice and love and that attachment to one’s country becomes meaningful when it is in effect a dedication to these values. Happy is the patriot who can find these ideals and values expressed at least to some extent in the warp and woof of one’s own national life, in the soul of one’s country. Otherwise, he must become something of a crusader bent on conquering them for his country and making them a part of his heritage.

In fact, in the world of today which is intimately inter-linked and moving towards closer unity, this "earth-rootedness" can become a serious handicap in the development of international relations on reasonable and progressive lines. In so far as it is an appreciation of the beauty of one’s country-side, its flora and fauna, its rivers and mountains, it is a good thing—provided one

recognises that to the citizen of every other country, its own earth and sky and birds and trees are just as attractive. But when it takes the place of reason and begins to blur the outlines of right and wrong, it is time to sound the note of alarm. If we are anxious that, in the growing generation in particular, we should encourage pride in their country and achieve national integration on that basis, we must undertake the difficult, uphill task of giving them things really significant and gracious to be proud about—not merely in the past but in the present, here and now, and in the future as it emerges out of it from day to day. We carried on a great fight for freedom under a unique leadership and we are rightly proud of it. But we cannot make that pride our permanent stock in trade. We cannot live on it as one lives on the interest of one's capital. We have constantly to renovate and renew our heritage and endeavour to go from success to success in the building up of the good life for all our people. Not for any particular segment but one that will embrace all the people, particularly the underprivileged groups. Not any particular sector of the good life but the good life in all its fullness, which will include the material as well as the cultural elements which are an integral part of it.

I am afraid we have not yet succeeded in making any noticeable strides towards that goal, in spite of all our Five Year Plans and other laudable efforts. I realize the immensity of the task of doing this for about 500 million persons; I realize its difficulties and complications. But would we be right in expecting that the ordinary man in the street, as he is called, should be able to do so? And it is not merely our shortage on the material front—food and health and industries and communications which is perhaps easier to explain and to live with—after all we have lived with scarcity for long—but our greater failure on the moral front—the deterioration of the standards of public life, the weakening of the civic sense, the mad rush for power and wealth, the low standards of efficiency in most things and the breakdown in discipline and integrity which are the bed-rock for a nation's greatness. This we cannot explain away on the ground

that there are too many people or not enough resources or lack of international aid. We blame our students for their acts of indiscipline and hooliganism—and I cannot possibly be an apologist for what they are doing—but what are the examples that we have set before them? What are the high points in national life of which they can be really proud? We have not confronted them dramatically with national challenges that they have to face and, therefore, their exuberant energy has been misdirected into violent and unprofitable channels. Again, the fear of unemployment stares them in the face after finishing their studies. We have been able to give them neither “something to live by nor something to live for”. It may not be the fault of any one in particular that there are not sufficient openings for them. I am, however, talking not of individual but of **national** responsibility and the confrontation between it and the rising tide of both expectations and frustrations. How can we achieve integration unless we tackle these deeper issues? It is futile to imagine that a broken piece of art or a broken life can be restored by wrapping a red-tape round it!

One last word. National integration is not in any way opposed to international integration. It is only a nation at peace within itself, which has solved many of the conflicts that bedevil its own life, that can live fruitfully and at peace with others. So, even from the point of view of international understanding and peace, it is essential that India — as in fact, all other nations— should do whatever is possible to promote national integration and enable people to live with differences and to discuss and solve them in a climate of reason and tolerance for which men like Gandhi and Nehru pleaded with all their strength. One hopes and prays for such a climate but one does not really know what the future holds in store for mankind. By and large, its conduct in the past has not been characterized by reason and today it has immense new powers of destruction at its disposal. Will the groups and powers that control its destiny respond to this new situation with vision or will they prefer to court catastrophe?

SPIRITUAL VALUES IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Swami Ranganathananda

The subject we are called upon to discuss is of vital interest not only to us in India but also to people in all parts of the world. No society can exist and progress without fostering ethical and spiritual values in its population. They constitute the integrating principle in any society, primitive or advanced. Like the cement that holds together separate bricks so as to produce the integrated structure of a building, ethical and spiritual values help to hold together separate individuals in a social organism, which then ceases to become a mere collection of separate individuals, like the building which has ceased to be just a pile of separate bricks.

The problem of fostering ethical and spiritual values in a society raises the question of the source of these values. It is precisely in this field that sharp differences of opinion have developed in the modern age leading to utter confusion and bewilderment. Broadly speaking, these differences reduce themselves to two view-points, one of which holds that matter or outer nature is the focus of all value and the other which affirms man as that focus. The first leads to undue emphasis on the creation, possession and enjoyment of material wealth and the search for organic satisfactions, whereas the second, while putting due emphasis on the above, leads to the pursuit of values and satisfactions lying beyond the sensate level of life, and to the experience by man of spiritual freedom and integrity. Man, however, is both the creator and enjoyer and if we may add, even

the destroyer of all values, material as well as what lies above and beyond it. This truth of the primacy of man is getting increasing recognition from contemporary world-thought. Indian thought has always upheld the view that all values proceed not from matter but from the spirit of man. This finds endorsement today from several modern thinkers who, while accepting 'matter' as a useful and convenient concept for the scientific investigation of the world of experience, consider 'materialism' an unscientific intruder, a crude dogma leading to the evil of the mechanisation of man and the destruction of the beauty and worth of his personality.

In the protesting words of Bertrand Russel (*The Impact of Science on Society*, p. 77): 'The Machine as an object of adoration is the modern form of Satan, and its worship is the modern diabolism.....Whatever else may be mechanical, values are not. and this is something which no political philosopher must forget'..

In the still stronger words of Thomas Huxley a century earlier (*Methods and Results*, pp. 164-65): 'If we find that the ascertainment of the order of nature is facilitated by using one terminology, or one set of symbols, rather than another, it is our clear duty to use the former; and no harm can accrue, so long as we bear in mind that we are dealing merely with terms and symbols.....

'But the man of science who, forgetting the limits of philosophical inquiry, slides from these formulae and symbols into what is commonly understood by materialism seems to me to place himself on a level with the mathematician who should mistake the x's and y's, with which he works his problems, for real entities, and with this further disadvantage, as compared with the mathematician, that the blunders of the latter are of no practical consequence, while the errors of systematic materialism may paralyse the energies and destroy the beauty of a life.'

Says astrophysicist R. A. Millikan in his *Autobiography* (last chapter): 'To me a philosophy of materialism is the height of unintelligence'.

Dealing with the purpose of evolution in the light of twentieth century biology, Julian Huxley says (Essay on 'Emergence of Darwinism', *Evolution after Darwin*, Vol. I. University of Chicago Press, p. 21): 'In the light of our present knowledge, man's most comprehensive aim is seen not as mere survival, not as numerical increase, not as increased complexity of organization or increased control over his environment, but as greater fulfilment—the fuller realization of more possibilities by the species collectively and more of its component members individually.

Referring to the emergence of quality as the criterion of evolution at the human stage, Huxley says in his lecture on 'The Evolutionary Vision' (Ibid., Vol. III, p. 251): 'Man's evolution is not biological but psychological; it operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-variation of mental activities and their products. Accordingly, major steps in the human phase of evolution are achieved by break-throughs to new dominant patterns of mental organisation, of knowledge, ideas, and beliefs—ideological instead of physiological or biological organisation'.

If values are not mechanical, and do not rise from the material environment, they must be spiritual and must be sought for in the depths of the human personality. Indian spiritual thought holds that all values are created by man from out of the depths of his personality through the intelligent manipulation of his material environment. Increasing liberation of values from the depths of his personality makes for his intellectual, artistic, and ethical growth and development. This is the line of human evolution in which quality becomes the criterion of progress, unlike in the pre-human stage in which quantity was dominant over quality.

Ethical values find manifestation in the context of interaction between human beings in a society. Ethics, therefore, is inseparable from the social context and vice versa. It is the cementing factor referred to earlier, uniting man with man in

society. This is what Indian thought called *dharma*, in one of its two aspects, namely, the aspect of *abhyudaya* or social welfare, the other aspect being its trans-social spiritual dimension, *niḥsreyasa* or spiritual liberation. The *Mahabharata*, therefore, defines *dharma* in its aspect as *abhyudaya* as 'that which holds together, that which sustains all human beings' : *dhāraṇāt dharmaityāhuḥ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ*.

The moral impulse finds expression in an outward movement of love and concern for the other man. This is well expressed in the great utterance of Jesus : Love thy neighbour as thyself. Among the various facts of the universe, this moral impulse stands as a unique fact of great significance. 'Two things fill me with wonder', said Kant, 'the starry heavens above and the moral law within'. It discloses a more-than-physical-and biological level to the human personality. At the physical and biological levels, man's concern for the other is conditioned and limited by the purely genetic element in human relationships. This concern dries up beyond that relationship. But it is beyond that limited relationship that the moral impulse finds its own specific expression. To the statement, love thy neighbour as thyself, the human heart responds with a question : Who is my neighbour? Facts of moral experience of all humanity reveal an amazing diversity in the answers given by the human heart to this question. From the raw worldly individual, who sees his neighbour only in those who are physically related to him and subserve his own interests, to a Buddha or Jesus or Ramakrishna, who take in all beings in their all-embracing, self - effacing love and concern, through any number of levels in between, we have an amazing variety and quality of moral experience which pose a challenge to human intelligence.

In seeking a meaning to this bewildering variety and quality of moral experience, ethics is slowly led to the recognition of the complex texture of the human personality and a spiritual dimension to it behind its obvious sensate one. The sensate man is essentially self-centred, and his love and concern for his

neighbour is dictated by prudence and expediency. Ethics deriving sanction from this level of moral experience finds expression in various social contract theories. But such theories, it is obvious, do not cover all data of moral experience. Even within the limitation of social contract, the impulse which moves one to contract does not proceed from the sensate level of his personality but from a deeper source. This is his spiritual dimension, the one source of all his higher impulses—moral, ethical, aesthetic, and rational. The sensate man, left to himself, would rather break a contract when it suits him than keep it. But the moral man will rise, or at least struggle to rise, above that impulse to self-aggrandizing expediency, disclosing a higher dimension to his personality, long suppressed, but waiting to be expressed.

It was facts and considerations such as these that led Indian thought in its Vedanta to insist that all rational ethical theories should derive their sanction not from any external source but from human nature itself, from human nature which has been subjected to a thorough investigation from the surface to the depths; a rational theory of ethical values must be based on a total philosophy of man. Such an investigation will give different answers as to his nature at different levels; the answer from any one such level will be a true answer, but only of man at that level, and not of man as a whole. Ethics of positivism such as hedonism, social contract, enlightened self-interest, utilitarianism etc. belong to this category. All ethics of transcendentalism emphasize, on the other hand, renunciation and self-effacement, which imply the distinction between a lower self and a higher self. Both types of ethics are ethics of self-realization depending upon which self is meant.

A complete philosophy of man will embrace all these moral phenomena and explain them in the light of evolution, which at the human stage, as pointed out by Julian Huxley in the passage quoted earlier, ceases to be organic or biological, but becomes psycho-social, enthroning quality over quantity. Progress in the case of man is, in the light of the above criterion, progress in

unselfishness, social feeling, non-aggressiveness, and inner fulfilment. These ethical values are the products of the spiritual growth and development of man. This is the specific field of human evolution according to Vedanta and also, as pointed out earlier, according to the higher reaches of modern thought.

Vedanta proclaims that there is such a thing as the spiritual growth of man; this is more significant than his more obvious physical growth. The scope of the latter is severely limited by his genetic inheritance, which is the product of the first major break-through in evolution, namely, the appearance of the living cell, or as biologists term it, of self-duplicating matter. But evolution has achieved in man a second more significant break-through, namely, culture and tradition, involving accumulation and transmission of experience through his newly acquired powers of thought and speech communication. Culture, which biologists term self-duplicating mind, is specifically a human phenomenon, in virtue of which man becomes heir to a second inheritance namely, cultural, over and above his genetic or physical inheritance. It is this second inheritance that makes for the uniqueness of man; through it, man becomes capable of rising above his physical limitations and achieving unlimited personality expansion through expansion of his awareness and sympathy. This highlights the importance of this second inheritance for education, ethics and religion. In the wake of this second break-through, 'The character of evolution', says Julian Huxley, 'now became cultural instead of genetic or biological'.

All ethical values are essentially spiritual values; they proceed from the trans-sensual dimension of the human personality. This dimension, which stimulates the *dhārmika* or ethical sense is beyond the reach of animals and of such humans who, like animals, are content to live at the sensate level : *dhārmēna hīnā paśubhiḥ samānāḥ*, as the *Mahābhārata* pointedly expresses it. In actual fact, however, no human being is entirely without this stimulus; everyone receives 'intimations of immortality', as Wordsworth expresses it, sometime or other in his life. But it is stifled by his sensate nature which is the venue of life - stagnation

for individuals as well as societies; creative life lies just above this level. In order to achieve quality, the tyranny of this sensate nature has to be overcome. That is the work of spiritual education; part of this education is achieved in the social context through the ethics of mutuality and interdependence : *parasparam bhāvayantaḥ sreyaḥ param avāpsyatha*, as the Gita puts it. This is the economic, social and political fields of human action and endeavour in which man trains himself in strength and steadiness of character and social efficiency. The rest of this education is the concern of religion, understood not as dogma or creed, not as socio-political discipline and conformity, but as spiritual experiment and experience by which man achieves spiritual efficiency. The technique of the former is a man-ward movement finding expression in intelligent work in co-operation with one's fellowmen, and of the latter an inward penetration through concentration and meditation in loneliness and silence. A comprehensive spirituality embraces action and contemplation, man in society and man in solitude, man at work and man at worship. This is the unique contribution of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

In a brief statement of Vedantic faith, Swami Vivekananda expresses the central theme of such a comprehensive spirituality in which ethical values of the outer socio-political fields blend with the spiritual values of the inner field of religion : 'Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this divine within by controlling nature, external (by science, technology and socio-political processes) and internal (by the technique of concentration and meditation). Do this and BE FREE.'

Our nation to day presents a general picture of ethical and spiritual malnutrition. Vast sections of our men and women have all but lost touch with the strengthening and purifying spiritual tradition of our own hoary culture. This is sad enough. But what is sadder still is that we have also largely failed to get ethically nourished and strengthened by our experience of socio-political action as a free people these two decades. These ethical opportunities have failed to develop in an adequate

measure, citizenship responsibilities and civic virtues and graces in our people, young and old, in spite of our advantage of the close association with, and the bright examples of modern western nations which, without claiming to be saintly or spiritual, have achieved more spirituality of ethical values and character efficiency than we with all the backing of our undoubtedly rich spiritual inheritance of the past ages, reinforced in the modern age, by the life and message of a galaxy of spiritual and ethical giants like Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, Rammohun Roy and Mahatma Gandhi.

The delienation of ethical types in a society by poet-king Bhartrhari over thirteen hundred years ago may help us to see the maladies of our own society today in clear perspective:

*Eke satpuruṣāḥ parārthaghatakāḥ
svārthān parityajya ye;
sāmānyāstu parārthamudyamabhṛatāḥ
svārthāvirodhena ye.
Te'mi mānavarākṣasāḥ parahitām
svārthāya nighnanti ye;
ye tu ghnanti nirarthakam parahitām
te ke ṇa jānimahe--*

'There are the *satpuruṣas*, good people, who bring about other people's welfare sacrificing their own interests; the generality of people are those who strive to ensure other people's welfare if it does not involve sacrificing their own self-interests. There are these others who are *mānavarākṣasās*, veritable human-demons, who destroy other people's welfare to ensure their own self-interests; but alas! how am I to delineate those others who destroy other people's welfare without any gain (accruing to themselves or anyone else)?'

The first type, those who practise the ethics of self-effacement and universal love, of renunciation and service, constitutes a small minority in any society; they are those who seek death, and achieve resurrection thereby, so that others

may live and thrive. They are the salt of the earth. The large majority of people, the *sāmānyāḥ*, the generality, however, belongs to the second type, namely those who practise the ethics of what modern political philosophy calls enlightened self-interest. To the third type belongs all those who indulge in all kinds of anti-social practices inherited from past ages and practices being newly invented in this age, such as bribery, corruption, food and drug adulteration and so forth; these are well described by the poet as *mānavarākṣasās*. The fourth and last category is the poet's despair! It is a class entirely unethical, and happily, a minority in any society, given to wanton anti-social violence and destruction.

The problem of our society today arises from the mass manufacture of the third and fourth types, especially since our attainment of political freedom after centuries of subjection. This is what poses a challenge to our education and religion, our politics and social life. And this challenge has to be met by mobilizing all the ethical and spiritual resources of the nation, inherited from our own past and acquired from our modern experience. We as a nation must resolutely take steps to preserve and nourish the ever-present small minority of the first type, the *Brāhmaṇa* type as described by Sri Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* and and Bhagawan Buddha in the *Dhammapada*; we must ethically fortify and spiritually strengthen the second type—the type that pursues the way of enlightened self-interest—by injecting more enlightenment into its self-interest so as to prevent its members from sliding down and augmenting the third type; this third type—the *mānavarākṣasās*-- must be severely thinned, if not eliminated; and finally, the very appearance of the fourth must be prevented.

The need of our time cannot be more adequately conveyed than in the following utterance of Swami Vivekananda in his lecture on 'Vedanta and its Application to Indian Life' delivered in Madras in 1897: 'Bring all light into the world.....Bring light to the poor; and bring more light to the rich, for they require it more than the poor. Bring light to the ignorant, and more light to the educated, for the vanities of the education of our time are tremendous!'

Our nation has that light; it has enough spiritual resources within it to restore it to moral health and vigour. It is the duty and privilege of every citizen, and more especially of every educated citizen of free India to lay hold of these resources and, strengthening himself or herself, pass on that strength to the nation at large. Let the words of Vivekananda be our clarion call: **Arise, Awake, and stop not till the goal is reached !**

IV

CULTURAL FACTORS IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer

A most notable aspect of Hindu culture is the emphasis it has laid upon Unity in Diversity. Even as early as in the *Vedas*, we find statements advocating mutual comprehension, not only amongst our own people, but with foreigners. In fact, there is a prayer asking for pardon for sins committed against those who are not our country-men. There is another passage in which *Varuna* (one manifestation of the Supreme Being) is invoked as the Protector alike of the people of our *Desa* or country and the people of other *Desas* or countries, the expressions used being *Sandeshya* and *Videshya*. For creating and fostering national integration, the most powerful instrument, as has universally been acknowledged, is the right type of Culture through Education. Tolerance, namely the principle of 'live and let live' can best be inculcated in the plastic years of youth. As I have sought to elucidate in a Monograph on "Hinduism and Tolerance" that I wrote for the UNESCO, through many centuries, our country abjured exclusiveness. Indeed, Dr. Heimann who has been a Professor in the London and Halle Universities has pronounced as follows in a recent book: "India can embrace all manifestations of thought, creed and spiritual activities without losing but emphasising an immanent law, taken from Nature itself. India's freedom of thought embraces all imaginable possibilities and even contradictions. Yet it does not annihilate but rather completes each of them."

With this background, let us consider the ancient system of Indian Education whose aim was, essentially, the training of the mind as an instrument of discerning and all-embracing wisdom and not simply, to fill it with the "furniture" of objective knowledge. The salient features of the old Indian educational system may be thus enumerated. Firstly, most ancient schools were located in forests or sylvan retreats in an atmosphere of solitude and serenity, helpful to concentration. India's civilisation was largely the product of her forests and it was, essentially, a rural and not an urban civilisation. One branch of philosophy, is in fact, termed *Aranyaka*—the literature of the forest. Secondly, the creative source of Education was the Guru whose home was the school. Education, thus, was based on individual treatment of a pupil, by a teacher. But knowledge was to be imparted in three steps:-

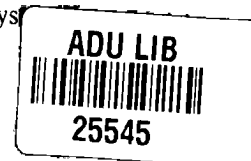
Sravana, or audition or what is heard,
Manana namely, mental assimilation or comprehension, and
Nidhidhyasana or contemplation by concentrating on what has been taught. After study in a hermitage, under a *Guru*, many pupils continued as students through life dedicated to the pursuit of learning. The *Brahadaranyaka Upanishad* describes them as follows: "They leave their home as mendicants, having risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and the carving of wordly careers. They wandered about searching for Truth or Higher Knowledge, by contact with master-minds."

There were also institutions for advanced study known as *Parishads*. We hear in the *Chandogya Upanishad*, that in these seminars or *Parishads*, there were visitors from far and near. The *Chandogya Upanishad* speaks of a Philosopher-king Pravahana Jaivali who daily drove out of his palace, in a royal chariot, to attend its sittings. The cosmopolitan and integrated character of such institutions is exemplified by the well-known fact that in the Nalanda University over a third of the 11,000 students came from countries as far afield as China, Cambodia and Siam, as pointed out by travellers like Yuen-Chwang (usually called Hiuen-Tsang).

To the University of Kancheepuram, a south Indian king sent his son to study and so did the king of Ceylon. The mobility of students and teachers was as much a feature of the old Indian seats of learning as it was a characteristic of the Medieval centres of European learning like Paris, Bologna, Padua, Oxford and Cambridge. Besides these institutions, there were formal assemblies of learned men sponsored by the kings in their courts. Janaka, king of the Videhas, is described in the *Brahadaranyaka Upanishad*, as having invited to his court, learned scholars from all over the Kuru Panchala Country. Tolerance and integrated knowledge were secured by the representation of scholars belonging to a variety of countries, religions and doctrines. Eight such exponents are mentioned by name, including Gargi Vachaknavi—a woman Philosopher. Uddalaka, another, was a well-known Upanishadic figure.

If our ideal should be to produce, in the coming generation, persons who will transcend differences of community, of religion and of language, the only feasible method of achieving such a result would be to revive the inculcation of our ancient religious and ethical ideals, in a forward-looking liberal and unsectarian manner. Such an education must include all the manifold forms of Hindu thought and should not exclude forms of thought which are non-Hindu in nature. In the language of Babu Bhagawan Das who compiled, for the Central Hindu College of Benares, a text book on *Sanatana Dharma*, such an education must be directed to the building up of character uniting persons in a common faith. That which unites them, must be clearly and simply taught; that which divides them should not be over-emphasized, the basic idea being the cultivation of a spirit of tolerance, which not only respects differences of thought and practice, not only amongst Hindus, but vis-a-vis other communities and groups, so that all forms of honestly-held conviction may be regarded with reverence.

Speaking of the aims of higher education the Committee recently appointed in England under the chairmanship of Lord Robbins, reported as follows, to Parliament:- There are four objectives, essential to any properly balanced sys



1) Instruction in skills suitable to play a part in the general division of labour. The medieval Universities of Europe were founded to promote the training of the clergy and doctors and lawyers. In our own times, progress depends, to a greater extent, than ever before, on skills demanding special training (technological and scientific as well as humanistic).

2) What is taught should be taught in such a way as to promote the general powers of the mind, the aim being to produce, not mere specialists but truly cultivated men and women. A healthy higher education enables the student, to find the One in the Many, the General characteristic in the Collection of particulars.

3) Thirdly, the advancement of learning and the search for Truth, through study and research.

4) Finally and most prominently, the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship. By this, is not meant the forcing of all individuality into a common mould. So to do, would be the negation of higher education. What is intended, is to provide in partnership with the family, that background of humanistic culture and social habit upon which a healthy society depends. Such a process must compensate for inequalities or deficiencies in the background of the student's home. Lord Robbins' Committee concludes as follows: "Such educational influences in Universities and Colleges, have an important role to play in the general cultural life of the communities in which they are situated."

Speaking to the Viswa Bharati University in 1958, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke thus:- Unless science is controlled by ethics and human ends, it may lead to disaster. Science has no soul, so to speak. While developing science, we have also to control the powers which an individual or group may acquire through the aid of science". While delivering the Convocation Address in February, 1964 of the Calcutta University, I quoted a very relevant speech of Sir Ashby: "If a University repudiates the call to train technologists, it will not

survive. If it repudiates the cultivation of intangible and non-practical but precious human values, it will cease to merit the title of a University". Universities and Centres of learning exist for the development of individual and National capacity and National Unity. They must keep in contact with, and reflect the spirit of, the changing times. But, over and above this function and this duty, any education would be lop-sided and incomplete, if it does not create conditions, conducive to physical health and vigour in the students; if it ignores the disciplines of Science; if it bypasses the teachings of History and Social Studies and fails to remember and take a warning from the disunities and the fissiparous tendencies, that have too often made of human history, largely a record of failures and tragedies. No education will ultimately justify itself, if it ignores the psychological and emotional fulfilments, brought to us by Literature and the Fine Arts; if it does not imbibe from Philosophy and Religion principles which are cosmopolitan, soul-searching and elevating.

The UNESCO has embarked on a special study to combat racialism and discrimination between man and man. Its studies have tended to underline the importance of cultural factors that can facilitate National Integration and International harmony. They may all be comprehended in the 'Syntheses', but they involve the following pre-requisites, namely, there alisation of Manifoldness in Unity, and of interwovenness of all beings and all forms and views.

RELIGION IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Swami Lokeshwarananda

Two British soldiers, both very young and sensitive, happened to be stationed in a small town in India before independence when that town became the scene of much insensate murder, loot and arson due to Hindu-Moslem riots. Aghast at the orgies of mob violence which they had seen, they asked an Indian they had come to know and who was then busy giving relief to those affected by the violence, 'Sir, is this a religious war?'

The soldiers were obviously ignorant about the background history of the conflicts they had witnessed, but the question they asked raises a very important issue : Were the clashes which took place then between the Hindus and Moslems in India leading eventually to the partition of the country and the uprooting of masses of men and women from their ancestral homes, **religious?** If so, what particular religious issue was at stake—what creed or dogma—that there was no way of settling the dispute but through resort to violence? What religious debate were the leaders of the two communities engaged in, that in the course of time became so acrimonious, that all attempts at arbitration failed and finally the leaders decided that the two communities must part company and live in two separate halves of the country?

As is well-known, the quarrel between the Hindus and Moslems was not over any religious question, but over questions of political rights and privileges. Somehow or other, the feeling had grown strong among the Moslems that they being numerically

weaker than the Hindus, they were not likely to have that authority over the administration of the country that would guarantee their desired progress and prosperity as a community. Although much bitterness entered into the discussions which preceded before the decision to partition the country was taken, at no point of time did religion as such figure in the discussions. Another significant fact is that it was the politicians who dominated these discussions and not men of religion, which shows that the whole series of discussions were concerning politics.

It is, however, possible to argue that though the quarrel between the Hindus and Moslems did not centre round any religious issue, the two communities stood divided by the fact that they professed separate religious beliefs; that is to say, though ethnically and otherwise these two groups of people were identical, it was religion anyway that divided them.

The insinuation seems to be that it is only religion that divides people. Does not language also divide people? Or food? Or scores of other things, some major and some minor? And in the case of the Hindu-Moslem differences, how much of real religion was involved? A study of the history of the conflicts between these two communities would show that they fought each other not to defend their respective religious beliefs and practices, for these had never been in jeopardy, but only to extort more political and economic powers for themselves by making use of the religious bogey. The rivalry between them was entirely on the political and economic plane, having nothing to do with religion, though their leaders used it as a wedge to keep them apart to suit their own political ends. Religion was a pawn in their political game of chess though they never even made any pretence of being religious.

If they had taken religion seriously and if they were genuinely religious it would have been difficult for them to quarrel and behave in the way they did, for there are enough elements in both Islam and Hinduism which rule out violence of the kind that

they indulged in. Even if it is conceded for argument's sake that the difference between the two religions is fundamental, which of course is not the case, they both put such a premium on tolerance that a Hindu can hurt a Moslem only by disregarding the most important tenets of his religion. This is equally true of a Moslem also.

Although it is unfortunately true that religion has been from time to time a cause of conflicts in many countries, this must be considered a great paradox only, for religion, which is derived from the root **Re** (anew) **legere** (bind together), is intended to unite and not to divide. Leaving aside what might be its meaning etymologically speaking, religion itself and all religious teachers insist that goodwill be shown towards all, irrespective of creed or nationality. They also stress that the goal of all religious aspirations is to realise the truth that in the ultimate analysis, **Existence is One** (Ekam Sat) in spite of its many variations. The Upanishads declare that there is one In-dwelling Spirit, one Common Soul, One Self, in all beings, which constitutes the Highest Common Factor among them and which, running through them like a thread in a garland, keeps them together. One of the five virtues (**Pancha Sila**) which Buddha extolled was recognising this truth of the sameness of all souls (**Saman Atmata**). This oneness of life is also emphasised by Guru Nanak who says, 'he exalts himself for sure, who sees himself one Self, in all that lives'. Since we are **essentially** one, differing only in name and form, there is no question of anyone of us being happy to the exclusion of others. Our destinies are so linked together that it is a mistake to think in terms of individual happiness. That which is not for all is illusory and must be shunned; work 'for the good of all, for the happiness of all'—this is the advice that all religions give to their votaries. To emphasise our interdependence, the Vedas say that we are like limbs of the same body. The Bible echoes the same idea when it says that we are all parts of one another. The Quoran, too, points out that all creatures are members of the one family of God. All religions thus encourage that instead of seeking personal and group happiness, we may think and act to

ensure the welfare of the whole human race. To be able to realise one's identity with others and to feel as one's own their pain and pleasure is mentioned as the goal for which all religious aspirants must strive. That this was not an impossible state to attain was proved by Shri Ramakrishna who, as is well-known, would have on his own body marks of physical pain that others suffered.

It is wrong therefore to suppose that religion encourages exclusiveness; if anything, it encourages a sense of kinship, loving and caring for others, feeling overjoyed over the good fortunes of others and feeling miserable over their misfortunes. Religion, in fact, is the fountain-head of all social justice. In a community in which the religious spirit is strong, disputes that may sometimes arise as they are bound to arise between its different elements, are resolved through friendly discussions; because they have goodwill for each other, even the widest differences between them do not befoul their good relations by generating bitterness, hatred and suspicion, as they do in cases where the religious spirit, the truly religious spirit, is missing. They are calm, patient and friendly under all circumstances and they avoid doing anything that might hurt others. Just as they want justice for themselves, they want to assure justice to others also and they do not want anything for themselves which they are not prepared to give to others.

It is obvious that in such a community, diversity of race, language or religion can pose no threat to its peace and solidarity. The fact that India, in spite of its being the homeland of many diverse races who also spoke different dialects and professed different religions, was able to avoid major clashes between those races, was because she was deeply religious. There might have been clashes between them over political questions, but few ever over religious issues. In this connection, it is well to remember that, while it is true that there is a common substratum of truth underlying all the major religions, it is also true that there is a great deal of difference between them as regards details. But this need not be a problem, for since the

right to differ is conceded in every field of activity, there is no reason why it should not be conceded in the matter of religion also, provided of course this does not go so far as to encroach on the freedom of the others or give offence to them. It is this freedom that makes for a healthy growth of the religious spirit and if this freedom were ever to be curbed, it would probably give a dull uniformity, but would, at the same time, deny the religious spirit the rich variant growth of which it is capable. It is nevertheless true that it is preoccupation with these details to the neglect of those basic principles which form the core of every religion, that often gives rise to disputes between any two religious communities. These details are of no great consequence if looked at from the point of view of the ultimate end of religion but unfortunately most communities tend to occupy themselves too much with these details with the result that the real purpose of religion which is cultivation of qualities like compassion, charity, etc., is often defeated. So long as this continues to be the situation, not only will there be disputes, conflicts and violence, but the future of religion itself also will hang in the balance, for many a rational person today find no sense whatsoever in the practices that go on in the name of religion, and if religion is held at a discount in many quarters, it is because such practices are given too important a place in the religious life of an individual or a community.

If, on the other hand, those broad principles which constitute the real essence of religion are stressed, not only will there be no dispute, for they form the common core of all the important religions, but there will be no such large-scale rejection of religion also, among the intelligentsia, as is the case now. For instance, how can any sensible person, whether religious or not, who has the welfare of society at heart, say that he does not care to see a strict moral code which is the cornerstone of any religious system, being observed in society or compassion, charity, tolerance, selfless service to fellow men and similar other social virtues forming the essence of religion, being practised? If there is to be a well-integrated society where no

one will feel thwarted, where the relations between the various sections will be smooth and harmonious, all devoted to the pursuit of a common goal of better humanity, these social virtues, virtues that spring from the practice of religion should be more consciously and vigorously brought into play in our dealings with others. The pity is that because they are old, time-worn and much too familiar, they are not given, in our scheme of things, the importance they deserve, with the result that we become intolerant and suspicious when we see in others any variation from our patterns of life. This happens also because unfortunately instead of what may be called the common heritage of mankind, it is the parochial traditions arising out of the narrow framework of race, language or religion, within which we grow up that receive more attention at our hands as at present. Somehow or other, we seem to have forgotten that man is essentially the same everywhere and the difference we see is superficial. But a true man of religion is at home everywhere; he is not upset when he finds missing the particular facets of culture with which he has been familiar, for he can see beneath every pattern of human achievement, familiar or unfamiliar, the glory of the same divine being known as man.

There is no denying the fact that to strengthen the feeling that we all belong to a common human family, religion can play a vital role, for it is religion, more than any other factor, that stirs in man the nobler sentiments of universal brotherhood by suppressing those narrow prejudices which tend to divide mankind into exclusive cells. But in India religion has been used, at least for some decades now, not for purposes of bringing together people but for raising artificial barriers between them so that it has now become an established practice among them to view each other with suspicion, distrust and hostility. The nation is now split up into separate religious communities which are continually wrangling with one another over political and economic rights in complete disregard of the interests of the nation. If the nation is in danger because of this, religion too is in no less danger, for all that religion stands for is being ridiculed, undermined and destroyed by this. It is sacrilegious

to use religion for political purposes, but that is exactly what unscrupulous persons are doing to further their own political interests. They are people who have little or no use for religion except that they find it a handy weapon with which to fight their battle of political self-aggrandisement.

What is to be done now? There is still hope of saving the country from further dismemberment and in the process, religion also, if people who sincerely value the traditions of religion, first protest against this abuse of religion and then vigorously work to draw public attention to those aspects of religion which are the common property of all the different faiths and which also serve as a great cementing force. At the same time, arrangements should be made in educational institutions as well as outside, for a comparative study of the different religious systems with a view to discovering their points of similarity. There are bound to be points of dissimilarity also, but they relate to details and they may be safely ignored. Also, in teaching religion to the younger generation, care should be taken to stress those ideas to be found in abundance in religious literature, which urge that due reverence be shown to followers of other religions. It is observed that a degree of exclusiveness is maintained by each religious group in their religious practices. The possibility of inviting other religious groups to participate in those practices should be explored. There is already a happy trend recently seen in some places of non-Moslems being invited to Moslem festivals. Non-Moslems too might reciprocate this fine gesture to their own benefit and to the benefit of the country, for through such intermixture, the silly prejudices which lead to a sense of self-sufficiency and bigotry will disappear and respect for a religious standpoint different from one's own will grow.

Another measure which ought to be strictly enforced is to ban the setting up of any institution in the country meant exclusively for a particular religious group. Nothing can be a more heinous act in the eye of God than that discrimination should be exercised against an individual just because of his religious belief. But

while it is desirable that no such discrimination should vitiate a charitable service which an individual or an organisation might launch, care should also be taken to prevent any undue advantage being taken of anybody's ignorance and poverty, while giving him relief, with a view to forcing upon him a particular religious belief. It is a tragedy with which all of us are familiar—how powerful religious organisations exploit human distress only to propagate their own religious ideas. The danger of organised religion is its anxiety to increase the number of its followers so that it may, by virtue of the number of people who swear by it, influence the course of the State to its advantage. This is a way of thinking completely opposite to the very purpose of religion which is to teach people to attach more importance to moral and spiritual values than to political and economic advantages. It is this unfortunate tendency to exploit religion for secular gain which has been at the root of the strife which one often sees break out in India between one community and another. It is not the fault of religion as such, for religion can never give its blessings to hatred, jealousy and violence; it is the fault of the vulgar use to which religion is often put by unscrupulous people for the furtherance of their own narrow selfish interests. This can be counteracted only by people who, being anxious to preserve the sanctity of religion, are prepared to practise religion more vigorously than they usually do. What the country needs today is more charity, more goodwill, more benevolence, more sympathy. It is the men of religion who, by displaying these qualities even in the face of the challenge that communalism flings into their face, can convince the world of the benevolent power that religion can be. They must show how, because they are truly religious, communal passions which make others blind to the fact of the unity of men cannot sway them from the paths of goodwill, charity and service. Religion must justify itself by showing the superiority of its goodness over the evil of jealousy and hatred. Such men should be prepared to make any sacrifice necessary to give sanity to men by their own exemplary behaviour. One recalls to mind in this connection instances of men suffering death at the

hands of their own co-religionists in an attempt to save members of other communities. More such instances are necessary, more and more people determined to push aside all barriers and serve man as man. It is not less religion but more religion, more of the true kind, that is the answer to the problem that now confronts the country. Real integration can come only through religion, vigorous and conscious practice of the unifying principles of religion and not by application of political and economic devices.

POLITICAL FACTORS IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Sri K. Santhanam

National integration means an abiding sense of national unity which binds together all the members of a nation and makes them ready to make the requisite sacrifices, as and when necessary, to preserve national independence and integrity. In other countries, race, religion, history, language and culture have been powerful factors for such integration. In India, on the other hand, it has to reconcile and transcend all these conflicting forces. The Indian people constitute a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural community. These differences coming down through the centuries cannot be eliminated. They have to be respected and tolerated and in those aspects in which they do not come into conflict with national unity, they have even to be aided and encouraged. Therefore, national integration in India has to depend mainly on ideological, political, economic and rational factors which transcend all racial, religious, linguistic and cultural differences. I consider the political factors as the most important, as they control and direct the economic factors. Rational conviction about the imperative necessity of national integration takes a long time to get charged with the requisite emotional strength to withstand disintegrating factors in a crisis. The ideological factor is important but it should not be treated as a separate force but should be a pervasive influence behind all national activity.

The recent wonderful demonstration of national unity in the face of Pakistan's aggression is an apt illustration of the power of political factors. After the transfer of power, the feeling of

national unity developed during the struggle for freedom had been subordinated to regional rivalries, party conflicts, economic jealousies and linguistic antagonisms. But these were comparatively superficial forces and when the need arose, the spirit of unity was able to reassert itself.

We should not, however, depend over-much on the sub-conscious patriotism derived from the struggle for freedom. It is not enough that national unity should prevail only when national existence is at stake. We have to make it permanently pervasive and active through the new forces directing our democratic republic.

The political forces may be listed as, (i) Constitution, (ii) National policies, (iii) Administration and (iv) Political parties. Let me briefly examine the part which each of these can play in promoting national integration. The Constitution of India has been deliberately designed to maintain the territorial integrity of India and to provide the country with a strong Central Government, while permitting the different linguistic and cultural regions, a large measure of autonomy in those matters which are intimately concerned with their separate needs. It provides for a common citizenship, common fundamental rights and a common judiciary so that all Indians are legally equal in whatever part of India they may choose to settle or reside. Any kind of discrimination on account of race, religion, caste or place of residence is prohibited in the matter of employment, permission to practise profession or engage in trade or industry.

In the Central Parliament, the Lok Sabha is elected strictly on the basis of population while in Rajya Sabha an attempt has been made to find via media between equal and proportional representation for the units.

Thus the Indian Constitution provides a solid framework of national unity, provided it is worked in the proper spirit. I am afraid that the delicate balance provided by the Constitution between the strong centre and autonomous units has been

considerably disturbed in recent years. While economic planning on a national scale is very important, it has been dearly bought at the expense of the autonomy of the States. In all the State Ministries, there is considerable frustration owing to the fact that all policies even regarding local matters like primary education are decided at the Central level and owing to financial dependence, the State Governments can have little voice in the shaping of any social or economic policies. The States which are in a position to advance quickly feel that they are being forcibly held back, while backward States like U. P. and Bihar blame the Central Government for not being able to catch up with the rest. I am convinced that unless real autonomy is restored to the States and the Union Government confines itself to those fields of activity which are essentially national in character, there may be apparent unity caused by suppression of regional differences but there will be no real integration.

The issue of language has been a head-ache to all of our political leaders. It led to ugly demonstrations involving repressive action in Assam in 1961 and in Madras in 1964. It has to be admitted that the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru tried to adopt a far-sighted and liberal policy in the matter. Yet I think the matter has not been handled in a proper perspective. The main source of the trouble is that the regional language is not being given full opportunities for development between English on the one hand and the rising claims of Hindi on the other. It is not surprising that there should be considerable apprehension that the regional languages, some of which can claim great antiquity and comprehensive literature may continue to be neglected in free India, as they were in the British regime. The only way to assure these languages full scope for development is to make them media of education at all levels including that of the University. The total displacement of English will, however, result in immediate retrogression and its continuation is essential for legal, administrative, scientific, industrial and commercial purposes. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the use of English and regional language as joint media for higher

education in all Universities throughout India together with the enforcement of the three language formula in the secondary schools for a long period is the only way to remove linguistic antagonisms which now constitute a serious obstacle to the national integration. It is a logical corollary that the Union should be strictly bilingual using English and Hindi. If it becomes evident that English will not be displaced at any time in the foreseeable future, the antagonism against Hindi will disappear

Just as there is a single citizenship for all Indians, India should constitute a single common market for all trade and commerce. Statewise, regional and zonal and other restrictions relating to production or distribution are, in my view, economically unwise but what is more important, they constitute material hindrances to the growth of national unity. It may be necessary that Government should to some extent control and regulate this production and distribution of scarce commodities but I think this should be done without in any way cutting India into separate economic units for the purpose. The creation of vested interests at the State or regional level in respect of industry and commerce has been among the worst divisive factors in the country. The unseemly rivalry about the proposed steel plants at Vizag, Hospet and Salem shows how local patriotism can overwhelm national unity.

The greatest difficulty in formulating a national policy is in respect of education. There is a tendency to cast education in a uniform mould throughout India and for all stages. By avoiding differences, it is thought that unity should be achieved. But, as I have already pointed out, unless education is closely linked to the historical and cultural traditions of the regions and communities concerned, it will not have a real emotional impact on the people. It is, therefore, necessary to incorporate these factors in the content of education while avoiding excessive emphasis on separatist tendencies. Religious and moral education also pose difficult problems. While no compulsion should be used, some arrangements for imparting religious and moral

education of the higher type are desirable. Otherwise, there is the danger of leaving the field free to fanatical and reactionary forces. For this as well as moral education, careful selections from Gandhiji's writings may prove to be the best means of inculcating a true religious spirit free from bigotry and intolerance.

Regarding administrative measures to promote national integration, the organisation of all India services by common recruitment on merit by the U. P. S. C. and posting at least half the number of candidates from any State to serve in other States are undoubtedly good expedients. But care should be taken that only the best recruits from each State are sent to the other States though often they may prefer to serve in their own States. I think it is also desirable that they should not be sent to neighbouring States. Bengalis in Assam and Bihar, Malayalis in Madras and Mysore and Maharashtrians in Gujarat are not easily welcomed. It is also essential that when officers of all-India services are posted to a State, they should try to become proficient in the language of that State so that they could move freely among the people. There should also be a convention in the case of all persons who have to reside for long periods outside their home State for profession, business or other purposes that they try to assimilate themselves with the local population. I have often felt sad at finding thousands of Madrasis living in Calcutta and Bombay without acquiring even a moderate ability to read and speak Bengali, Maharati and Gujarati. This is due to the common use of English in the past for all purposes. This will not be possible in the future, when the role of English will become restricted to higher educational, technical and scientific purposes.

It is a matter of profound regret that the great ideology of non-violent nationalism which enabled Mahatma Gandhi to rally the Indian masses for the struggle for freedom has been allowed to fade out by the rulers of free India. A spurious worship of militarism has been allowed to develop in consequence of the Chinese and Pakistani aggression. While national defence against aggression was inescapable, the sympathy of the world towards

India would have been greater. if our reluctance to use force had been genuine and we had ventured to place the method of non-violent resistance before the struggling peoples of Asia and Africa.

Lastly I come to the part which is played by political parties in respect of national integration. Most of the Indian parties are organised on all-India basis and by educating the people on all India issues, they are certainly promoting national integration. At the same time, all these parties, especially at the general elections, do not hesitate to exploit religious, communal and other separatist feelings. Though theoretically all party leaders deplore these practices, they are not able to prevent it. Immediate success in a constituency often outweighs all other considerations. Legal provisions have been inserted to penalise the exploitation of communal and religious prejudices. I wish I could say that the Congress Organisation which has been nursed by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is wholly free from the temptation to appeal to communal, racial and caste considerations in respect of the choice of candidates or during the canvassing of votes. But I am afraid it has been deteriorating with each general election.

I have firm faith that if we could only maintain democracy and ensure freedom of speech and press, avoid all short-sighted and narrow-minded measures and prevent concentration of too much power in individuals and parties, national integration will slowly but surely be achieved. In the long run, national integration has to be based on the rational conviction that all other differences, however legitimate, should be subordinated to national safety, integrity and progress. It has to be nourished by the moral fervour that India has to evolve a new type of democracy based on the great principles of non-violence, toleration and spiritual growth which were embodied in the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

VII

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan

Economic factors both facilitate and retard national integration on account of either differential endowment of regional resources or other factors. If certain regions develop fast, while others develop very slowly or not at all, there might be an aggravation of disparities among the people; so much so national integration might even be hindered. There comes a feeling on the part of the people in the relatively backward areas that they are neglected and that to them that hath, more had been given.

On the other hand, some economic factors might facilitate economic integration. Where the opportunities for rapid development of region or state exist, the causes of tension would be fewer. Actually, it is within the experience of the present writer that some of the so-called communal and religious differences were broadly to be traced to economic factors where either the opportunities for high level employment are few or are open only to some people or where openings are limited but to a small section of the community to become capitalists. Naturally tensions increase; but with rapid economic development the chances of everybody getting more employment opportunities, more access to capital and more participation in development being greater, the tensions will ease and economic integration is likely to be hastened.

Hence economic development can be a force for integration, whether planned or unplanned. It is well-known that the United States has become an integrated nation, mainly because rapid

economic development had occurred. Even there, we can say that the South is not emotionally integrated with the North; and this is because the South is not as well-developed economically as the north. Italy, again, as it is well-known, is not fully integrated as a nation, because the disparities in regional development are still glaring as between the north and the south.

Another economic factor that helps national integration is the establishment of public sector enterprises in different parts of the country. Since the personnel to man these enterprises are drawn from different regions in the country and some cosmopolitan life gets developed, economic integration is also speeded up. The art of community living when families from different States get together, mix and live goes far in promoting national integration.

Integration comes in another way also. Resources are exploited in order to achieve a desired rate of growth in the economy as a whole and not for any particular region. For example, the development of steel and heavy industries is planned with the whole country's demand in view. It would not be possible for a small region to absorb all the production of a steel plant in that region. Even though some major industries are located near resource availability, the demand for their products is from all over the country. Varieties of footloose industries are established in every part of the country and these depend on the output of a few big plants for their raw materials.

The major economic factor, however, is improved communications and better transport. One part of India is now linked with another and is brought closer, mainly because of improvements in transport and communications. Of the two, communications is even a more potent factor making for national integration than mere physical means of transport; and communications include the mass media such as newspapers, radios, films and other modes of communications.

However, the pride of place as a pioneering factor goes to the railways. It is the development of railways that brought the nation into one unit. It was said that by the turn of this century,

a person from Kanyakumari could visit Kasi for just Rs. 12. Nothing could, therefore, have contributed to national integration so decisively as the development of transport. Over the past 15 years, railways have continued to develop, but with it, the roads and airways also. Airways make distances disappear and regional differences to narrow down.

In India, the development of an inland water system can contribute to greater mobility and integration. There was a proposal to link the South with the North, i. e., Cauveri and Ganga, through a system of canals. Technically perhaps this might be a difficult proposition, but it would undoubtedly facilitate greater integration and mobility amongst the different regions of the country.

Equally important as a factor of national integration is education, both of the general and technical kind. General education helps in opening up the minds of the people, reducing prejudices and biases and making people understand each other better. But it is the technical education that really makes the individual mobile. The inter-regional mobility of technical people is great. Technicians would work in projects in whatever regions these might be, provided they find scope for their skill and training. It also seems natural for them to get adjusted to local conditions.

The establishment of an All India Service Cadre which at present is limited only to administration and police must now be extended to cover all major services in the country, so that there should be an agricultural service, an engineering service, an educational service, etc.; in fact, all professions should be organised into All India Services. The present rule by which in order to bring about an "All Indianness", some of the posts should be held by candidates from outside the State is a very healthy one and this should be further extended. Of course, the creation of even an All India Service might still leave a sense of discontent, if there is a feeling that some of the States are preferred. In fact, today even among the All India Services there is a growing

feeling that regional weightage exists to some extent, however furtively. But these are of a minor character and by better administration and by more healthy conventions, the difficulties can be overcome.

A measure highly objectionable to the cause of national integration is the statutory restriction on the so-called outsiders. The more blatant instances are the States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, U. P. and Maharashtra which according to information collected by the Central Home Ministry, have domiciliary restrictions of some sort or other on the employment of outsiders in industries located in their areas. This, indeed, is deplorable, and should go. One can well understand restrictions on the holding of land by non-cultivators or on the purchase of land belonging to Adivasis and special classes of people who are relatively backward but the rule should have no relevance to the fact that those excluded belong to this State or that.

Education is more than an economic factor. Its effects are social, cultural and spiritual, and are far more profound than any economic factor. Education is a leveller, and is a unifying force. In this country, there is not much mobility among the population, not because people do not tend to be mobile, but because people are not rich enough to be mobile. When, however, the per capita income increases and people travel widely, it would then be easy to achieve greater national integration. Indians will see common features everywhere in India. Increases in per capita income are dependent on accelerated economic development, and rapid economic development will naturally leave the problem of integration in its proper place. But in the absence of a high per capita income, it is only education that can help to bring about this integration. The title for the book "Education for National Integration" is therefore apt and significant. Only on an education—both liberal and technical—does the future of national integration largely rest in the years ahead.

VIII

SOCIAL FACTORS IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Dr. S. C. Dube

The concept of 'nation' is a man-made myth. Through this myth considerable sentiment and interest have been invested into an evolutionary stage of man's social development. Certain bio-psychological imperatives destined man to a gregarious existence; the fusion of a number of family herds led to the formation of the band, the amalgamation of several bands witnessed the emergence of the tribe, and the merger of different tribes having territorial affinity resulted in the formation of the nation. For a long period in man's history nations have provided a basis for the organization of the larger human community. Even to this day the nation constitutes a sociological reality of paramount importance.

Several elements are believed to be essential for the making of a nation—people, territory, historical associations, sentiment, common destiny and sovereign government or at least aspirations to autonomy. The acceptance of such a definition, by implication, makes the nation co-terminus with the Society and the State. They are conceptually different, but their human component is essentially the same. National integration thus implies — and perhaps assumes — social and political integration also. **Sentiment** appears to provide the invisible thread that binds together a people, their territory and their government, and gives to them in their togetherness a distinct identity as a nation. The stronger the sentiment, the higher is the degree of integration.

A nation has its overt symbols—a flag, an anthem, sometimes a dress, and perhaps a language. Sentiment, of course, invests a special meaning into these symbols; the intensity with which a people feel for them — and make sacrifices to uphold and protect them — imparts to them their special flavour. Without the desired emotional overtones a flag may only be a rag, an anthem just a song, national dress yet another covering for the body, and a language nothing more than a means of communication. They are raised to a higher pedestal and regarded as objects of veneration, when a people begin to see them as inalienable components of their self-image. Thus, through the identification and acceptance of a people, these symbols acquire a quality of their own.

Integration is a relative concept; its measurement depends upon the degree of sentiment. Three questions are basic in this context. In what measure do people identify with one another as a nation? To what degree do they possess an awareness of belonging together? And to what extent do they operate under a sense of common destiny? Of course, we cannot divorce quality from quantity in considering these questions, for a measure of the intensity of sentiment would consider together both quality and quantity.

A people make a nation. All people are not alike, and as such all nations cannot be expected to be alike. They may all have the same diacritical marks, but the differentials in the orientations of their social structure and in the textures of their ideological-motivational patterns would mark them out and set them apart. The quality of the social structure—especially, of the operation of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in it—will inevitably be reflected in the quality of its nationhood. The normative structure of the society — comprising its norms, values, and ideologies—would make a difference in its nationness. The quest for national integration must, therefore, begin at the basic level of the society. The more integrated a society is, the more integrated can it be expected to be as a nation.

In operation, a society is a system of interlocking groups, associations, and institutions. In a well-integrated society there is a high degree of cooperation and interdependence in the various

units of this network. Each unit does enjoy a degree of autonomy but it is nevertheless so articulated with the rest that the whole does not present a disjunctive appearance. Social structure may be loosely or tightly integrated, but there are degrees of looseness and tightness. When segmentary societies merge to form a nation, their cohesive bonds are known to have formed a Society; each retaining a high degree of internal autonomy and yet bound to the larger national entity by strong sentiments. At the other extreme are societies characterized by more or less complete subordination of group or other parochial interests to the larger national interest. But in many cases, especially in developing societies, there are intermediate loyalties—tribal, ethnic, linguistic, and sub-cultural. These present a series of baffling problems to the nation-builder, and create obstacles in the way of national integration. In the final analysis, national integration depends on how a substantially large mass of people orient to the hierarchy of loyalties. If, in certain key situations, the nation is paramount, integration at a satisfactory level may be assumed to exist. On the contrary, if the pull of parochial loyalties is stronger, the state of national integration must be pronounced as unsatisfactory.

In this context four processes merit consideration. They are: recruitment and socialization, communication, articulation of interest and ideology, and the aggregation of interest.

The process of socialization is perhaps the most important. It is through this process that a person internalizes the cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative orientations of the society, and develops a working adjustment with its normative structure. Socialization helps an individual to form a conception not only of self but also of society and its various components. Through socialization one learns to relate to the hierarchy of loyalties and values. It is essentially through this process that some set forms of activity are legitimized. And it goes without saying that largely through the process of socialization individuals are recruited and fitted for specific social roles.

Communication is a cognate process. It helps socialization, and supplements it in addition. In a sense it may be viewed as an on-going process of education, contributing to subtle shifts in the patterning of the constellation of ideas. It helps the articulation of ideology and interest as well as the aggregation of interest. It is, however, a neutral servant and serves whichever master seeks to employ it.

While communication connotes diffusion of ideas, articulation refers to the adoption of some of them in a consistent pattern. Socialization and communication have a powerful hand in shaping it. Interest and ideology often go together, but if at some points they clash there is a possibility also of considerable variance between them.

Aggregation of interest is also important. How the consciousness of belonging to a nation is fitted into the scheme of interests will make all the difference in the degree of national integration.

Many complex variables enter the problem of national integration. It is essentially a psychological problem: one of ordering loyalties both on the ideational and the operational levels. Socialization and Communication—with necessary social sanctions—provide the ultimate key to its solution. Efficient management of men and materials are of course assumed to be existing preconditions.

Consider, briefly, the case of India. The country has had high tides of nationalism as well as its low ebbs. As a people, Indians are capable of rising to glorious heights of patriotism but they are equally capable of sinking to low depths of primitive parochialism. This adds to the puzzlement of the nation builder in contemporary India.

How to explain this paradox?

The harsh fact remains that the veneer of nationalism in India is in many ways superficial. We are as yet a loosely

integrated society with pronounced segmentary tendencies. Loyalties of tribe, caste, region, and language are still strong. We are not yet an articulated economic and political community. The modern communications network is poorly developed and the parochially oriented traditional networks continue to be powerful. The socialization process tends to legitimize two conflicting patterns—the traditional and the modern. Ideological bonds are not yet strong enough to prove a compellingly cohesive force. Social sanctions also are weak and their enforcement follows a dual standard. Interest articulation is low, and its aggregation insufficient. The wide gulf between ideology and reality, the aimless system of education, inefficient management of problems and situations, and politics sacrificing principles and compromising with norms it seeks to eradicate, only confuse the situation still further.

The situation is difficult but by no means hopeless. Things can change—and change for better—if political foresight and efficient administration are pooled in the interest of problem-solving. Effective education and innovative communication can be employed as powerful tools of national integration. And the age of ideology has by no means passed. There is need for it; in fact, for more of it, but the dichotomy between what is professed and what is practised must end. That alone will invest reality into our national symbols. Cultural pluralism and national integration are not inconsistent.

IX

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Dr. T. E. Sahnugam

P sychology is a young science. Therefore to suggest psychological measures to facilitate such a complex problem like national integration will only stop short of an attempt. Moreover concepts like 'integration' in Psychology refer primarily to individual and his relation to his environment. Attempting to apply this concept to group situations should lead to difficulties and much more so when it is to be applied to a large secondary group, nation. Inevitably semantic problems are also mixed up. Therefore at the outset it is important to sort out the meanings of these terms 'Nation and 'Integration'.

Nation and Integration :

In the Dictionary of Psychology by Warren, the term 'Nation' is defined in the following way: "A collection of people, usually large occupying a common territory and possessing a fairly uniform culture, who in their sentiments and behaviour express loyalty to a common national symbol". In the same dictionary the term integration is defined as "the process by which material of any sort becomes organized or systematically arranged into units of higher order".

If we apply this definition to our country, definitely it is a nation. But the difficulty is with the term culture. Do we possess a fairly common culture to fit in with the definition? Sarojini Naidu in her presidential address to Asian Relations Conference

in 1947 at New Delhi says: "India has a civilization of many units.....and many civilizations have united to make up Indian life and culture". Tarachand in his first Patel Memorial Lecture in 1960 says: "In their attitudes of mind, culture, social ways and economic institutions, the Indian people possessed fundamental attributes of unity almost as ample as any in the contemporary world". These two illustrative statements do convey the idea of a fairly uniform culture in our country. Probably we should ask the question whether it is necessary to have a uniform culture at all. Is not Britain which has Welsh, Irish, Scottish and English, a nation? Are not large countries like U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. which have varied cultures, nations? When our country was reorganized into linguistic states, was not one of the basic ideas "to ensure cultural needs of the different language groups"? (1953)

If we accept Warren's definition of the term, there is no country large or small that could be considered as a nation. But this view will be unrealistic. It is better to accept the definition as applicable to an ideal nation and that actually there is no nation that has reached that stage. Therefore it is best to consider that our country is on the way to nationhood, in the Psychological sense.

The other term 'integration' poses real problem. In the context of the topic, we have to presume that homogenous nation does not exist and that efforts are to be made to unify the constituent parts to give a shape of homogeneity, to be called India. Or we should presume that India which was one nation, for one reason or another is vitiated by disruption and disintegration and efforts must be made to ameliorate this condition. Nirod Mukerji questions the very idea of national integration. He argues that "each person has multiple facets and it is not necessary for all these facets to be used in matters of integration". He goes on to ask: "Using the word integration, do we mean integration of one aspect, some aspects or all aspects of the man?"

Mukerji, in my opinion, misses the point. It is not the problem of integrating one individual or his facets to the other, but integrating small groups with larger groups and larger groups with the largest group. It is integration of groups within a group; systems within a system. It is an organismic conception, in which parts are important and they have their varied functions and they together form a whole. A well-integrated nation therefore should be a system, an organic whole, where the different states of the nation fit in. From this point of view, it is possible to conceive different states in a nation and different nations, being at different levels of integration.

Psychological factors:

By and large the psychological factors underlying disintegration are same in any nation though they may depend upon the level of integration. However unlike other countries, our social organization is a caste-based hierarchy with varying degrees of rigidity, with practically insignificant mobility along vertical dimensions and with status being determined by birth rather than achievement. Kali Prasad says: "Ours is a tradition-centred social organization with orthodox values of a pre-industrial democracy with the values of industrial culture. The difficulties that are occurring today in various spheres can be understood when we realise this new situation. Leaders selected on adult franchise in a democratic manner are hardly able to develop attitudes and temper congruent with democratic leadership. And so also the followers. The relation between the two takes after known patterns that are basically authoritarian and not recognisably democratic. Hence failure of adjustment, with the resultant stresses and strains".

Biological and Psychological bases of groups:

The confusing abstractions we call as social and economic systems are outgrowth of man's need to maintain optimum conditions for survival and growth. Man's most potent needs are biological and they are of two kinds—the need for self-preservation

and need for race preservation. Self-preservation needs are hunger, thirst, sleep, rest, elimination etc. and the race preservation need is sex. In the process of gratification of these needs—and gratification of them is a must for the very survival of the individual and the race—the other social and psychological needs like recognition, belongingness, affection, achievement etc. emerge and become potent in the course of man's growth and development. Allport says: "Though these needs originally emerged from the basic needs they become functionally autonomous so that they do not extinguish". The general problem of 'learned needs' is exceedingly difficult. Some acquired needs are amazingly resistant to change; others change easily. Great differences may be observed in this respect between different needs in the same person and between the same need in different people. Some time a need can be changed with relatively little effect upon the rest of the personality; at other times its removal produces a profound effect upon the whole personality. What are the exact principles (including constitutional factors) determining such differences? How are hierarchies of learned drives built up and how do they interact? These questions remain rather unanswered. However, by and large, physiological needs are most prepotent of all needs. That is, in a group which is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others. A group which is in need of food, security and affection would hunger for food more strongly than for other needs. That is, if a group is dominated by the physiological needs, all other needs may become simply nonexistent or be pushed into the background. It is then we characterise the group, as being hungry. Another peculiarity of the human group when its members are dominated by a certain need is that the whole philosophy of the future also tends to change. But what happens when there is plenty of food and men's stomachs are full? At once other needs emerge and dominate the group. And when these in turn are satisfied, again new higher needs emerge and so on. This is what is meant by saying that basic human needs are organised into hierarchy of relative prepotency.

Applying this view, it is possible to conceive of different groups in a nation and different nations in the world existing at different levels of need-gratification hierarchy. Consequently, intragroup and intergroup conflicts, and frustrations and consequences of frustrations are expected. Of course, without conflicts there cannot be healthy development of a group. If organisations do not organize themselves against something and in the absence of perception of conflict, their reason for existence is weakened or they suffer from intense disorganisation or even dissolution. However our reference is to chronic conflicts which wear down a group or groups.

Conflicts:

Broadly we can distinguish two types of conflicts with different properties. They are: (1) conflict between organisations of like character or purpose, and (2) conflict between organisations of different character or purpose. The first kind may be called as homogeneous organisation conflict. Wars between states and quarrels between sects and jurisdictional disputes between unions are examples. The second might be called heterogeneous organisation conflict. The struggle of a union with a corporation or of a University with a State Government, are examples.

Human interrelationship within a group, interaction between groups generate certain amount of frustration that leads to conflicts, to begin with and which may grow into intense hatreds. Even with the best of intentions people rub each other the wrong way. This is especially true when interactions are frequent. Till to-day there is no form of social organization in which all people have all their needs gratified and in which there are no situations that occasion conflict. The process of education and socialization itself entails discipline which often leaves within the individual a deposit of resentment towards persons in authority.

Frustrations and reactions :

“Frustration produces instigation to a number of different types of responses, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression”. Frustration refers to situations in which individuals

in a group are thwarted, hampered, delayed or otherwise interrupted in their progress toward a goal or in the performances of activities which to them are satisfying". Aggression may take many forms. The frustrated group may assault the frustrator. This is **direct overt physical aggression**. It may take the form of swearing, bluffing, name-calling, threatening, or hurling of invectives in which case it is called **direct overt verbal aggression**. Again the frustrated group may swear or wish harm and evil to the frustrator, in which case it is **non-overt verbal aggression**. There is still another possibility and that is that the frustrated group may manifest either of the other three types of aggression toward the frustrator but do it in a very subtle and indirect way and often without being aware of why it is doing it. This is called **non-overt non-verbal aggression**.

In addition to the above there is the displaced or indirect aggression. The frustrated group may aim its aggression not at the frustrator but at some third group which may be an innocent or even an inanimate object. This also takes the four forms of direct aggression.

There is yet one more form to be added and that is self aggression. Instead of taking it out on the frustrator or some third party, the frustrated group may take it on itself in any of the four ways mentioned above. This gives us 12 types of aggression. A group of individuals acting as a unit may manifest most of the 12 types of aggression. Intergroup tensions, prejudices etc., may be explained in terms of this.

The techniques for integration should be developed to suit simpler groups to complex groups, in the order of hierarchy. Most important of the techniques is the technique of propaganda, which would have certain basic principles of group behaviour.

Organisation in terms of Hierarchy of leaders:

Group must function as a unified whole presenting a social front in action. It can tolerate no internal strife and dissension. There are several ways in which unity may be achieved. First it

must be well organized. The most solid and foolproof form of organization is that of an army. The essential thing about such a piece of machinery is responsibility from the bottom up and authority from the top down. Every individual has an assigned position in the hierarchy and is responsible to his immediate superior, except, of course the topman, and he is responsible ultimately to the group. But the down-flow of authority is equally important to the upward movement of responsibility.

In Psychological terms authority means control over rewards and punishments. Everyone in the system can be rewarded or punished by those above him, but not by those below him except indirectly by reporting punishable misdemeanours in which case the punishment is still administered from above. An individual in the lower ranks can be rewarded by promotion to positions of prestige, increase in income, promise of greater security and by words of commendation. By exercising rigid control over important rewards and punishments it is possible to develop new habits that fit the members for various assigned roles in the system.

Leadership:

A leader is one who has superior knowledge concerning social and physical environment and expert skill in manipulating them or adapting them. However the environment is so complex that no one individual can achieve superiority in respect to all its manifestations. In any country there are groups of specialists who have knowledge and skill in their fields. There are physicians, dentists, engineers etc. whom people learn to respect as leaders in their respective fields and these specialists acquire skills in their field after training over a period. However there is no such training for leadership in the field of politics and in any area of public welfare. This lack of specific education leaves the way open for the rise of 'crack-pot' leaders. Therefore as in any field of specialization, in the field of politics also special training for leadership is necessary; here Psychology could be of immense use in spotting and training such leaders.

If we analyse the rise of great political leaders in the past in the various countries it will be noted that their rise to power was not sudden. It is generally believed that political leaders rise to power suddenly without previous preparation. This belief is not true. Gandhiji's rise to national leadership was not sudden. His active career lasted several years before he rose as a national leader. Hitler is another good example. His political career lasted ten years before he seized the government. The speed with which a leader can gain power and prestige depends largely upon his own capacity and his immediate disciples to 'educate' the mass. Another important ability of a good leader is his capacity to lead people with strength, determination and courage when they are disturbed, alarmed or driven by any strong emotion. This happens during sudden national crisis, like foreign invasions, sudden floods and mob violence. He should be an embodiment and personal representative of much that the people have already learned to love and to defend. It is for this reason that political leaders are enshrined in the memories of nations and monuments are erected to them as perpetual reminders of their deeds.

Development of an ideology :

Another means of national integration is by the development of an ideology. An ideology is really a series of statements that make the goals and the programme of action of the movement sound, just and reasonable. Granted the premises, the conclusions should follow with logical consistency. Sometimes the premises may be sound. But back of them, may be certain unformulated and hence unnoticed basic assumptions which may be quite unsound. The Nazi ideology is built around the concept of **Gemeinschaft**. This untranslatable word conveys the richness of meaning to a literate German the notion of the nation as one big strong happy family. It is expressed in the slogans '**Ein Volk**', '**Ein Reich**', '**Ein Fuhrer**', etc. In the family all share in the income, the love of parents, the protection of homes, and all contribute something to the common good. There are no special privileges except those designed by age and sex. In order that the

nation can be a strong, united, unconquerable, powerful in-group it must be, say the Nazis, of one blood. Hence the Jews who are of a different blood must be eliminated. Moreover, if the members are to work for the common good of the whole group, there must be someone who determines what the common good is. The members cannot decide it among themselves. They must have a wise and powerful father-leader, who will decide for them. From this example, it may be seen that the leader principle follows from the premise as do other principles of group action.

Here our interest is not in any ideology, but rather in the functions that are served by them, and in how they are developed. One function is justification of purposes, goals, and plans of action. These are formulated first and later rationalized by cooking up a social philosophy which is consistent with them. It is an easy step to show how plans of action follow logically from the ideology. This makes policies seem just and reasonable, fits them into earlier habits of justice and reason and makes them much more welcome. A second function of an ideology is that it supplies an immense amount of verbal self stimulation and social stimulation calculated to arouse the desired reaction tendencies in the people.

Social Education :

Large segments of behaviour of animals and some unknown fraction of that of adult humans are unlearned. Towards the bottom of evolutionary scale are animals possessing a maximum of innate or unlearned responses to their environment, and a minimum capacity to learn. At the top of the scale stands man with a minimum number of fixed innate modes of response and with a relatively long period of infancy and dependency on the parents, during which important education takes place. The general principle appears to be, although there are exceptions, that as one goes up the evolutionary scale there is a decrease in the number of fixed innate modes of response and an increase in learning capacity accompanied by an increase in the length of the period of dependency. That way, it should be observed that

nature has been very kind to man. Therefore this advantage of human individual should be used to the good of the group in which he is born and grows. From childhood till maturity, both home and school could be training centres to inculcate habits attitudes and loyalties which would reflect the customs, ideals, beliefs and laws of the country. It should be a process of social conditioning.

Role of Language:

Language is a means of communication. It helps us to express ourselves to others. It has also another important function. It embodies tradition and culture of the country. India which is multilingual is a problem from the point of view of integration. Apart from bringing about linguistic minorities, it breeds enormous number of other personality problems in children as well as adults. Other multilingual countries have solved the problem, either by recognising the major languages as official languages as in Switzerland and Holland or having one national language with facilities for the other languages to flourish as in Russia. However our problem is peculiar. Hindi as a national language is inadequate and regional languages like Tamil, Telugu, Bengali etc are richer languages than Hindi. English which serves that purpose today, cannot be a national language as it has come to symbolize all inauspicious qualities of foreign denomination. Moreover it is spoken and understood by only limited number of urban people labelled as educated. The three language formula is the only alternative and this has to be introduced with great care and caution.

In different spheres, as in language, systematic education of the masses is necessary. To this end, available avenues of mass communication like newspapers, radio, motion pictures have to be effectively employed. Most important of all these is inculcating love for our country, in the children and youth of this country. After all they are the future citizens of the country. Here the home and the school should be the training ground.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE

Dr. S. P. Adinarayana

Prejudice is unreasonable behaviour. It is behaviour that cannot be justified on rational or logical grounds. Man boasts of being the only rational animal but he does not always think or act in a rational way. Sometimes he acts first and then finds reasons for justifying his actions. If no good reasons may be found, he may invent them. Or again he may accept other people's opinions without caring to examine them critically. All this is to some extent natural. Life would be intolerable if we thought and spoke always in syllogisms. On the other hand, if irrationality and rationalization is carried beyond a point, prejudice is one of the evil off-shoots. Yet all prejudice is not evil. A little prejudice is probably good fun. We all have our pet prejudices — in our diet or dress. As long as they are held as personal opinions and are recognised as such there is not much harm done. But when prejudices are made the bases of national or inter-national politics and are used to hurt people economically or socially, they become dangerous.

Prejudice is not a lie. It is much more harmful than a lie because it is a little truth distorted and exaggerated out of all proportion. Lies can be fought and disproved. Half-truths are unsatisfactory opponents. We cannot fight them fully.

Prejudice is an attitude to life, a way of coming to terms with certain perplexing problems. It is a way which is for the

time being satisfactory though in the long run definitely injurious. Etymologically it signifies **pre-judgement** and as such it is an intellectual labour-saving device. For, instead of taking the trouble to make a judgement on an individual's character and capacity as a result of a careful and sometimes even laborious collection of facts, a **snap judgement** is made by putting the individual in a class and attributing to him all the characteristics of that class.

There is no sphere of human activity in which the influence of prejudice cannot be found in some form or other. Religious prejudices are notorious. We in India are familiar with caste prejudices and their tenacious grip over the mind of man. Histories may be window-dressed and biographies biased. Prejudice can enter into the exposition of even such a purely objective discipline as Arithmetic. If our old friends A and B do an equal amount of work but do not get an equal wage, then it may be said that the author of the sum has leanings towards a particular political party. But it appears in its most dramatic and sinister form in the field of colour. It is this form that has received the most coverage from psychologists, sociologists, historians and descriptive writers. It has been the subject of innumerable probes and experiments. All the niceties available today in the field of attitude measurement have been roped in to gauge its ramifications. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that colour prejudice is one of the most written upon subjects in the world. For example, whatever else the Negro in America may complain about, it is certainly not of neglect. His sex life has been investigated to the point of indecency and his home life to that of exasperation. We now know almost everything that can be known about his intelligence, his emotions, his pleasures and his problems. He has become a percentage, an average, a norm, a coefficient and a quotient. Only one thing remains to be known, i. e. that he has a soul.

Prejudice is a form of autistic thinking i. e. thinking that is sufficient unto itself, thinking that is not subject to social

criticism. It is thinking for pleasure, thinking which has its own reward. Even in tasks performed under controlled conditions in a laboratory, self-esteem and self-justification play an important part. It has been reported that in a recent, matter-of-fact laboratory task, subjects hated to give up a solution upon which they had hit, even though evidence was clearly against this solution.

From whence does an individual get his attitudes of prejudice? Generalization from a single shocking or dramatic incident either in his own life or in the life of others may be a cause. All of us can trace some of our fears, dislikes, prejudices and predispositions to certain dramatic incidents in our childhood. But a more prolific source is the acceptance of ready-made attitudes current in contemporary social circles in which the individual moves. The books that one reads as a child, the toys that he plays with, the opinions expressed by one's parents and teachers, all form an important part of the process of attitude assimilation. The youth in his teens has attitudes to life continuously thrust upon him—by the fireside, in the market-place or in the street, till at last he succumbs to pressure and makes them his own. In doing so he becomes a better member of his society, for this acceptance results in certain ways of behavior that find favour with his fellow-men. It may be supposed that as one grows older and achieves increasing economic and intellectual independence, he becomes less receptive to outside influences. Actually this is not so. The effect of independence is offset by the desire for conformity, the tendency to rebel, by the desire to win social approval.

The popular belief that young children have no colour prejudice is undoubtedly true. But they seem to acquire it very early in life, probably between the fourth and fifth years. The American Psychologist Horowitz lived for sometime in a village in the South, observing the behaviour of children there. He found that very small Negro and White children played freely with each

other without any consciousness of difference in appearance. Later the White children were compelled to keep away from their Negro playmates under threats of punishment from their parents. There is some evidence to show that once children acquire prejudices, they are much more radical in their outlook than grown-ups.

Let us now examine some causes of colour prejudice.

1. Fear. Fear not only plays an important part in the formation of an attitude of prejudice but also in perpetuating its hold upon us. Now black is a colour of fear going back to the primitive dread of the night which held untold possibilities of disaster, before artificial means of illumination were invented. Black is associated with evil, witchcraft, devils, sin, in fact everything unpleasant and undesirable. This dread of the dark as typifying night and the unknown is also strongly felt by children. Colour symbolism has perpetuated this kind of feeling. Black has been universally chosen to represent the more sombre types of emotion, fear, gloom, and sadness. Much that is painful and undesirable in life is represented in the hue of black, e.g. black-maria, black-guard, black-balling and black-magic. This dislike of black is not confined to white people alone but is to be found all over the world.

However there is a curious **ambivalency** (double attitude of love and hate) towards the black colour. The dark tall stranger has a place in the romances of the West and is credited with great powers as a heart-breaker. Black is also recognised as a decent, sober colour, the only colour suitable for business wear. Dislike and fear of black is but the negative aspect of a positive glorying in white. White, the synthesis of all colours, has always symbolised the most exalted virtues—eternity, purity, chastity, an attribute of God Himself.

2. Jealousy: Jealousy is another important operative condition. Nowhere is this more powerfully in operation than in the sexual field. Man is ruthless in his hatred of, and merciless in his desire to annihilate a sexual rival. Ancient legend and con-

temporary fiction has somehow perpetuated a belief that Oriental races are in some ways sexually superior to Occidental ones. In view of the currency and long-standing nature of these beliefs, however unfounded they may be, it is quite possible that the White man sees in his darker fellow-creature a sexual rival who has to be kept at bay at all costs and is on this score both incensed and prejudiced against him. But jealousy that gives rise to prejudice need not be confined to sex. Fear of intellectual overshadowing, rivalry in the fields of commerce and industry, scientific discovery, adventure and exploration, may all lead to bad feelings, especially among the people of that country which fails to get the upper hand for the time being. Jealousy of this type leads to much propaganda and brings in its train much prejudice. To boost your country and its products, it is often necessary to run down another country and its people.

3. A Sense of Unfamiliarity: This may sometimes lead to disgust but more often fosters a feeling of strangeness which may very effectively keep two races apart. Prejudice has a good chance of thriving when a state of apartness is established, as each group in its isolation may tend to over-rate its own virtues and exaggerate the vices of the other. Social intercourse becomes difficult and even when the representatives of the two groups meet occasionally, differences in customs, habits and culture may show themselves in many social sins whose significance goes far beyond their face value. An interesting illustration of differences in social customs keeping two nations living in the same country apart is to be found in the social code regarding dining among Indians and Englishmen. The Indian eats sitting on the ground whereas to many Englishmen the gymnastics involved in this mode of eating is literally impossible of achievement. The Englishman dresses for dinner, the Indian generally undresses. To the Indian the idea of using knives and forks which have already been used by somebody else is abhorrent, to the Englishman eating with hands is messy and disgusting. After dinner the Indian indulges in an elaborate and articulate ritual of washing, the Englishman does not. Belching during or after a meal far from being a grave breach of etiquette as it is among English people is condoned

among Indians and is even looked upon as a subtle way of paying a compliment to your host's fare. Silence during meal is not 'bad form' among Indians; it is among Englishmen. To the Indian a meal is essentially a private matter, to the Englishman it is the very soul of social life. Thus a number of apparently trivial differences acting together rendered exchange of hospitality difficult.

4. A Sense of Superiority: The spectacular achievements of modern science, which to a large extent has been the result of the inventive genius of the West, the rapid growth of a materialistic type of civilization with the consequent improvements in the standards of living, conquest and colonial expansion, have all contributed to foster in the White-man a sense of superiority. In fact so strong has been this feeling that it has been sought to formulate it into a theory. Le Bon held that there was a gap between inferior and superior races amounting almost to a distinction in species. Early investigators had rated the intelligence of the Negro in America as roughly between two-thirds and three-fourths of that of the White. Recently psychological opinion has however been moving away from the idea of the intellectual inferiority of the Negro. The Negro is also credited with high emotionality and defective inhibition which are badges of an inferior type of mind. This kind of knowledge (not always reliable) does not help to lessen prejudice. The sense of superiority is not however one-sided — white towards coloured. The Eastern world tends to despise the mundane civilization of the West and the materialistic White-man, its product and gloats over its innate spirituality which 'beef and beer' cannot understand.

5. Ignorance: This is not as prolific a source of prejudice as it is popularly held to be. For one thing ignorance may be feigned and for another it may merely foster indifference. When it does function as a cause, the deciding factor seems to be not so much the absence of true knowledge but the presence of the

false variety. Knowledge to acquire an effective anti-prejudice quality must be converted into action and this can be done only under the influence of an attitude. In the absence of a sympathetic attitude, the mere acquiring of knowledge, however voluminous or thorough it may be, will be of little avail. As G. W. Allport puts it, "Facts themselves are inhuman; only attitudes are human. Purely factual training often has one of three equally abortive results : it is soon forgotten, or it is distorted in such a way as to rationalize existing attitudes, or the information is allowed to sit in one corner of the mind isolated from the main determinants of living conduct."

6. **Ethnocentrism** : This is the tendency displayed by the members of a group to view the appearance and behaviour of outsiders in terms of the scale of values prevailing within the group. Ethnocentrism by itself need not create prejudice but when the need to create prejudice arises, it can be easily exploited. It is invariably, conflict of some kind that turns ethnocentrism into active prejudice. As Gardner Murphy observes, "Growing up in a rather self-contained narrow world of values and attitudes, a person accepts the prevailing outlook. He sees the world as his own group sees it. Consequently he hates the people that are hated by his immediate group... Our people are good people, they tend to be near us, they satisfy our needs, they are on the whole warm and protective and it is with them we must stand if we are to make our way...Those who are outside this little orbit of the personal world are viewed first with considerable caution and sometimes if life treats us badly, with acute hostility."

7. **Economic Causes** : When we look at some of the countries where an acute colour problem (with a consequent crop of prejudices) has developed, we find that one of the important operative causes has been the desire to obtain and maintain a source of **cheap labour**. For example, Negro slaves were imported into America to work in the cotton fields. In the Fiji Islands and in South Africa, Indians were taken in for the same reason.

They came under the indenture system, by which they were compelled to serve their white masters for a fixed number of years—five or seven. After the expiration of this period they were free to go wherever they liked, but most of them elected to settle down in the same country. Any possible rise in their economic status was a threat to the potential of cheap labour. Hence the freed foreign labourer, in many cases, of a different colour to his master, created an acute and irritating problem which was sought to be solved by devices like the denial (partial or complete) of educational facilities, public amenities and civil rights, differential wages and the barring of his entry into the skilled job category.

Gerhart Saenger observes "The propagation of a theory of racial inferiority not only serves to soothe the conscience of the exploiting majority group but is often specifically adapted to the changing economic needs of the dominant group.....Many citizens of the Union of South Africa are convinced that their natives are constitutionally unable to perform any skilled or administrative work and will work only under the close supervision of a white overseer. In neighbouring Congo where there is not a sufficient number of whites to do all the work, Negroes are believed to be able to—and actually do—perform skilled jobs and administrative duties."

Once a state of inter-group prejudice has been established and the out-group invested with certain undesirable qualities, a rigid caste system comes into existence. This results in certain gains to the in-group. For one thing, as already noted, a source of cheap labour is near at hand. There is also some gain in social status. Even the poorest member of the in-group becomes superior to the highest member of the out-group. The establishment of the inferior status of the out-group also carries with it certain sexual advantages to the members of the in-group. This is all the more true if the out-group also happens to be coloured. The white male has free access to the coloured female while the coloured male is completely cut off from the white female. Politically group differences can be fostered to keep one party in

power. Politicians have often successfully campaigned for office on a platform of race supremacy. The realization of these gains further reinforces prejudice among the members of the in-group by its appeal to human greed.

8. Personal Sources. Certain prejudices are adopted from our group while others are the result of internal thought processes. They are manufactured in the mind, so to speak, according to the general principles which the mind follows in its creative thought life. Such principles are known as **dynamisms** which are thought processes that have a compelling power. The most common dynamism in the area of prejudice is known as the **frustration-aggression hypothesis**. According to this hypothesis all frustration creates aggression. Frustration is the result of some force interfering with our progress towards a goal in which we are much interested. The normal way of dealing with frustration is to remove the impediment that is coming in the way of our progress. But under certain circumstances, due to reasons of diplomacy, delicacy or decorum, the natural way of dealing with obstacles is denied to us. When this happens, frustration is turned into **free floating aggression**, which fastens itself on some other object other than the legitimate one. A man who has been insulted by his boss at his office comes home and shouts at his wife. In our modern competitive type of society there is a lot of frustration. Also very often we are not able to deal with the real sources of these frustrations either because they are intangible or unavailable. Hence there is a lot of free floating aggression about, which ultimately fastens itself on the members of the out-group. These are convenient targets for our aggressive tendencies. Society condones types of behaviour towards the out-group which it will not tolerate towards members of the in-group.

Another dynamism is **scapegoating**. This term originates from a religious ritual where the sin of a person is transferred to a goat which is then taken into the wilderness and let loose. In general usage it has come to mean the transference of some of our feelings of guilt to certain innocent persons and then taking

vengeance on them because of the transfer. In short we hold others responsible for our sins. As far as prejudice is concerned, the scapegoat is always somebody from the out-group. In many countries the Jews are blamed for a wide variety of evils.

From cause let us now turn to cure. It would be idle to pretend that a complete solution to this perplexing problem is in sight. On the other hand over-pessimism may be equally misleading. Much has happened recently that gives rise to hope. Though the situation has admittedly worsened in the Union of South Africa, the general emancipation of the Eastern countries has tended to make the overall picture better than before. The tolerant climate created by a world-wide attempt that is going on today to remove social inequalities (e. g. the fight against certain aspects of the caste system in India) has had an indirect healthy effect on the campaign for the eradication of all prejudice. In India after the 15th of August 1947 there has been a refreshing clearing up of racial tensions. In the U.S.A. the achievements of complete integration in all branches of the fighting forces and the Supreme Court decision that the segregation of children in schools was unconstitutional are momentous steps fraught with far-reaching consequences. In Great Britain (though the influx of West Indians has led to a flaring up of the colour problem) leaders of thought in all walks of life have condemned colour prejudice in no uncertain terms. This has been a source of great moral support to progressive forces. Even apparently feeble voices from South Africa have swelled into clarion calls as they reach the outer world. The UNESCO is doing a great service by publishing factual surveys by experts regarding the state of affairs in countries where prejudice exists. This is but part of the spate of scholarly works that have seen the light of day during the last two decades on this important problem. This indicates a mood of introspection and a state of self-consciousness which is definitely healthy. It is all to the good that the existence of prejudice in all its naked ugliness is fully and frankly recognized and no attempt is made to hide the truth behind a smoke screen of sentimentality.

Psychologists are now emphasising the need for making an approach to prejudice on the **utilitarian plane**, from the point of view of enlightened self-interest. Prejudice is **expensive** morally, materially and spiritually. Violent colour prejudice between two groups in the same country often leads to duplication of national services like hospitals, libraries and schools and hence is a great drain on the taxpayer's money. Individually it develops a lopsided personality which is blind to many cultural values for the sole reason that they emanate from the out-group. In looking down upon others we develop a pleasant feeling of superiority which is very satisfying. As A. G. Allport puts it, "Prejudiced attitudes may serve as a psychological crutch for persons crippled in the encounter of life." This is perhaps the most significant discovery that has been made about prejudice. It would be futile, even cruel, to remove the crutch unless we supply a walking stick in its place. The best way to prevent people from looking down is to make them look up. In short, frustration which is the cause of so much prejudice must be replaced by a positive philosophy of life. In the framing of such a philosophy, realism and idealism should cooperate and sound scholarship, social tact and practical wisdom should go hand in hand with faith, exhortation and precept.

XI

SCIENCE AND
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Prof. M. S. Thacker

Established facts of history, like the national unity of India, are enduring, and doubts created by transient stresses and strains, wrongly interpreted by observers as threats to national solidarity, disappear when the causes are objectively diagnosed and appropriate remedies applied. India has been an integrated geographical entity since pre-Puranic times. Sages and seers have proclaimed the oneness of *Bharatha Varsha* and *Bharatha Khanda*, and poets and bards have sung the glories of this ancient land stretching from the Himalayas in the north to Cape Comorin in the South. At times of threat to our security and territorial integrity, as in 1962 and 1965 when India had to face external aggression in the northern and north-western frontiers, the people have purged themselves of narrow loyalties, sank their political, religious and regional differences, and risen as one man to repel external threat and demonstrated our national integrity in very eloquent terms.

Unity does not mean uniformity. Ours is a multi-state, multi-religious and multi-lingual society; and smaller loyalties do exist within the larger and ever-enduring loyalty to the nation. These smaller loyalties and group antipathies, however, are of a different order. They get emphasised in times of scarcity and stress, and disappear when conditions of prosperity and plenty are established. In this context, I am reminded of a story of *Bhoja Charita* : A poet appears before King Bhoja and represents to him that his domestic felicity has been threatened because

every one in the family gets peeved and angry for no conceivable reason whatever; he appealed to the king to help him out of the embarrassing situation. Bhoja rightly attributed the malaise to penury and cured it by a generous gift.

Poverty, disease and illiteracy are the root causes of discontentment and strife. Our economic and social problems are dominated by poverty and accentuated by the continuing growth of population. The solutions to them lie in the achievement of social and economic prosperity; and this can be done through the application of science and technology to the development of our natural and human resources. There is an inescapable correlation between the poverty or riches of a country and its technological development.

This was made clear, if clarity were needed at all, at the U. N. Conference on the *Applications of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas (1963)*, over which I presided. The Conference in which representatives of 96 nations held discussions and dialogues for three weeks, called on scientists and technologists of the world "to take a hard look at the hard facts of the world". The Conference was a sharing of the common experience of mankind in a world of opportunity. It confronted the policy-makers and decision-takers of nations with men whose discoveries and inventions "have changed the character of our times" and reminded them that science is a built-in part of modern social and economic prosperity and that developing nations have not made adequate use of science.

One might well remember that not long ago, the highly industrialised countries of today, notwithstanding their innate resources, were themselves underdeveloped. Science and technology have transformed them into prosperous nations, and they provide object lessons. In a world which has shrunk in terms of time and distance, people and events are no longer remote from each other. The winds of change have become etheric, and modern communications have sharpened the awareness

of people every-where to opportunities for development. The world is tending to become a compact and closed community, and if the promises offered by science are seized with understanding and wisdom, not only the underdeveloped countries, but the whole of mankind stand to benefit.

The close relation between science and prosperity has been recognised in India for sometime past and valiant efforts have been made since Independence to promote science and its applications to social and economic welfare. Three Five-Year Plans have since been completed and they have brought economic and social changes. Poverty and social inequalities still persist. The tide of expectations has been rising, and there is an awareness that without more science and more technology, there is no way of fulfilling them.

I have been talking of science and technology and making a distinction between them. Science and technology are different, but interrelated. Science is different from nuclear reactors, antibiotic drugs or transistor radio sets, which the common man usually associates with science. These are technological end-products, the spawns of science. By puzzling back through them, we can trace out the principles and concepts which provided the basis for their development; and these principles and concepts themselves have emerged from the enquiries of savants, who, urged by disinterested curiosity, quested new paths and enlarged the boundaries of knowledge.

Science is even more than a producer of spectacular discoveries. It is a mental discipline, a system of orderly thinking which seeks evaluation on the basis of observations and experiments instead of through prejudice and emotion. This spirit of science, the scientific method or the scientific temper, on which our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru laid so much emphasis, is fundamental. It must permeate society and become pervasive, so that society may become not only receptive to new ideas, but also actively participate in the promotion of new applications of science.

The application of science and technology to achieve economic progress and plenitude is not a matter of transferring technology from an advanced country to a developing country, and ordering out ready-made technological devices and gadgets from the supermarkets of the world. It is much more complicated than that. It is more a social process than a technical one. It involves the imbibition, not just superposition, of modern knowledge and techniques, by a society which was not formerly used to, or prepared for its adoption. Take for instance farming and food production with which we are so much concerned today. We speak of 'industrialising' agriculture, use of improved seeds and agricultural inputs like fertilisers and chemicals for fighting weeds, pests and diseases. The improvement of farm yields demands the use of new tools and new skills, an understanding of the requirements of cultivated plants, a knowledge of material bases like land and water, and a constant concern for factors that conduce to improved productivity. It involves not only the use of new materials and methods but also a new outlook, and implies changes in ways of working and ways of thinking.

Science and technology have greatly altered human life during the past 150 years; the changes continue at an increasing speed and the revolutionary possibilities of science extend far beyond what has so far been realised. This has inevitably led to the erosion of old values; not only that, it has brought in a new set of values. And adaptation to changing situations triggered off by science has become inevitable in the interests of progress, even survival. As Bertrand Russell points out, "If we remain attuned to the world that is fast disappearing, we cannot escape the fate of dinosaurs, which though lords of creation in their day millions of years ago, perished because they could not adapt themselves to a new situation — a world without swamps."

I wish to emphasise the need for adjusting ourselves to the structure of modernity in order to benefit by science and technology. Such adjustment, in the interest of advancement, must permeate every section of our society and it should become

a way of life. I am not suggesting that what we have in our heritage should be discarded in favour of something that is new. There are many elements in our inherited culture that enrich us, and they must abide. We must, in addition, imbibe the new elements that make for progress. Every one does not by himself discover the path of transformation. The path must be shown by those who are discerning so that it can be tread; and it may lead to newer and surer paths in the quest for peaks of progress. This is an educational task and here the intellectuals and the elite have a responsibility. It is for them to mould old traditions to new patterns of development and induct the dynamism that is necessary for progress in the interests of national solidarity and security.

XII

ROLE OF THE HOME IN
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Smt. G. Kamalanathan

Smt. Kamala Anandam

National Integration is not a programme nor a new idea. The essential unity of India and her cultural integrity have been established from time immemorial by nature and history. As our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan said in his broadcast to the nation on 2-10-1962, on the eve of the National Integration Week, "Nature by her seas and mountains had decided the oneness of India". Travelling by foot in ancient days Sri Sankaracharya and in recent times Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi had repeatedly called upon the nation to think in terms of being Indians first and Indians last. Gandhiji's creative education and Swamji's man-making education were means suggested to achieve national unity.

Nehru dreamt of nationally integrated India as "A strong, free and democratic India, where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity for growth and services; where the present inequalities of wealth and status have ceased to be, and where our vital impulses are directed to creative and cooperative endeavour. In such an India, communalisation, separation, isolation, untouchability, bigotry and exploitation of man by man have no place, and while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a nation's life".

India is a land of marked differences and great variety in racial characteristics, sizes of people, complexions, languages, religions, traditional habits, customs and educational institutions. What has been unique in this diversity, as Humayun Kabir has stressed, is that there has been an "Indianness, transcending all these distinctions, which have made the many Indian communities into one Indian people". This unity in the midst of diversity has made life interesting and free from monotony, and progress possible. National Integration implies that while preserving the entity of the individual, that entity will enhance the strength of the total group and ensure its stability. Dr. Zakir Husain, the President of India, compares national unity to a "Bouquet of flowers of different hues, shapes and sizes in which each flower maintains its uniqueness and blends into the whole." National unity, thus born out of harmony is the essential strength of the nation and the life-breath of democracy.

National integration is in essence the cultivation of the heart, the emotions and feelings. In order to have unity, the indispensability of the feeling of oneness must be established. People are motivated by that which has an immediate appeal to them by virtue of its preciousness and value in terms of economic gain, human security, esthetic satisfaction and spiritual fulfilment.

The early experiences of a child and the environment in which he is reared have a profound influence on the attitudes and convictions he would develop towards national goals and values. The older concept, "As the seed, so the harvest" is becoming obsolete. Greater importance is given to the soil, the climate, the fertilizers and such other factors. All these can be summarised as 'ENVIRONMENT'. All behaviour is influenced by environment. Therefore changes in the environment can modify behaviour. To the extent we attempt to study the environment, identify those aspects which are conducive to the development of the desired behaviour, (in this case, National Integration) and enhance them, we shall be contributing to National Integration.

This process of selecting and modifying environment is the essence of education. It is a continuous process from birth to maturity. Certain periods in human life are most vulnerable to change. Psychologists call those periods "Critical Periods". Critical periods can be explained as those periods during which experiences leave strong influences on the child, which are difficult to change not only immediately but in his later years also. The latter months of the first year, namely 8-12 months which affect the concept of self, and the 2½-5 year period which influences the concept of development of social relations are considered as the critical periods in the life of the individual. During these periods the most dominant force in childhood is the HOME. The arrival of the child into the world is likened to a pebble thrown into a pond. The point of his initial contact with the pond of life is the Home, but he moves along with the ever widening circles to have contacts with others—friends, neighbours, playmates, schoolmates and club members.

Home is the fulcrum on which National Integration revolves. It is the quintessence of many factors brought together as one complete unit. The integration which begins at home permeates through the community and nation, and paves the way towards international solidarity.

In the home, the woman wields a great power as the mother. Swami Vivekananda says, "The ideal woman in India is the mother first and the mother last". Motherhood so venerated carries great responsibilities such as inculcation in children, of faith strength and patriotism, looking after the comforts of the husband and relatives, and above all, finding fulfilment in family life. The woman comes into a house as a young bride with a complex of her past experiences, ideals and thoughts. She gradually imbibes the ideals and philosophy of the new environment and merges her identity with the family. Thereafter, her influence increases like a "little mustard seed that grows into a large tree". When any change is to be brought into the family, the mother acts like a starter or a drop of curds into a bowl of milk and brings about the desirable changes surely and silently.

Factors which Facilitate National Integration

Religion: Religious instruction starts with and by the parents. When ideas of other religions are brought in by children, parents should listen to the information, try to understand and accept their essential messages. Worshipping together and participating in traditional celebrations and decorations help towards greater understanding of the sublimity of family relations at the highest spiritual level. Such had been the fulfilment in the life of the Buddha, when Yesodha became his follower, in the realization of the divinity of Jesus by Mary, and in the exalted family life of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Saradamani Devi.

Children need to be helped to see religion as Swami Vivekananda had explained, "Man is the living God and serving man is worshipping God". Centuries earlier, the same concept was conveyed by Jesus, "In as much as ye have done good to one of the least of these my brethern, ye have done it unto me".

Meyar echoes the same thought when he says, "We do not glorify God by denying man. We only make the concept of God irrelevant." How can we make children serve man? They will serve man, if they know his contributions to their welfare. Taking children to see a farmer tilling the land or a carpenter making the tables or a labourer repairing the road; and speaking of their hard labour, would touch their hearts. We should also help children live as close as possible with nature. They will learn to worship God when they learn to appreciate the wonders of nature.

Language : Language is a means for communication. But in our country the existenee of many languages creates conflict. Why? Because lack of a particular knowledge makes a person apprehensive of any new event or scheme. The only way to remove this apprehension is to provide children with ample opportunities to acquire skills to meet such situations. A person who knows how to swim does not fear the water. Similarly, in the natural course of events, if our children are exposed to learn

and master the important languages, including Hindi, there will be no resistance to Hindi being the national language. On the other hand Hindi will facilitate National Integration. Have we given the time, fervour, urge and patriotic motivation to children to learn Hindi?

Food: Strong likes and dislikes in food seem to stand in the way of uniting people of different backgrounds. If children can be exposed to a wide variety of foods in their early years and be encouraged to develop a sense of thrill in tasting new food preparations which are representative of the different parts of India, their food habits and appreciation for novel foods will hasten national integration.

Community: Only when the home extends into the neighbourhood it can become part of the community and effect that unity described by Tagore, "Where the world has not broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls". Children must be exposed to all that is best in the community and helped to appreciate unity in diversity through observation and interaction with different groups of people.

Overcoming Prejudices: The origin and sources of prejudices are a long story. Once formed they seem to persist through generations. Prejudices are irrational and misconceived notions. Given a proper rationale, children are capable of getting the right perspective and shedding prejudices.

Mistrust is one of the causal factors in the formation of prejudices. Trust in people, for an infant, starts when he has learned to trust his mother. Gandhiji says, "A heart unity can be achieved between pure hearts purged of distrust". Trust is an outcome of dependability. How often do adults exhibit their lack of dependability, thinking that children may not discern them. For example, parents give false hopes to their children, put them to sleep and then run out, or they divert the child's attention to a bird or moon and then disappear. Sometimes, they bring the child to the school, promise him that they will not leave and leave unnoticed. These do not help in developing trust.

A strong and intensive programme of parent education is needed on bringing up children. This education will be most appropriate during prenatal and post-natal periods, as a planned activity. What we need is, "Family life education" and not mere campaigns.

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XIII

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE
POLICY

Sri T. S. Avinashilingam

Of the many problems, which our country has faced since Independence, the language question in India has been one of the most complex and intractable and it still continues to be so. Its early and satisfactory solution is imperative for a variety of reasons — educational, cultural, and political — observes the National Education Commission in its Report. This is specially important from the point of view of National Integration.

One's language has an emotional appeal which few other things can equal. To every group of people, its own language is beautiful, supreme and important as compared with any other. It has been compared to one's mother's love. It rouses a people as nothing else can, against any group or people who in their opinion want to suppress their language. India consists of fourteen main languages. That the number of people speaking each of these languages may be comparatively more or less, or the area in which it is prevalent may be more or less has not made any difference in the fanaticism with which each group is attached to its own language. And this has been aggravated by the formation of linguistic states. That people's passion can be easily roused on this question has been only too evident, especially in recent times. The recent border quarrels between Maharashtra and Mysore based on the language issue have been sickening. The riots last year in such a peace-loving state as Madras on the question of introduction of Hindi as the official language has also

taught us how violent the language quarrels can become. And so this has to be dealt with carefully both with patience and understanding.

This question has been discussed by our Constituent Assembly, which drafted and passed our constitution. After a long and deep deliberation, they agreed that all the languages of India are to be considered as its national languages and in the interest of the people, each of the languages should be developed as the vehicle of highest expression and development. However the need for a link language was felt necessary for inter-communication throughout the country. That position is now served by the English language. From the point of National prestige, it was suggested that an Indian language should be developed as the link language and that Hindi which is spoken by a larger number of people than any other language should become the link language, and this change-over from English to Hindi should be done in the course of fifteen years. The constitution also provided for the development of Hindi and the Hindi to be so developed should not be of the regional kind prevalent in any particular area but should be developed consciously with an all India character. Article 351 lays down: 'It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi language, to develop it, so that it may serve as the medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure the enrichment, by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, styles and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth schedule and by drawing wherever necessary and desirable for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.' The languages mentioned in the Eighth schedule are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

While the constitution provides fifteen years' time for changing over, the constitution makers fore saw that the change-over may not be done in fifteen years and so added that

“Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use after the aforesaid period of fifteen years of the English language for such purposes as may be specified in the law’. The constitution also provided for the appointment of a commission for advising on the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union and the possible restrictions to be placed on the use of English. In pursuance of these provisions, a Commission was appointed by the President and an Official Language Act was introduced and passed in the Parliament after a great deal of heated discussions. As there was tremendous opposition to making Hindi the sole official language of the Indian Union, it sought to continue the position obtaining at that time, namely continuing English as the official language for another ten years. Section 3 of the Official language Act (1963) says as follows: “Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,

- (a) for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and
- (b) for the transaction of business in Parliament”.

In the meantime some practical efforts were made for the evolution of a national language policy. The matter came up for discussion many times in the Central Advisory Board of Education which consists of the representatives of all the State Governments with those of the Centre. This body after a great deal of thought and discussion evolved what has been called the Three-Language formula. According to that formula all schools should provide for the study of three languages; namely (1) the Regional language realising the need for the study of the language of the region, such as Tamil in Madras, Maharashtra in Maharashtra, Bengali in Bengal etc. (2) English, as the language used at present for all-India purposes and which serves as the source for advanced learning and (3) Hindi to be studied by non-Hindi speaking areas and any language other than Hindi to be studied by

Hindi - speaking areas. The study of the first two namely the regional language and English have been generally accepted, but the study of the third language has come in for a lot of criticism and opposition.

In the matter of study of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas, while it has been generally accepted in theory, the speed of its implementation both in extent and depth has been lacking. In this connection, it is necessary to mention that it is not such an easy matter to educate the non-Hindi speaking people to master Hindi in a few years. What has taken nearly one hundred and fifty years in the case of English, cannot possibly be done in fifteen or twenty five years in the case of Hindi. The forcing of the pace of Hindi by the Hindi protagonists has created a suspicion in the minds of the people of the non-Hindi areas, that their languages will be in jeopardy and will come to occupy a secondary place in the country, and Hindi will operate to the detriment of other Indian languages even as English has done. This suspicion has led even to large-scale riots in certain parts of the country last year, particularly in Tamilnad. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, at the time of the enactment of the Official Languages Act, he promised in a definite statement in Parliament, that there should not be any hurrying of the pace of Hindi, which may result in disadvantage to the non-Hindi areas and that English should be retained so long as the non-Hindi people wanted it. But this promise has not yet been implemented by a legal amendment of the Official Languages Act.

One of the main points of disagreement was what was to be the medium of examination in the Union Public Service Commission examinations. Till now it has been English. The Hindi areas want it to be changed to Hindi. The non-Hindi areas have the misgiving that this will give an unfair advantage to the Hindi candidates. Therefore, the suggestion has been made that candidates should be examined each in his own language, thus making all the fourteen languages as the medium of the

U. P. S. C. examinations. After selection, the candidates should be made to get a knowledge of Hindi or the language of the region in which they will have to work. This may create administrative difficulties, but the matter is now under consideration.

It has also been pointed out while the non-Hindi states have sincerely attempted to implement the three language formula by introducing the study of Hindi in schools, the introduction of the third language in Hindi areas has not been implemented with any earnestness, thus the southern states bearing a larger language burden.

There is another aspect to this question. Study of three languages at the school stage and two languages at the college stage has meant spending a lot of time on languages with has been to the detriment of knowledge-content in the subjects to be studied. Thus in the Madras State the time given to languages in the various stages of education is as follows:

PERIODS SET APART FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

Stage of Education	Total number of periods in a week.	Periods allotted for languages	Percentage of time allotted for languages
Primary	35	10	28.57%
*Upper Primary	35	14	40.00%
Secondary	35	16	45.71%
Pre-University	36	12	33.3%
Degree courses (for 3 years)	90	34	38.0%

* Periods set apart for language teaching in Standards 4 and 5 are the same as in Upper Primary.

In Colleges, at present only the Regional language and English are generally studied. There is a proposal that the three language formula should be introduced in the college level also. If that is done, the time allotted for languages will become more than one-third of the total college time. We will be able to appreciate

the situation better, when we learn that in no other country in the world is so much time spent on the study of languages. And this should explain in some measure the low standard of knowledge-content in our University education as compared with other countries. In countries like England and America, no student at the college level studies languages unless he takes the language itself as the subject of his specialisation. That is, students who take Physics, Chemistry, Economics, Politics or any other subject do not devote any time for languages in the college curricula. They devote their whole time to the subject of their choice. This will mean that so much more time is available to them as against our students, for studying their subjects. Naturally the standard of knowledge in their subjects would comparatively be higher.

Therefore this question of national language policy should be viewed in two aspects: one from the point of view of time allotted to it in the school and college curricula and the more important aspect of National Integration, whereby suspicion of people of other regional languages should be removed. In getting this done the example of Switzerland is very instructive and stimulating. This has been well explained by an article in the Journal of Educational Research and Extension.** On the face of things, it appears that Switzerland lacks most of the cohesive forces which are commonly considered necessary to make the national solidarity—those which arise from community of race, language, religion and political opinion. In spite of all these apparent differences, the Swiss have been a thoroughly united and coherent nation. She has been a splendid example for all other countries which have been ravaged by differences of language and religion; and she is such a striking contrast to all the European countries surrounding her—whose political boundaries closely correspond to language boundaries. Time and again wars have been fought in Europe in the name of religion or language or race. But this multilingual, multi-religious, multi-racial country has magnanimously kept aloof from all those internecine quarrels and fights and has vindicated the principles of unity and national solidarity amidst all apparent diversities.

** "Language Policy in Switzerland"—Sri P. Rangaswamy, Journal of Educational Research & Extension published by Sri Ramakrishna Mission, Vidyalyaya, Coimbatore Dt.

Four languages namely, French, German, Italian and Romansch are recognised as national languages in Switzerland; there is no single national language and no one ever thought of it, in spite of the fact that 70% of the people speak the German language. The Swiss do not believe in the rule of the majority but in the welfare of all. When the small group—Romansch moved in 1938 that their language also should be raised to the same status as others, in a general vote that followed, over 90% of the electorate voted in favour of the move! It is said that in the whole history of Swiss voting, there had never been a poll with so high a percentage of 'yesses', though its result was to fulfil the wish of only a hundredth part of the population. That is a remarkable example of Swiss spirit of accommodation and their zealous protection of minority rights.

The Official languages of the confederation are however only three—German, French and Italian and not Romansch. The only consideration that prevented its being used as an official language is that it is highly uneconomical, involving heavy costs in the printing of all government documents and proclamations. In the National Council and Council of States of Switzerland (the lower and upper houses of the Federal Assembly, the latter representing the Cantons) a member can speak in any one of the three official languages and require interpretation of any other in his own. In practice, however a speech in Italian is rare, because not all the members of the Assembly can speak Italian and the Italian members can without difficulty express themselves in French. All the statutes are ofcourse drawn up in all the three languages. Every Swiss has the right to hear judgement pronounced by the Federal Tribunal or Supreme Court in any one of the three languages.

Transaction between the Federal Council (comparable to our Central Cabinet) and its departments (ministries) on the one hand and the cantons (corresponding to our States) on the other, are conducted in the language of the individual canton. In principle, a member of the Federal Council or an official of a department is free to use his mother-tongue in the Council or his department.

But, for the reason adduced above in connection with the Federal Assembly, German and French prevail in actual fact. Administration of cantons is carried on in their respective languages except of course in the three bilingual and one trilingual canton where more than one language are used. The same consideration prevails in the matter of appointments and elections also. The constitution provides that the Federal Tribunal, consisting of twenty judges shall be representative of the three language groups. In the election of the Federal Council, even though there is no constitutional obligation to do so, matters are generally so arranged that there are four representatives from the German-speaking population, two from French-speaking and one from the Italian-speaking group.

The lessons of Swiss experience for India are obvious. We need to appreciate and imbibe their moderation and common sense, their tolerance and mutual consideration. In the matter of language, emphasis should be laid on convenience and not sentiment. It does not seem to be wise just to have one single national language in a multi-lingual country like ours. The official language has been and still is English so far and it is convenient to keep it so, at the national level—for communications between the Union and the States and among the States or at least till the whole country has a reasonable knowledge of Hindi. The medium of U.P.S.C. for selection of all-India services should be in all the languages mentioned in the constitution, while Hindi or the language of the state in which they are asked to serve should also be studied by them after selection on merit.

In a multi-lingual country like ours, it is of course desirable to learn our neighbour's language in addition to our own. So the three language formula is in principle a very reasonable proposition. It will lead to better inter-communication and cultural exchange among states. At the state level, the respective regional languages can be the official languages and already many states are switching over to them without much difficulty.

The other aspect is the time taken for the study of languages. Research must be done to find methods, whereby the study of languages can reach a high enough standard in the school stage itself, so that with a little effort they can be followed as medium of instruction in the college classes. This again is what is done in Switzerland. The mobility of students from University of one language area to another is on the basis of the language they have studied in the school stage.

Above all we should all work for a national view and outlook, become less fanatical in our attachment to our languages. In this there is greater responsibility to the Hindi speaking people in cultivating greater patience and tolerance. It is for them by their broad-mindedness to remove the suspicion in other language groups. We as a people should learn to rise above petty language loyalties and cultivate a true all-India outlook. It is the cultivation of such a broad national outlook alone that will solve our language problem.

CURRICULUM FOR NATIONAL
INTEGRATION

Sri K. Arunachalam

India is a vast country. Bounded by mountains and seas, India was created by Nature as a natural geographical unit. But there have been times when India was a conglomeration of thousands of little warring states. Even under the British, Indian scene was interlaced with a great number of semi-independent Indian states that were ruled by the princes under the advice of the paramount power. Left in that condition India would have been hopelessly weak and disintegrated. It was the political sagacity of Sardar Vallabhai Patel that brought about unity in the country. He appealed to the princes to surrender their power and authority in favour of the Indian Union. With a wonderful spirit of cooperation, the princes abdicated their power overnight in the interest of a strong and united India.

In addition to the Nature's gift of a basic geographical unity, and in addition to the political unity achieved after independence, the man - made channels of communication like the modern railways, telegraph and telephone system, radio and air - planes have helped in unifying India. In spite of all this, linguistic, religious and racial differences continue. And these are made use of by interested people to foster and fan separatist tendencies in the country.

The Problem :

The fissiparous and separatist tendencies can be met in two ways. One, the usual way of violence and legislation, and the other, the constructive way of understanding and education.

Already a law has been enacted which requires the candidates at elections that they should take an oath of loyalty to the constitution of the country.

The problem of National Integration is not an easy problem. This cannot be solved by making changes here and there. The process of integration is a tortuous process. The political, economic and social factors are no doubt, important and people should be given the confidence that they have the same right and privilege and the same opportunity to better their living conditions as anyone else. The feeling of confidence and a sense of security has to be generated in the minds of all the citizens. Education has to be the major instrument in developing National Integration.

Need for Right Education :

In the interest of an integrated nation and one - world, the children of our county should be given the right kind of education. What goes on today in the name of education is a matter of acquisition of information and knowledge from books. Such education results in conflict and tension. Gathering of facts and acquiring of various skills in an atmosphere of competition and insecurity leads to chaos and confusion.

Youths are educated for various professions within a system which is based on exploitation and acquisitive fear. Such a training must inevitably bring confusion and misery to ourselves, to the nation and ultimately to the world, for, it creates in each individual those psychological barriers which separate and hold him apart from others.

Purpose of Education :

The function of education is to create human beings who are integrated and therefore intelligent. The purpose of education is to produce integrated men and women who are free from fear; for only between such human beings can there be enduring peace. The purpose of education is to cultivate right relationship, not only between individuals but also between the individual and

society, and that is why it is essential that the education should help the individual to understand his own psychological process and his relationship with his environment. Curriculum is primarily an aid in the process of adjusting the individual to the environment.

Principles of Curriculum Construction :

Three essential principles are kept in mind while constructing curriculum :

- (1) the instinctive tendencies, experience, interest and impulse of children;
- (2) the possibility of growth and development of children as revealed by psychology, sociology and educational theory; and
- (3) the needs of the community, occupations of the people, social traditions, geographical features and the environmental conditions.

Curriculum Organisation: Primary Stage

The above principles relate to the child, its environment and the sciences which deal with both. It is agreed to by all educationists that the curriculum of the primary school should be conceived in terms of activity and experience, rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored. But the present practice is to treat even reading, writing and arithmetic as separate subjects unconnected with children's psychological, natural and spontaneous activities. The subject-centered approach should yield place to the activity-centred approach if the schools are to play their role effectively for the causes of national integration. In the early years of schooling, the curriculum will consist of a series of activities, including personal and environmental cleanliness, health activities, games and recreational activities, environmental or field visits, celebration of festivals etc.

Language (reading and writing) and arithmetic will come in as tools of (understanding the self and the environment) learning. Art and musical activities will also form part of the curriculum as expressional activities of children.

Play is one of the powerful tendencies which is observed in children. They love to play together in groups without strict regard for rules and regulations. This play activity and experience should be developed in a manner that the children learn to observe rules and regulations. This item in the curriculum is very important from the point of view of developing correct attitudes and values appropriate for national integration.

Curriculum Construction : Secondary Stage

As the child grows in maturity, he should be encouraged to study men and things. The play tendency and the spontaneous activity should be guided and directed to constructive, creative activities and from there to serious work experiences. The child under the dominant initiative impulses will interest itself in productive activities. Facilities must be provided for productive work in the school environment. Today the country needs to augment its production in various fields. Unless the citizens are trained to participate effectively in productive activities, the country cannot continue to maintain its freedom for a long time. Usually, craft work is given a secondary place in the curriculum. It is kept as an extracurricular activity. Such an approach encourages the white-collar mentality, and develops a class-conscious society. In such an atmosphere it is difficult to foster emotional integration. If the distaste for manual work is to be wiped out, productive manual work should be given an important place in the curriculum of both elementary and secondary schools. This should serve as the starting point of understanding the raw materials, the manufacturing process and the consumer needs. Subjects like language, mathematics, science and social studies will emanate from these activities. As the children advance

in age and experience, the activities of the earlier stage will become more systematic with greater stress on discrete subjects. The curriculum will broaden in the secondary stage in respect of subject coverage and deepen in respect of content.

Language and Integration :

From the point of view of national integration, study of more than one language becomes very necessary. India is a multilingual country. Some of the languages are highly developed and have a hoary tradition. All children, in addition to their mother tongue or regional language, should learn Hindi, the national link language by the time they finish their schooling of seven or eight years. Those who continue secondary education should study one of the classical languages and a modern world language, preferably English.

School as a community :

Taking advantage of the social instinct of children, the school should be organised as a living and functioning community with a lively programme of social, cultural and recreational activities. With such a programme of planned self-government the students will learn and imbibe all the qualities that are needed for a cohesive community life. What is of even greater importance in making children social-minded and cooperative, is an active participation of the school in the life of the local community. The school children should study the local community by making frequent visits and understanding social service activities. This programme will develop a love sentiment in the children to the community to which they belong. A sense of belongingness is very necessary to identify oneself within an area or region. This is the starting point for developing patriotism leading on to love of humanity.

Instruction in the Indian Constitution :

Apart from the various activities it may be necessary to impart instruction in the constitution of our country. The constitution should be written to suit the requirements of the children

and the students at various levels expected to learn the principles enunciated in the constitution. In a secular democracy like India, it is necessary to give training in citizenship.

Developing Curriculum :

At present, our schools are not interested in experimenting with the curriculum and modifying it to the changing needs. They look up to the departments of education to prescribe the syllabus and the curriculum. This had led to stagnation. The schools and the teachers should be given the freedom to change the curriculum. If this is done, perhaps, there will be a movement in the country for curriculum development.

Apart from constructing, developing and organising curriculum, the more important thing is the administration of the curriculum. In other words, much depends upon the methods used to impart instruction in the details of curriculum. Even the most traditional subject - centred curriculum can be used to build up desirable social attitudes and habits which will strengthen patriotic feelings.

Method equally important :

I am reminded of an incident that took place while I was taking an advanced laboratory course in Education. This happened in a third grade arithmetic class. The teacher asked the children what was 8 times 9. After a few minutes, such of those children who knew the answer, put up their hands. The teacher wanted those children to put the answer down on paper. The first child was asked to read what she had written and it came out to be 72. The second also had given answer as 72. The third, fourth and fifth...all gave the answer as 72. But, the teacher questioned as to how the first one got the answer. She replied that she knew the multiplication table and therefore 8×9 was 72. The second child said that she added 8 plus 8 plus 8 ... like that and nine eights made 72. The third child said, "No, I didn't get any answer this way. I added one to nine and made it 10, an

now I multiplied 10 by 8, that was 80, and out of this I took away 8, which I added in the beginning and that gave me the result" And so, children arrived at the correct answer by different methods. The teacher said that all the answers were correct. But, one child persisted saying that her method was the best and therefore she should be given additional marks. But the teacher explained that the other methods were appropriate for those children and therefore they should also be appreciated. The teacher explained that there is no point in emphasising that one way alone is the right way. Multiplying by the shortest method i. e. adding 1 to 9, multiplying by 8, and taking away 8 (which were added) was also a good method. While the individual's approach differed, results were the same. Each one followed a method which was most natural to him or her, or a method with which he or she was conversant.

I was surprised at the way the arithmetic teacher used this situation to inculcate a most desirable attitude viz., tolerance to the ways of other peoples and co-existence. While it is necessary to construct and organise an appropriate curriculum for national integration, it should not be forgotten that the method of implementing the curriculum is also equally important in achieving National Integration.

CULTIVATION OF MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES IN EDUCATION

Dr. (Mrs.) Rajammal P. Devadas

For bringing about National Integration, creation of moral and spiritual values such as love, tolerance, kindness, and consideration for others, in our people is necessary. For national integrity and solidarity and for self-respect, qualities such as honesty, courage and the capacity to sacrifice for national ideals should be inculcated through our educational systems.

Since Independence, during the last two decades, education has vastly expanded in all its stages. During the last ten years the number of children going to the primary schools has nearly quadrupled, that in high schools has tripled and the number in colleges has more than doubled. The number of post-graduate courses offered in the different universities and their enrolment has also registered a phenomenal increase. Yet, academicians and administrators in education have come to feel that there are some essential elements lacking in the education provided at present in our schools and colleges. The increasing facilities for education, instead of furthering discipline, have definitely decreased it and instead of deepening our cultural standards, it has corroded them. Instead of bringing fulfilment to students, parents and teachers education has resulted in frustrations and instead of integrating us into one nation has created fissiparous tendencies. We are constantly faced with the question-Where is this education leading to?

The deterioration in the quality of education has thus aroused considerable misgivings and despair. The Government of India

have appointed many committees and commissions to go into the reasons for the fall in standards and suggest remedies. The reports of these committees and commissions point out that our schools and colleges have become over-crowded; are ill-equipped to accommodate the expanding enrolment; are inadequate in library and laboratory facilities; the teachers are not well-trained, and the best talents in the country have not been attracted to the teaching profession. All these are true and may be contributory factors, but by themselves, are not sufficient explanation for the students' indulging in meaningless violence, losing all sense of cultural values and pride in their country and heritage. We must go deeper and seek the reason for this state of affairs. Several educational leaders are of opinion that, in the name of secularism, we appear to have made the educational system bereft of moral and spiritual values. A narrow vocational bias seems to rule not only the so-called vocational schools but education at all levels. Our educational system thus seems to have missed the essential aspect of education, namely, cultivation of values. But the functions of education are different. Professor T.M.P. Mahadevan, in a paper to the Seminar on the Place of Spiritual Values in Education* has said:

“A school or college forfeits its title to be called so, if it only produces wage earners, wealth seekers, sensation mongers or lust slaves. If education engenders selfishness, if it serves to increase the ego in the individual, it ceases to be education”

An American philosopher- educationist has observed :

“No man or woman is designed to be merely a mechanic, a clerk, a tradesman, a lawyer or a doctor. To educate him only for a division of labour is to mutilate him.”

Emerson has said:

“Organised society tends to make of its members so many walking monsters— a..... finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow but never a man. If a school or college produces a

* Seminar held at Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore, in 1963.

robot, it becomes a factory and not a house of learning. It is not robot-making education that we want, but man-making education.”

Swami Vivekananda was never tired of exhorting the nation that the end of all education, all learning should be man-making. He repeatedly stressed that the end and aim of all education is to make man grow.

The Harvard committee on General Education stated that Education was not merely the imparting of knowledge, but the cultivation of certain aptitudes in the minds of the young. The authors defined these desirable traits of mind as the abilities to think effectively, to communicate their thoughts, to make relevant judgments and to discriminate among values. By values we mean, effectively charged criteria by which the goals of human behaviours are chosen. Values are preferential interests which people hold sacred and inviolable. Values are the core of social institutions and main-springs of social behaviour and action. One's values are related to his ideals, friendships, wealth, progress, knowledge, labour and traits such as simplicity. Those who base their happiness on the pursuit of an ideal and hard work have honest purposes in life and obey rules they know to be right. Such men and women would be prepared to renounce comfort, power, fame and other enticing aspects in order to possess more securely and fully the factors they value. Education should help to instil in individuals an active faith in the vital values which make life worth living.

The desirable spiritual and moral qualities have been enumerated in the Bhagavad Gita as: Fearlessness, purity of heart, steadfastness in knowledge, alms-giving, control of the senses, yagna, reading of the Sastras, austerity, uprightness, non-injury, truth, absence of anger, renunciation, tranquillity, absence of calumny, compassion, non-covetousness, gentleness, modesty, absence of fickle-mindedness, boldness, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, and absence of hatred and pride. Of these, fearlessness, as Gandhiji has remarked, is the first requisite of spirituality.

Cowards can never be moral. The spiritual life is for the strong and the brave. The weak can never be steady in the pursuit of the noble path.

Wealth, learning and position may give temporary satisfactions, but for lasting peace and fulfilment, cultivation of spiritual qualities is absolutely essential. That is the only path which can give man abiding joy. How to inculcate these spiritual qualities in our youth is the great problem in education.

The home and the family play a large role in shaping the minds of young boys and girls. The impressions of early childhood are the background for the development of personality. They influence the individual for good or bad throughout his life. While the atmosphere in the home is important for the growth of the child, it is only a part of the larger family, namely, the community at large, to which the child belongs. The community sets the norms for the ordinary man and woman. The standards of conduct, in the community, the integrity and character of its people, their habits in daily life, and faith in spiritual values—these are guided and determined in a large measure by the social customs and standards. Therefore, it is necessary that society is made aware of, and accept the higher values, and respect and regard the people who value them.

The University Education Commission has considered the question of inculcation of spiritual values in our students and recommended that the following steps be taken for that purpose:

1. All educational institutions should start work with a few minutes of silent meditation.
2. In the first year of the degree course, lives of various religious leaders like the Buddha, Confucius, Zoraster, Socrates, Jesus, Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Mohammed, Kabir, Nanak, and Gandhi may be taught.
3. In the second year, some selections of a universal character from the scriptures of the world may be studied.

4. In the third year, the central problems of the philosophy of religion may be considered.

Endorsing these recommendations, the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction (1959) commented that a study of the different religions should be an essential part of general education course in degree classes. The Committee has also given suggestions for instruction in moral and spiritual values at the lower stages of education.

But moral and spiritual qualities cannot be imparted merely through instruction. As Gandhiji had pointed out, studying religion is more intellectual than spiritual. One may know the Bible or Koran or Gita by heart, and can give long discourses on their contents and yet may not be moral or spiritual. Education of the Spirit is a more difficult task and can result only through constant practice under the guidance of a good teacher. This is particularly so in the early stages of childhood, when spiritual qualities are inculcated through activities which give opportunities for their practice. Mahatma Gandhi said from his experience: "I made the children memorise and recite hymns and read to them from books on moral living. But that was far from satisfying me. As I came into close contact with them, I saw that it was not through books that one could impart training of the spirit. Just as physical education was to be imparted through physical exercise and intellectual, through intellectual exercise, even so the training of the spirit was possible only through the exercise of the spirit. And the exercise of the spirit entirely depended on the life and character of the teacher. It is possible for a teacher, situated miles away to affect the spirit of the pupils by his way of living. It would be idle for me, if I were a liar, to teach the boys to tell the truth. A cowardly teacher would never succeed in making his boys valiant and a stranger to self-restraint could never teach his pupils the value of self-restraint. I saw therefore I must be an object lesson to the boys and girls living with me." Thus it may be seen that the life of the teacher is all important in spiritual basing.

The Basic system of Education in Elementary Schools offers endless venues for the cultivation of the spirit, provides numerous activities, such as team work, carrying out one's allotted duties, obedience to a leader, punctuality in performance of the allotted work and ability to lead the group towards accomplishing the goals. The activities connected with the chosen craft provide opportunities for the cultivation of such qualities as completing the assigned work satisfactorily, perseverance till the target is reached, avoidance of waste, and social sense.

The secondary schools can also be organised on similar lines. Trust begets trust and suspicion leads to cheating. The school activities should be so planned, that pupils are entrusted with certain responsibilities and guided in fulfilling them. Good performance of the tasks should count for grades, so that students and others can know that such qualities are appreciated and noted for promotion. The National Seminar on the Place of Spiritual Values in Education has enumerated a variety of activities which can be usefully entrusted to students: ringing the bell, preparation for and conduct of the daily assembly, checking attendance, regularity and punctuality, procurement of the necessary equipment for the various lessons, maintenance of order between two class periods, cleanliness of the rooms and campus, supply of drinking water in the class rooms, sanitation of lavatories and bath rooms, maintenance of the garden and playgrounds, receiving parents and helping visitors. A variety of other activities may be provided by the teachers.* But the essential point is that the teachers set the example, trust the students and help them with friendly but firm guidance, when necessary.

The students in the colleges are in the adolescent or post-adolescent period with their age ranging generally between 16-25 years. The rate of their growth is rapid both mentally and physically. They are full of energy and have an element of idealism and

* Those who are interested in the subject, are requested to refer to the detailed report of the National Seminar on the Place of Spiritual Values in Education published by Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore.

resistance to traditions. Their mental growth must be respected and catered to. Because of their impetuosity which is a sign of youth, they need to be handled tactfully and sympathetically. Emphasis should be laid on self-discipline and the power that comes out of self-discipline. A variety of activities must be provided to help them develop their abilities and derive satisfaction from them. Entertainment which will give them positive suggestions, such as One Act Plays, Music and Congregational Bhajans will be of great value. Good films may be shown to help them distinguish the desirable from undesirable ones. College union meetings can be usefully exploited to give training in the conduct of meetings and to impart depth to their studies. But care must be taken to see that the meetings, as well as the elections are held in a very dignified way. All facilities for active sports should also be provided.

As recommended by the University Education Commission, the day in the college may start with a common assembly and prayer. A thought for the day, well selected and apt for the occasion may be read. Flag-hoisting and singing together the National Anthem must be practised solemnly every week. On such occasions, the students and the staff may take the National Integration pledge. Organisation of social service activities by the students in and out of the college, according to their aptitudes and abilities will give opportunities for self-expression. In all these activities, the staff will have to give the students positive guidance by suggestions, persuasion and example but never by compulsion. The purpose and expected outcome of every activity must be clarified and the students prepared for understanding it.

At present two obstacles appear to hamper the inculcation of spiritual values. The cinema is perhaps one of the most negative influences operating against the inculcation of moral and spiritual values. The tremendous influence it wields on the youth of the country as well as society in general, cannot be minimised. The cinema and radio reach our young, middle-aged and old in all the corners of the earth. They can become instruments of moral

well being if the pictures and programmes can be made better. The Government has a great responsibility in this matter. In spite of many protests throughout the country, it is strange that the cinema continues to be what it is. It is too much to expect to keep the youth away from its influence. The educational institutions can only attempt to cure the mania by sponsoring desirable films and thus creating a chaste taste in the students.

The second and perhaps even more potent element in fostering higher values, is the example of our elders. When Mahatma Gandhi was at the helm of national affairs and during the freedom movement, examples of simplicity and sacrifice were upheld as ideals before our youth. And youth were influenced accordingly. But today, our political leadership is anything but inspiring. The charges of corruption made against so many of our leaders cannot create faith in our young men and women towards the path of integrity and service. The recent scenes in Parliament and State Assemblies have not proved to be good examples to the nation. What is done in those august assemblies are copied by the students and others in their own ways. Therefore the elite and elders in our country have a great responsibility to be good examples to the young.

Educational institutions can become sources of inspiration to the young in the cultivation of spiritual values. The following recommendations made by the Seminar on the Place of Spiritual Values in Education are worth consideration.

1. Spiritual values cannot be imparted by setting apart any separate time for it, as 'moral instruction period', but can be inculcated only through all the activities in the school organised on the basis of such values.
2. By spiritual values, we should mean not the dogmas of any particular religion, but such universally accepted values as sacrifice, purity, courage, love, service and consideration for others.

3. The activities in each school or college should be organised according to its own traditions and circumstances, giving responsibility to the students in whatever manner possible and trusting them.
4. Of greatest importance in the cultivation of the spirit is the example of the Teacher. Whatever should be done to cultivate these qualities in our teachers should be done without delay.
5. The teachers in schools and colleges should be given training in the methods of dissemination of spiritual values. This training must be conducted at educational centres, where an earnest and systematic attempt has been made to develop spiritual values amongst its students. The contents of the course may be:
 - (a) Comparative religion and ethics and a study of the scriptures of the various religions.
 - (b) Discussion among the trainees on various problems connected with inculcation of moral and spiritual values.
 - (c) Ways of organising common assemblies.
 - (d) Ways of organising social service programmes and youth camps.
 - (e) Ways of celebrating religious and national festivals and birthdays of saints and prophets of all religions.
 - (f) Organisation of activities for keeping the classrooms, hostels and the campus clean and beautiful.
 - (g) Ways of planning and presenting cultural programmes aimed at developing moral and spiritual values.
 - (h) Psychology of the adolescents and methods of meeting their needs.
 - (i) Administration of hostels and youth organisations.
 - (j) Teaching the various subjects in the school and college curricula with a view to stimulate and develop spiritual values in students.

Periodical retreats and seminars may be organised for teachers so as to inspire them with higher values in life. They should be helped to develop a missionary zeal and look upon their teaching as a privilege and a significant form of national service.

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TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR
NATIONAL INTEGRATION*Dr. K. Kulandaivel*

India is a land of diverse languages, castes, communities, religions and ways of living. In the past, it was never ruled by one king or emperor. There were hundreds of kings and rulers who ruled over this vast sub-continent and history teaches us the lack of unity amongst them and the endless wars they fought among themselves. But in spite of these diverse factors that divided India, there were powerful forces especially in the spiritual, philosophical and cultural fields that established a feeling of oneness, a unity of thinking and a unity of values among the masses, educated men and women and spiritual leaders all over India. People worshipped mother India as 'Bharat-Mata' and considered it as one 'Bharat-Kanda'. The religious practices, the scriptures and epics were common all over the country. The language of the scriptures viz., Sanskrit was known to scholars and educated men and women all over the country and hence spiritual leaders and scholars were able to travel from one part of the country to another, communicate their ideas with their counterparts and establish a unity of thinking in philosophy and spirituality.

The British rule brought under one government the hundreds of tiny kingdoms of India. Modern means of transportation and communication and the English language which became the link language brought the different parts of India closer to each other. The Freedom Struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi united the people all over India for a common purpose and made

them fight for independence as one people forgetting the differences among them.

But after independence the forces that united the people and brought them closer, have begun to lose their strength and several fissiparous tendencies have cropped up. The Committee on Emotional Integration has listed caste, communalism, regionalism, provincialism, linguism, frustration among the young people and need for idealism as some of the factors undermining national and emotional integration¹. This has created a fear in the minds of all thinking men and women that these fissiparous tendencies may break the national unity and may take us back to the olden days when we were fighting amongst ourselves. So our leaders have begun to think and speak about national integration and the ways and means of achieving and maintaining it.

Various measures such as political, economic, social, cultural and educational have been suggested for bringing about National Integration². Of these, educational measures are of fundamental nature and try to solve the problem at its root. The Unesco's motto viz. that wars are born in the minds of men and so it is in the minds of men that the seeds of peace should be sown, applies very well to national integration also. It is in the minds of men that the disintegrating factors are born and bred up and hence it is in the minds of men that the seeds of national integration should be sown and cultivated. That is why Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has very aptly pointed out "National Integration cannot be built by brick and mortar or with chisel and hammer. It has to grow silently in the minds and hearts of men and the process by which it can be achieved is by education." Education, therefore, occupies an important place in bringing about national integration and it should be consciously oriented towards achieving it.

1. Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, Report of the Committee on National Integration. 1962. P. 19-26

2. Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Report of the Seminar on Education for National Integration. 1966.

It is not possible to achieve National Integration by merely including ideas about National Integration in the curriculum of schools and colleges and teaching them as a subject to the students. The entire school and college course and all the subjects of study should have proper orientation towards National Integration. The atmosphere of the educational institutions should be charged with the spirit of national integration so that the students will imbibe it unconsciously. Besides the intellect, the emotions and attitudes of students should be so cultivated that the factors of integration form a natural part of their personality.

Teachers have a very important role in cultivating this spirit in educational institutions and thus effecting national integration. It is not possible to cultivate it unless the teacher has an unshakable faith in it and has a burning spirit of nationalism. So to orient education towards National Integration it is essential to provide the schools with teachers having favourable attitudes towards National Integration and a knowledge of the ways and means of bringing it about. Hence suitable candidates should be selected for teacher training and they should be well acquainted with the methods of bringing about National Integration.

At the time of selecting candidates for teacher training it should be ascertained by means of interviews and attitude scales whether the applicants have faith in National Integration or not. Those who have strong faith in National Integration and the factors that promote them should be given preference in the selection. If some have strong faith in the factors that undermine national integration it is better not to select them. Such teachers will consciously or unconsciously work against national integration. But the average teacher trainees may not lean strongly either on the positive side or on the negative side. They might not have given thought to this problem and so might not have any views on the matter. In such trainees a strong faith in national integration and a desire to work towards it should be cultivated at the teacher training institutions.

The atmosphere in teacher training institutions should be such that the trainees acquire healthy attitudes towards National integration unconsciously. An all India outlook should be cultivated in the students and they should be discouraged from thinking on narrow lines. This does not mean that they should not have any love towards their language or region. This local patriotism one should have, but it should not come in the way of national interests and love towards the nation. They should be made to feel proud of their national leaders, social reformers and scientists hailing from all parts of the country. They should feel that important places, rivers, mountains and great projects in other regions of India are as much theirs as those situated in their own region. For creating this spirit the students should be exposed to the language, culture and ways of living of people belonging to other regions in India. Opportunities should be created for the students to mingle and live together with their counterparts from the different regions. Excursions may be arranged to different parts of country. Students and staff from other regions may be admitted into the training institutions in order to establish an all India atmosphere. Films depicting the culture of other regions may be screened to bring about an understanding and appreciation of the ways of living of other regions. A study of the tenets of all religions may acquaint the students with the fundamental unity in all religions and may develop reverence and esteem for them. All these steps will go a long way in establishing a national outlook in the teacher-trainees.

A sense of idealism also should be created in the teacher-trainees. One who has no ideals allows his energies to be frittered away in petty desires, hatreds and jealousies. On the other hand one who has a great ideal forgets petty things and thinks and acts in a great way. In the pursuit of reaching his ideal he comes into contact with persons of similar ideals and feels nearer to them. Language, religion, cultural differences and even nationality are no bar to establish this intimacy with persons of similar ideals. Hence a strong sense of idealism should

be cultivated in our teacher trainees to uplift their minds from narrow pursuits to larger and broader fields. They should be encouraged to associate themselves actively with professional associations so that an intimate relationship may be established with their colleagues in all parts of the country. A desire to participate in all India seminars, workshops and conferences should also be kindled in them.

Besides cultivating favourable attitudes in them the teacher trainees should also be well acquainted with the educational measures of bringing about National Integration and the methods to be adopted in our schools and colleges. Seminars, symposia, conferences and study groups may be organised to discuss this vital problem. The literature available on the subject may be brought to the notice of the students and made available to them. By these means the trainees should be made aware of the following problems and the methods of solving them.

Among the many factors that reinforce disintegrative forces in society, prejudice is an important one. Prejudice arises out of maladjustment to the conditions of change, real or imaginary. According to Cook "It is a pragmatic effort to hold some line, some preferred position in society".¹ When there is either real or imaginary maladjustments of status, power and economic gain as a result of felt-situations of exploitation, prejudice takes hold of a people. In a study conducted in Andhra Pradesh after the integration of Telengana and Andhra into one state, it was revealed that the minority linguistic groups rated high on the prejudice scale. In a measure of socio-metric choices there was a significant negative relationship between Telengana and Andhra students and between Andhra and Tamil students. The study indicated a feeling among the Telengana students that they were subjected to economic losses on account of integration. But all their prejudicial verbalisations referred to irrelevant character attributes of Andhra students in terms of their "dirty ways of living," "talking too loud in the streets," "being a very quarrelsome

1. Lloyd and Elaire Cook, *Inter-group Education*, Mcgraw Hill, New york. 1954, p. 44

people.” “being arrogant of their educational background” and so on.¹

Prejudice arises also out of unfamiliarity or ignorance of the other groups. The above mentioned study also identified many prejudicial stereotypes who gave expression to such verbalizations as “Tamilians speak as if they are quarrelling all the time,” “Tamil Language is like the noise produced by shaking pebbles in an empty tin” and so on. These statements arise out of unfamiliarity with the language. It is obvious that an unfamiliar language sounds strange. But when there is prejudice against a people behind this unfamiliarity, the language appears not merely strange but as positively ugly, harsh and so on.² Bertrand Russel has characterized these prejudicial reactions in his own inimitable way: “We are Americans, therefore America is God’s own country. We are white, therefore God has cursed Ham and his descendants who are black. We are protestants or Catholics as the case may be and therefore protestants and catholics are an abomination. We are male, therefore women are unreasonable; or female, therefore men are brutes. We are westerners and therefore the East is effete. We work with our brains and therefore it is the educated classes that are important; or we work with our hands and therefore manual labour alone gives dignity.”³

So the causes of these prejudices should be found out and rectified. In educational institutions the two causes of prejudices mentioned above should not be allowed to crop up. There should be no room for a minority group to receive unfair treatment at the hands of the majority group. All should have a feeling that they are all equal and their rights are safe in the hands of the teachers. Unfamiliarity or ignorance of the other groups also should be abolished as far as possible.

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1. N.V.Thirtha, National Integration, University publications, Delhi. 1964. p.107-108.
 2. N. V. Thirtha, National Integration, 1964. University Publications, Delhi. P. 108.
 3. Bertrand Russel, 1950. Unpopular Essays. Simon & Schuster Ltd. P. 160.

The measures suggested above may not be applicable to all the educational institutions. They may have to vary according to the age levels of students. Hence a break up of the steps to be taken at the elementary, secondary and collegiate levels are suggested below. The teachers who teach at these levels should be well acquainted with these measures and develop adequate knowledge and skill to implement them.

Steps to be taken at the elementary level:

1. Children are fond of stories. So stories about children, leaders of the past and present, scientists, religious reformers belonging to all parts of the country may be told to the students.
2. Pictures about life in other parts of the country may be shown to children and discussions may be held. This will bring intimacy and nearness in children's mind about people living in other parts of the country.
3. Bajans and folk songs from other languages may be taught to children to develop an appreciation and favourable attitude towards other languages.
4. Important festivals belonging to different religions may be celebrated in the school and their significances may be explained as simple stories. The life and work of great religious teachers also may be told in this connection. This may develop respect towards other religions, understanding and appreciation of faiths other than one's own.
5. People belonging to other parts of the country, if they happen to reside in the locality, may be invited to visit the school in their native dress and speak a few sentences in their regional languages. This will bring acquaintance to children with the people of other areas and respect towards them.
6. Children should be taught to respect and honour the National Flag and the National Anthem. Every week the staff and students should salute National Flag and sing National Anthem in all solemnity.

7. A large size map of India with political divisions distinctively marked should be hung in all the classrooms. The students should be made to feel that the whole of India belongs to them and that their region is only a small part of a big whole.

Steps to be taken at the High School level:

Most of the activities mentioned for elementary schools will be applicable to the High Schools also. Besides those the following additional activities may be undertaken in the High School classes. The High School teachers should acquire adequate knowledge and skill to direct these activities.

1. Students in Non-Hindi areas may be asked to study Hindi and students in Hindi areas may be asked to study a south Indian language.
2. Besides teaching Bajans and folk songs from languages other than one's own, students may be encouraged to listen to some good musical programmes in other languages on the radio.
3. The junior class students may be taken on excursion to the neighbouring states while the senior class students may be taken for all India excursions.
4. Films depicting the life of people in other parts of the country may be screened.
5. Students may be encouraged to read novels and short stories adapted from other languages so as to acquaint them with the culture of other areas.
6. Students may be encouraged to contribute to the flood and famine relief funds and made to feel that suffering or calamity in any part of India is their own and that they should do their mite to alleviate them.
7. While celebrating all religious festivals the underlying truth in all religions should be explained to the students and they should be helped to feel that all religions lead to the same goal, viz. human well-being.

8. People belonging to other states residing in the locality may be invited to school functions and asked to speak about their customs and practices. This will enable to cultivate a feeling of oneness among all people.

9. There should be a reorientation of the subjects so as to include topics about other cultures and faiths. As Prof. Humayun Kabir has pointed out "Very successful results have been obtained in the Scandinavian countries in dealing with the past conflicts. Reorientation of the teaching of History in their countries has created a larger Scandinavian rather than a narrow national outlook." A similar approach may be adopted in Indian schools also.

10. The text-books should be oriented towards national integration. The national committee on emotional integration also has recommended a comprehensive revision of text books and other teaching materials in the interests of national unity and understanding. One research study undertaken by the College of Education, Osmania University has found out after analysis of school text books positive and negative factors that facilitate and militate national integration. The negative factors should be reduced and positive factors should be increased.¹ The remarks of the States Reorganisation Committee, "Already in the schools of some states, songs exalting the regional idea have been introduced into the text books. History books taught in lower classes have disclosed a marked tendency to exaggerate the past achievements of the dominant linguistic groups"² should be of great concern to all educationists. In the text books chosen there should be no adverse remarks about other languages, people and regions and over-exaggeration about one's own language, people and region. They should give equal importance and emphasis to all languages, to all leaders and to all areas of the country.

1. N. V. Thirtha, National Integration, Op. cit. 133

2. Report of the States Reorganization Commission. 1955. Govt. of India, New Delhi. P. 39.

Steps to be taken at the collegiate level:

Some of the activities suggested for the High Schools such as taking students on all India excursions, listening to radio broadcasts from other areas, screening films about life in other areas, encouraging to read novels and short stories adapted from other languages, contribution to famine and flood relief funds, celebration of religious festivals, and inviting people of other states to the institution's functions may well be applied at the collegiate level also. Besides these the following activities may be organized at the higher educational institutions.

1. Students from other states may be admitted in the colleges so that an all India atmosphere is maintained and students from all areas may come closer and understand one another. For this purpose liberal stipends and scholarships may be provided for students belonging to other states.

2. Teaching staff may be encouraged to visit other states and universities and teach there for a few years. The service conditions may be made attractive for those who choose to teach in other states and the service put in other states may be counted in one's own state for pension and other benefits.

3. Camps and conferences help students from various regions to come together and understand one another. The N.C.C. and Social Service Camps that are now being organized in every state may be organized on an inter-state or all India basis. The much wasted vacations in our country may be beneficially utilized by sending students to such camps and conferences and thus paving way for inter-group understanding and national integration.

- 4 The problems of National Integration, and the factors that lead to disintegration may be discussed in the students association meetings and debates and rational thinking on National Integration and efforts to promote it may be encouraged among the students. Teachers should participate in such discussions and guide the students' thinking in right direction.

5. Integration of students with diverse backgrounds will be possible only when they are provided with opportunities to come together, think and act jointly. Redler and Ryan have suggested group thinking, group discussion, group planning, group action and group evaluation to achieve the maximum efficiency of the group method¹. The ordinary lesson-hearing classroom situation where students have to sit passively does not provide these opportunities. Activities such as projects, community work, cultural and recreational programmes, sports and games, group discussion, debates and literary associations bring the students closer mentally and emotionally. Such activities should be given important place in Colleges.

These are some of the steps to be taken in our schools and Colleges to bring about National Integration. It will not be possible to take these unless teachers are properly trained for this and they become the champions and architects of National Integration. Today there are about two million teachers working in educational institutions in India. It is the services of these men and women that can really help the nation to integrate and progress. Hence adequate importance should be given to the training of teachers and the measures indicated above should form an integral part of the teacher training programme.

1. Redler, John and Francis A. Ryan. 1951. *Inter-cultural Education*
The Bruce Publishing House, Milwaukee, USA.

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan

India is a distinctive geographical unit and also a philosophical concept. As a country, it has marked features which are unique. As an idea too, it is of supreme value to mankind as a whole. The territory of India and the philosophy of India are characterised, in their respective ways, by the principle of real unity in the midst of apparent plurality. Looked at from the outside, India and its philosophy may present a budget of paradoxes. But when the soul of India is understood, its fundamental unity will become evident.

The uniqueness of India is that it has had an unbroken cultural tradition for at least the past five thousand years. Of the other civilizations such as the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Roman, there have been long breaks, and it was the spade of the archaeologist and the patient study of the antiquarian in modern times that revealed some aspects of the ancient greatness of these civilizations. But in the case of India the culture has been a living one throughout. In spite of vicissitudes, in spite of lean periods, the river of Indian culture has flowed continuously and unceasingly because the springs never went dry.

The secret of vitality and resilience of Indian culture lies in the fact that, while stressing unity, it does not insist on uniformity. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observes, 'Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization. That unity was not conceived as something imposed from outside, a standardization of externals or even of beliefs. It was something deeper and, within its fold, the widest tolerance

of belief and custom was practised and every variety, acknowledged and even encouraged¹. On all the different levels of experience and existence, India has stood for concrete unity, and not for an abstract homogeneity. Human minds ought not to be put into straitjackets, as it were, and made to function as automatic machines. If an individual or a group is allowed to grow after its own nature without stifling or retardation of any sort, there will be so much less discord and disruption in the world. Freedom is of the very essence of growth while compulsion is the cause of evil. That is why Indian culture is protean in character, and can reach and influence a vast variety of human types; while maintaining its basic unity, it expresses itself in several modes in order that it may be of universal benefit.

Even as a territorial unity, India exhibits the principle of identity in diversity. Nature has designed India as one country with clearly marked boundaries, with the Himalyas on the North and the seas on the other sides. It hangs like a pendant to Asia, situated in a very significant manner in relation to the rest of the continent. From Kashmir in the North to Kanyakumari in the South, the country is about 2,000 miles long, with a climate which varies considerably. From arid deserts to rich river-valleys, there are all the possible land-types in the country. What strikes the traveler in India is the multiple character of its natural features—so complex that it is often bewildering. And yet, the discerning eye will not miss the unity of India as a geographical entity. A remarkable photograph of India was published not long ago as seen by one of the American astronauts from his space-ship. India appears in that picture like a human face in profile, looking eastward. From the remotest times of history, the citizens of India have been taught to look upon their country with admiration, awe, and delight. Even when there were several independent kingdoms—sometimes at war with one another—the image of India as one land was not allowed to be forgotten. There is a saying in Sanskrit to this effect: one's mother and mother-land are greater than even the highest heaven.

1• The Discovery of India (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960) p. 49.

The sages and saints of India have sanctified the very dust of this land and brought to its people a sense of unity. They have rendered sacred the places of pilgrimage scattered all over the country. In the itinerary of the pilgrim are included vastly separated spots such as Badari and Kedara on the Himalayas and Kanyakumari at the southernmost tip, Varanasi and Prayaga in the North and Rameswaram and Madurai in the South, Amarnath in Kashmir and Kanchi in the southern peninsula, Puri in the East and Dwaraka in the West and a host of other places in all the regions of India. The purpose of pilgrimage was not only to earn religious merit but also to gain a vivid impression of the panoramic image of India (*Bhārat-darsan*). The great task of consolidation accomplished by Sankaracharya may, in this connection, be mentioned. Born in Kaladi in Kerala, he toured the entire land on foot more than once, purifying the religious practices and beliefs, spreading the light of truth of spirituality among the people, and inculcating in their minds and hearts a lofty sense of unity. He established several monastic orders and institutions in order to serve the country as forces making for cohesion and harmony. There is evidence to show from his writings that political chaos prevailed in India at the time; Sankara, therefore, took every possible measure to see that the cultural ship of India was not wrecked, and that the different parts of India would come together on the plane of spirituality. As a result of the ideal upheld by a long line of teachers, the spiritual sense has percolated into even the physical features of our country. In the words of Sri Aurobindo "The feeling of almost physical delights in the touch of the mother-soil, of the winds that blow from the Indian seas, of the rivers that stream from Indian hills, in the hearing of Indian speech, music, poetry, in familiar sights, sounds, habits, dress, manners of Indian life, this is the physical root of that love". On his triumphal return from the West, Swami Vivekananda declared in his very first lecture delivered in the East, at Colombo: "If there is any land on this earth that can lay

claim to be the blessed *Punya Bhumi*, to be the land to which souls on this earth must come to account for Karma, the land to which every soul that is wending its way Godward must come to attain its last home, the land where humanity has attained its highest towards gentleness, towards generosity, towards purity, towards calmness, above all, the land of introspection and of spirituality – it is India.”

Ethnic, linguistic, and other differences have not stood as barriers to the fundamental cultural and spiritual unity of this ancient land. Right from the known beginnings of Indian history, for a very long period, there came into the country wave after wave of ethnic groups, some as invaders, and some as seekers of asylum. The commingling of various racial strains presented a formidable problem. Elsewhere in the world, such a problem was sought to be solved mostly by the stronger groups all but annihilating the weaker ones. In India, however, the process adopted was one of absorption and assimilation. Under the concept of the one spirit, all became members of one complex family, in spite of differences in colour, language, manner, etc.

Any phenomenon can be artificially and wantonly transformed into a difficult problem. Such was the case recently in regard to the language question. But all these centuries, the differences in language did not present any insuperable problem. Language is not a necessary determinant of Nationhood or Statehood. In the western world, for instance, there are different Nations speaking the same language, and in the same State there are more languages than one. Although there are different regional languages in India there is a good deal that is common to them. Until the English language replaced it, Samskrit was the medium of communication for scholars living in the different parts of the country. Samskrit has influenced every spoken tongue of India, not excluding the Dravidian languages, and has in its turn been enriched by the contact with the other languages. Adaptations and translations of classics from one language into another, especially from Samskrit into the regional languages,

have helped in the promotion of linguistic integration. The most outstanding examples are the two great Epics - the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābārata*. Such classics are the common heritage of the people—no matter in which language they came to be originally written. Valmiki and Kamban, Tulasidas and Potana, Kalidasa and Bharavi, Rabindranath and Bharati are not only national bards, but also world-poets.

As are the languages, so are the approaches to Godhead but different expressions of the same truth. One of the characteristic factors contributing to Indian unity is the view of religion held by all the master-minds of the land. The view is that Religion is one, although its expressions vary. Hinduism is free from the dogmatism which claims that there is only one path to the Godhead, and one Prophet. As early as in the *Rig-veda* we find sages declaring, "Reality is one, the wise call it by various names; 'what is one, they envisage in different modes'". The same idea is expressed in subsequent literature, not only in Samskrit, but also in the other languages. The similies of the differently coloured cows yielding the same white milk, of the different rivers flowing towards and dissolving in the same ocean are given to illustrate the non-duality of religion. Sri Krishna declares in the *Bhagavad-gītā* that devout men approaching in different ways reach the same God. The *Mahā bhārata* observes that there is no sage without a view of his own. The saints of India, whatever be the time or the region in which they happened to live, have all with one voice declared that the various religious pursuances led to the same goal. As an instance, we may quote a verse from Tayumanar: "Numberless creeds engage themselves in vain wrangles over the question, what is Truth! But Thou (O God!) appeareth before one, in whatever form one worships Thee". Not only saints and sages, but also kings and emperors have set before the people the ideal of the unity of religions. Asoka's Edicts have become world-famous. Through them he exhorted the people to avoid religious fanaticism, to respect all the faiths, and to promote the ends of morality. There are numerous instances of Hindu kings giving asylum to the

persecuted of other religions and affording them all facilities for the pursuit of their ways of worship. The great ones of this country have reminded the people time and again that the being of God does not change with change in name. Sri Ramakrishna, explaining this truth, says that, just as water is the same whether it is called *jala* or *pāni*, so also God is the same whether He is addressed as *Iṣvara*, the father in Heaven, or Allah. The great Master compares the religious paths to the different *ghats*, at any one of which one may bathe in the Ganges. In fact, as he teaches, there are as many religions as there are minds. The most profound truth of the unity of religions is the priceless heritage of India, which, if not honoured, will lead only to peril.

What is true of religion is true of philosophy as well. That philosophy and religion ought not to be divorced from each other is a basic principle of Indian thought. Philosophy, according to the Indian conception, is not only a view of Reality but also a way of life. The philosophies of India, whether they be pluralistic or monistic, realistic or idealistic, are agreed on the essential disciplines and modes of life that are necessary for reaching the goal of life. Although each system of thought claims truth for itself, it accommodates the other points of view as well. The expression *darsana* which is the Indian equivalent of 'philosophy' means 'perspective'. Many are the possible perspectives from which Reality may be envisaged. The great philosophers of India have urged that what is important for the seeker is the quest. If the quest is made properly, then the plenary truth will reveal itself. In this sense, all *darsanas* are one (*darsanādvaita*).

The unity of India is founded on spirituality. "Spirituality is indeed the master-key of the Indian mind", says Sri Aurobindo, "the sense of the infinite is native to it". "Here in India", declares Swami Vivekananda in his very first address delivered in Madras, "it is religion that forms the very core of the national heart. It is the backbone, the bed-rock, the foundation upon which the national edifice has been built". If we bear this truth in mind and mould our individual and collective life in accordance with it we shall be making the greatest contribution to the preservation and progress of mankind.

XVIII

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON
NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Sri T. S. Avinashilingam

Swami Vivekananda travelled through the length and breadth of India, from the snow-clad Himalayas to the intensely warm South and from Dwaraka to Assam. He did this mostly on foot and saw with his own eyes the condition of the country. During his peregrinations, he stayed with princes in their palaces and amidst the poorest in their huts. Thus he came into contact with all kinds of people, all castes and communities, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, speaking diverse languages and following diverse customs. But through all these diversities, he could see the silken bond of unity, deeply binding all these people, children of the same land and inheritors of a great and glorious culture.

When he reached the southern-most extremity of India, Cape Comorin, he worshipped at the Mother's temple and retired to a rock which was separate from the mainland, farther south of the cape. With the sky above, the oceans tossed and stormed on all the sides; but in his mind there was even a greater tempest contemplating the present condition of our land. Sitting on the last rock of India, her whole history came before his mind's eye. He meditated on the glorious past of his country, the time when she produced the noblest and the greatest thoughts which the human mind can conceive, namely the Upanishads and the Gita, when wise men from all over the world came to India to learn the highest truths; the later days when India degenerated and lost her freedom, the Mohammadan invasions, the desecration and destruction of temples, the more recent foreign domination by the

west, and the present deplorable position of the people. Tears flowed from his eyes when he thought how the children of the rishis had become next door neighbours to beasts; his heart wept and throbbed for the misery and poverty of the masses. Agony rose in his soul at the thought that those very persons who should have been the guardians and teachers were responsible for ill-treating the poor millions, and how the autocracy of the priesthood, the despotism of caste, and the resulting terrible divisions in society were responsible for the downfall of India. Out of this great feeling for the masses, his heart went out in prayer to the great Mother of the Universe.

From that moment, he dedicated his life to the service of his country and people, particularly to those who were poor, down-trodden and ill-treated by the higher classes. To him religion was no longer a matter of personal realisation of God, but the realisation of God in all living beings through serving them. Worship was no more ceremonial offerings and observances in the temples, but serving humanity and alleviating its sufferings. Out of this meditation he got a new vision of Mother India, a New India which will sleep no more but will rise again to be a great queen among the nations of the world. Even in the hour of his great success at the Parliament of Religions in America, when any other person might have been happy, the Swami felt very different. His mind and thoughts were with the poor and the hungerstricken millions of India. He could not sleep because of his thoughts on India's poverty. The pillow was wet with his tears. At length, overcome with emotion, he fell to the ground crying out, "O Mother! What do I care for name and fame, when my motherland remains sunk in utmost poverty? When millions in India die for want of a handful of rice, here they spend millions! Who will raise the masses of India? Who will give them bread? O Mother! Show me the way to help them." It was this feeling which spurred his tremendous will to serve his country-men.

Through his travels he came into intimate contact with men and women in the nooks and corners of India. He experienced in his own life all the different manners and customs,

the different languages and social manners as well as the differences in food and worship. It was after experiencing all these diversities he said: "The problems in India are more complicated, more momentous, than the problems in any other country. Race, religion, language, Government—all these together make a nation. The elements which compose the nations of the world are indeed very few compared to this country. Here have been the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Tartar, the Turk the Moghul, the European—all the nations of the world, as it were, pouring their blood into this land. Of languages the most wonderful conglomeration is here; of manners and customs there is more difference between two Indian races than between the European and the Eastern races."

The one common ground, he continued, that we have is our sacred traditions, our religion. That is the only common ground, and upon that we shall have to build. In Europe, political ideas form the national unity. In Asia, religious ideals form the national unity. The unity in religion, therefore, is absolutely necessary as the first condition of the future of India. There must be the recognition of one religion throughout the length and breadth of this land. What do I mean by one religion? Not in the sense of one religion as held among the Christians, or the Mohammadans, or the Buddhists. We know that our religion has certain common grounds, common to all our sects, however varying their conclusions may be, however different their claims may be. This religion of ours admit of a marvellous variation, an infinite amount of liberty to think, and live our own lives. What we want is to bring out these life-giving common principles of our religion, and let every man, woman and child throughout the length and breadth of this country understand them, know them, and try to bring them out in their lives.

We see how in Asia, and especially in India, race difficulties, linguistic difficulties, social difficulties, national difficulties, all melt away before this unifying power of religion. We know that to the Indian mind there is nothing higher than religious ideals, that

this is the key-note of Indian life; and we can only work in the line of least resistance. It is not only true that the ideal of religion is the highest ideal; in the case of India it is the only possible means of work; work in any other line, without first strengthening this, would be disastrous. Therefore, the first plank in the making of a future India, the first step that is to be hewn out of that rock of ages, is this unification of religion. All of us to whatever denomination we may belong, have certain common ideas behind us, and that the time has come when for the well-being of ourselves, for the well-being of our race, we must give up all our little quarrels and differences.

To him religion was not sectarianism or ceremonials, but living the highest spiritual truths which all religions have preached and which all prophets from time to time have lived. He was against the dead formalities of religion. To him religion was realisation of Godliness. He went further and proclaimed: The old religions said that he was an atheist who did not believe in God. The New Religion says that he is an atheist who does not believe in himself. But it is not selfish faith. It means faith in all. Love for yourself means love for all. It is the great faith that will make the world better. Infinite strength is religion. It is weakness that is the source of all selfishness. It is weakness that makes man injure others. Realization of God and that we are the spirit will drive out all weaknesses and give us tremendous strength. And that is real religion.

When the life-blood is strong and pure, no disease germ can live in that body. Our life-blood is spirituality. If it flows clear, if it flows strong and pure and vigorous, everything will be right. Political, social, any other material defects, even the poverty of the land, will all be cured if that blood is pure. To take a simile from modern medicine, we know that there must be two causes, to produce a disease, some poisonous germs outside, and the state of the body. Until the body is in a state to admit the germs, until the body is degraded to lower vitality so that the germs may enter and thrive and multiply, there is no power in any germ in the

world to produce a disease in the body. In fact, millions of germs are continually passing through everyone's body; but so long as it is vigorous, it is never conscious of them. It is only when the body is weak that these germs take possession of it and produce disease. Just so with the national life. It is when the national body is weak that all sorts of disease germs, in the political state or in its social state, in its educational or intellectual state, crowd into the system and produce disease.

To remedy it, therefore, we must go to the root of this disease and cleanse the blood of all impurities. The one thing is to strengthen the man, to make the blood pure, the body vigorous, so that it will be able to resist and throw off all external poisons. We have seen that our vigour, our strength, nay, our national life is in our religion. He said: 'I am not going to discuss now whether it is right or not, whether it is correct or not, whether it is beneficial or not in the long run, to have this vitality in religion, but for good or evil it is there; you cannot get out of it, you have it now and for ever and you have to stand by it, even if you have not the same faith that I have in our religion. You are bound by it, and if you give it up, you are smashed to pieces. That is the life of our race and that must be strengthened. We have withstood the shocks of centuries simply because we took great care of it. Your forefathers underwent everything boldly, even death itself, but preserved their religion. Temple after temple was broken down by the foreign conqueror, but no sooner had the wave passed than the spire of the temple rose up again. Some of these old temples of Southern India, and those like Somanath of Gujarat, will teach you volumes of wisdom, will give you a keener insight into the history of the race than any amount of books. Mark how these temples bear the marks of a hundred attacks and a hundred regenerations, continually destroyed and continually springing up out of the ruins, rejuvenated and strong as ever. That is the national mind, that is the national life-current. Follow it and it leads to glory. Give it up and you die; death will be the only result,

annihilation, the only effect, the moment you step beyond that life-current. I do not mean to say that political or social improvements are not necessary, but what I mean is this, and I want you to bear it in mind, that they are secondary here, and that religion is primary. The Indian mind is first religious, then anything else. So this is to be strengthened, and how to do it?

Swami Vivekananda wanted to bring out the gems of spirituality that are stored up in our books, and in the possession of a few only, hidden, as it were, in monasteries and in forests—to bring them out; to bring the knowledge out of them, not only from the hands where it is hidden, but from the still more inaccessible chest, the language in which it is preserved, the incrustation of centuries of Sanskrit words. He wanted to bring out these ideas and let them be the common property of all, of every man in India, whether he knows the Sanskrit language or not. These ideas must be taught in the language of the people; at the same time he said that Sanskrit education must go on along with it because the very sound of Sanskrit words gives prestige and power and strength to the race. The attempts of the great Ramanuja and of Chaitanya and of Kabir to raise the lower classes of India show how marvellous results were attained during the life-time of those prophets.

Swami Vivekananda did not believe in the theory that there was a race of mankind in Southern India called Dravidians, entirely differing from another race in Northern India called the Aryans and that the Southern India Brahmans are the only Aryans that came from the North, the other men of Southern India belong to an entirely different caste and race to those of Southern Indian Brahmans. This is entirely unfounded, he said; 'The only proof of it is, that there is a difference of language between the north and the south. I do not see any other difference. We are so many northern men here, and I ask my European friends to pick out the northern and southern men

from this assembly. There may have been a Dravidian people who vanished from here, and the few who remained lived in forests and other places; but all Aryans, the whole of India is Aryan, nothing else."

Then there is the other idea that the Sudra caste are all non-Aryans. This also he considered to be equally illogical and irrational. The only explanation is to be found in the Mahabharata, which says, that in the beginning of the Satya Yuga there was one caste, the Brahmans, and then by the difference of occupations they went on dividing themselves into different castes. That is the only true and rational explanation that has been given. And in the coming Satya Yuga, all the other castes will have to go back to the same condition. The solution of the caste problem in India, therefore, assumes this form of raising all the lower castes into a status of equality with the higher castes.

Let us all work hard, Swami Vivekananda proclaimed, this is no time for sleep. On our work depends the coming of the India of the future. She is there ready waiting. She is only sleeping. Arise, and awake and see her seated here, on her eternal throne, rejuvenated, more glorious than she ever was—this mother and of ours.

Swami Vivekananda had great faith in education as the lever which will raise the masses and create our nationhood. A nation is advanced, he said, in proportion as education and intelligence spread among the masses. The chief cause of India's ruin has been the monopolising of the whole education and intelligence of the land among a handful of men. If we are to rise again we shall have to do it by spreading education among the masses. The important service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education to develop their lost individuality. They are to be given ideas. Their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them, and then they will work out their own salvation.

In this mighty task of nation building, while intellectual development was necessary, he warned against a mere intellectual education; for such an education makes people selfish. He wanted the heart, emotions and feeling for the poor to be developed. He said: 'Three things are necessary for great achievements. Do you feel? Do you feel that millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost mad? Have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done this? That is the very first step.

You may feel then; but instead of spending your energies in frothy talk, have you found any way out, any practical solution, to soothe their miseries, to bring them out of this living death? Yet that is not all. Have you got the will to surmount mountain-high obstructions? If the whole world stands against you sword in hand, would you still dare to do what you think is right? If your wives and children are against you, if all your name dies, your wealth vanishes, would you still stick to it? Would you still pursue it and go on steadily towards your own goal? As the great king Bhartrihari says, 'Let the sages blame or let them praise; let the Goddess of Fortune come or let Her go wherever she likes, let death come today or let it come in hundreds of years, he indeed is the steady man who dares not move one inch from the way of truth.' Have you got that steadfastness? If you have these three things, each one of us will work miracles.

Let us pray, 'Lead, kindly light'; a beam will come through the dark, and a hand will be stretched forth to lead us. Let each one

of us pray day and night for the downtrodden millions of India, who are held fast by poverty, priestcraft and tyranny; pray day and night for them. Him I call a Mahatman who feels for the poor. Who feels for them? They cannot find light or education. Who will bring the light to them—who will travel from door to door bringing education to them? Let these people be your God—think of them, work for them, pray for them incessantly—the Lord will show you the way.

Swami Vivekananda was well aware of the stupendous problems facing our country; but he was no pessimist, he saw a glorious vision before him, a glorious India rising from the ashes to a future period of glory and greatness. In a prophetic vein he declared: The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorrest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awakening, and a voice is coming to us,—away back where history and even tradition fails to peep into the gloom of the past, coming down from there, reflected, as it were, from peak to peak of the infinite Himalaya of knowledge, and of love and of work,— a voice is coming unto us, gentle, firm, and yet unmistakable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as days pass by, and behold, the sleeper is awakening!

Like a breeze from the Himalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see that she is awakening, this motherland of ours, from her deep long sleep. None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

XIX

GANDHI AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Sri G. Ramachandran

The first thing to say is that Mahatma Gandhi was in himself National Integration in the deepest and widest sense of the two words. No one since the Buddha symbolised more fully and richly National Integration than Gandhi. Every fibre of his being had its deep roots in the culture and spirit of India. Even when as the leader of three non-violent revolutions he led India to freedom and the Republic, he proclaimed unhesitatingly that everything he did in every sphere of action had for its object his own self-realisation and in his own words "To meet God face to face". How strange and fantastic this must have sounded in the modern world where leaders of revolutions and nations bother nothing about self-realisation! But when Gandhi said this, he summed up in one phrase the climax and crown of Indian culture through uncounted centuries and of which he was the most radiant embodiment in our times. He focussed the mind of India on the imperishable values of Indian culture and spirituality and everyone who came close to him—there were millions of them—shared in the allegiance to those values, not in words and thoughts only, but in deeds. It was thus in his own person that Gandhi made his greatest contribution to National Integration.

Gandhi was however as objective as he was subjective. No other leader of the world so truly and completely balanced in his vision and work, subjective and objective realities. Let us remember only two quotations from Gandhi in this connection. The first was supremely subjective when he said "Not a dead leaf

is lifted by the wind from where it lies and dropped elsewhere except at the will of God". Gandhi's God was a God immanent even in every dead leaf and every stirring of the wind. Look at the other quotation, "God Himself dare not appear before the hungry millions except in the form of work and food". This is objectivity with a vengeance. Gandhiji contributed mightily to national integration through objective work, very precise, systematic and applied on a nation-wide scale. Here are the major items:-

1. Gandhi made the abolition of untouchability a matter of life and death and thus sterilised the caste system which was the most formidable obstacle in the way of National Integration. The caste system had not only broken up Hindus into many fragmented and hostile sections but corrupted even the other great communities of India including those of Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. Other leaders had also attacked the caste system but none had launched a formidable mass movement against it. The National upheaval which Gandhi created in regard to untouchability united the people of India as nothing else. Inter-dining ceased to be a problem and inter-marriages increased daily. As long as there is the caste there will be the outcast and as long as there is the outcast there will be the proof that caste still holds the ground. When Gandhi became the lonely pilgrim in his march through Noakali piercing the heart of the Hindu-Muslim conflagration his gentle voice rang across India saying "My aim now is to create a casteless and classless society through non-violence".
2. Gandhi strove with all his strength to fill the gap between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the strong and weak and the arrogant and the meek. His first big instrument was Khadi, then Village Industries and then Basic Education. He made each one of these into powerful national movements linking millions of men and women throughout India in a common endeavour.

When people like Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Ali Brothers, Prakasam and Rajagopalachari put on simple, rough khadi cloth, it became the symbol of a mental revolution pulling people towards National Integration. The products of Village Industries were simple and life-giving to the producers in the rural areas and the consumers in towns and cities. Basic Education particularly was education for a classless and casteless society. It was non-violent revolution at its best. Gandhi thus became the most authentic and effective gap-filler among the different classes of the people.

3. We have then his grand and beautiful teaching of Sarva-Dharma-Samanatwa i.e. equal reverence for all the world religions. In spite of their philosophy the Hindus had become the most narrow-minded, ritualistic and superstitious among the people of India. Gandhi through his precept and practice of the doctrine of Sarva-Dharma-Samanatwa lifted the people at once from old ruts to new heights. No one was a follower of Gandhi unless he gave equal reverence to all the great religions. Gandhian prayer also embodied this new approach and his followers everywhere took the name of Rama and Allah and Christ and Buddha on their lips with equal fervour. Hinduism is today only as great as it accepts this doctrine and practices it. This ennobling and liberalising of Hinduism became infectious and Christianity and Islam also took deep breaths and stretched their spirits towards a greater harmony. One of the most significant things in recent times is that the Catholic Church itself is courageously changing and moving towards a greater understanding among world religions.
4. Language can equally disintegrate or integrate the life of a people. The opponents of Hindi in India are often those who use language as a separatist instrument. Does anyone in this country think that the English language

can ever become the link language among the millions who speak 13 different languages? Even after 200 years of powerful British political and cultural influence we have with us today only about 1% of our people who know English. It is not a question of how and when Hindi may become the link language of India. This process can be regulated in the gentlest and wisest manner. But Gandhi foresaw with unerring understanding that some day Hindi had to become the link language of India and half a century ago he began a great movement for spreading the knowledge of Hindi on a voluntary basis in the non-Hindi areas. There are today in the 4 Southern States of India and in other non-Hindi areas millions of people who can understand Hindi as a result of the Gandhian movement. We may have difficulties today and tomorrow in regard to the link language. But when passion and hate and anger, which now hold sway in many minds have been swept away by time and reality, Hindi will remain as the only possible link language. Hindi itself must of course undergo changes in form and texture. At this point of language also Gandhi became a powerful instrument of National Integration.

5. Above all it is Gandhian non-violence which has made the finest contribution to National Integration. Violence is the enemy of integration. That is why even those who win revolutions and gain political and economic objectives through violence have to face counter-revolutions and disruption from within. As Pandit Nehru pointed out often, Gandhi solved problems without creating fresh problems, because of his non-violence. Even the liberation of India from the British Empire left no legacy of problems of anger, hate or jealousy. Non-violence in action specially in relation to social and national affairs can become the finest integrating instrument in the arsenal of the human spirit. To the extent the people of India can solve problems non-violently they

will become integrated into a great and united people. This was the supreme teaching of Gandhi. He not only taught non-violence but created the conditions in which millions of people strengthened themselves from within and then fought for their freedom non-violently. The Constructive Programme of Gandhi became the training ground for millions of people in non-violent techniques of collective action. The genius of Gandhi never shone better than when he educated the people of India to understand the link between constructive work and non-violent revolution.

There are many other things one can say and write on this subject. They cannot be exhausted in a short article. Many others will speak and write on them. But this will be the common ground among them all, that no one after the Lord Buddha brought about such a profound and vast integration of the people of our country as Mahatma Gandhi in his own person and work. Even his death at the hands of a Hindu assassin only added another mighty contribution in terms of India's National Integration. In life and in death he united and chastened more millions of human beings than any other prophet of the twentieth century.

EXCERPTS FROM GANDHI

Editor

Indian civilization is a mingling of the cultures represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geographic and other environments in which the cultures have met. Thus Islamic culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India, but it is influenced by the conditions of respective countries. Indian culture is, therefore Indian. It is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Eastern. And everyone who calls himself or herself an Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its trustee and resist any attack upon it.

We were one nation before the English came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us.

What do you think could have been the intention of those far-seeing ancestors of ours who established Setubandha (Rameshwar) in the South, Jagannath in the East and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? You will admit they were no fools. They knew that worship of God could have been performed just as well at home. They taught us that those whose hearts were aglow with righteousness had the Ganga in their own homes. But they saw that India was one undivided land so made by nature. They, therefore, argued that it must be one nation. Arguing thus, they established holy places in various parts of India, and fired the people with an idea of nationality in a manner unknown in other parts of the world.

In this structure composed of innumerable villages...life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals.....the outermost circumference will not yield power to crush the inner circle but give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it.

True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name, must at the same time be also good economics. An economics that inculcates Mammon worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak, is a false and dismal science. It spells death. True economics, on the other hand stands for social justice; it promotes the good of all equally including the weakest and is indispensable for decent life.

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. To bring this ideal into being the

entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too, shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

My approach to other religions, is never as a fault-finding critic but as a devotee hoping to find the like beauties in other religions and wishing to incorporate in my own, the good I may find in them and miss in mine.

In spite of my being a staunch Hindu I find room in my faith for Christian and Islamic and Zoroastrian teaching and, therefore, my Hinduism seems to some to be a conglomeration and some have even dubbed me an eclectic. Well, to call a man eclectic is to say that he has not faith, but mine is a broad faith which does not oppose Christians—not even a Plymouth Brother—not even the most fanatical Mussalman. It is a faith based on the broadest possible toleration. I refuse to abuse a man for his fanatical deeds, because I try to see them from his point of view. It is that broad faith that sustains me. It is a somewhat embarrassing position I know – but to others, not to me.

It is my certain conviction that, if the Hindu heart is completely purged of the taint of untouchability, the event will have its inevitable influence not only upon all the communities in India but on the whole world.

There should be not only no untouchability as between Hindus and Hindus, but there should be no untouchability whatsoever between Hindus, Christians, Mussalmans, Parsis and the rest. I am convinced that if this great change of heart can be brought about we should live in India as one people trusting each other and without any mutual distrust or suspicion. It is untouchability with all its subtle forms that separates us from one another and makes life itself unlovely and difficult to live.

Removal of untouchability means love for, and service of the whole world, and thus merges into Ahimsa. Removal of untouchability spells the breaking down of barriers between man and man, and between the various orders of Being. We find such barriers erected everywhere in the world.

The chief value of Hinduisim lies in holding the actual belief that all life (not only human beings, but all sentient beings) is one i. e. all life coming from the One Universal Source.

This unity of all life is a peculiarity of Hinduism which confines salvation not to human beings alone but says that it is possible for all God's creatures. It may be that it is not possible save through the human form, but that does not make man the lord of creation. It makes him the servant of God's creation. Now when we talk of brotherhood of man, we stop there, and feel that all other life is there for man to exploit for his own purposes. But Hinduism excludes all exploitation. There is no limit whatsoever to the measure of sacrifice that one may make in order to realize this oneness with all life, but certainly the immensity of the ideal sets a limit to your wants. That, you will see, is the antithesis of modern civilization which says: 'Increase your wants.' Those who hold that belief think that increase of

wants means an increase of knowledge whereby you understand the Infinite better. On the contrary Hinduism rules out indulgence and multiplication of wants as these hamper one's growth to ultimate identity with the Universal Self.

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RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

This Seminar was held in Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya on the 19th and 20th December, 1965 in commemoration of the 35 years of service of the Vidyalaya. Many eminent persons participated in it and gave valuable suggestions which are given below. They are grouped under six headings, viz., educational, psychological, economic, political, social, religious and cultural factors that contribute to National Integration.

I. Educational Factors :

1. Education should result in an all-round well integrated personality who has social virtues such as cooperation, tolerance, appreciation of human inter-dependence and who is inspired with the ideal of democracy and social justice. Education should fill the void created by the weakening of the appeal of sectarian religion.

2. Promotion of national outlook is very essential for bringing about national integration. Education programmes should be suitably modified so as to cultivate national outlook. Text books that highlight the lives of national heroes and achievements, folk festivals, seminars, dramas, themes of communal harmony, concepts of national flowers, animals, products, scenery and trees, hoisting the National Flag and singing the National Anthem and such other steps go a long way in cultivating a national outlook and hence they should find a place in the educational programmes of the schools and colleges.

3. Integration of self is a prerequisite for National Integration. A child who has inner conflicts has little concern for others. Hence children should be given proper education as to achieve integration of self.

4. The child should be made sensitive and appreciative of the contribution of others to one's own welfare. Stories, films, field visits and informal talks will prove fruitful in this respect. The children's film society can have this in mind and produce films relevant to this point.

5. There are two critical periods in the case of human beings: (a) The latter months of the first year, 8-12 months which affect the concept of self and personal development and (b) the 2½ -5th year period, which affects the development of social relations. The experiences a child undergoes during these periods have critical influence on the child, not only for the present but in his later years. In view of the significance of critical periods; (a) a strong and intensive programme of parent education is needed to acquaint the parents with the ways of bringing up children. This education is needed during pre-natal and post-natal periods. (b) A scheme of pre-school education should be established on a permanent footing as an educational scheme and not as an auxiliary service.

6. The responsibility of the school to the community should be properly emphasized. The schools should develop critical thinking in the students. The schools should also function in such a way as to facilitate social mobility, which should include rise in the economic status of individuals, breaking of caste taboos and intercourse between towns and villages.

7. National integration cannot be achieved by teaching it directly in the classroom. All the subjects in the curriculum should be oriented towards national integration. The atmosphere of the educational institutions should be charged with the spirit of National Integration.

8. Teachers have a great role in bringing about National Integration. They should have unshakable faith in it and should inspire the students and encourage them to work towards National Integration.

9. National Integration can be achieved only when there is a feeling of equality among people. This feeling should be cultivated even from schools and colleges. The schools and colleges should function as miniature democratic communities. Self-government with students' parliament, cabinet and students' court should be organised in them.

10. Activity programme in schools, sports and games, group discussions, debates and literary associations bring the students closer physically, mentally and emotionally and hence help to know each other. Such programmes should be encouraged in schools and colleges.

11. In teaching History, differences should be played down and episodes of united action should be emphasized.

12. The teaching of Social Studies should be reoriented as was done in Scandinavian countries so as to include topics dealing with other faiths, cultures and ways of living.

13. Text books should be carefully selected in schools and colleges. Books containing negative ideas that will work against National Integration should be discouraged and only those with positive ideas should be encouraged.

14. Our education today is mainly bookish and so the students leaving the schools and colleges depend upon the Government or private agencies for employment. They are not able to provide employment for all educated people. In future when all the children in the country will get education, the number of educated unemployed will increase enormously. This will be a potential danger to National Integration. Hence education in our schools and colleges should become work-oriented so that educated workers emerge from them who will work in the fields and

factories without expecting the Government or others to provide them employment.

15. Each university should make it a point to accommodate a certain percentage of students and teachers from other regions.

16. Mobility of students and staff from one State to another will help to promote National Integration. Hence all encouragements should be given to the students and staff to move to the colleges and universities in States other than their own. The Union Government may even make it a policy to disburse a part of their stipends only to those students who move to other States for education. College or University teachers may be given incentives to move to other States and teach there.

17. Universities should insist on each student translating at least one standard book in his language before qualifying for a degree.

18. The colleges and universities should teach the languages of other States and should offer courses on comparative religion so that there can be mutual understanding and appreciation.

19. Good books in one language may be translated into other languages. Universities and College students and staff may play a great role in this.

20. Illiteracy should be wiped out as quickly as possible and there should be a phased programme in this regard. The school and college students may be asked to give their service for this important work. People's forums, community centres, Banish Illiteracy Clubs etc could be organised and asked to concentrate on this urgent task. Night schools should be organized wherever people come forward to learn.

21. Study tours and educational excursions to different parts of the country should be organized. In these tours the students should be taken not only to cultural and historical places but also to the modern projects and industries.

22. Students' camps such as N. C. C. and Social Service Camps should be organized in summer vacation on an Inter-state basis. Attendance to any one of such camps may even be made compulsory.

23. Patriotic sentiments built on the glory of the history of India, national songs, stories and memories pave the way to national integration. Hence these should be encouraged.

II. Economic Factors:

24. The rural areas are becoming poor and urban areas rich. This lopsided development and imbalance between rural and urban areas should be avoided and efforts should be taken to develop rural areas also by starting more village and cottage industries.

25. There is regional disparity in economic development. This disparity as pointed out by V. K. R. V. Rao "carries with it the risk of encouraging forces of national disunity." Hence regional balance should be established by adopting measures such as the following:

- a) giving weightage to backward states for the location of new public-sector industries;
- b) wide-spread diffusion of industries;
- c) orientation of industrial licensing policy towards a similar objective in location of private industries;
- d) putting an end to the development of further industries in city areas; establishment of agro-industries in rural areas;
- e) development of industrial co-operatives for artisans and craftsman and
- f) development of industrial development areas in backward regions with basic facilities like power, water, sites and communications so as to encourage establishment of industrial units.

26. It is necessary to make the various states economically inter-dependent so that it brings about certain amount of National Integration.

27. The capitalist form of economic organization with profit motive as the base should be replaced by the cooperative form which ensures equal distribution of wealth among all the sections of the society.

28. There is widespread economic inequality among people and the capital resources and economic power get concentrated in a few hands. This widening gap between the rich and poor should be narrowed down by preventing the rich from accumulating further wealth and by raising the level of the masses. This may be done by adopting some measures such as the following:

a) intensification of state regulative measures such as industrial licensing, capital issue control, company law administration, fiscal measures etc. so as to prevent concentration of economic power and to ensure dispersal and diversification of industries; (b) adoption of ceiling on ownership (either directly or through partnership or shareholding) of means of production by individuals and families; (c) dispersal and decentralisation of industries; (d) development of agriculture by making the tiller the owner; (e) splitting of a big industry into small ones, each doing a particular part of the work involved, as in Japan; (f) introduction of unemployment insurance and other social security measures; (g) mobilisation of all savings in the modern industrial sector through public agencies; (h) setting up of a permanent body to exercise vigilance and prevent emergence of monopolies, as suggested by the Monopolies Inquiry Committee, and (i) improvement of state administration. The undertaking of these reforms will go a long way in attaining social justice and social unity.

29. There is great unemployment and under-employment chiefly among the agricultural population. This should be overcome by measures such as starting agro-industries, the launching of rural manpower programmes, the rural industrialisation drive, the siphoning off of surplus, redundant, and unwanted labour from agriculture.

30. Unemployment and under-employment is a potential danger to National Integration. In order to arrest this, first the

growth of population must be brought under check by means of effective propaganda or planned parenthood. Then employment opportunities should be increased so as to employ all unemployed.

31. In the pre-independence days our leaders were able to integrate the nation because they raised the banner not only against the foreign Government but also against the backward, oppressive and undemocratic organisations and institutions in this country. After independence the failure of the Government to implement its policies regarding these internal obstacles is one of the causes of disintegration. Hence every effort should be taken to remove these defects in our country and establish National Integration.

32. The steady rise in prices of all consumer goods is a factor that disturbs national integration. The following measures may be adopted to hold the price line:

a) importing food-grains to relieve the immediate tension
(b) intensification of regulatory measures against hoarding and speculation; (c) implementation of land reform measures and development of agriculture; (d) intensification of anti-inflationary measures; (e) development of processing and marketing co-operative and consumers co-operative and co-ordination of their operations; and (f) adoption of a well-conceived price-policy.

33. The dissemination of the message of Gandhiji and implementation of his constructive programme should be encouraged as they go a long way in bringing about National Integration.

III. Political Factors:

34. The loyalties of our people are not yet directed towards the Government or the nation but are still involved in much smaller groups, the family or the caste. This local loyalty should be transferred to the nation as a whole.

35. If people develop a spirit that they are working for the development of their country they will be prepared for any amount of sacrifice, and will stand united. Hence such a spirit should be cultivated among our people.

36. The diversity of tongues and faiths and ways of living in our sub-continent preclude the integration of all the people into a single nation capable of sustaining the exacting political institutions of a modern nation-state. On this postulate, practical effort should be devoted to the development of several smaller consciousnesses limited only by the requirements of a territorial government of all India nature which can guard the frontiers, manage the common fiscal business and relieve conflicts between the national units on the basis of acceptable ideas of justice and fair-play. The political scheme for Indian governance will be confederal tending to be federal.

37. To help the average villager take an intelligent interest in the governance of the country, language of administration in a state should be the regional language.

38. The three language formula is the best one suited to solve the language problem in our country. So, sincere and earnest attempts should be made by all the State Governments to implement the three language formula.

39. All India Services should be created by which not only senior civil servants but judges, police and intelligence officers also could be recruited from other States.

40. Fifty percent of High Court judges and other senior judges in each state should be drawn from other states. Judges of the Supreme Court should be appointed only from those who have served as High Court Judges in states other than their own for at least three years.

41. A common vocabulary for the entire country can be built up with popular words used in all languages. A common script for all languages is also a much needed reform.

42. Every nation indoctrinates its young with patriotic attitudes and values. The children of the future should be trained to present the All India Type which even today exists in the services like the Defence Service, the Indian Administrative Service and

in the managerial cadres of progressive industrial concerns. This should be encouraged to permeate in educational institutions.

43. The Government should pass legislation to confine the freedom of association only to those who openly eschew violent methods and respect the unity and integrity of the country.

44. National Integration could be achieved when political parties evolve and accept a code of conduct for them and honestly and faithfully maintain a high standard of morality and propriety in politics. They should not indulge in inciting communal hatred or violence and narrow parochialism. The political parties should not interfere in local panchayat elections and allow the people to govern themselves instead of wanting themselves to govern in the name of the people.

45. On important issues like the language question involving the emotions of people, the political leaders should take a solemn pledge not to exploit the emotions of people and spread dissatisfaction and discontent. On such issues the people in authority should adopt a conciliatory approach so that respect and consideration is given to all segments of opinion.

46. The importance of leadership in bringing about National Integration cannot be under-estimated. A leader engages the energies of his group in a common direction, works up their emotions and reconciles their internal conflicts. Hence the leaders of the country should devote greater attention to National Integration.

47. While taking measures to maintain law and order Government should take the utmost care not to impose undue restrictions on civil liberties and honour the spirit behind the granting of Fundamental Rights to our people.

48. The zonal councils should be strengthened and must be made competent to deal not only with economic, and social planning and administrative fields but also in the fields of border conflicts and linguistic and other problem areas.

49. Healthy conventions should be established regarding the Union-State relationships. The centre should inspire confidence among the States by assuring their autonomy and securing their willing cooperation for all major Union actions. Whenever the Union Government takes decisions which affect the larger interests of the States, the concerned States should be taken into confidence and their consent obtained. The State Legislatures also should be very vigilant in guarding state autonomy from central influence.

50. The State Governor should be a resident of another State. As he is kept above party and group politics he can look at the problems of the state and the problems of Union-State relationship with detachment and objectivity. Hence the Governor should play an effective role in bringing about National Integration.

51. The system of hereditary village officials acts as a vested interest in the village. It plays up the existing disruptive forces in the village to its own advantage. Hence the system of hereditary village officers should be abolished. The village Panchayat and Cooperative should be strengthened.

52. The educated elite should devote adequate attention to manual work including scavenging. They should learn to run their offices without manual or menial assistance. Competitive examinations should include tests in local languages, in manual dexterity and manual work.

53. Red tapism at Government level should be put an end to. Though this will take a long time as it involves a change of heart, it is an important one that should be attempted without much delay.

IV. Social Factors:

54. The joint family system provided great scope for the child to establish a large number of inter-relationships with the family members. Now that the joint-family system is breaking and the nuclear family pattern is on the increase, the child's

opportunity for establishing inter-relationship with the family members is greatly reduced. The establishment of nursery schools, children's parks, and play grounds can minimise the void thus created by the nuclear families and give opportunities to the children to move with other children. With the coming of nuclear families the family traditions and rituals which bound the family members emotionally together have begun to disappear. The nursery schools may fill up the vacuum by including in their programme, celebrations of festivals and functions which will integrate the emotions of the child and bring it into contact with wider world.

55. Serving in armed forces, Lok Sahayak Sena, and Rural Man power schemes provide ample opportunity for coming into contact with people of different cross - sections of life. So they should be enlarged.

56. Sports and games will help greatly to bring about these contacts and hence they should be encouraged. These should be organised on inter-state basis also to widen the area of these contacts.

57. Public opinion surveys on a national scale should be undertaken so as to inform the average citizen of the opinions of his fellow citizens and keep the Government in touch with what people feel and desire. Otherwise only agitating small groups will receive attention.

58. The women of our country should be drawn out and brought into touch with the wider world by means of Mahila Mandals, or Mathar Sangams or clubs organised by Women Welfare Boards and so on.

59. There should be a common national dress for ceremonial occasions. More than the style, the material for the dress should be a national product.

60. Simple, inexpensive and healthy dishes which people from all parts of the country can eat and which are evolved out

of the regional diet will contribute to the national sentiment of unity. Symbolic dishes to be used all over the country will also help.

61. Conflicting values in our society create problems. On the one hand we are being brought up as members of a democratic society to believe in equality of opportunity for all and avoidance of discrimination. On the other hand in-group and out-group contacts stimulate awareness of status differences which in its turn encourages discrimination. There is tension of equalitarianism on the one hand and differential status on the other. Our society has to bring about some equilibrium and differential status.

62. There is conflict between the traditional hierarchical and authoritarian form of our social organisation and the democratic values we want to adopt. Hence the good aspects of the old traditional values alone should be retained and the rest should be changed. There should be a synthesis of the old values and modern democratic values.

63. Various media of communication such as newspapers, periodicals, radio and films should be encouraged to promote the idea of national integration.

64. Social legislation has a considerable influence in speeding up national integration. When there is legislation to prevent overt conflict the conflict gets repressed and the individual tries to accommodate himself. The individual is forced to identify his personal or group interests with national interests. Hence such social legislations may be introduced in all desirable areas. At the same time the country has to provide the individual with a sense of security.

V. Psychological Factors:

65. National integration needs to be achieved in the hearts and minds of people. All barriers to the acceptance of the idea of national oneness and its implementation such as slavery, fear

communalism and caste should be broken. People should be motivated and inspired by the feeling of "togetherness" and a dynamic common purpose which would raise them above these differences.

66. The most significant and outstanding contribution made by psychology is that "All behaviour is caused". So change in the environment can modify behaviour. So the child should be provided with suitable environment both at home and school so that a behaviour suited to national integration is caused in the child.

67. Prejudice has its roots in personal social conditioning. Educational institutions should play a great role in trying to break down a great deal of the hostile attitudes. The curriculum in schools and colleges should be aimed at inculcating among children the idea of National Integration. The teachers also have a great role in this important work.

68. All people hold beliefs and attitudes. Trouble arises when there is discrepancy between the beliefs of people and actual facts. This discrepancy arises mainly because of lack of correct information, lack of contacts or exposures, limited perception and social support to wrong beliefs. People's beliefs and attitudes should be changed by well-conceived education, propaganda and facilitating personal contacts.

VI. Religious & Cultural Factors:

69. Religious leaders should organise periodical conferences and explain to people the basic tenets of their religion emphasising the fundamental unity of all the religions.

70. Common prayers may be organised in schools and colleges in which songs from different religions may be sung and passages from different scriptures may be read. Festivals belonging to all religions may be celebrated and their significance explained. The students may be encouraged to visit the places of worship like the temple, the mosque and the church.

71. Music and dance are genuine expressions of our culture. Different parts of the country have their own forms of music and dance. All India music and dance festival may be organized periodically in different parts of the country so that people of the different parts may appreciate each other and feel part of one big country.

The Indian mind is first religious, then anything else. So this is to be strengthened. You must make all and everything work through that vitality of your religion. Let all your nerves vibrate through the backbone of your religion. The national ideals of India are renunciation and service. Intensify her in those channels, and the rest will take care of itself. The banner of the spiritual cannot be raised too high in this country. In it alone is salvation.

— *Swami Vivekananda*