

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To the modern scientific mind feudalism, fascism, autocracy, theocracy and totalitarianism as institutions of government are obsolete, because they symbolize tyranny, despotism and absolutism which aggravate inequality, disparity and dissatisfaction. But it has not been always so. Before the advent of the 19th century, dogmatism, illiteracy, superstitions, prejudices were deep-rooted and a priori truths were accepted uncritically and the minority rule held unchallenged sway in most of the countries. But the modern age has revolted against the established values of unquestioned acceptance of authority. It has demanded the germination of political institutions whereby people would be supreme and government would stay till it enjoys the concurrence of the people. Sartori says:

...the feudal world of divine right crumbled because people wanted to live in a society whose guiding principle was not privilege, but merit. Democracy is born from the vindication of the principle that the unjust rule of the non-elected (those who exercise power by right of heredity or conquest) be replaced by the rule of the selected (1).

Eventually, this paved the way for democracy which is the most humanistic type of government because it challenges man-made hiatus, inequality and disparity. Democratic ideal is upheld by the 20th century man as the basic tenet of life because of its emphasis on individual freedom, individual enlightenment and individual welfare. It abhors tyranny of man against man and saves him from the shackles of wanton authority.

The spirit of this ideal found a beautiful expression in Lincoln's address of 1863 at Gettysburg when he described democracy

as "government of the people, by the people and for the people." In this form of government, no one can wield unlimited power. "The difference between democracy and its opposite (other forms of government) lies in the fact that in a democracy power is scattered limited, controlled and exercised in rotation (2)."

But the success of this form of government is fraught with great difficulties because of its stress on ensuring the optimum participation by the people and securing equal opportunities for all groups or sub-groups in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country.

THE CONCEPT OF MINORITY

The problem of minorities is one of the most perplexing and intriguing in modern democracy. This is not confined to any specific region of the world but is in fact universal in scope though varies in nature and extent to the peculiar circumstances of place and time, various combinations of powers and numbers.

The United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities defines minorities as under:

Only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of population (3).

Professor Schermerhorn (4) defines minority community with the help of following illustration:

Dominant Groups

	Size	Power	
Group A	+	+	Majority group
Group B	-	+	Elite

Subordinate Groups

	Size	Power	
Group C	+	-	Mass subjects
Group D	-	-	Minority

(Abstracted from 'Schermehorn's Comparative Ethnic Relations' page, 13)

He states:

Combining the characteristics of size, power, ethnicity, we then use 'minority-group' to signify any ethnic group in category D, this implies that it forms less than half the population of a given society, but is an appreciable sub-system with limited access to roles and activities central to the economic and political institutions of the society (5).

These definitions are in accordance with the emerging set-up of world democracies. But there are certain variations which they do not explain. For instance, the Sikhs in modern India, though constituting a minority community, enjoy much political power in the State. Jains, Jews and Parsis are also well placed and enjoy privilege and power. The case of the Muslim minority is peculiar. There are two groups in the community which are diametrically opposed to each other i.e. the elite section who

enjoys prestige and power; and the masses, though in majority, lead a miserable life. Moreover, these two groups live in watertight compartments, as it were and have very restricted intercourse.

In Schermerhorn's definition, the Muslims fall under category D. They have neither size nor power (in size they are second to the majority community). Though the upper section of the Muslim community shares positions of social and political status, yet masses consider it merely a political eye-wash, because they are least benefited. Therefore, we see that the Indian Muslims which form the largest religious minority present a case of special study.

To sum up a minority community usually possesses the following characteristics:

1. It is a sub-group within a larger group.
2. It is held together by common ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics.
3. Its numerical strength is less than half of the total population of a given society.
4. It has grievances regarding differential treatment meted out to it; and it has limited access to economic and political spheres.
5. It has a sense of insecurity which finds expression in its physical, social, emotional and psychological behaviour pattern.
6. It considers itself as under-privileged, but instances are not lacking when the numerically small minorities may be politically and economically highly privileged. Thus majority

and minority become primarily political and numerical concepts.

7. In a democracy which is based on the principle of 'one man one vote,' the status of minority is determined by the degree of its numerical strength in the region. A region where a minority wields considerable influence in the outcome of political power, it receives preferential treatment. The policy of appeasement to secure its favour often enables the minority to get more than its due.

Minority communities may broadly be classified as under:

1. Political Minority

It can further be grouped as:

(a) Minority as a Ruler. Here the minority is supreme upholder of power, because it exclusively combines the functions of legislation, execution and dispensation of justice. Whatever rights the majority group in the society enjoys are at the discretion of minority and these are subject to withdrawal, extension and pruning as and when it may deem fit. A minority in this scheme of government forms a distinctive class in itself through special prerogatives and privileges which are denied to the majority. Muslim rule during the medieval period, British Raj in India and White population in South Africa are illustrations of this kind of minority.

(b) Minority as equal partner. Under this scheme, the minority does not enjoy any special prerogatives and privileges but can contest for political rights along-

with other groups. This pattern is observed in modern emerging republics, democracies and socialist societies as in India, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. But in this case the grievances of minorities have ranged from physical insecurity to wilful neglect in all walks of life.

2. Economically Dominant Minority

Under this system, a small minority which owns the major slice of the national cake through manipulations tries to maintain its hold on the society on account of its monopolistic control over the economic and administrative structures, perpetuates social class differentiation, inequality and injustice. The big business houses like Birlas and Tatas in India to-day have considerable influence in shaping the national policies of the country.

3. Cultural Minority

It is a sub-group of the society which is dissimilar to or which differentiates itself from the other groups of the society due to its cultural heritage. In a country there may be numerous such sub-groups which have their different cultural identities, and this cultural heterogeneity, as a matter of fact, be of great pride to any country as its blending makes the life of a nation richer and more variegated. India is a land of diversities - diversity in language, diversity in culture, diversity in religion all these diversities are in the process of diffusing with one another and thereby emerging in basic unity. The Mundas of Madhya

Pradesh are examples of cultural minorities.

4. Racial Minority

This is a group or sub-group in the society which considers race as the basis for differences between cultures and cultural attainments. The Negroes in America, Rhodesian and South African Whites, Bhots of Himalayan region are examples of racial minorities.

To this classification one may add linguistic minorities, religious minorities etc. However, these categories are not exclusive of one another; and they are prone to overlap.

MINORITY STATUS

The status of a minority-group is related to the type of position it enjoys in the hierarchy of power. In democratic societies, a minority is accorded a place of special significance because of the contribution it makes towards the enrichment of our national life and for economic, political and cultural growth.

In regard to the protection of minorities Smith (6) illustrates two approaches: (1) the equality of individual citizen; and (2) the protection of the socio-religious group. The former is individualistic approach. This treatment identifies the individual with the entire political community. He is equal to others and is accorded no special treatment as such. The latter approach is more concerned with the socio-religious groups as units. It seeks to protect them through special measures.

In India, the Constituent Assembly in its August 1947 session accepted in principle certain political safeguards

(communal reservation) for the protection of minority rights, which were later on incorporated in the first draft of the Constitution. But the spokesmen of minorities, Dr. H.C. Mookerjee a Christian, and Mr. Rajmool Hussain, a Muslim, strongly pleaded that the idea of communal representation was fraught with grave danger, and went against national interests and so it should not be accepted under any circumstances. Consequently, there was a bitter opposition to the idea of giving communal representation to minorities. The Advisory Committee moved and endorsed the resolution "That the system of communal reservation for minorities other than Scheduled Castes in legislatures be abolished (7)." The position which has finally emerged regarding the safeguards of minorities after the ratification of the Constitution (which was drafted under the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) is stated as:

Member of minority groups are protected by the same fundamental rights which are guaranteed to all citizens and upheld by courts of law armed with the power of judicial review. This approach is to secure the equality of the individual citizen (8).

General Problems of Minorities

Major problems of the minority community are of universal nature. Some are faced by them in everyday life such as:

1. Feeling of insecurity. Occurrence of riots between the majority and minority communities is a common phenomenon. As a result, minority communities suffer much more loss in terms of both life and property. This alienates them from the majority community. It is believed that the majority community

community. It believes that the majority community, makes it a scapegoat for all acts of omission and commission.

2. Fatalistic attitude. Once a minority community accepts that it is discriminated against, its life and property are not safe, it may do one of the two things. Either it may convince the leaders of the ruling party about the genuineness of the malady faced by it, win their favour and impress upon them the need for the prompt redress of its grievances; or if its pleading fails to catch the ear of the ruling leadership, it may become alienated and fatalist or react violently by losing faith in constitutional means. This will be suicidal to the democratic set up and building up of a secular society.

If a minority is economically progressive, politically enlightened, educationally and socially advanced, it would diagnose the genesis of malaise and seek the remedy of its complaints by means of constitutional steps. But on the contrary, if a minority remains backward, it may rationalise its present status as preordained or its injured feelings may be exploited by unscrupulous leadership.

3. Discrimination in education. Our present educational system is replete with subtle bias in terms of curriculum and other programmes. Therefore, it does not encourage minority participation in it. It tries to cultivate and preserve the majority culture, its language and everything which the majority upholds. It is repugnant to their cherished values, beliefs and customs; and generates an attitude of aversion for this

system of education.

It is the most wide-spread feeling among the minorities that their rightful claims are superseded. Even when they meet the requisite standard of admission in technical and professional institutions fantastic excuses are advanced to ignore and by-pass them. All this results in lowering the educational aspirations, achievements and socio-economic status of this segment of the society.

4. Poor social mobility. It is sociological truism, evidenced by a number of studies that children of higher social class origin are more likely to yearn and plan for higher educational and occupational goals than are the children of lower social origins (Sewell and Shah (9), Pitirim (10), Ralph (11), Sewell, Haller and Murray (12), Sewell and Orenstein (13), Parsons) (14). The country may determine social mobility on the pattern of 'sponsored mobility' (as is the case in the U.K.) or 'contest mobility' (as in the U.S.A.). The pendulum of socio-economic placement, to a greater extent, swings to the disadvantage of the minority children.

5. Segregation. The minority community has a feeling that they get a step-motherly treatment and, therefore, the majority group opposes their assimilation in the social current. This feeling of segregation in the hearts of minorities is tantamount to a big leakage in the ship of democracy.

To sum up, generally it is found all over the world that minorities complain they have to put up with oppression in

social, economic and political spheres of life. Sometimes it is alleged by the powers that be, that racial or some other reasons necessitate the treatment meted out to them. However, the minorities entertain a feeling that a deliberate attempt is made to keep them educationally and materially backward by creating sociological and psychological barriers so that they remain steeped in ignorance and cling to the fatalistic view of life.

SOME PROMINENT CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

The Muslims in India constitute the largest single minority community. According to the 1971 census (15), Muslims form 11.1 percent of the total population of the country coming next only to the Hindus (82.72 percent) in numerical strength. In absolute numbers, the Muslims total 61,417,934 made up of 31,961,789 males and 29,456,145 females. The proportion of the Muslims in urban population (16.21 percent of the total) is higher than in the rural population.

The Muslim dynasties ruled over India for more than seven centuries and, therefore, feeling of superiority was naturally entertained by the progeny. This fact has been beautifully elaborated by Rasheeduddin Khan.

He says:

Muslim mass psychology (however irrational and factually untenable) reveals a subjective awareness of their collective superiority born out of seven hundred years of Muslim hegemony in the Indo-Gangetic plain and in Deccan (16).

The above statement holds good in the case of Muslim

elite i.e. both rulers and courtiers and not the Muslim masses because their fate was no better than their counterparts in the majority community. They had to toil to provide comforts and luxuries for the elite while they themselves led a subhuman life. The only solace they had was that they could say that their co-religionists ruled the country.

The Muslims, though they had come from outside India, did not like the British, isolate themselves from the indigenous inhabitants.

Tara Chand states:

The Muslims in India with the exception perhaps of a very microscopic minority, are generally indistinguishable from the Hindus..... The Muslim conquerors have not maintained their racial identity or clan organisation and have merged themselves with the general mass of the Indian people (17).

The Muslims are monotheistic in their religious belief and egalitarian in their philosophy of social organization. Yet the fact is that Islamic principles do not synchronise with the practice of Muslims in India. For example, there are castes among the Indian Muslims though this is in direct contravention of the tenets of Islam.

Majeed writes:

We have also the familiar distinction of Sayyid, Shaikh (in the sense of a person or family, Arab in origin but not belonging to the direct line of the descendants of 'Ali the prophet's son-in-law) Mughal (or Turk) and Pathan. They did not intermarry with other families. Maintenance of the purity of family stock has all through been an important consideration with those who claimed to belong to the 'noble' class, and their attitude was regarded as a sign of respectability (18).

Economically better section, which may be designated as 'elite' enjoys all the material comforts and social positions but contributes very little to the welfare of the masses (19). This group is the most egoistic in thought and practice, opportunist to the extent of using their co-religionists (similar trend can be observed also in the non-Muslim elite) for their selfish ends without identifying with them. The Muslim masses generally consider this group as the mouthpiece of the party in power.

Muslims in general are still backward both educationally and economically. Because of it, the larger section of the masses is enthused, influenced and carried away by the conservatives and traditional Ulema.

The Problems of the Muslim Minority in the Post-independent India.

Choice of democracy as a form of government was a major historical decision by the people of India. This choice was not merely a consequence of any fortuitous fascination, but the interplay of multiple historical, political, sociological, economic, philosophical and psychological antecedents which provided a fertile ground for the decision.

Incidentally, the struggle for freedom was waged for the attainment and establishment of a society in which people professing different faiths, speaking different languages, practising different religions, cultivating different cultures could live confidently, harmoniously breathing the air of liberty, equality and fraternity; thus making the foundations

of democracy more secure. India of today is neither Hindu India nor Muslim or Christian India; it is secular India where all the citizens enjoy equal rights irrespective of creed, colour or race. Accordingly, the Constitution which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on the 26th January, 1950 enshrines the following principles in its preamble:

We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India, into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation (20).

To accelerate the process of social and economic justice, which is the indispensable ingredient of democracy, in December 1964, the Indian Parliament ratified the broad objective of the government policy so as to achieve 'Socialistic Pattern' of society. This type of society aims at narrowing down the gulf of unequal distribution of wealth, thereby accruing social benefits to the common man on just and equitable basis. Another feature of the society is the maximum utilization of man power (21).

India is a polyglot nation. It is inhabited by six major communities as is shown in table 1-1.

1972

RELIGION WISE
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
CENSUS INDIA: 1971

Muslims
11.21

Christians
0.60

Sikhs
1.89

Buddhists
0.70

Jains
0.47

Others
0.41

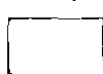


TABLE 1.1

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY COMMUNITY IN
INDIA DURING 1971**

Community	Number	Percentage to the total population
1	2	3
Hindus	453,292,088	82.72
Muslims	61,417,934	11.21
Christians	14,223,382	2.60
Sikhs	10,378,797	1.89
Buddhists	3,812,325	0.70
Jains	2,604,646	0.47
Others	2,220,639	0.41
Total	547,949,829	100.00

(Figures from Census, 1971)

The real test for the success of democratic institution is that it facilitates the psychological, social, economic and political adjustment of minorities in the fabric of the whole society. This is of paramount importance to Muslims who occupy the status of a significant minority in secular India. Their aloofness from the mainstream of national life will undermine the sense of unity in diversity of which we are so proud.

It was only to champion the cause of democratic secularism that Pt. Nehru at the suggestion of some M.P.'s to

solve the problem of the Muslim minority by the exchange of population (Pakistan's Hindus to India and Indian Muslims to Pakistan) reacted very sharply.

He said:

Such proposals shame us in the eyes of the world. They show that we are narrow, petty minded, parochial bigots who talk of democracy and secularism but who, in fact, are totally incapable of thinking in terms of the world or of this country We must push you out, because you belong to a faith different from ours. This is a proposition which, if it is followed, will mean the ruin of India and the annihilation of that we stand for and have always stood for (22).

But it is painful that even after a quarter of century of independence, communal harmony remains a distant goal. More so, communal riots even rocked Delhi, the capital of India as recently as 1973 and 1974, when the Sadar Bazar, a big business centre became the scene of communal violence and arson.

To understand the genesis of Muslims self-estrangement, their fatalistic, despondent and complacent attitude, which has alienated them from the mainstream of national life, it will be necessary to analyse the problems faced by them.

1. Partiality of state agencies. It is generally felt by the Muslims that state agencies, in such fields as law and order, welfare, education and health are biased against the community. Muslim leaders have the impression that police and administration frequently operate under the influence of

communal politicians, do not deal with the miscreants firmly and timely; and that it is the Muslims which mostly suffer when a riot breaks out.

2. Problem of livelihood. Inflation, spurt in prices is an ubiquitous phenomenon, but Muslims because of having comparatively poor purchasing power feel that they are the worst hit. It is generally complained that the world of work is prejudiced against them and discrimination is openly practised in the matter of employments.

1934/ Khusro opines that if region-wise surveys are conducted in the country, the average level of living among Muslims will be lower than that of the rest of the communities. He attributes it to the functioning of economic principle on which whenever there is a bias, large minority loses opportunities and small minorities do not lose opportunity (23).

3. Neglect of Urdu. A survey of memoranda and resolutions passed by Muslim conferences and organizations since independence clearly indicates that there has been much concern "over the place of Urdu than over administrative discrimination in India (24)."

Urdu which is born and bred in India and enriched by dialects such as Brij, Avadhi and Maithli finds recognition as one of the national languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. It is strongly felt by the Muslims that opportunities for the propagation, growth and development of Urdu have been purposely denied, especially in Hindi speaking regions.

They, therefore, regard these deliberate attempts to throttle the language as a crime against humanity (Mittal (25), Shakir (26), Smith (27) and Ghani)(28). Dr. Abid Hussain writes that this grouse becomes all the more relevant when we find that for Muslims as a community Urdu is the storehouse of religious scientific, literary and cultural heritage (29).

There is a provision for the instruction in the language when at least 40 students in a school or 10 students in a class opt for it. But this principle is seldom put into practice, thereby remaining only a poor consolation. Perhaps this attitude has provoked Ghani to state, "Urdu is that unfortunate language which became an orphan in her childhood, a widow in her youth and a helpless and unwanted nuisance in her old age (30)."

4. Educational lag. The Muslims entertain the view that they lag behind in educational progress because of economic hardship and discrimination shown against them in the matter of admissions particularly to professional and technical institutions.

Secondly, there is an apprehension in the minds of the Muslims that the text books prescribed in schools contain matter which goes against their religious beliefs and which tends to proselytise their younger generation. They contend that it militates against the very foundations of Islamic faith, its concepts of divinity, monotheism and apostleship (Nigam (31), Smith)(32). They suspect that in this way the educational institutions seek to inject religious beliefs and cultural values of the majority community into the minds of Muslim

children and youth (Anan (33), Faridi (34), Latifi (35), Zafri (36)).

Thirdly, the main complaints of Muslims are that in the text books an over weightage is given to Hindu mythological, cultural and historical figures; and historical facts are distorted and that study of Sanskrit is imposed on Muslim students. The report of the Review Text Books Committee states:

While every complaint made by religious minorities be not correct, and some appeared exaggerated, perhaps as the result of over sensitiveness and suspicion, some of them did have a measure of validity (37).

Habib observes that text books prescribed in U.P. contain fantastic statements. Recently P.N.Oak tried to establish that Taj Mahal was really a Rajput palace. Such distortion of historically proved facts simply creates doubt in the minds of minorities and provide an opportunity to the die-hards of the group to exploit the situation (38).

The National Board of School Text Books (39) in its second meeting held on May 3, 1970 recommended that the National Council of Education Research and Training should take up a crash programme for the evaluation of school text books prescribed in all the states of India, from the standpoint of national integration. Under this recommendation the Ministry of Education appointed Parthasarthy Committee in 1970 which went on record that 3 percent of the books should be withdrawn from use, 20 percent need to be revised, 9 percent books require deletion of certain portions and the remaining 68 percent of the books contain no objectionable material.

Fourthly, the Muslims to some extent feel that books which hurt their sentiments are not sometimes withdrawn even when the objectionable parts are brought to the notice of authorities concerned. This raises mental barriers in their making use of the available facilities of education. Anes Jahan alleges that certain history text-books used in the primary and secondary schools of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh present distorted and biased facts which poison and prejudice the young minds. There is a book on moral education 'Sahas Balak' that has been recommended for library reading in Delhi and other Hindi speaking regions includes a lesson on Shiva Ji, the language of the story is such that it creates hatred against the Muslims (40).

Fifthly, the Muslims allege that majority community is deliberately trying to distort their culture so that identity of the community is completely submerged. The President of Jamat-e-Islami speaking on the problems of Muslims in 1960 expressed the fear that the present process of indoctrination, if allowed to go for long, would result in making community ignorant of Islamic traditions and ways of life.

5. Maladjustment. Status reversal (41) from dominant to subordinate; and subordinate to equals determines to a great extent the reaction of Muslims. It gives them the painful awareness of their minority status and communal cohesion; thus giving them a psychological reservation in committing themselves to the ideal of total identification to the nation (42).

Partition of India which was secured by the Muslim League to safeguard the interest of Muslims brought in its train several problems of emotional adjustment.

Smith says:

The Muslim minority has had to make some difficult emotional adjustments. The Indian Muslim has had to learn to regard his co-religionist in Lahore, whom he supported in the demand for Pakistan, as a foreigner. Even this radical psychological orientation, if achieved, may not be enough to ensure him the good will of the majority. For any heightening of tensions between India and Pakistan, whether over border incidents, Kashmir or other disputes, almost automatically produces new hardships for the Indian Muslims (43).

To sum up, it may be said that persistence of two-nation theory in the minds of men and sense of lurking suspicion against the majority community keeps the Muslims at a distance from equal and active participation in the national life. To overcome this reluctance, they must be enlightened. It is only then that they would have clear vision of facts, refuse to be misled on heresay by the conservative Ulema. Hence every effort must be made by the state to bring Muslim masses out of their shell and to attract them to the portals to modern schools and colleges.

There are many who consider that this situation has arisen because most of the educationally and politically advanced sections of the Muslim community migrated to Pakistan at the time of partition. Those left behind, in most of cases belonged to the lower rung of the community. They had no educational tradition and were more conservative in outlook. Even now among the Muslim community the remaining upper strata

are in no way poorer than their counterparts. The Muslim elite while acting as the spokesman for the Muslim community serve their own interests. It like the non-Muslim elite, gets the plums of prestige and power, and are least bothered about the fate of the masses.

But one thing is certain that our commitment to socialist goals remain half baked unless the causes of social and economic backwardness and educational handicap pertaining to any ethnic group are diagnosed, attitudes are changed, and educational programmes and other measures are adopted which strike at the very root of the problem rather than trying to treat the symptoms. According to West our approach to tackle this problem "must be modelled after the natural sciences which seek common causes amid varied phenomena so as to lay hold of the laws that control events. No solution, however, novel or unorthodox is truly radical if it ignores the fundamental forces underlying events (44)."

Critical Appraisal of Steps to Promote Muslims' Educational Interests

As is discussed above the Constitution does not envisage any special measures as such to guarantee protection to the Muslim minority. They enjoy fundamental rights like other sections of the society which are subject to legal protection in case of infringement.

The ruling party has from time to time repeated its determination to give minority communities a sense of confidence

of belonging and participation. It has further resolved to bend its energies to secure Urdu its due place as medium of instruction and medium of communication (45).

It was in 1956 that the following two Articles 350-A and 350-B were incorporated by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act 1956, as a result of the recommendations of State Reorganization Commission.

It states:

Article 350-A "It shall be the endeavour of any state and of every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and the President may issue such directions to any state as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

Article 350-B provides for an appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities whose duty is to investigate all matter relating to safeguards provided for linguistic minorities (46)."

Muslims are very sensitive in the matter of Urdu which they find receiving a step-motherly treatment at the hands of government. Their fears are not illusory as almost all the states in the past (U.P., Bihar and M.P. etc.) have side tracked their responsibility towards Urdu on flimsy excuses. However, there are some bright patches which kindle the hope that future of Urdu is not so bleak and the government is convinced about the seriousness of the problem and is in a mood to make amends for its past failures.

Promotion of Urdu

The following events indicate the nature of efforts being

made to promote the causes of Urdu:

1. In 1973 for the first time after independence, a separate bureau for the promotion of Urdu has been set up by the Government of India. The bureau, which will function as the secretariat of the Taraqqi-e-Urdu Board, will produce academic literature and other type of reading materials. This will include science books, childrens literature, reference books, encyclopedias and basic books.

2. The Government of India during the year 1970-71, 1971-72 and 1972-73 advanced the assistance of Rs. 59,276, Rs. 2,64,000 and Rs. 7,48,000 respectively to the various literary centres for the promotion and development of Urdu.

3. As a result of the deputation led by Anand Narayan Malla, who drew the attention of the U.P. government regarding the appointment of 4,000 Urdu teachers which was long over due necessary steps were speedily taken to appoint Urdu teachers in the schools.

Despite all these efforts much remains to be done in removing the grievances of religious minorities. The 13th Report of the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities is a pointer in this direction.

The functions of the Commissioner, as indicated in Article 350-B(2) of the Constitution are to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities and to report to the President upon those, matters at such interval as the President may direct (47).

Right from the first All India Provincial Education

Ministers' Conference in 1949 to the Chief Ministers' Conference in November 1961, the right of linguistic minorities to receive education in their mother tongue at the primary and secondary stage has been reiterated as a matter of policy. The recent report deplored that almost all the state governments seem to have taken no measures to implement the constitutional and other agreed schemes of safeguards for linguistic minorities. A questionnaire (48) to obtain information on questions such as number of schools and attached sections, name of minority language in which instruction is provided, number of children belonging to each linguistic group and number of teachers available for each linguistic group which was sent to the states largely went unanswered. A close examination of the report leads one to conclude that linguistic minorities have not had their due share in the matter of education either in one's own mother tongue or in the use of minority languages for official purposes. It states the absence of a proper forum to review, if not to supervise, the various steps taken by the government in states and union territories in implementing the safeguards for linguistic minorities is felt more keenly than even before (49).

This is a depressing state of affairs on three accounts. First, it is a human problem in the sense that a big chunk of population is deprived of its natural right to protect and advance their culture. Secondly, the people become all the more convinced that they are denied their fundamental rights because of deliberate indifference on the part of government. Thirdly, this segment of society goes farther away from the national stream of life.

THE TASK AHEAD

An objective analysis of the situation in the Indian sub-continent endorses the fact that we have yet to cover many milestones for creating the kind of society as envisaged by the author of our Constitution. India is the biggest democracy on the globe. In the five general elections, held so far, all the major political parties in their respective manifestoes affirmed their faith in democracy as a lever for removing social and economic disparities. Still much is left undone for firmly rooting in of democracy in our country. Its failures are more glaring than its achievements. Unfortunately, in the preceding 27 years of independence, the forces inimical to it, namely, those of casteism, regionalism and communalism, have not been annihilated so far.

The prevalent attitude among the different communities is that of excessive sensitiveness on the issues affecting them. They feel they are ignored and discriminated against by the ruling class in all walks of life. Representations and concessions are more frequently allotted on regional basis. The cause of regional languages is promoted not because it enriches our cultural heritage but on sheer political expediency. The fundamental principle that the promotion and development of one language is inextricably related to the growth and progress of the other languages is ignored. In such issues the deciding factor is other than merit. This creates bad blood and separatist feelings.

The separatist feelings are eating into the very vitals of democracy and require immediate diagnosis and prescription. However, it is the de facto change in educational priorities, programmes, social and economic reorientation which can deliver the goods. In the frame work of educational priorities pre-schooling and primary schooling reflecting norms of socialistic programmes in education deserve consideration if we are really interested in preventing the disadvantages of parents from percolating the progeny.

To plead even after 27 years of freedom, that curriculum is yet to be need based smacks lack of vision and confused thinking; and barrenness of our planning. Demand of the hour is for the active involvement of the common man in our development projects and starting our planning from the grass roots rather than upside down. There is no better teacher than experience. Our whole approach needs to be oriented to discard thinking in terms of class, caste, region and community. There must be narrowing of the range of differentials to avoid great disparities in earned income. Only this would enable the country to overcome the present economic morbidity, social disharmony and stereotyped linguistic chauvinism.

REFERENCES

1. Sartori, Giovanni. Democratic Theory. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., 1965, p. 103.
2. Ibid., pp. 151-152.
3. Yearbook On Human Rights For 1960. New York: UNESCO, 1962, p. 490.
4. Schermerhorn, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations. New York: Random House, 1970, p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 13.
6. Smith, Donald Eugene. India as a Secular State. Bombay: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 406.
7. Constituent Assembly Debates (India), Vol 25, p. 394.
8. Smith, Op. Cit., p. 410.
9. Sewell, William H and Shah, Vimal P. Socio-economic Status, Intelligence and the Attainment of Higher Education. Sociology of Education. Vol 40, No.1, Winter, 1967, pp. 1-2.
10. Sorokin, P.A. Social Mobility. New York: Harper and Bros., 1927, Chapter IX.
11. Turner Ralph H. Sponsored and context mobility and the school system. American Sociological Review. Vol. 25, December 1960, pp. 855-867.
12. Sewell, William H. Archibald O. Haller and Murray A. Straus. Social status and educational and occupational aspiration. American Sociological Review. Vol. 22, February 1964, pp. 67-73.
13. Sewell, William H, and Alan M. Orenstein. Community of residence and occupational choice. American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 70, March 1965, pp. 551-563.
14. Parsons, Talcott. The school class as a social system: Some of its Functions in American Society. Harvard Educational Review. Vol. 29, 1959, pp. 297-318.
15. Census of India. Series I, Paper II of 1972, (Religion). Government of India Publication, Delhi, 1971, p. 13.

16. Rasheeduddin Khan. Minorities in Nation Building. International Experience: New Delhi, March 31st to 3rd April, 1970. This paper was presented in the Seminar on 'Minorities in Nation Building' held in India International Centre.
17. Tara Chand. Hindu Muslim Confluence. Secular Democracy. (Independence issue), 1972, p.91.
18. Majeed, M. The Indian Muslims. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967, pp. 19-20.
19. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad who recently succeeded to V.V. Giri is the Fifth President of the nation. Late Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Third President of India was also a Muslim. Late Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Late Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and M.C.Chagla were some of the important members in the central cabinet. At present Prof. Narul Hasan, Moh. Shafi Qurashi, Shah Nawaz Khan etc. are in the central ministry. The Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission, Commanding-in-Chief Central Air Command (Idris Hassan Latifi) and the Director of National Council of Educational Research and Training are Muslims. Two Governors, Akbar Ali and Ali Yavar Jung of U.P. and M.P. are Muslims. But most of these achievements by individuals are not identified with the community. They feel that these are just show pieces carved out to decorate the picture of secularism. They simply grind their own axe and deprive the community of their due.
20. India. A Reference Manual. Government of India Publication, Delhi, 1972, p. 1.
21. Giri, V.V. Jobs for Millions. Madras: Vyasa Publication, 1971, p. 26-29.
22. Speeches of Jawahar Lal Nehru (1949-1953), Government of India Publication, Delhi, 1954, pp. 308-310.
23. Interview with Prof. Khuroo, Director, Institute for Economic Growth.
24. Smith, Op Cit., p. 424. In 1951, Dr. Zakir Hussain presented to the Uttar Pradesh Minister of Education, 10,000 applications of parents from the city of Lucknow; and on 15th February, 1954, the Anjuman Tarragqi-e-Urdu presented a memorandum to the President of India requesting him to take suitable steps towards the arrangement of teaching through Urdu in U.P.
25. Mittal, Gopal. The Muslim Minority's Problems and Secularism. Svarajya. Vol. 13, No. 20, November 10, 1968, pp. 13-14.

26. Shaker, Moin. Muslims in Free India. New Delhi: Kalsmkar Parkashan, 1972, pp. 98-138.
27. Smith, Op. Cit., pp. 423-429.
28. Ghani, A.M. Cause of Urdu goes by default. Mainstream. January, 1968, p. 17.
29. Husain, Abid. The National Culture of India. New Delhi: Jaico Publishing House, 1956, pp. 191-194.
30. Ghani, Op. Cit., p. 17.
31. Nigam. Lying Secular Foundations Through Education. Secular Democracy. April, 1964, p. 24.
32. Smith, Op. Cit., p. 211.
33. Amar. Blame Not the Muslims. Radiance. Vol.4, No.42, May, 1967, p. 10.
34. Faridi, F.R. A Plea for Secularism. Radiance. Vol. 12, No.24, January 3, 1965, pp. 8-14.
35. Latifi, Denial. Redressal of Minority Grievances. Mainstream. Vol.8, No.38, May 2, 1970, pp. 23-25.
36. Zafri, Azad. All India Muslim Political Conventions: Problems Highlighted: Wrong Solutions. New Age. Vol.18, No.52, December 27, 1970, p. 9.
37. Report of the Committee set up by the Government of India To Review Text-Books. 1960, pp. 1-3.
38. The Times of India: Sunday Magazine. March 9, 1969, p. 1 (Rungacharya's interview with Dr. Irfan Habib).
39. National Board of School Text-Books was appointed by the Ministry of Education on the recommendation of National Integration Council. December 2, 1968.
40. Syed, Anees Jahan. History Books. Secular Democracy. July, 1970, p. 141.
41. Theodore, P. Wright Jr. Identity Problems of Former Elite Minorities. Secular Democracy. (Annual No.) August, 1972, pp. 43-51.
42. Khan, Rasheeduddin. Self-view of Minorities. Seminar. No.152, August, 1970, pp. 21-27.

43. Wilfred, Cantwell Smith. Islam in Modern History. New York: Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 269.
44. West, Earle (Editorial). The Journal of Negro Education. No.3, Summer, 1972.
45. Report of the Deliberations of All India Congress Committee Department of Minorities. Secular Democracy. May, 1972, p. 6.
46. The Constitution of India (As modified upto May 15, 1972). Delhi: Government of India Publication, 1972, p. 212.
47. The Thirteenth Report of the Commissioner For Linguistic Minorities In India For the Period - July 1970 to June 1971. Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1972, introduction p. VI.
48. Ibid., p. 141.
49. Ibid., pp. 47-57.