

Jawaharlal Nehru and the Contentious issue of National Language

Dr Suryakant Nath

Associate Professor in History
National defence Academy,
Khadakwasla, Pune
sknath1084@gmail.com

Abstract:

After Gandhi was assassinated, Nehru became India's foremost nationalist. Yet, he only half-jokingly referred to himself as 'the last Englishman to rule India'. Educated at Harrow, one of Britain's most rarefied public schools, and Cambridge University before qualifying to be a barrister at London, Nehru and his father, Motilal Nehru were typical Anglicised lawyers who dominated the Indian National Congress before Gandhi transformed them by clothing them in khadi (home-spun cotton). Although Nehru accepted Gandhi's logic of dressing and behaving like an Indian, he never lost the demeanour of an Edwardian gentleman. ^[1] On the many occasions when he was arrested by the British and jailed, he would, as a practice, eat cornflakes, fried eggs, bacon and tomatoes before submitting to his captors. Nehru's Anglophilia stretched much further than his private tastes. The legacy of Nehru's Englishness was visible in every corner of twentieth century India. It still exists in today's India. Nowhere is it more prominent than in the sphere of national language. Several of the seemingly bewildering contradictions of today's India can be traced back to Nehru. ^[2]

Language is a very powerful cultural identity marker. While many of the ills afflicting post-independent India are conveniently dumped on Nehru's shoulders, was he really the lone individual to be held responsible for all the ills that adversely impacted the growth trajectory of post-independent India? Or is he the lone villain of the piece (as often made out to be) who deliberately forged an unholy alliance with the imperialist masters to further his self-interests and neglect the interests of the nation? This paper attempts to make an analysis of the circumstances in which English was made a link language and how and why Hindi or Hindustani could not find its pride of place as the 'national language' among the many Indian languages even though many prominent nationalist leaders strove for it. More importantly, this paper also tries to make an attempt to study if things would have been any different if Nehru had tried to put his weight behind the vocal Hindu group's attempt to push through the Hindi agenda. Or was it the deliberate inaction of Nehru which resulted in the language mess that the country finds itself now?

Key Words: Linguistic Nationalism, Link Language, Official Language, National Language, Anglophilia, States Reorganisation Commission, Cold-Water Therapy.

While Article 343 of the Constitution states that "Hindi [in the Devanagiri script] is the official language..." of the Union, "some people keep saying that Hindi is our "national language" adding to the already confusing situation regarding the status of Hindi. With over twenty regional languages, each with its own culture and history, language was always going to be a tricky issue for India. At the time of our independence, most countries defined their nationhood through a common language and so during the Constituent Assembly debates, the question of a national language was tied closely with a desire for national unity. Initially, Hindustani, with its hybrid of Hindi and Urdu, was a viable option. Writing in an essay in 1937, Jawaharlal Nehru had termed Hindustani a "golden mean." ^[3]

When the Constituent Assembly met for the first time in 1946 to draft a constitution for a newly independent nation, language was one of the uppermost issues in the minds of the leaders. Dr Rajendra

Prasad, the Chairman of the Assembly himself acknowledged this: “Whatever our sentiments may dictate, we have to recognize the fact that most of those who have been concerned with the drafting the constitution can express themselves better in English than in Hindi.”^[4] After innumerable drafts and heated discussions, a compromise was reached at. Hindi in the Devnagari script was to remain the official language of the union.^[5] However, English was to continue for a period of fifteen years to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before the adoption of the constitution, and if need be, its lease of life could be further extended beyond the period of fifteen years through parliamentary legislation.^[6]

The intentions of the constitution-makers were quite clear: English was to be gradually phased out and make way for Hindi as the national language of the Union. Article 351 systematically rolled out a policy guideline framework through which this was to be achieved: “It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its environment by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expression used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth schedule,^[7] and by drawing, whichever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.”^[8]

On 10 December 1946, when procedures of the Constituent Assembly were still being discussed, R V Dhulekar of the United Provinces moved an amendment. When he began speaking in Hindustani, the Chairman reminded him that many members did not know the language. To which he replied that,

“People who do not know Hindustani have no right to stay in India. People who are present in the House to fashion a constitution for India and do not know Hindustani are not worthy to be members of this Assembly. They had better leave....”

Even after being reminded again by the Chairman, Dhulekar continued,

“...As an Indian I appeal that we who are out to win freedom for our country and are fighting for it, should think and speak in our language....I wonder why Indians do not speak in their own language. As an Indian I feel that the proceedings of the House should be conducted in Hindustani. We have the history of our own country of millions of past years.”^[9]

In one of the sessions, members even urged the House to order the Delhi Government to rule that all car number plates should be in Hindi script.^[10] They also demanded that the official version of the constitution be in Hindi, with an un-official version in English. The Drafting Committee did not accept it on the ground that English was better placed to accommodate/incorporate the technical and legal terms of the document.^[11]

It is necessary, here, to explain what Hindustani in common parlance meant. It was an amalgam of Hindi and Urdu. Hindi written in Devnagari script drew heavily on Sanskrit whereas Urdu, written in a modified Arabic script drew on Persian and Arabic. In almost whole of north India, Hindustani remained the language of popular exchange. It was intelligible to not only Urdu and Hindi speakers but also to the speakers of other major dialects like Avdhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Marwari etc. Unfortunately, it was virtually unknown in eastern and southern India. The languages spoken there were Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam etc. who had a script and a sophisticated literary tradition of their own.

Under the British English emerged as the language of higher education and the administration. After their departure, politicians of north India thought that it should be replaced by Hindi. On the other hand, politicians from the south preferred that English should continue as the vehicle of inter-provincial

communication. The debates in the Constituent Assembly on the question of the national language clearly brought out the divide between the votaries of Hindi and the English-knowing members.

Long before independence Jawaharlal Nehru had written a long essay in 1937 admiring the major provincial languages of India. But he also felt the need for an all-India language of communication. He had a feeling that English in India was an elite language which was far removed from the masses and thought that Hindustani could be that language of communication. ^[12] Another reason for which he chose Hindustani was that it had a simple grammar and was relatively easy to learn. A basic Hindustani on the fashion of basic English could be evolved by the linguists and it could be promoted by the state in south India.

Gandhi also had similar views about Hindustani. He thought that Hindustani could unite Hindu with Muslims and the north with south. ^[13] But both he and Nehru had their misgivings about Hindi chauvinists. Added to this was the problem of partition. The case for Hindustani received a serious jolt as there was a move to further sanskritize Hindi. After the division of the country the promoters of Hindi somehow became fanatical. As Granville Austin has mentioned,

“The Hindi-wallahs were ready to risk splitting the assembly and the country in their unreasoning pursuit of uniformity.” ^[14]

Their crusade only provoked the south Indians to be less accommodative.

T T Krishnamachari of Madras said,

“We disliked the English language in the past. I disliked it because I was forced to learn Shakespeare and Milton, for which I had no taste at all...If we are going to be compelled to learn Hindi...I would perhaps not be able to do it because of my age, and perhaps I will not be willing to do it because of the amount of constraint put on me...This kind of intolerance makes us fear that the strong centre which we need, a strong centre which is necessary will also mean the enslavement of people who do not speak the language of the centre. I would sir, convey a warning on behalf of the people of the south for the reason that there are already elements in south India who want separation...,and my honourable friends in UP do not help us in any way by flogging their idea (of) ‘Hindi imperialism’ to the maximum extent possible. Sir, It is up to my friends in UP to have a whole India; it is up to them to have Hindi-India. The choice is theirs...” ^[15]

Even persons like C Rajagopalachari who were once advocates of Hindi were alienated by what they characterized as the ‘vulgar haste’ of Hindi supporters to ‘impose’ their language on others. He wanted English to continue; to maintain the status quo. ^[16]

K M Munshi, one of the framers of the Constitution and a champion of Hindi, had warned the Zealots that ‘...the pressure of propaganda as regards the time-limit should be relaxed in the interest of Hindi itself as well as the unity of India.’ ^[17]

Finally a compromise was reached in the assembly that ‘the official language of the union shall be Hindi in the Devnagri script’; but for ‘fifteen years from the commencement of the constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement.’ ^[18] Till 26 January 1965, at any rate, the notes and proceedings of the courts, the services, and all-India bureaucracy would be conducted in English. If need be its lease of life could be further extended beyond the period of fifteen years through Parliamentary legislation. ^[19]

The intention of the Constitution-makers was quite clear: English was to be progressively phased out to make way for Hindi as the national language. Policy guidelines for the Union government were also

laid out where it was the duty of the government to promote the spread of Hindi language so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.

But by 1947 Nehru had started having different thoughts. The country had just been divided on basis of religion and Nehru did not want it to be further divided on the basis of language. While speaking to the Constituent Assembly three months after independence, Nehru said that Congress had once promised linguistic provinces. But the country now faced a very critical situation resulting from partition. Disruptionist tendencies had come to the fore and to check them one had to underline 'the security and stability of India...' [20]

Gandhi also seems to have the feeling that the reorganization of the provinces on the basis of language should be postponed until a calmer time, when communal strife had died out and been replaced by 'a healthy atmosphere, promoting concord in the place of discord, peace in the place of strife, progress in the place of retrogression and life in the place of death.' [21]

Nehru's reluctance to superimpose divisions of language on the recent division by religion had support of both Sardar Patel and C Rajagopalachari. Patel also worked hard within the Constituent Assembly to reverse the official Congress position. But many members in the Assembly were not willing to give up their own ideas regarding formation of Linguistic states. Most Congress members speaking Marathi insisted on a separate Maharashtra state while those who spoke Gujarati wanted a province of their own. Similar were the aspirations of the Congress members who spoke Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam or Punjabi. To satisfy their aspirations a new committee was formed with Nehru, Patel and Patabhi Sitarammaya. The committee came to be known as 'JVP Committee' after the initials of the members. [22] It soon realized that language was not only a binding force but could also be a separating one.

The JVP slowed down things for a while. But things again started heating up in 1948 and 1949. Campaigns started for Samyukta (greater) Karnataka to unite Kannada speakers spread across Madras, Mysore, Bombay and Maharashtra and a Samyukta Maharashtra which sought to bring together Marathi speakers in a single political unit. The Malayalees wanted a state of their own by merging princely states of Cochin and Travancore with Malabar. There was also a movement for Mahagujarat.

The struggle for a Sikh state of Punjab was in a class of its own as it combined both language as well as religion. The Punjabis had been the worst sufferers of partition. They had lost their most productive lands to West Pakistan and as per the 1950 census they comprised only about 35 percent of the total Punjab population. Their cause was championed by 'Master' Tara Singh, headmaster of a Sikh school in Lyallpur. Before 1947 Tara Singh insisted that Sikh Panth was in danger from the Muslims and the Muslim League and after independence from the Hindus and the Congress.

But by far the most vociferous clamouring for linguistic autonomy came from the Telugu speakers of the Andhra country. Going by numbers, it was next to Hindi in the all-India statistics, had a rich literary history and was associated with symbols of Andhra glory as the Vijayanagara Empire. There was a very strong feeling of Tamil discrimination against the Telugu-speaking people in Madras province. Cutting across party lines all the Telugu-speaking legislators in the Madras Assembly demanded for creation of a state to be named Andhra Pradesh and in 1951 a Congress-politician-turned-swami went on a hunger strike in support. He gave up the fast after five weeks in response to an appeal by the famous Gandhian, Vinoba Bhave. [23]

Regions are geographical and languages also have a geographical origin. So there was nothing wrong in regions having their own languages and demanding autonomy for preservation and growth of their languages. The spirit of thinking that one's own language is of a superior quality comes much in the way of establishing unity on a regional as well as an all-India level. This feeling persists when there is not much give and take between different languages of India.

The vast opposition that gathered against Hindi or Hindustani was due to two reasons. One was supplied by the protagonists of Hindi themselves. They somehow had begun to feel, or at least they made others feel, that their language was a superior instrument of knowledge, and that it would perform the same imperial function that the English language did formerly. This was an erroneous view because no one conceded that it was superior to other languages. It was only to perform a functional role of making each understand the other. An imperial function would have been out rightly rejected.

The other reason was the fear in the minds of the non-Hindi speaking people, particularly the people in the south, that if Hindi was made a link language, they would lose many advantages which they had at that moment. For them, the Hindi-speaking people always possessed a greater command and mastery over the language and in all-India competitive examinations would have a significant edge over them. With English as the link language the status quo could be maintained. [24]

There was much resentment among the people of south that the centre was bringing in 'Hindi through the back door'. The President's order dated 27 May 1952, authorizing the use of Hindi in addition to English for warrants of appointment of state governors and judges of the Supreme and High courts had created a minor flutter. [25]

The 1952 general elections became a show of strength and irrespective of success elsewhere the Congress did poorly in the Andhra region of Madras. The results [26] encouraged the revival of the Andhra Movement and towards the end of February 1952 Swami Sitaram began a march through the Telugu-speaking districts. The biggest boost to the Andhra movement, however, came when Potti Sitaramulu went on an indefinite fast on 19 October 1952. His death after 58 days engulfed the entire Andhra in chaos and forced Nehru to make a statement regarding formation of Andhra as a state after two days of his death. The new state was formally inaugurated on 1 October 1953. [27]

The loss of Congress in the general elections and formation of a state on linguistic basis and the creation of a State Reorganization Commission (SRC) [28] to frame broad principles which should govern the solution of the linguistic problem virtually sealed the fate of Hindustani to be the link language in future. The movement for linguistic states revealed extraordinary depths of popular feeling and language proved to be a more powerful marker of identity than caste or religion. All through 1954 and 1955 SRC travelled across India and received as many as 152,250 submissions. [29]

The fifteen year grace period when English was to be used alongside Hindi in communication between centre and the states was to end in January 1965. But in the mean while many significant developments had taken place. The linguistic reorganization instead of weakening the spirit of nationalism had worked for consolidating the unity of India. Creation of linguistic states had acted as a largely constructive channel for provincial pride.

The southern politicians had long been worried about the change. In 1956 the Academy of Tamil Culture had passed a resolution urging that 'English should continue to be the official language for communication between the Union and the state Governments and between one state Government and another'. The signatories included C N Annadurai, E V Ramaswamy 'Periyar', and C Rajagopalachari. The organization of the campaign was chiefly the work of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), which organized many protests against the imposition of Hindi. [30]

C N Annadurai, who was universally known as 'Anna' considered Hindi as merely a regional language and felt it had no special merit. To the argument that more Indians spoke Hindi than any other language, Anna sarcastically answered: 'If we had to accept the principle of numerical superiority while selecting our national bird, the choice would have fallen not on the peacock but on the common crow'. [31]

Nehru had been sensitive to the sentiments of the south, east and the north-east. In 1963 he had piloted the passing of an official Languages Act, which provided that from 1965 English 'may' still be used along with Hindi in official communication. While Nehru clarified that 'may' meant 'shall' the other Congress politicians thought it actually meant 'maynot'.^[32]

As 26 January 1965 approached the opponents of Hindi geared up for action. Shastri and his government stood by his decision to make Hindi official on 26 January. An overzealous home minister, Gulzarilal Nanda, under prime Minister Shastri, gave a fresh lease of life to the language controversy. He issued a circular that Hindi would become the principal language of the Indian Union on 26 January 1965 and that English would be an additional language, to be used for all purposes.^[33]

In another circular the Home Ministry said a beginning should be made by giving Hindi names to the central government offices, organizations and institutions in addition to their English ones. To start with, central government offices constituted in Hindi-speaking states were to be given Hindi names. Thereafter, the process of the change-over to Indian names would be carried on steadily. The Home Ministry also asked all ministries to transcribe all government forms, rules and manuals into Hindi.^[34]

DMK launched a state-wide protest. Bonfires were made to burn effigies of many Hindi demoness in many villages. Relevant pages of the Constitution and Hindi books were burnt. In post offices and railway stations Hindi signs were blackened or removed. There were pitched battles between the police and young protesters in towns all over the state.^[35]

On Republic Day, two men set themselves on fire in Madras. The intensity of the anti-Hindi protests alarmed the central government. Soon it became clear that the ruling Congress Party was split down the middle on the issue. What New Delhi viewed as an 'exhibition of mere parochial fanaticism' for the state it was a 'local nationalist movement'.

Although high-ranking Congress minister Morarji Desai was against 'regional sentiments', Shastri was the one placed on the hot seat. His heart was with the Hindi zealots but his head urged him to listen to other voices. On 10 February 19 people were killed by police bullets and two sub-inspectors were burnt to death. On 11 February 1965, the resignation of two Union ministers from Madras forced Shastri's intervention. The same evening he went on the All India Radio and conveyed his 'deep sense of distress and shock' at the 'tragic events'. To remove any possibility of misconception or misapprehension he said he would respect Nehru's assurance that English would be used as long as the people wanted. Then he made assurances of his own guaranteeing complete freedom to the state to transact its business in the language of its choice (whether English or in the regional language); inter-state transactions were to be done in English or accepted with an authentic translation; non-Hindi states were free to correspond with the central government in English and that English would continue to be used in the transaction of business at the centre. Shastri also added later that all-India civil service examinations would be conducted in English rather than in Hindi alone.^[36] The nation was saved from a conflagration.

Jawaharlal Nehru served three full terms in office. This was a big privilege when compared with other leaders of India or south Asia. Compared to his sway and the unstinted support for the Congress Party, no one could match his democratic way of functioning. As their political survival became the guiding factors for his successors, many peripheral questions were pushed to the back ground. The governments gradually became non-ideological.^[37] The loss of Congress under Kamraj in Tamilnadu and the rise of DMK sealed the fate of Hindi.

Linguistic parochialism and groupism are the manifestations of our social mal-adjustments which may lead to disastrous results. It is therefore worthwhile to consider how this social evil can be prevented. This problem has a special bearing on India so far as India is concerned because on account of her

topographical barriers, vastness of size, population, diversities and endless political changes, she has suffered from destructive fragmentation and unhealthy autonomy throughout her long history.

Language controversies in modern times are mostly a by-product of our new concept of nation or nationality. We are a multi-lingual country and we should face facts as they exist. So long as our pride in our respective languages expresses itself in nation-building activities taking into account the welfare of the whole Indian nation, it is not bad. But if this pride makes us selfish and narrow and incites us to work to the detriment of national interest, it will land us in miseries.

The importance of English cannot and should not be minimized even if certain sections do feel that an Indian language should replace it as the official medium of communication. It is a global language and it has proven that it carries the potential of world domination. If India today has build-up a huge reputation as an IT super power, a major part of the credit goes to English. However, it is through superior knowledge and not through superior language that the nations of the west once captured vast markets and vast horizons. When Japan and Russia attained vast knowledge of that kind they too became powerful and unstoppable. If they could attain knowledge through the medium of their own tongues, then there is absolutely no reason why others cannot.

In India unity and pluralism have become inseparable. Linguistic states have been in existence for sixty years now. Within each state a common language has provided the basis of administrative unity and efficiency. But pride in one's language has rarely been in conflict with a broader identification with the nation as a whole. The Indian middle class, especially those of its members at the policy-making levels of the government, in substantial measure, must bear the guilt of depriving India of the self-respect of having a national language of its own and of making the knowledge of a certain kind of English into one of the most invidious systems of social exclusion. When patriotism was high and memories of the freedom struggle still vivid, efforts to strengthen the cause of the national language were ignored or implemented indifferently. For Indians It is relevant to introspect on what the imposition of English has meant to us, as a people, as a society and as a nation.

Hindi is a language with centuries of evolution and a sophisticated and extensive vocabulary. The same is also true of many regional languages whose development has become stunted by an undue preference for ruling by the ruling elite through the ages. Obsession with English has also become an instrument of social exclusion: while the upper crust of the Indian middle class presides over this linguistic apartheid the rest of India consists of victims and aspirants. To claim that perpetuation of English is in the national interest is nothing but to mask the ideology of a dominant sectional interest. The social superiors pursued an unrepentant and insular choice of interpreting national interest through a limited perspective of class interest. And the linguistic half-castes in search of upward mobility have only emulated them by neglecting their mother tongues.

Notes and References:

1. Nehru's first language was English (and he had the honesty to admit this) and he could speak the language with fluency and felicity. Pavan K Varma, *Becoming Indian: The Unfinished Revolution of Culture and Identity*, Allen Lane, An Imprint of Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 68.
2. Edward Luce, *In spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India*, Little Brown, London, 2006, p.15. Some of the ills of modern India for which Nehru is frequently held responsible are the knotty Kashmir problem, partition of the country, neglect of Indian culture and heritage, abysmal slow rate of economic growth, a pretentious garb of pseudo-secularism, minority appeasement, debacle in the Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962, non-implementation of the Uniform Civil Code etc..

3. However, after Partition, the debate changed. Instead of Hindustani, Hindi (bereft of its Urdu influence) was being put forward as a potential national language.
4. Pavan K Varma, *Becoming Indian: The Unfinished Revolution of Culture and Identity*, op.cit., p.68. Gandhi was of the opinion that our fight against colonialism was incomplete without the assertion of our culture and identity.
5. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Debates, Vol.1* (New Delhi, 1985) p.269. The Constituent Assembly was bitterly divided on the question, with members from states that did not speak Hindi initially opposing the declaration of Hindi as a national language. Proponents of Hindi were insistent that English was the language of enslavement and that it should be eliminated as early as possible. Opponents were against English being done away with, fearing that it may lead to Hindi domination in regions that did not speak the language. *The Hindu*, Delhi, 3 May 2022.
6. Pavan K Varma, *The Great Indian Middle Class*, Viking, (Penguin India), New Delhi, 1998, pp. 58-59.
7. The Eighth Schedule contains a list of languages in the country. Initially, there were 14 languages in the schedule, but now there are 22 languages. There is no description of the sort of languages that are included or will be included in the Eighth Schedule. There are only two references to these languages in the text of the constitution, Article 344 (1) and Article 351.
8. Ibid.
9. Cited in the chapter on 'Ideas of India', Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi*, Picador (Indian edition): 2008, p.117.
10. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.8*, p.745.
11. Ibid, Vol.7, pp.20-31.
12. Nehru, 'The question of language', in his 'The Unity of India: Collected writings, 1937-1940' (London: Lindsay Dumond, 1941), pp241-61, cited in Ramachandra Guha, op. cit., p.119. Nehru had said, 'The British had created a new caste or class in India, the English-educated class, which lived in a world of its own, cut off from the mass of the population...' Pavan K Verma, *Becoming Indian*, Allen Lane (Penguin Books), New Delhi: 2010, p.66.
13. Ibid. In 1944 Gandhi had warned: 'our love of the English language in preference to our own mother tongue has caused a deep chasm between the educated and the politically minded classes and the masses. We flounder when we make the vain attempt to express abstruse though in the mother tongue...the result has been disastrous...' Pavan K Verma, *Becoming Indian*, Allen Lane (Penguin Books), New Delhi: 2010, p.66.
14. Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution*, p.267.
15. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.7*, p.235.
16. Kuldip Nayar, *Scoop! Inside Stories from the Partition to the Present*, Harper Collins India: New Delhi: 2006, p.50.
17. Ibid.
18. Pavan K Verma, *Becoming Indian*, op.cit, pp.58-59.
19. Ibid.
20. Quoted in Robert D King 'Nehru and the Language politics of India', Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp.232-233.
21. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol.90*, p.86.
22. Ramachandra Guha, op.cit., p. 183. JVP worked as a 'cold water therapy' as it did not resolve the issue but only succeeded in putting it on the back-burner and cooled things for a while.
23. Ibid, p.186.
24. Gulabdas Broker, 'Language and Regionalism' in *Language and Society in India*, IIAS, Simla: 1969, Vol.8, p.393.
25. Kuldip Nayar, op.cit., p.50.

26. During the election campaigns Nehru was greeted with black flag demonstrations and shouts of 'We want Andhra'. Out of the 145 seats in the region the Congress won 43 seats whereas the Communists returned an impressive 41 members.
27. Ramachandra Guha, op. cit., p.189.
28. The members on the Committee were S Fazl Ali, a jurist, K M Pannikar, a historian and civil servant and H N Kunzru, a social worker.
29. Ramachandra Guha, op. cit., p.189.
30. Ibid., pp.391-392.
31. A S Raman, 'A Meeting With C N Annadurai', Illustrated Weekly of India, 26 September 1965.
32. Kuldip Nayar, op.cit.,p.54.
33. Ibid., P.56.
34. Ibid.
35. 'Language Riots in Madras' in the Illustrated Weekly of India, 28 February 1965.
36. Selected Speeches of Lal Bahadur Shastri (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1974), pp.119-22.
37. Ramachandra Guha, op. cit., p.434. Mrs. Gandhi's strategy of dealing with her opponents varied greatly from her father.

