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REMARKS ON INDIA PRESENTED BY DR. GREGG AT THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES,
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These remarks on India relate to India and Pakistan. They are made in full recognition of the fact that India and Pakistan do not comprise the East but that Persia, Indonesia, and Japan call for as much attention in their own right.

I shall not be troubled if the following facts produce amazement. None of those of us who visited India have escaped that sensation. But I do hope that the confusion and bewilderment will not be too great. I shall not be disturbed if you are amazed at the variety and magnitude of what we call India. For if there is one thing that is important, it is that in India we have much to learn, and, even more difficult and subtle, much to unlearn. The importance of study and care in the selection of what we do in India cannot be exaggerated.

Facts

First, the land. In shape, India, together with East and West Pakistan, forms a huge inverted triangle, the tip at the south. Two thousand miles north of this southern tip of India is the northern base of the triangle, where the Himalayas form a barrier that all but cuts off India by land. East to west along that northern border is 2,200 miles. There are mountains running roughly parallel to the seacoast on the two converging sides, except on the north, where in the east the Ganges Valley opens to the sea in a vast alluvial delta and in the west the low-lying, parched coast of the Sind desert has offered little hospitality or attraction to invaders by sea. The upper third of India comes to a barrier of mountains running roughly from east to west, so that southern India is doubly isolated and inaccessible. These are the geographical circumstances that have kept India for centuries a land apart - truly a subcontinent.

Rains fall twice a year in India, through seasons known as the monsoons, and the total varies from 10 inches a year to 400 inches. The coastal ranges catch a good deal. Some is left for the highland plateau in the center, but the most depend-

Dr. Shah in the north and Dr. Watson in the south as a preparation for these brief visits were almost as eloquent testimony as the villages themselves of how great is the gap between urban and village life. The gap is enormous, and it should be noted that the villages in a radius of, say, 40 miles from any of the big cities have lost their village flavor, lost their identity and their social structure. The structure of society in those villages has liquefied like a very old bit of cheese. No less impressive than the size and distribution of the Indian population is its continuing growth. In the past decade, Indian population has increased 1.3% per year. That means, in the case of India today, 4,693,000 more mouths to feed this year, and presumably more next year. Since 1880, the increase in British India's population totals 66%. There has only been a 5% increase in cultivated land.

The growing mass of population in India overwhelms one, but it is equally important to perceive that the density and impenetrability of this mass is equally baffling. It is impermeable, or all but impermeable, to the spread of information, to demonstrations or aeration of nearly every kind. Why? Well, for the following main reasons:

Here is a one-rupee note on which it is stated that it is a one-rupee note in nine main languages. It could well have been fifteen, as was the custom during the British raj. Mr. Gilpatric will have more to say about the language difficulties in India. Suffice it to note here that although English is the lingua franca for all India and the only language in which the central government could carry on a central government, only 2% of the population in India speak English, and one-half of that elect can neither read nor write it. Literacy rates for India are given differently by different estimators. The figures I got were that 18% can read, with a substantial difference between the sexes - somewhere around 27% of males and from 3% to 7% of females.

Education of the primary type seemed to me to be done mainly by local governments, aided by missionary effort of one kind or another. The missionary efforts

are clearly evident in the field of secondary education. The universities are in the main supported by the provincial governments but there are a few missionary colleges and professional schools (e.g., medicine, agriculture, theology). One fact of considerable concern to us is that as an expression of Indian nationalism, the teaching of English, which has been in the past started when children were about eight years old, is now by law to be deferred to around their fifteenth year. If I may judge from the universality of the comment in the medical schools, they will not, because they cannot, give up English as the only medium of instruction, and I would not be surprised to see English instruction in secondary schools reassert its importance, if only as a tool to gain a professional living. Most of the languages in India do not have the words needed to express and convey professional or technical ideas. Only six languages could be put on typewriters. And here I might mention as a curious item - and India is filled with curious items - India is the second largest producer of films in the world.

Another factor in what I have referred to as the impermeability or impenetrability of the Indian population is provided by religions and castes. Seventy per cent of the population is Hindu, 24% Muslim, and 6% scattered among Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, etc. The 70% Hindus, it might be noted, are broken up into a very large number of irreconcilably distinct sects. In the Hindu pantheon there are in the neighborhood of 33,000,000 gods, spirits, etc. The rigidity of Indian society is even more impressive when it comes to castes. Four main castes and roughly 3,000 sub-castes. If you are a Hindu, your caste is determined by birth and maintained in the selection of a marriage partner. Untouchables are estimated to be in the number of about 60,000,000. Caste rigidity is reported to be dissolving, but this rigidity certainly remains marked in the rural part of the population and in the south of India.

The political traditions of India are characterized by an extremely marked bureaucratic mentality in government circles. Whether the word "government" applies

to the Central Government or to the government of the provinces, there is a strong states' rights provincialism in the provinces and a definite antipathy to the Central Government. It might be noted that there is reported to be no word in Hindustani for what we mean when we say "the nation." Village life in India, which is the prototype of Indian conduct and political character, was controlled by caste and a remarkable measure of resigned docility. The resentment of being controlled was a resentment aimed in the past three decades or more at the British overlords. It seemed to me when I was in India that men who had been crying for freedom are now rather bewildered by it and by the measure of responsibility that goes with it. The middle class in Indian society is small and there is almost no tradition of private initiative, nor any large amount of medium-sized capital looking for investment.

A huge population so distributed as to be isolated from the rest of the world for centuries and all but impenetrable because of castes, religions, language barriers, illiteracy, and inexperience in government must nonetheless depend on agriculture for the first necessity - food.

In the field of agriculture, the situation may be summarized in six words: too many people, too little land. One-third of the Indian population, i.e., 100,000,000 people or more are on food rationing of some sort. India produces 50,000,000 tons of foodstuffs, and that is 10% short of the human need. The villages could support themselves. The 10% shortage represents just about the urban population, if urban is defined as meaning 5,000 or more inhabitants. India in 1951 imported about \$700,000,000 worth of food, and the somber fact is that the government feeds a very large number of people.....and if it can't, some ask, why not change the government? There are 136,000,000 cattle in India and 40,000,000 water buffaloes. Sixty per cent of the cattle are not useful for milk production or traction. The milk production per cow is one-tenth of what it is in the United States. The cattle and buffalo do produce manure, 40% of which is burned, 40% is used in agriculture, and 20% is

described as lost. If there are too many humans and too many cattle, there are also too many monkeys, too many birds, and too many insects. Humans, cattle, and monkeys are all holy, and their lives cannot be taken. But of course they can be neglected.....

A listing of the agricultural problems follows:

1. The handicaps of caste, religious practices, languages, illiteracy, and ignorance.
2. Shortage of water, which is made the more precarious by the uncertainty of the yearly monsoons.
3. The ill health of the population.
4. Shortage of trained agriculturalists.
5. The lack of good methods of cultivation and the lack of improved strains of plants.
6. Deficient road transportation.
7. The surplus of animals.
8. The surplus of manpower.
9. The system of land tenure, 70% of the land being in the hands of landlords, and this defect heightened by inheritance customs, which divide the land among the sons of the owner into what are in fact an infinity of garden plots - not farms.

In addition to the above facts there is the over-all effect of an exhausting climate. Beginning in April, and almost intolerable in May, June, July, and August, there is (except in the hill stations) a season of such heat and humidity as to reduce all human activity to an absolute minimum. What inferences can you draw if you descend from an airplane on the Delhi flying field at 6 AM on the first of May to find the temperature 103°? There is no possibility that it has been for the inhabitants of the capital a night when they could sleep, and my over-all impression was that the winter months in India are not months of activity but something closer to convalescence, with May, June, and July ahead of them to begin it all over again. The temperatures in India are those to be found between Panama and Washington, and everything for the safety if not the comfort of man depends on the monsoons, for they bring water.

Major Problems

I had impressions which I will arrange in this way: the views of the Indians I'll put in one column, and the Western phrasing I'll put in a second column. Sometimes the Western phrasing adds an item or two, sometimes it is merely more comprehensive and perhaps too much detached.

<u>Indian view</u>	<u>Our phrasing</u>
Starvation	Overpopulation
Water	Agricultural practices generally
Poverty	Poverty plus ignorance
Health	Health
Venal government	Venal government, plus certain bureaucracy, inefficiency, and inexperience
Lack of roads	Lack of roads, particularly between villages
---	Very small industrial development
---	Very small extent of power (electric and steam)
---	Caste structure and religious superstitions

New Attacks on the Above Problems

1. By the Indian Government

The Indian Central Government has a five-year plan, in magnitude involving \$3,400,000,000 worth of developmental projects, 30% of which are for irrigation and power, but also some attention to bringing land under cultivation and providing fertilizers. Another important government project is provincial in character. The United Provinces have an enterprise called Etawah. A group of 97 villages, that average about 830 inhabitants each, are, at the cost of the equivalent of \$48,000, being provided with better seeds, upgraded cattle, teaching of better agricultural practices, the creation of cooperatives, reduction of illiteracy, the building of village schools, and some sanitation.

2. By the United States Government

The sum of \$2,300,000 is being set aside for training Indians in various technical fields in the United States. The TCA is spending \$50,000,000 in 1952 and plans to spend \$125,000,000 in 1953. A total of \$300,000,000 is earmarked for TCA

programs in India. Under Point IV a very large program is planned. Unit projects of 300 villages each will be devoted to the improvement of Indian rural and village life. Each project will involve \$435,000 per year, 40% of this expendable in dollars, and calling for the services of between 30 and 60 field workers and 10 to 15 supervisory workers. The programs will be roughly comparable to those in force at Etawah. Six hundred such projects are planned - for the year 1952, 40 projects; 1953, 80 additional projects; 1954, 160 additional projects; and 1955, 320 additional projects. This entire program would call for 1,500 Americans in the supervisory groups and 18,000 Indians. I would hazard the personal impression that the bottleneck of such a program is going to prove to be finding and training adequately any such number of supervisory workers.

3. Other Agencies

A young Quaker in Lahore told me he had seen a pamphlet listing nothing but the names of foreign philanthropic agencies in India. It was a 52-page pamphlet, and he said that, to him, it was evident that the sum total spent by the United States Government and the larger foundations amounted to very little when compared to the money spent by missionary organizations. Chief among the larger agencies is the Ford Foundation, which has granted \$500,000 for buildings at Allahabad Agricultural College and \$450,000 to be used in five training centers over a two-year period, the first year the Ford Foundation putting up one-half of the cost and the Central Government the other half, and the second year the Ford Foundation putting up one-third, the Central Government one-third, and the provincial government one-third. The expectation is that in the third year the Ford Foundation will drop out entirely, and the cost will be shared equally by the Central Government and the provincial government.

Main Opportunities for the RF in India

Before going on to separate items, I would like to suggest that, in the light of what has been stated above, the RF cannot sensibly lay its emphasis on the quantity of money, programs, or personnel to be devoted to India. It must be on a quality and not quantity basis. It is perfectly certain that our familiarity with

India through having worked there for twenty-five years in the health field, plus an equally important consideration, the Indians' familiarity with the RF and their respect for it, provide an exceedingly important basis for our opportunities in India. Both from principle and from experience we have learned that the best help that can be given to India consists of training the Indians themselves to do what they want done and what they can afford to do. In short, one of our great assets is our attitude toward the Indians. I would beg you to realize that another consideration is essential, namely, that we be rich in time and patience as well as money. Quick results, unless you want to call frustration and failure results, cannot be had by way of short-term programs in India, and I suspect that the most desperate pressures will be put upon us to sweep up after some of the hurried enterprises mentioned above. Meanwhile, our work can sensibly be geared to a modest but tenacious schedule.

(Although in talking to the Trustees I went over a few of the items in agriculture and medicine, it would seem to me preferable in this résumé to omit reference to these separate grants, since the notes I had available did not cover projects or programs in the Humanities and Social Sciences and since the purpose of this presentation was not, of course, the detailed description of programs and projects.)

Final Points

We must remember that we have much to learn and much to unlearn about India. Perhaps it is more accurate to say, much to learn about India and much of our Western prejudices and assumptions to divest ourselves of before we can learn the deeper things about cooperation with persons in a culture so radically different from our own. The main problem is to learn how to evoke cooperation in Asia that is in the interest of Asians, work that is done through them and not to them, and cooperation on their terms, not ours.

One final remark: I will begin with a quotation. "The performance of public duty is not the whole of what makes a good life; there is also the pursuit of

private excellence." There is more of that point of view in the first-class Indian than perhaps we realize. I was greatly impressed in a few, perhaps not more than a dozen, instances, by the reaction that occurred when I said to an Indian, "What do you think Americans or Westerners could learn from you Indians?" It wasn't the answers that impressed me. What impressed me was the sudden and radical change in our relationships. For the Indian in each case began treating me in a far more friendly, less guarded, more alert, and more appreciative manner. I can't help wondering whether we wouldn't be wise to devote as much attention to catching as we do to pitching - in other words, to what we, as Westerners, have to learn as well as to offer.