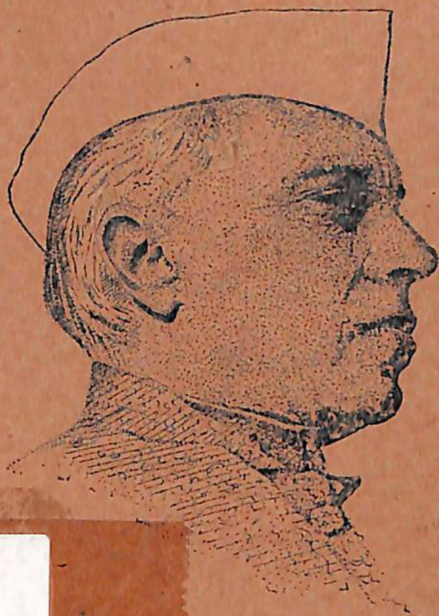


HINDUSTHAN

Under

The First Year of Congress Rule

(A Review)



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The man of the year.

Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru

by
GURU DUTT

लेखक की अन्य पुस्तकें

हिन्दी में, कुछ समालोचनाएं

(१)

स्वाधीनता के पथ पर कीमत ६)

यह पुस्तक हिन्दी के उपन्यास भण्डार में एक नवीन और बहुमूल्य वृद्धि है ।

दैनिक 'हिन्दुस्तान' नई दिल्ली ।

घटनाओं का विकास, पात्रों के चरित्र चित्रण सम्भाषण और भाषा का सौन्दर्य बहुत अच्छा है ।

'नवभारत' नागपुर,

(२)

पथिक कीमत ६)

उपन्यास विचारोत्पादक है । एक ही दर्जे के समाजिक उपन्यासों की अपेक्षा इस प्रकार के उपन्यासों की सृष्टि और पठन हमारे लिए अधिक हितकर सिद्ध हो सकता है । हम इस पुस्तक का विपल प्रचार देखने के अभिलाषी हैं ।

'नव भारत' नागपुर ।

मिलने का पता :—

भारती साहित्य मदन,

२३/६० कनाट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली ।

Abdul Majid Khan

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12/2/2020

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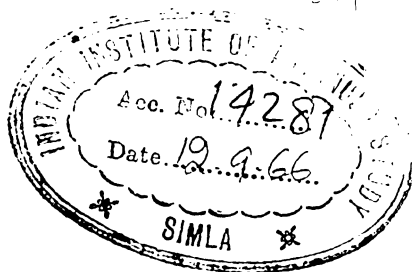
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**“Silence becomes cowardice when occasion
demands speaking out the whole truth.”**

—MAHATMA GANDHI.



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INTRODUCTION

Under queer circumstances the British rule ended in India on the 15th of August 1947 and power has come in the hands of the Indian National Congress in one part and in the hands of Muslim League in the other part of the country. Muslim League the acknowledged representative body of the Muslims of India got its rule established in a part of the country by sheer diplomatic manœuvring. Mr. Jinnah, the dictator president of the Muslim League so conducted the activities of the Muslims of India that a state bigger than any other Muslim state in the world was brought under his control, without the sacrifice of a single drop of Muslim blood. It is a fact, which the world will remember for all times to come.

It is alleged that Pakistan was not created by the efforts of the Muslim League, but it came into being by the will of the British Government. It is, perhaps, true, but it is truer that Muslim League that never made any effort to terminate the British rule in India got as much control over the destiny of Pakistan as the Congress got over the Indian Union. If Pakistan, as it is alleged, is running into the trap laid by certain British diplomats, it is because of the short-sightedness of its leaders, but the fact remains that Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues of the Muslim League are now independent of the British supremacy.

How Pakistan came into being, is a story that is not the subject matter of this book. In this book we are concerned with the Congress administration in the country for the ven-

1947-1948. This is the first year of our independence, after about one thousand years of subjection. We have to lay the foundations of a policy that has to lead the nation to security, happiness and prosperity. Mistakes made now may sow the seeds of discord and weakness that may not allow us to reap the fruit of peace and progress.

Our Premier, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said in one of his speeches that : "Today, there is a tremendous spirit of negative criticism everywhere, whether it is our home policy or whether it is our foreign policy. There may be many things that deserve criticism and condemnation. What I wish to point out is the approach to the question, the approach of irresponsibility."

We share the sentiments expressed by Panditji and wish that negative criticism should not be indulged in and in each and every point we must try to see approach to the question. While criticising the policies and actions of the Government, we must see the amount of responsibility in them. We have no idea to weaken the Government. Our whole aim is to see that the Government has a true, reasonable and practicable approach to the problems before it.

At another time Panditji told an audience at Delhi that people speak of only those things that they have not been able to achieve and nobody speaks of things that have been accomplished, although they are many.

The misapprehension that is troubling the mind of Panditji is that whoever criticises the Government is not aware of its achievements. It is not so. People living in India cannot but feel the glow of good things done by the Govern-

ment, but the thing is that people understand that Governments are established for good things. People pay taxes and send their sons and brothers to fight out the wars of the country. People bear the hardships of scarcity and rigours of hard work on a mere pittance. It is simply to see that the Government is doing good things for the people.

We do say, that Indians, in general, are neither forgetful nor ungrateful to those, who do them any good. But if we are not mentioning the achievements of the Government, in this book it is simply because of limited space at our disposal. Moreover, the Government has a publicity department to sing its praises. The Central Government and the Provincial Governments are spending crores of rupees every year to tell the people, what the Government is doing and achieving. The Radio Broadcasting Department is another big throat that is crying hoarse in praise of the Government. What the Publicity Department is not doing, or what they are doing wrongly, comes to the lot of people, like the writer of the book, to take the risk of doing. It is very painful work, but big issues like education, culture, civil liberties, etc., are being mishandled and the effects of this mis-handling are to effect many generations to come, it becomes the duty of everybody, who feels, to pick up the courage of pointing out to the Government the mistakes and errors. It is not a negative criticism, yet it is destructive of undesirable things.

This review of events is not to sabotage the Indian Union or to create conditions favourable to the enemies of the country. On the other hand, it is to strengthen the state in the country, so that it may not have, at some future time, to find itself helpless and circumstanced to, further agree, to part from

it some more of its important provinces. The Congress had to agree to the partition of the country, because it was not prepared and strong enough to say, no, to it. Similarly, if proper strength is not developed in the state, a day may come when the country would find itself unable to say no to the removal of more towns, districts or even provinces from itself.

The Congress have been committing blunders after blunders since its inception and during its regime under review it has continued its previous policy of short-sightedness and wrong ideology, this cannot, but lead the country to disaster and if, we do not sound warning in time, we will be guilty of betraying the country.

It must be clearly understood that the Government is not the country. It is merely an instrument to serve the country, i.e., the people. The people meaning the Rashtra is above the Government. The criticism, therefore, of the actions of the Government is in no way an action against the Rashtra. A Government has to justify its actions and prove their benefits before the Rashtra, which is the final judge of the usefulness of its various activities. A Government cannot, much less a party Government can, strangle criticism of its actions, without running the risk of facing a revolution.

Thus, this review is with the most honest intentions. If this is not palatable to the Government, the remedy with it is to place its cards before the public and convince it that whatever it has done, is going to prove beneficial to the people in the country. The immense resources of the Government for publicity work are there and an honest Government should not fear criticism.

The apprehension that the Government may not like criticism of its activities is due to the fact that already several books, criticising the policy of the Government, have been proscribed in the last few months. These policies have not been proved to be correct by the act of their proscribing.

The Government had ample time and vast means to justify its policies. The act of proscribing, on the other hand, proved that the Government was afraid of the exposure of its faults. So long as a book or a writing does not advocate illegal methods of overthrowing the Government, there is no justification for its proscribing.

We hope this view will be taken in the light it is done. It is to strengthen the Rashtra, the state. Parties may come in power and may go out of power, but the Rashtra has to continue, strong and active. Before the interests of the Rashtra individuals and parties have no significance.

MIGRATION OF POPULATION

(1)

At midnight between the 14th. and 15th. of August, 1947 we celebrated the dawn of freedom with unprecedented enthusiasm and according to the words spoken by our Premier at that historic occasion, the cities were burning while celebrations were going on.

Why and where those cities were burning at that happy and auspicious occasion will have to be understood in order to grasp the problem of migration that took place in the year under review.

It must be remembered that long before this date, i.e., 15th of August, the responsibility of governing India had fallen on the heads of those, who, afterwards, formed the first independent Government of the Indian Union. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was the vice-president of the Interim Government of India and had formed the de-facto cabinet to rule the country. It is true that there was the Governor General over their heads, but if he was doing anything over their heads and against their wishes they were quite at liberty to resign and ask the Governor General to form another executive. Pt. Jawahar Lal and his colleagues stuck to their positions, without even protesting, in the public, against the interference of the Governor General in their efforts to enquire and punish the perpetrators of atrocities in Calcutta, Noakhali, the Punjab and N. W. F. P. It was openly alleged

that the Suhrawardy Government in Bengal helped the Muslim rioters in Calcutta and Noakhali. It was openly said that the Governor of Bengal was guilty of gross negligence in dealing with the causes of the riots. He did nothing to check them.

The Interim Government did not give any reason of their remaining indifferent in bringing the culprits to books. It is said that they were anxious to see that the British Government must keep to its promise of quitting the country on the promised date and for this they had to remain in the Government. Contrary to this the Muslim League got whatever it wanted to get, by keeping outside the Executive Council. A wrong idea crept into the minds of the Congress leaders that the British were leaving India on account of their non-violent movements and their gentlemanliness. Thus, they, like good boys, kept themselves busy with their files, while people were being butchered, women raped and cities burnt to ashes.

The riots in the Punjab continued for a very long time. They started in the beginning of March 1947 and continued till and after the establishment of Congress Government. During the five-and-a-half months of these riots the Interim Government with the Home and Defence Members from the suffering community did not raise their finger to protect the sufferers. It is not that they were ignorant of the heinous crimes committed by the Muslims in the West Punjab and N. W. F. P. on the Hindus of those places. They visited the areas affected by these riots and gave statements showing the horrible doings by the Musalmans. They promised to

terminate the administration in the Punjab, which was responsible for those riots. But they did nothing.

Not less than five lakhs of Hindus had to leave their homes and hearths in the Punjab and North West Frontier Province, in order to protect their lives and the honour of their women folk. It was before the 15th of August. The Interim Government did not do anything to stop these brutal acts. It is said that they were handicapped by the constitution. Provinces being independent of the centre, the Interim Government could not interfere with the Provincial Administration. It is not quite true. The Central Government, through the Viceroy, could, certainly interfere and set the things right. The fact is that they had not the strength of mind to put desired pressure upon the British Government.

It can be safely said that the Congress leaders did not feel at all for the poor sufferers in the Punjab and N. W. F. P. If we admit that, really, they were unable to stop the riots and Constitution was a formidable obstacle in their way, then why they could not help those who had left their homes and were rotting at Hardwar, Rikki Kesh, Dehra Dun, Mussoorie and in almost all the towns and villages of the western districts of U. P. The U. P. Government sanctioned only three thousand rupees for their help. The Central Government spent not a single pie for their relief.

It will not be out of place to mention that the same Interim Government that could not interfere in the Administration of the Bengal, the Punjab and N. W. F. P. did interfere in the administration of Behar and compelled that Government to spend lakhs of rupees for the help of Muslim

sufferers in riots there. The Vice-President of the Interim Government and Mahatma Gandhi raised such a hue and cry that the Provincial Government had to spend that much.

It shows, clearly, that whatever were the protestations of the Interim Government, it cannot be absolved of the charge of neglecting its duty towards the Punjab Hindus. Even if we admit that it was the Viceroy, who could set the matters right, people associating with the Viceroy in administration of the country cannot justify their apathy, at least, in the matter of monetary help, towards the sufferers.

(2.)

This behaviour of the Interim Government was the cause of certain events that happened in East Punjab, Delhi and some of the districts of U. P. If the Interim Government had shown its capacity to protect the innocent victims of the communal fury of the Muhammadans and depicted even the semblance of sympathy towards the sufferers of these riots, the uprooted Punjab Hindus and their relatives and sympathisers in the East Punjab would not have gone mad and copied the Muhammadans in their horrible doings. The persistent torture, mental and physical, that the Punjab Hindus had to undergo, for months at the hands of the Punjab Muhammadans and the Punjab Government officials and stark apathy towards these sufferers shown by the Interim Government that became the first Government of Independent India, this sense of helplessness and hopelessness drove them to acts of insane retribution.

The sins and omissions of the Interim Government were the cause of the first event in the history of the year

under review. But the illusion to the burning cities by the Premier at the time of the inauguration ceremony of Swaraj was not concerning this event. That statement meant the burning of Lahore. Lahore which was the centre of riots since March 3rd heard the rumour on the 11th of August, of its being awarded to Indian Union by Sir, Cyril Radcliff, the President of the Boundry Commission. This enraged the Muhammadans and the Punjab Government officials and they decided to burn down the whole city, before handing it over to the Indian Union. In this burning frenzy, they killed thousands of Hindus, who wanted to save their lives, honour and wealth. This killing and burning continued till August the 17th, when the award of the Boundry Commission was announced. It gave Lahore to Pakistan and it became quiet but not safe for the Hindus to live.

(3)

When extreme lawlessness prevailed in the Punjab and Hindus were being turned out of it by torturing circumstances created by the Muhammadans and tolerated by the Punjab Government, our leaders, who were running the Interim Government in the centre, were constantly advising the Hindus to abstain from retaliation. The Vice-President of the Interim Government declared that the punishing of offenders is the duty of the Government and not of the individuals. Mahatma Gandhi, who, though, not a member of the Government, yet held a dominating position over the Congress members of the Government, also wanted the people not to retaliate. This right advice was not taken by, at least, some of the people. They found that the advice is by the members of the

Government, which could not help them in their distress. When they found that the Interim Government or any Provincial Government did not spend a single pie for the relief of the sufferers, they could not be convinced that the Government will get them justice.

Some of the Punjab Sikhs and Hindus organized killing of Muhammadans on the Indian side of the boundry just as the Muhammadans were doing to Hindus in the West Punjab and N. W. F. P. All right thinking persons condemned this. Yet it happened and Muhammadans from the Indian side also started flying as the Hindus were doing from the West Punjab.

This retaliation was started some time in the second week of August and continued through out the month of August and up to the middle of September. Muhammadans began their programme of killing loot and arson on the 16th of August 1946 at Calcutta and continued in different parts of the country up to the middle of January, 1948. Some of the Hindus retaliated in Behar, but the leaders appealed and got it stopped immediately. Garh Mukteshwar riots were again the reaction of what happened at Noakhali, but it passed off very quickly. In Behar and Garh Mukteshwar the Hindus were the aggressors and the Provincial Governments in those places were being run by the Congress people. The result was that the riots got under control in a very short time, but the same could not be done in Calcutta, Noakhali, the Punjab and N. W. F. P. It spent itself by destroying what it wanted to destroy. Mahatma Gandhi toured through Noakhali to bring about unity among Hindus and Muhammadans. How far he succeeded in it is problematic. The

continuous movement of Hindus from East Bengal to the West is a fact that cannot be ignored. In the Punjab Mahatmaji could not dream of repeating what he is supposed to have done in Noakhali. He established peace in Calcutta and Delhi, but these places are Hindu Majority places and Hindus realized then and they realize now that peace was for the welfare of the country.

Mahatmaji and the Congress leaders were right in striving for peace and their lead was immediately accepted by the Hindus, but the unillateral action of Mahatmaji and the Congress leaders created such a strong reaction in the minds of Hindus that a disaster of an unprecedented nature happened and it shook the very foundations of the society.

However, the retaliation measures taken by some of the Hindus, and Sikhs in the East Punjab, Delhi and some of the Western districts of U. P. created a counter-current of Muhamadans leaving Indian Union and going to Pakistan. Previously the flow of population was only one sided. Hindus were being forced to leave the Punjab and N. W. F. P. and this was going on since March 1947. Lakhs of Hindus had left their homes and hearths and had come over to the eastern districts of the Punjab, Delhi, Dehra Doon, Roorki, Saharanpur, Meerut, Muradabad, etc. Some had gone even up to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

(4)

Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Interim Government were, throughout, asking the people to go back to their places. If they did not go back it was simply because of their inability to do so. Everybody knew that the life,

property and honour of the Hindus were not safe at the hands of Muhammadans there. Hindus of Rawalpindi, Bannu, Kohat, Muree, Mianwali, Multan had seen such brutish behaviour that they could not even dream of going there. Even after the division of the country leaders asked the Hindus of Pakistan to live in their places and be loyal subjects to the Pakistan Government. The policy of the Indian Congress leaders was also what Mahatmaji advocated. It was the main reason that neither the Central Government nor the Provincial Governments acknowledged the Punjab Hindu evacuees as their charge. They neglected them and did not care to spend anything from their funds to help them to establish in India. The Government wanted and expected them to go back and to live there like loyal subjects to Pakistan.

This expectation and advice was unnatural and unpatriotic. Unnatural in the sense that the central and Provincial Governments were not in a position to protect their lives, property and the honour of their womenfolk, if they had gone back to Pakistan. It was also unpatriotic. The Hindus of Punjab were also imbued with the love of Mother India. They were not consulted before accepting the partition and it was wrong to ask them to change their allegiance from Hindustan to Pakistan. There is so much talk of referendum in Kashmere, but this right was not acceded to the Hindus of the Punjab. When they were being stabbed, their property was being looted and burnt, and their womenfolk were being raped and abducted, their nationality was sought to be changed, without their consent, by leaders, none of whom was a Punjabee and then they were asked to go

back and be loyal to the Government which they hated. This shows how ignorant and heartless were the leaders and how utterly they failed to comprehend the real situation.

(5)

Thus the migration of population started and went on in spite of the advice and efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Government. As early as 1944, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, during his talk with Mahatma Gandhi envisaged the idea of exchange of population. Mahatma Gandhi rejected it with contempt. The psychology behind this rejection, as far as can be analysed was the notion that (a) Pakistan would not materialize; (b) that the British Government would not support the idea of partition; (c) that the Hindus would feel contented even under Muhammadan rule, which was to be Pakistan; (d) that Muhammadans would tolerate the presence of Hindus within the state, which was to be based on 'Sharyat' (Islamic Law).

These wrong conceptions can only be the causes of rejection of the idea of exchange of population. Division took place and even then the exchange of population was not accepted as a natural consequence by the Congress Government of India.

Pakistan Government, knowing the mind of the Congress leaders, appeared to be sure that Muslims will not be turned out of India, in spite of their driving out the Hindus from Pakistan. They were sure that Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, irrespective of the treatment they would give to the Hindus, will try to keep the Muhammadans inside their country and if the Hindus and Sikhs in

East Punjab had not copied the Muslim tactics, the Muhammadans in such large numbers had not left India. This upset the plans of Muhammadans and they felt highly shocked by the turn the events took place.

The migration, which was one-sided and which started in the month of March 1947, became double, i.e., from both the sides of the boundary by the middle of August. Muslims, as usual, were smoking the Hindus out of their houses and were putting them to sword. Young women were abducted and raped. Those who could with great difficulty escape the assassin's knife and reach the Indian territory were the lucky ones. The same treatment of the Muhammadans was started by the Hindus on the Indian side of the border sometime in August, 1947. This, as we have explained, was in spite of the disapproval of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Government. In this way, one-sided migration became exchange of population, but without any plan. Moreover, as it was a forced thing, it was accompanied with butchery and all the inhuman things.

The turning out of the Muhammadans surprised and disillusioned the Pakistan authorities. Their dream that the migration will only be one-sided was shattered and they were compelled to review the situation. Indian Government, also, found things happening in a way, they had not conceived and planned. The report of Muhammadans being killed like fleas roused the Indian Government from lethargy and they began to think of helping and protecting the migrating people. The idea that was considered ridiculous and impracticable by Mahatma Gandhi in 1944; the idea that was considered foolish in April and May, 1947,

by Pt. Jawahar Lal, when it was suggested to him, while at Hardwar; the idea, which was being opposed by him and his Government in July and even August, had now to be worked out.

The Government of India conferred with that of Pakistan and decided upon a scheme to help the migrants from both sides. The work was started and lakhs were set on motion in miles long convoys under the protection of the military. It was a colossal task as the Government of India had to work for Hindus and Muhammadans both and on both the sides of the border. The Pakistan Government was giving the least possible help in it. In this way the Government of India deserves to be congratulated as it became the instrument, of saving the lives of lakhs of Hindu migrants, but it was a belated action and then brought home only when the Hindus started retaliation.

If the leaders and the Government had understood the necessity of exchange of population in time, then there should have been a plan to do the work. There must also had been a plan to settle the migrants and the things would have followed a smoother path. It took about three years to make the leaders realize that the exchange of population was inevitable after partition and partition was a necessary sequence of the appeasement policy of the Congress. The pity is that the realization is, even now, incomplete. Even when the convoys of Muhammadans were moving out of the country, Mahatma Gandhi and some other Congress leaders were trying to keep them here. A ten mile-long convoy of Meos was detained on the road-side, near Gurgaon, by Mahatma Gandhi's appeal. Muhammadans, who had al-

ready left, were repeatedly told that they can come back to resettle in Indian Union and were assured that they will be given full help in resettlement. Muhammadans' property and houses were kept vacant for months in the hope that they will come back to India. Even now, thousands of houses vacated by Muhammadans in Delhi, are still not allowed to be occupied, while Hindu migrants are kept rotting in camps and on road-side.

In case the policy of the Government of India of keeping all the Muhammadans here, had succeeded, then the plight of the migrated Hindus would have been still worse. Now, Lacs of Hindus have been put on agricultural lands vacated by the Muhammadans in East Punjab and Delhi Provinces. More have found shelter in houses vacated by Muhammadans in Urban areas and according to Government calculations about ten Lacs still remain without any sort of roof over their heads. Under the circumstances, asking the Muhammadans to come back from Pakistan, does not appear to contain any sense in it. The latest orders of the Government of India supports our contention. It has now ordered that Muhammadans from Pakistan will not be allowed to come in India for the purpose of establishing here. If the Government of India has done so in December, 1947, several lacs more would have found shelter and land to till. But the reports of the Muhammadans coming back from Pakistan are still alarming. It is said that about 350 permits are being issued everyday by the High Commissioner for India in Karachi alone. The liaison officers for India in Pakistan are also issuing permits. It is also reported that these people are coming with their families, surely to settle here. **Ones a Muhammadan comes in India, there can be no check to find**

out where has he gone to settle or whether he is staying or gone back?

We should not feel concerned with the treatment they are getting in the state they have created for themselves, and it is not the function of the Government of India to take pity upon them, while it is not able to provide, land, houses and work for their own nationals.

(6)

The reason of all this bungling is the muddled ideas of the Congress leaders about matters relating citizenship. The leaders failed to conceive the desirability of exchange of population in time. The leaders failed to understand the meaning of the Direct Action in Calcutta, Noakhali and then in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. They failed to understand the meaning of the word Pakistan i.e. a country for the Muhammadans of India.

It was not possible to understand all these implications of the Division of the country with the conception of purely territorial patriotism. Purely territorial patriotism does not exist anywhere, at least, not among Muhammadans. With their heads full of territorial patriotism the Congress leaders could not understand the cultural affinity of people. They most probably thought that all the Hindus and Muhammadans of India and Pakistan are imbued with the love of only stones, rivers and mountains of India and instantly after the announcement of division of the country they would get attached to their respective countries.

All these calculations were based upon certain wrong presumptions, which proved utterly futile. The division was

brought about on account of cultural leanings of Muhammadans and not because of territorial patriotism. Muhammadans wanted an independent country for Musalmans and not for Punjabees and Pathans. Thus there was no basis to think that territorial patriotism has any room in Pakistan. They wanted a cultural unit and naturally they were not to allow people of other cultures to dominate or even to influence their affairs.

This cultural leanings have not sprung up all of a sudden among Muhammadans. It is a part and parcel of their religion. Again, it is not a special feature of Pakistan Musalmans. It was and is still present among the Musalmans of India as well. Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Choudhri Khaleekul Zaman and innumerable other Muhammadans, born in India were as big supporters of the division of the country on cultural basis as anybody born in a place that has gone in Pakistan.

Lack in understanding of this ideology of the Muhammadans has made the leaders of the Congress and thus the Government of India indifferent to the sufferings of the Pakistan Hindus. A steady migration of Hindus from East Bengal is now going on and even now the Premier of India has tried to show these migrants that it would be better if they go back to their respective places. This clearly shows that the Government of India does not want to have anything to do with the Hindus of Pakistan. They appear to have forgotten that those Hindus had also a share, equal to that of any other province in India, in making the Congress the premier political organization of the country.

(7)

Better late than never, is the only word that can be said about the policy of the Government of India, regarding evacuation and rehabilitation. It was in the beginning of September of 1947, that the Government realized the necessity of rehabilitation of Hindu migrants from Pakistan and it set up a ministry for the purpose. It is true that the ministry had a very difficult task to do and it was to be accomplished in a very short time. At the same time, it is to be remembered that ours is a very big country. It is two thousands of miles long and broad and possesses immense natural resources. Moreover, most of the migrants are active, energetic and willing to work under very difficult conditions. Thus, in spite of immensity of work it was not so impossible as it is being said. Much ado has been made about nothing. The migration of almost all the Muhammadans from East Punjab to Pakistan facilitated the work of rehabilitation department to a very great extent.

It appears that either the rehabilitation Minister has been made nervous by constant repetition by the Congress leaders that his work was immense and colossal, or there is no will to do anything for the migrants. The fact is that practically nothing so far has been done to rehabilitate people on permanent basis. Everything that has been done, so far, is of temporary value. Even the allotment of lands and houses evacuated by Muslim migrants is on temporary basis. Eleven months after the establishment of rehabilitation ministry every arrangement is temporary and the Government is without plan for any permanent arrangement for their settlement.

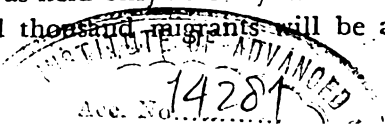
This slow pace in solving the problem, this wide adver-

tisement about the immensity of it, this temporary outlook in each and every settlement and changing of arrangements and schemes every second month indicate nothing more than disinclination for doing anything for the migrants.

The very name 'refugee' given to the migrants is so abhorrent that one cannot but see the hateful colour in the dealings of the Government with these people. Refugee mean a person who belongs to some foreign state and has sought shelter in our country. This is not the case of these people. They belonged to this country and are in their own. What a pity that their own Government is calling them refugees.

Up to the day of our writing this book, even the census of the migrants has not been taken. They have not been classified in accordance with their professions and vocations. This should have been the first step towards rehabilitation. Suppose one puts a question to the rehabilitation minister as to how many migrants in Delhi are shop-keepers and how many out of them have obtained shops by their own efforts and how many are still in need of them, which the department will not be able to supply the necessary data. Whenever there is any agitation for quickening the pace of rehabilitation, the rejoinder comes from the Government that the problem is so big that it is impossible to do anything in the near future.

The problem of rehabilitation has, in fact, been not yet understood. For instance the provincial chief ministers' conference, that was held only recently in Delhi, decided that only one hundred thousand migrants will be allowed to re-



main in Delhi. The question is how and where will the remaining four to five hundred thousands will be removed. Even eleven months after the formation of the rehabilitation ministry, there is no plan for housing them, no plan to put them to jobs, no plan to lend them money, no plan to give them technical and vocational training and very poor arrangements for the education of their children. On the other hand innumerable knight errants have sprung up, who have tried to create antagonism between the migrants and others. Up till now, there is no pucca plan for anything concerning the migrants.

The Provincial Premiers' Conference have decided to share the burden of ten lakhs refugees still staying in camps. In this way the Central Government has shifted its responsibility to the provinces, which have, so far, felt less responsible than even the Central Government.

The year 1947-48 has brought nothing for the migrants. Most of them are still in an unsettled state. The little money that they were able to bring with them is being fast consumed and stark poverty is shadowing the future of most of them.

It will not be out of place to mention here that discontentment among migrants is increasing day by day. This state of affairs is not being artificially fostered by any outside agency, but is the reaction of the attitude of the Government towards them. In fact the appointment of a non-Punjabee as rehabilitation minister, shows the poverty of imagination of the appointing authority. If the amount spent on the rehabilitation staff is compared with the total amount spent in relief work for the migrants, it will reveal some very interesting and surprising facts.

The Premier of Indian Union, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru gave a promise to the migrants in a public meeting held at Ram Leela Grounds, Delhi, immediately after the last fast by Mahatma Gandhi, that he shall see that no refugee would be left without a house in Delhi, within seven days. Months after that promise Delhi is witnessing, migrants sleeping on the road-sides, on grassy lawns in the open, in the holes in the city wall and at every inconceivable nook and corner of the city.

In fact the whole story of rehabilitation looks like a farce being played in the drama of Congress rule of 1947-48.

KASHMERE PROBLEM

(1)

The problem of Kashmere is taxing the thought and energy of our Government from the very day we obtained independence. We are on war in Kashmere, for the sake of Kashmere, but against whom, is not clear. News papers, throughout the year, have been proclaiming that we are fighting Pakistan forces in Kashmere, but still we are not on war with Pakistan. Even the statements issued by the Government show that it has tangible proof in its hands to prove that it is the Pakistan army that is fighting against us in Kashmere.

Yet the Government of India has been holding conferences after conferences with the Pakistan Government and by decisions reached in them have tried to keep up friendly relations with that. This is a paradox, which is not clear by the events of this year. A man in the street will have to wait, for at least, another year in order to understand this anomalous situation.

But there are other things, which can be understood quite easily. Kashmere was a state within the Indian territory. Like most of the states it was being ruled by a Maharaja, who had constituted a legislative council and a few popular ministers to manage certain affairs of the state. It is true, that full responsible Government was not existing in

the state, but there were other states, as well, in India, which had not even this much transfer of powers.

Yet this state became the target of wrath of our most popular leader, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. No body can find faults with the personal likes and dislikes of anybody and much less with that of a respected leader, but the policy of the country must be above personal likes and dislikes.

The Maharaja disliked the popular leader of his state. Sheikh Abdula and for certain actual or supposed activities of his, he was put into jail. This act of the Maharaja or Maharaja's Government may be condemnable, but the state, i.e., the interest of the people of Kashmere were above the Maharaja and his Government. Moreover, the interests of the Hind Rashtra were also to be considered, detached from what and who the ruler of Kashmere was. Kashmere state should have been included in Indian Union on the 15th of August, 1947.

Certain links in the affairs of this state, are shrouded in mystery. The Maharaja of Kashmere was one of the few who declared to join the Indian Union long before the 15th of August. He had also declared his intention to grant full responsible Government to his people much earlier. The Maharaja being a Hindu and the state being populated by majority of Muhammadans, there was no other choice for the Maharaja but to join the Indian Union. Then how it happened that the state was not included in the Union. Was it the Maharaja or the Indian Union, that was postponing the most important thing that is the question of accession of the state with the Union? The reply to this question is now a matter of public property.

Mr. Kak, the then prime minister of Kashmere, visited Delhi sometime in the end of July or in the beginning of August and held talks with the Members of the Interim Government and Mahatma Gandhi, and he discussed the question of accession with them. On account of the peculiar geographical position of Kashmere, its protection from forceful occupation by Pakistan was of utmost importance. Mr. Kak went disappointed as the Congress leaders were not willing to give protection to the Kashmere state, so long the popular Government is not established in the state. Sometimes by the end of August the Maharaja of Kashmere made an appeal to the Government of India for the supply of arms and ammunition to defend the state from the expected invasion by the Pakistan raiders. Government of India decided to send the arms and ammunition, but nothing was sent.

It appears, as the Government was not willing to accept the accession, so it did not send the arms and ammunition, even after deciding to send, because the Maharaja had not installed Sheikh Abdulla as premier of the state. Maharaja, on the advice of his new Dewan Shri Mehr Chand Mahajan, agreed to the conditions of the Indian Government and military aid was rushed to Sirinagar by air, just in time to save the only aerodrome in Kashmere and only link with Indian Union.

If we consider these points, we find it crystal clear, that Kashmere was saved only when it was on its last throes. Delay of a few hours in sending help would have finished Kashmere as a part of Indian Union for ever. Why this delay was done? Is a question for the Indian Government to

reply. On the eve of declaration of military operations in Kashmere state, Our Premier, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said in his broadcast that the Government sanctioned the sending of arms and ammunition, but did not send. The question, therefore, is was the Government justified in letting the Kashmere state remain exposed to the raiders? The internal administration of a state, whatever its utility be, can have no comparison to the importance of accession to the Indian Union. Supposing the Maharaja had not realised his mistake and had remained stuck to his position, what would have been the attitude of the Indian Union towards the protection of the state? There are other states that were allowed accession and the question of internal administration was allowed to be set right later on. Similarly Kashmere should have been allowed accession without any condition and protection would have been extended whatever was the form of rule there.

Supposing the Patiala ruler does not introduce popular rule in his state, will the Government of India allow the Pakistan forces to walk in and confiscate it? There cannot be two opinions about it.

There appear to be a confusion in the minds of the leaders about the significance of Rashtra and Government and their comparative importance. Rashtra is above Government. The welfare and the integrity of Rashtra is more important than the form of Government running the State. No party has the right to withhold protection to any part of the country which is in the hands of, so far as internal administration is concerned, an other party. Party politics cannot come in the way of accession of a state to the country.

State is a sacred trust in the hands of the Government. It cannot be exposed to external dangers in order to uphold a particular political ideology.

We do not mean that Maharaja should have been supported in his autocratic rule. What we mean is that permission to accede to Indian Union and extension of protection to the state should not have been conditional. India wanted Kashmere with it and Kashmere, as was clear from the announcement of the Maharaja, wanted to come in the Union. Under the circumstances, the Government of India had no other choice but to accept the accession. The internal administration would have come in line with the rest of India, in due course of time.

It is the opinion of military experts that if sufficient army had been sent to strategical positions on the border of Kashmere before the 15th, of August, this war would not have taken place and Kashmere would have been saved from tremendous loss of lives and property. There could not have been perpetrated all the horrors on the womenfolks of Kashmere and India would have been richer by Karores of rupees it has spent on this war.

(2)

It is a fact that the raiders of Kashmere are not guerillas, nor are they knight errants, who are doing it without the help of any states from behind. It could not have been an affair of the kabailies from Wazirastan alone. There is no doubt in it that Paiks'an is waging war against the Indian Union. It is not only a surmise, but a hard boiled fact. The Government of India has stated it several times that Pakistan army personnels have been found to be fighting against its

troops. If it is so, can't the people of India ask their Government as to why is it continuing everlasting but fruitless negotiation and conferences with Pakistan. About a dozen interdominion conferences took place during the year under review and leaving those conferences in which exchange of population was discussed, no other conference proved fruitful for our Government or our people. Not a single item discussed in these conferences has been finalized and the Pakistan Government has never accepted any thing without mental reservation. Not a single pie of the Hindu migrants could be got without a severe threat from this side. Under these circumstances why to carry on the farce of friendship and endless talks?

These talks and conferences are doing, at least, one harm. Over and above the loss of money spent in unending travels, they are creating the impression outside the country that the allegations of the Indian Government against the Pakistan Government are groundless. If really the Pakistan forces are fighting against the Indian forces in Kashmere, then why is the Indian Government holding these friendly conferences? The Pakistan Government is always aggressive in taking possession of anything and everything it thinks it has a claim to. After the possession is complete the Indian Government invites the attention of Pakistan Government and then a conference, is held in which, usually, no decision is reached and the conference is postponed to some future date. But this is a digression from the point we are discussing.

The point is that knowing that Pakistan is waging war against us in Kashmere and knowing that even after com-

plete elimination of the raiders from Kashmere soil, we have to capture or, at least, make ineffective the source and the hiding places of the raiders, i.e., Pakistan. How can this be done is a problem the solution of which is to be found out? Surely, these conferences are not the way out of this difficulty.

But more serious than these conferences are the supply of divided stocks of Ordnance Depots. These stocks are military equipments and include ammunition. Even after the Government of Indian Union is convinced that the Pakistan forces are fighting against our forces in Kashmere, it is sending the Pakistan share of these stocks in the same way as if war is not going on between these two states. It means nothing less than giving bullets in the hands of the enemies to shoot at our own boys at the front.

Our Government is, at present, confining its activities to Kashmere only, and it may be that this is only the beginning of the wide operations that will be required to weed out the trouble from its source. No sane man can force the hand of the Government to hasten the speed of the natural course of things, but it is not unnatural for a person vitally interested in the events happening in the country, to see how wide and far-sighted is the vision of the Government.

It will not be out of place to quote a British statesman here. Winston Churchill, writing about the appeasement policy of Neville Chamberlain, gives his conviction : "If you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without blood-shed ; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly, you may come to the moment when

you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than to live as a slave."

The country cannot hear the admission: "We did not foresee; we were misinformed; we did not expect it," etc., too often.

(3)

The reference of Kashmere case to U.N.O. Security Council is another thing that must have revealed to our leaders the wrong approach to the problem. It reminds of a teacher who made a complaint to the father of his pupil regarding his inattentiveness to the lessons. The father retored that the teacher is either inefficient or a liar. Exactly this happened to India. It is our business to see that our territory is not invaded. U. N. O., which has got only moral force to apply and no military of its own to force its decisions, could not be of great help to us. Moreover, U. N. O., is an agency which is incapable of understanding our problems and which has got its vision blurred on account of the fear of Russia. U. N. O., is dominated by the United States of America and Britain and each and every action of it is influenced by their antagonism to Russia.

India complained to U. N. O., against Pakistan that it was helping the raiders in Kashmere. U. N. O., called upon Pakistan to explain. Pakistan explained that as Kashmere Muslims were in great trouble on account of the Maharaja, and they revolted against the Maharaja and Pakistan Muslims, finding their co-religionists in trouble, could not but

help them. Pakistan Government, as a counter-charge, made very severe allegations against the Indian Government. The U.N.O., Council, instead of constituting an enquiry into the complaint by the Indian Government, wanted the Indian Government to withdraw its forces. The Indian Government had to adopt a stiff attitude and had to refuse to comply with the Security Council's instructions.

The U.N.O., Council decided to send a Commission to Kashmere to enquire into its affairs. This commission is in India and, by this time, has visited the Kashmere Front from both sides. It is said that the U.N.O. Commission wanted to ask both the sides to cease fire, but there was no other side. Pakistan had not accepted, up to that time that it was fighting this war officially. So, in order to make the raiders to keep that much Kashmere under their control it was necessary that the raiders should become an accepted Member of the U.N.O. Thus Pakistan Government was made to accept its participation in the war officially. Now the U.N.O. Commission, without taking Pakistan to task for deceiving the Security Council, has issued a formula on cease fire.

We are leaving the thread of U.N.O. action here, as we are entering the domain of the next year. It will not be, therefore, proper to comment on the result of the U.N.O. Commission's efforts here. Still it will not be improper to say that, after the impotency shown by the U.N.O. in the matter of South Africa, referring of such a complicated case to U.N.O. was putting one's head in the hands of incompetent related persons. Moreover, who can help a weak sufferer?

(4)

In this Kashmere affair, we have made another blunder. We did not agree to the accession of the state on the word of Maharaja Bahadur. It was said at that time that he did not represent the people of the state. We refused help to the Maharaja because he was not considered to be representing the people of the state. This refusal to accept accession and to send help was at the risk of losing Kashmere for ever, and of the annihilation of the people of the state whose advocates we pose ourselves to be. It was at the risk of harming our own country by weakening its defences. We agreed to accession and to send armies to protect Kashmere only when Sheikh Abdullah was put at the helm of affairs. This was because we admitted that he was the true representative of the people. Thus his endorsement of the Maharaja's request to allow the state to accede to the Indian Union was considered to be the endorsement by the people. After admitting this, our Government has further promised that a plebiscite will be held to know the will of the people of the state in the matter of accession.

If this was to be done, then where was the necessity of waiting for Sheikh Abdullah to become the Premier? Why did we not accept the offer of the Maharaja in time to safeguard the borders of the state? The delay, if there was any justification for it, was to know the wish of the leader of the people.

But the offer of plebiscite is wrong in principle as well. Can we give liberty to our provinces and states to decide whether they would remain within the Union or not? We

cannot agree to this principle. A limb of an organic whole cannot be allowed to sever itself from it. It may be that circumstances and superior forces may compell us to let the limb part, as Pakistan has been separated from India, but it is not wisdom to agree to such a principle. At some future time this precedent may give us great trouble. Even if we are sure of the verdict of the plebiscite a thing wrong in principle cannot become right.

In Kashmere issue we committed errors after errors and have landed our country into such troubles, the end of which is not in sight. All this has been due to wrong principles and ideas that our leaders are labouring under. Certain principles that Britain advocated after World War Number One in order to divide Central and South-eastern Europe into small pieces have overwhelmed the imagination of our Leaders, who have taken them as a panacea of all political troubles. The idea of self-determination carried to the limits of absurdity was the vicious principle that Britain advocated in 1919-20. This was with the purpose of weakening Central and South-eastern Europe. This idea has been taken by our leaders, as something very noble and without which the world will go to dogs. The fate of Central and South-eastern Europe in World War Number Two should have warned our leaders against the principle of right of determination by parts of an organic whole. Our leaders are pupils of British diplomats and whatever they hear from their mouths is taken to be the word of God!

COMMUNAL TANGLE

The year under review began with Hindu-Muslim riots and the Government has called this state of the country as the worst kind of communal disorder. The Government in its own way has tried to remove this tension and to bring amity between, so to say, the two communities. Thus in this chapter we will try to deal with the question of communal tangle as it would be called by the people of Congress ideology.

Before coming to the problem as it stood in the beginning of the year and reviewing the work of the Government to tackle it we think proper to give, in brief, the genesis of the problem.

Before the British came in India, the people of this country were divided into two camps, Hindus and Muhammadans. By that time Muhammadans had ruled the country for more than seven hundred years. They had tried in their times to increase the adherents of Islam in order to strengthen the Islamic rule in the country. It is true, that there were quarrels among Muhammadan rulers and among Hindu rulers, but slowly and steadily the country was dividing into these two factions.

Before the rule of Aurangzeb, the Hindus, the inhabitants of this country, had forgotten ideological basis of Rajya (State). People, on the one hand, on account of Buddhist influence, had become, more or less, internationalists and had forgotten the attachment with the country, and, on the other hand, on account of the mania to attain salva-

tion, had become highly individualistic. The result was that the Rajya had gone into the hands of self-seekers and exploiters. Consequently there was no cohesion between the several Rajput States that had sprung up as a result of Buddhist and Vaishnavite struggle for supremacy.

Thus, the Muhammadans came and, in spite of their smaller numbers, became the rulers of this vast country. From the very beginning of their rule they realized the necessity of increasing their supporters, i.e., their co-religionists. This they did, (a) by importing people from Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia, (b) by forceful conversions, (c) by the offer of high positions in Muslim States, and (d) by marrying Hindu women.

It was during the rule of Aurangzeb, the realization came to the Hindus that the Muhammadan rule was destroying their culture and spirituality. In order to preserve them they strove to re-establish Hindu Raj. Shivajee in the South and Guru Gobind Singh in the North, found out that the protection of heir culture required the establishment of a State, by the people, who would protect the culture of the country. Such a State they called Hindu Rajya. Although the dogmatic religion of Shivajee and that of Guru Gobind Singhjee were quite different from one another, yet their aim was the same. Both wanted to drive away Islam from the country by the aid of State.

At that time Hindustan was the name of the country, spreading from Himalaya to Kanaya Kumari and Sindh, Desh to Kamrup Des and the inhabitants of this country were united by oneness of their culture, traditions and objectives.

in life. They were called Hindus. Muhammadans tried to turn away people from everything that was Hindustani and to make them adopt the way of life and of thinking of Arabia and Persia. The Muhammadan States were helping in this effort.

The instant the Hindus realized that State's power and influence was being used for the purpose, they tried to reorganize such States that would preserve the culture, traditions and ideologies of the country. In this way Hindus tried to become nationalists again. Such States they called Hindu Pad Padshai !

With the formation of such Hindu States, in the North by Sikhs and in the South by Maharattas, the country came to be divided into two camps. The idea of constituting a state to protect the Hindu culture, traditions and ideas, had not yet permeated the minds of all the Hindus of such a vast country as Hindustan, that the British people came here and took advantage of this ideological conflict. The idea of establishing a Hindu Pad Padshai for the whole of the country would have succeeded if half a century more had been obtained without the interference of the third party.

The conflict of ideologies had the Arabic-cum-Persian culture on the one hand and indigenous Hindustani culture on the other hand. The Arabic culture was termed as Islam and that of Hindustan as Hindutwa.

British people understood this conflict of ideas in a very short time. The failure of 1857 struggle established the British rule here firmly and within the span of thirty years the British rule realized that Islam is a foreign thing in this country. Thus, they came to the conclusion that in order

to rule the country they must weaken the nationalist forces, i.e., they should suppress and efface the Hindu ideology and prop up the Islamic one. For this purpose they, on the one hand, established the Indian National Congress, which tried to change the outlook of the Hindus from cultural affinity to territorial one, and, on the other hand, they created Sir Sayed Ahmad who abhorred the idea of Rajya jointly with Hindus. Sir Sayed started dreaming of re-establishing of Moghul Empire.

The British rule has now gone away, but both the fruits of the British policy have flourished here. The followers of Sir Sayed Ahmad have got the Muslim rule established in a portion of the country, with the hope of extending it at the first opportune moment. The Congress has strived to destroy cultural affinity among Hindus.

The Hindustani way of love with motherland is territorial-cum-cultural allegiance. People who believed in this type of allegiance consider Hindustan, the country between Hindukush and Ceylon and from Sindh Sagar to Kamrup Desh their sacred land, Bharat Mata, and all the philosophies propounded by the learned people of this land from times immemorial, the guiding spirit of their lives. Such patriotic people were called Hindus. The Congress was established to destroy this type of patriotism and, now after the establishment of Congress Government, it is striving to do it. This is the purpose behind the often-repeated slogan of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, "We will not allow the establishment of Hindu Raj." The Britishers, who were ignorant of the real ideology inspiring the Hindus, gave them the name of a religious community and the Congress Leaders have taken it to be such.

In fact Hindus are not a religious community. It is a word that indicates persons who consider Hindustan as their sacred land and who get inspiration and guidance in their lives from the history, traditions and culture of the country.

The Muhammadans, on the other hand, from the time they came here, have never identified themselves with the interests of this country. Just imagine a boy or a girl, born in a Muhammadan family, that is settling here for several centuries, quite ignorant about Ramayan, Mahabharat, Bheem, Arjun Ashoke, Vikramaditya, Ram, Krishna, etc., and knowing and reading about Rustam, Sohrab, Ali, Omar, Gulistan, Bostan, etc. Think of a person sacrificing his everything for a Khalifa and finding no stir in his heart at the thought of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ram, Krishna, Swami Dayanand, Mahatma Gandhi, etc. How can one take them to have sympathy with the welfare of a country which is inhabited by 90% of the total population by persons of other ideologies.

Before the coming of Muhammadans in this country, many foreigners came here and got merged among Hindus by adopting this country as their home and absorbing its art and culture. Islam, unlike their predecessors here, could do neither. They on the other hand tried to convert the allegiance of Hindus to country, persons and ideas that were foreign. They in spite of their ruling this country for about seven centuries and sharing the vicissitudes with Hindus of slavery of the British for about a century and a half, could not reconcile themselves to respect the good old traditions of the country. They hate the Geeta and Ramayana, Nayaya and Sankhya. They would not let their children learn even Devnagri. If

they see a Hindu temple they think of destroying it. Such is the mind of Muhammadans and that is why they could not get merged with the Hindus.

(2)

The Congress leaders do not recognize this problem in this way. They have no clear notions as to what Hindu and Muhammadan words denote. The whole confusion in their minds has arisen on account of the false ideology they adopted as the basis of the Indian National Congress. They thought and took for granted that a nation is composed of people who reside in a country. Mere residence was taken as guarantee of their allegiance to the country. It is not taken anywhere in this way. Over and above the fact of residence there are certain other things and a certain attitude that make a person a national of a country. The most important thing is the way of life that one has to take to become a member of a nation. Muhammadans have kept themselves distinct from the rest of the people of the country. They, even in political matters, had never identified themselves with the rest of the people. Incessant efforts of the Congress during the sixty years of its life to induce Muhammadans to take India as their motherland failed miserably. In spite of all the cajolements by the Congress leaders, Muslims of India remained aloof from the Congress and the movement of independence.

Parsis, Christians and Jews joined the Congress and never opposed the efforts for the attainment of freedom, but this cannot be said about Muhammadans. The Muslim League, which obtained more than 88% of the Muslim votes, never agreed to work for the freedom movement. When the

question of establishment of Swarajya came they, through the Muslim League, strove to carve out Pakistan, a purely Muslim State, from India. Muhammadans, at the time of their rule in this country, kept aloof from the majority of the people. They remained as foreigners, and, even now, they want to remain distinct from the 90% of the population of the country. The very demand that Urdu should be kept as one of the scripts to write the national language is an effort to keep the identity of the Muhammadans separate from the other people of the country. There is no concealing of the fact that they want Persian culture, traditions, literature, history and heroes to be kept before the eyes of their children.

It must be remembered here that these things have no connection with any religion. Religion, Islam or any other, can exist even under the Indian things and conditions.

This is the background, in which we must examine the cry of our Premier that he is waging war on Communalism. The question between Hindus and Muhammadans is not a communal one. Muhammadans do not call themselves a community. Hindus by the historic facts that we have related above do not come under the category of a community. At the most Hindus can be called a conglomeration of several communities. When many communities have common bonds of living in a country, following the same culture, respecting the same traditions, having the same heroes and history, taking the same philosophy to guide their lives and having a common source for their language and literature, then the conglomeration of those communities cannot be anything else but a nation.

The meaning of the word community as given in the Concise Oxford Dictionary is a joint ownership; organised political, municipal or a social body; body of men living in the same locality; body of men having religion, profession, etc., in common. Thus Islam, being a body of persons having religion in common is, surely, a community. On the other hand, Hindus are not one community, they do not fulfil even one of the meanings of the word community given above. Hindus do not denote any one political ideology or one social group. They do not denote any one common religion or profession. A man may be a Jain or a Sikh, a believer in God or an Atheist and still be a Hindu. A man may be a capitalist, a socialist or even a communist and can call himself a Hindu. Nobody will object to it. A Hindu may be a non-violent Congressite or a violent revolutionary. Thus, it will be clear, that to be a Hindu none of the things mentioned in the definition of the word community, may be in common. Hindus mean a nation, because the common thing among them is their allegiance to Hindustan and its indigenous culture. If we take the example of Britain the word Hindu is comparable to British. If there is British rule in England, then there can be Hindu Raj in Hindustan. The difficulty is about Muhammadans. They are non-Indians and consequently non-Hindus. They are non-Indians because they do not want to learn Hindi, the common language of the country. They do not read Indian literature like Kalidas, Balmek, Tulsidas, etc. They have no respect for old traditions as they would not celebrate festivals like Basant and Holi. Their heroes are Sohrab, Ali, Umar, Sikandar, etc., and not Bheem, Arjun, Yudhishtira, Ram, Vikramaditya, etc. In this way they get their inspiration from foreign literature,

traditions and history. For them Hindustan is merely a place of rivers, mountains, flowers and trees. At most it is a land which feeds them. They have no psychological or spiritual attachment with India, which the Hindus have.

The Muhammadans, in spite of their being a community, could not merge themselves in the general population of India, i.e., Hindus.

(3)

This being the genesis of the Hindu-Muslim problem, it cannot be tackled by declaring a war against communalism. They are not communities and the conflict among them is not communal. It is a conflict of two nations. The Government, i.e., the Congress leaders must, now shed off the wrong notion from their minds that Hindus and Muhammadans are mere communities. The Congress repeatedly declared that Hindus and Muhammadans are merely communities and they should try to live amicably and must not quarrel. The Muhammadans never agreed to it. They incessantly tried to work for the establishment of a Muslim State and cared a hang for the Freedom of India. Quite contrary to this the whole burden of winning Freedom was borne by the Hindus.

As the Freedom of the country appeared to be coming nearer and nearer, the Muhammadans got more and more restive and insisted upon the creation of a Muslim State before the liberation of India. When they found that neither the Hindus, nor the British Government showed inclination to comply with their demand, they started the direct action, which compelled the Congress leaders to agree to their wish.

It is true that the British officers in India helped the Muhammadans in terrorizing the Hindus in order to make them agreeable to the formation of Pakistan, yet no body can deny that Indian Muhammadans wanted a Islamic State and they got it.

It is, therefore, quite illogical to call the people, who have created a state for themselves, a community in another state. They, in fact, are the nationals of that state, for which they insisted and fought and created. The nation here in India is the Hindu nation and the Government will, naturally, be a Hindu Rajya.

How can it otherwise be? People, who form 90% of the population of the country cannot be thrown in the background, because of a small percentage of the population, who have strong bonds with the neighbouring state. The problem of Hindus and Muslims cannot now be considered as of two communities, but as of two nations, which have their separate states bordering each other.

It does not mean that Muhammadans be driven out of this country. But it does mean that Muhammadans be treated in this country exactly in a way in which the Hindus will, from time to time, be treated in Pakistan.

Supposing the Indians are treated unjustly in Ceylon, then, naturally Ceylonese should not expect a better treatment from Indian Government. Similarly the Muhammadans of India should expect the same treatment from the Indian Government, which their created state, Pakistan, gives to the Indian Nationals, i.e., the Hindus. This is how people of one country deal with people of the other country.

It can be said that the Muhammadans of India were born here, their fathers and forefathers were the inhabitants of this place and most of them are from Hindu parents. This does not alter the case in any way. The Muhammadans were here as invaders and conquerors. The Hindu converts, in fact, changed their nationality for the sake of jobs, women and other facilities. They can change their nationality again by undoing what they did at the time of their becoming Muhammadans. But so long as they are Muhammadans, who have carved out a separate state from India, for Muhammadans, they can have the same status here what the Hindus will be given in Pakistan, a Muhammadan state.

(4)

The pity is that after agreeing to the partition of the country on Hindu-Muslim basis, the Congress Government, after Swarajya, went on as if the partition is between brothers. Mahatma Gandhi suggested the idea of parting like brothers, dividing the property of their fathers to Mr. Jinnah in 1944 talks and this suggestion was rejected with contempt. One can go through those talks and try to see the difference of outlook between the two negotiators. Mahatma Gandhi was willing to agree to partition of the country, like brothers, but Mr. Jinnah wanted the partition, not of brothers, but between two antagonistic nations.

The events have shown that Mr. Jinnah was correct. Partition was affected, not between a land of Punjabees.

Pathans, Sindhis and Bengalees on the one hand and U. Pians, Biharees, etc., on the other hand but between the Muhammadans and Hindus. When the partition of India has been affected on Hindu-Muslim basis, Hindus and Musalman can, only, be called as nations.

The attitude of Congress leaders regarding this problem is a paradox. They have admitted the Muhammadans, that were, before partition, only eighty millions in the country, as a nation and agreed to give them a land of their own and to the people, that were more than three hundred and ten millions in the country as a mere community. This is when, evidently, these three hundred millions love the country and had always been and are always ready to sacrifice their everything for the sake of the country.

This attitude of the Congress has definitely placed the Hindus in an inferior position to that of Musalmans. Muhammadans and Hindus being communities in India are equal in status and would share the privileges and rights equally. In Pakistan Muhammadans being the nationals of that state have certainly better status than that of Hindus there, if there is any. This thing has become quite clear even in the year under review that Hindus are being treated like foreigners in Pakistan. They, even if they have to move within the Pakistan territory, have to do it with a Visa (a sort of certificate). This certificate has to be examined from place to place on their journey. This is exactly like with criminals or foreigners.

In India, nobody will object to a non-communal state, but Hindus and Muslims are not communities. Hindus are

the nationals of India and Muhammadans that of Pakistan. A foreign national can live in India and can have certain privileges here, but those privileges will be in accordance with the privileges accorded by their country to the nationals of India.

If there are any Muhammadans, who want to change their nationality and want to become Indians, they should be allowed to do so, but they have to merge themselves with the general mass of population of this country. They can keep their religion as Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists and other religious sects are living in this country. They cannot be allowed to load the people of this country with their Persianized outlook and ideology, Persian language and literature and Persian heroes and history. This is exactly, what is being done by those who, on the one hand, are waging war on communalism and, on the other hand, are forcing the people to learn the Persian script and Persianized language.

The question of Christians, Jews, Parsis and other religious communities is simpler. They have never refused to be called Indians. They have never tried to burden the nation with their own language, culture or way of life. They had never forced their religion on people. At least nobody can hope to expect from them the brutalities that were committed by Muhammadans in the name of religion in India, during the past so many centuries.

The instant they know that the word Hindu or Hindustani is a translation of the word Indian, they would not mind to be called Hindustani or Hindu Christians, Jews, etc., instead of Indian Christians, Indian Jews, etc.

Thus this war against communalism, that had remained

the slogan of our Congress Leaders throughout the year under review, was almost meaningless. The real communities that are living in India are not Hindus and Muhammadans. They are Punjabees, Oudhees, Maghdees, Gujratees, Mahrattas, Madrasees, etc., or Jains, Sikhs, Christians, Jews, etc., or Socialists, Communists, Capitalists, etc., and there is no matter of conflict among them. Whatever conflict is present between these communities, it has to be resolved not by slogans, but at polling booths.

ASSASSINATION OF MAHATMA GANDHI

(1)

Thirtieth of January, 1948, will be the dark day in the annals of Indian history. Mahatma Gandhi, who had been leading the nation in several political movements for the last twenty-eight years, was shot dead when he was going for his usual prayer meeting.

This act reflects in a very bad way on the Government of India in more than one way. The act of assassination took place about ten days after the explosion of a bomb near the prayer-meeting place. The man who lighted the bomb was arrested and thus the Government was, in a way, warned that the life of the most respected man in the country was in danger.

Our writing about the state of affairs in the country before and after the assassination, is not to justify the act. It is a crime, a heinous one, more so, as the victim was the most revered person in India and in the whole civilized world. It belonged to the barbarous ages to remove by killing, from the field of activity, persons who held variant views. The review, therefore, of the actions and reactions of the Government is not to forward any excuse for the act. We strongly condemn it.

As the case of the alleged murderer and his alleged associates is in the court, it is not proper to go into any detail of

this insane act. However, we are discussing the action of the Government in creating a sort of atmosphere, which provided a plea for this dastardly act. At this time the Congressmen and the Ministers of the Central Provincial Governments and, most of all Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, are exhorting the people to follow Mahatma Gandhi's foot-steps, but immediately before his assassination, it can be said with surety, there were great dissensions and disagreements with Mahatmaji's views, even among Congress leaders. Mahatma Gandhi's opinions and teachings were being openly criticised in those days.

Mahatmaji was also very critical of the policy and activities of the Government and was accusing the Government of many lapses. Mahatmaji said on the first of June that Pakistan will be formed on his dead body. Then in Calcutta on or about the 15th of August he revealed that Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru got afraid of the riots by Muhammadans and agreed to partition. He could not be a party to it and thus he had gone out of Delhi to avoid celebrations of the Independence Day.

There was another anomaly about the whole affair. Mahatma Gandhi was exerting tremendous influence over the affairs of the Government, but this influence was confined to a certain type of affairs. Unfortunately the Government was accepting the advice of Mahatmaji only in those matters that were against the interests of Hindus as such. If Mahatmaji wanted the exodus of Muhammadans from Indian Union to be stopped, Government did everything in its power to comply with it. If, on the other hand, Mahatmaji wanted the Hindu migrants to be settled quickly, the Government tried to

find all sorts of pleas and excuses for not doing it or for postponing the doing of it.

Whenever there was any Muhammadan in trouble, he could find Mahatmaji a good pleader for him with the Government and the Government was always willing to accept Mahatmaji's advice, but deputation after deputation of the Punjab and N. W. F. P. migrants were seeing him and were telling him their miserable plight. Mahatmaji's usual reply cannot be forgotten by those who heard it. He was telling those people that he was not the Government. They would better go to Pt. Jawahar Lal or the Sardar. If Mahatmaji ever recommended anything for the migrants, the Government could not find its way to give the desired relief. For example, Mahatmaji wanted that the mosques of Delhi be cleared of the Hindu migrants who took possession of them. Government got it done. But when Mahatmaji wanted houses to be built for the Hindu migrants the Government have been preparing mere paper schemes for about an year.

(2)

The attitude of the Government of India over the last fast of Mahatmaji was highly exasperating. Government took a certain decision regarding the payment of fifty-five crores of rupees to the Pakistan Government. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of India explained the withholding of the money, that so long the Pakistan Government was helping the raiders in Kashmere with arms and ammunition, the Government of India could not give money to Pakistan as it would be used, directly or indirectly, for the purchase of guns and ammunition. Government of

India could not supply funds to the Pakistan Government to purchase bullets to kill their boys on the Kashmere Front. These were very significant words.

Mahatmaji fasted to revert this decision of the Government. Whether it was right on the part of Mahatmaji or not, we are not discussing. Every individual has the right to hold an opinion and to press that on the attention of the people. Mahatmaji's way of pressing his opinion was of fasting.

What we are concerned with is the reaction of the Government to this fast. The announcement of the fast made the members of the Cabinet nervous. They rushed to the place of Mahatmaji's residence and started parleying with him. It is not possible to write what happened behind the scenes, but the results that were made public can be discussed. The Government reverted its decision and the path was made smooth for Mahatmaji to break the fast. The other things that were made public were of little consequence and leaving those that concerned the Muhammadans, none were fulfilled.

The question is: Was it really feared that the money was to be used for purchasing ammunition and guns? Were the fears of Sardar Patel real or imaginary? Was the Government convinced that Pakistan was waging war in Kashmere? What the Government spokesmen had announced by that time; what the Government of India has written in the White Paper submitted to the U. N. O. Security Council and what the events have now disclosed, indicated the stand which the Government of India took

before Mahatmaji's fast. This being the fact, every pie given to Pakistan was, really, to purchase or to manufacture bullets to shoot down our soldiers.

Sardar Patel appeared to be sure of his apprehensions even after the starting of the fast and he got disgusted with the things at Delhi. He left Delhi on a comparatively minor mission. One thing is quite significant. Sardar Patel did not admit in public the incorrectness of his public statement about the probable use of the money, if given to Pakistan.

There is no doubt that Mahatmaji was held in great esteem by the public and by the leaders but it does not mean that the considered opinion of the Cabinet should have been reverted, specially when it was to effect the war the country was waging. The only course open to the Cabinet was to resign and to ask the Governor-General to invite Mahatma Gandhi to take charge of the Government and to run it.

A person who wields such a wide influence as Mahatma Gandhi wielded must be prepared to form the Government if he opposes it by staking his life. Similarly, the more honourable course for a Government is to resign when it is threatened by a situation like the one created by Mahatmaji's fast, than to yield to change a decision which meant so much to the fighting forces and to the country.

If Mahatmaji had declined to take the rein of the Government in his hands, then his fast would have become meaningless and would have been ignored by the public. If, on the other hand, he had agreed to form the Government, then the Nehru Cabinet would have vindicated his

honour and wisdom. The subsequent events have shown that the gesture of good-will shown by the Government of India under the pressure of Mahatmaji's fast was a mistake and has really done its share of harm in the war in Kashmere.

(3)

Mahatma Gandhi was a religious man. He had unshaky faith in God. He had once said that not a blade of grass moves without His will. His Ram Bhakti was well-known. Even now, his 'Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram, Patit Pawan Seeta Ram' is resounding in the ears of millions of Indians. His advocacy of 'Ram-rajya' has become a matter of history.

Yet the persons who are exhorting the people to follow Mahatma Gandhi the most loudly have also enacted that the Indian Union will be a secular state. How do they reconcile these two things is for them to explain. To us it appears that a secular state, in the absolute, is not possible. A secular state can only be that which keeps itself confined to matters of the world, i.e., food, clothing, housing, luxury of the senses, defence of the country, aggression over other countries and such like things. Sciences that are of the material things can come under the domain of a secular state. But knowledge in general, higher art, culture, literature, mortality cannot be advocated and spread by a mere secular state.

Secular state does not exist anywhere in the world. Each and every state has to look to the moral uplift of the people and the services of religion are utilized for the pur-

pose everywhere. Even Stalin has to announce the opening of the churches in the U. S. S. R.

Here again the Congress leaders are labouring under a mental confusion. They are confusing government with state. State is an institution that has to look to the preservation of the nation inhabiting a country. A nation has to preserve its character through ages and cannot detach itself from old traditions, culture, literature and ideology in principle. If it detaches itself from all these things, the nation dies and a new nation takes its place which again will have to stick to traditions, etc., whether new or old.

Unanecs are dead, Misrees are dead, so are the Romans. These nations are no longer living because people living in Greece, Egypt and Italy, are not believing, following and respecting their old traditions, etc. On the other hand, Hindus, i.e., Bhartees, are still living. They have their Ramayan and Geeta, Ram and Krishna, Sankhya and Nyaya, Vedas and Brahmanas. They still read, respect and follow them. Even in this modern age the marriages and other ceremonies of Hindus are performed with Ved Mantras. This links us to the hoary past.

During the Muhammadan period and the British rule, the state, i.e., the institution that should have protected our national character, on account of its very nature, was incapable of doing so and the Hindus did, unaided, what the state was not doing. We kept our Sanskrit Colleges working in Banaras, Madura, and other holy places. We stiffened our social frame to combat the disintegrating influences of the foreign rules and we succeeded to survive a thousand years of slavery.

The state, as we have told, should have helped the people to preserve the national character. It could not do so during the Muhammadan and British rules and at that time people had to make efforts for it unaided by the Governments of that time.

Now Swarajya is established and the nation expects that its national character be protected by the state. The present state must not want that people should open their private institutions, as they did in the times of the Muhammadans and the English and, in this way, keep the antagonism between the state and the people alive.

The Government, of course, can and should be secular. It means that the services will be open to all people irrespective of their religion, cast or creed, but it does not mean that the state policy should be made impotent on account of the presence in the services of persons of a certain religious sect.

It can be well understood in this way. Supposing our Government is in need of some technical heads from a Jew community. The Government can and should employ them, if possible, but it does not mean that the state in India, on this account, should leave its policy of protecting the Indian national ideology. Thus, a Government, which is merely an administrative instrument, can employ people irrespective of class, creed or religion and, in this way, can be called secular. But a state which is an institution for the preservation of all that is precious in the nation cannot be secular. In India we can have an Indian state which will reflect the ideology inspiring the Indian nation. If the Indian nation is atheist the Indian state will be atheist in character and if it is a God-

rearing nation the state will be a godly one. It means that the state will be a reflection of the nation inhabiting the country. One cannot define it as secular or non-secular in the constitution.

Government, on the other hand, is merely an administrative body. It can and should be kept above parties and religions and other-types of communal feelings. Government should always be an impartial body but a state cannot be so. It is to be moulded, so that it could protect and preserve the nation. As a nation cannot be bound by the narrow confines of secular limits, so a state cannot be defined in this way.

Thus to have Ram Rajya in India we have to amend our notion of having a secular state in India. Instead, we shall have a secular Government which is quite a distinct thing from the state. A Government constitutes all the executive officers, right from the Governor-General to a Chaprasi in a Tahsil. It runs the administration of the country according to the rules and laws, conventions and constitution, ideas and sentiments laid down by legislatures, constituent assemblies and noble and learned people of the nation.

In India 'nation' means Hindu nation, which is 90% of the total population of the country. Some people would like to call it 'Hindustani' nation. Name does not matter; what matters is the association of the people with the old art, culture, literature, tradition and history of this country. It is not necessary that one should follow and observe each and every detail of it, but the people who obtain inspiration from these things can, only, constitute a nation. In India, only Hindu fulfil this condition.

A state in India, therefore, must make provision to protect and preserve Hindu culture. The ten per cent., of the population that is non-Hindu, according to the prevalent terminology, include two types of people, one Muhammadans and the other Christians, Jews, Parsis, etc. The case of Muhammadans has been dealt with in the chapter entitled Communal Tangle. It has been made clear there that the Muhammadans be given the same privileges in India that the Hindus are being given in Pakistan. The other minorities should be given equal opportunities with the Hindus to serve the country. They should be given full citizenship rights and every opportunity to live and lead a happy life. These minority communities should be allowed to keep their community character, but so far as the characteristics of a national are concerned, they must merge themselves into the general mass of the population. Language, dress, names, national festivals, which have no religious tinge in them, education, in fact everything that makes the solidarity of a nation, will be common and Indian, call it "Hindustani" or "Hindu" whatever you like.

Thus, it will not be the state that will be secular but it will be the government that will be so. This confusion in thought is the cause of great heart-burning in India. People, even most of the Congress leaders, were not working for a state that will be characterless. The people who raised the 1857 revolt; people who were at the bottom of the "Kuka" rebellion; people of Bengal, like Bankim and Bipin, who flooded the country with nationalist literature; the Chitpawans of Poona, who were the first to bring pistols into the service of the freedom movement; the famous Bal, Pal

and Lal, who stirred the country by their eloquence; the revolutionaries who walked to the scaffold with the Geeta under their arms; patriots who sanctified the walls of the fort in the Andamans and millions who followed Gandhiji to jails and suffered other hardships did not do all this for the sake of a loosely-knit, aimless and characterless state. Our leaders have declared it to be so and do not hear anybody who wants the state to be otherwise.

REPRESSION OF OPPOSITE VIEWS

The repression by the Congress Government of all non-Congress points of view is another feature of this year. The chief target of this repression has been the R. S. S. There would not have been any necessity for writing this chapter and the persecution of the R. S. S. could not have been termed "repression" if the jailing, banning, proscribing and confiscating had been done after a proper hearing of their cases in the law courts and after giving them an opportunity of proving their innocence. This chapter is not to plead the case of the R. S. S. or communists as we do not hold any brief on their behalf. We have to review the action of the Government, which, arbitrary as it is, cannot be justified under any circumstances.

Twenty-five years ago, i.e., in 1923, India was being disturbed by Hindu-Muslim riots from one end to the other. Previous to that the Satyagraha Movement had failed. That movement had the solution of Khilafat and attainment of Swarajya as its objectives and during it Hindus and Muslims appeared to have united. On the failure of the movement Hindu-Muslim riots broke out with greater virulence than ever before.

The attitude of the Congress about these riots was of trying to cover the guilt of the Muhammadans in those riots. After the Kohat Riots in 1923, Mahatma Gandhi fasted for

twenty-one days to bring about purity of heart and thought among the communities. During the fast Mahatma Gandhi tried to find out the causes of Kohat riots and the events that happened during them. At the time of breaking his fast he wanted to issue a statement and one was written in the evening of the day before the fast was to be broken. It was a severe condemnation of the behaviour of the Muslims of Kohat. Many people had seen the typed copy of the statement, but in the morning the statement that appeared in press was quite different to what people saw ready the previous evening. The statement that appeared in the press accused the Hindus in general and Arya Samajists in particular. How this change came about is difficult to explain. The probable explanation was the meeting of Maulana Muhammad Ali with Mahatmaji late that night.

This made Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Hindu leaders to consider the position of Hindus within and without the Congress. It led them to establish the Hindu Mahasabha. Several other organizations were also formed for rejuvenating the Hindu Nation.

Rashtrya Swayamsewak Sangh was one of them. Dr. Hedgewar of Nagpur was the founder of it and he had altogether different methods of work. The movement of Rashtrya Swayamsewak Sangh, commonly known as "R.S.S.," made steady progress and, in twenty years' time, it became a formidable Organization. Hindu-Muslim relations, since 1941, the year of the passing of the "Pakistan Resolution" at Lahore, gave great impetus to the movement. The movement spread all over India, right from Kashmir to Trichinopoly. It was not a rival movement to

Congress, yet it was about as big or next as big as the Congress. So long Swarajya was not obtained, it did not bother about what the Congress did. Still it never approved the policy of the Congress concerning Hindu-Muslim question.

After the attainment of Swarajya, the Government was formed by the Congress and it became afraid of the other parties and ideologies in the country. The question of the Socialist and Communist party was not of any anxiety for the Congress. These parties were yet small in size and were composed of people having western ideas. Some of the prominent leaders of the Congress are also having ideas imported from the West. But the R. S. S. movement and the Hindu Mahasabha were fundamentally different from the Congress. The ideological differences between these organizations and the Congress have been explained in the chapter on "Communal Tangle" and the chapter on "Exchange of Populations." Thus the Congress was afraid of these two. It apprehended that the Hindu Mahasabha or, more so, the R. S. S. can and will oust them out of power. Consequently a campaign of vilification was started against both of these organizations. This vilification was started by the Congress committees and pressure was put on the Government to ban these organizations.

The accusations against these bodies were started long before the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The foremost among the accusers were the Socialist leaders and the Communist Party. Later on the Government officials also took up the refrain and began to sing the same tune. The allegations against the R. S. S. are: (a) R. S. S. is a Fascist movement; (b) it is a communal organization; (c) it is a private army;

(d) it took part in communal riots in August and September, 1947 and (e) it had a hand in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi.

In these accusations the Socialist leaders are the loudest of all. All these allegations were refuted by the leader of the R. S. S. in one of his speeches in 1947. He challenged the Government to prove these or any one of them in any law court. Moreover, the leader of the R. S. S. stated clearly that the R. S. S. organization is not taking part in active politics. At that time the U. P. Government announced that a charge-sheet against the movement was being prepared.

At this time came the tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi's murder. People who were raising a storm against the R. S. S. became highly virulent in their attacks against these people and the Government, either on account of pressure from that side or on account of other reasons better known to it, banned the organization and issued instructions to all provinces and states to ban and suppress it.

(2)

Previous to this ban there was no publication of the charge-sheet against this organization. Not a single case anywhere in India was started against the officials or any member, as such, of this body. If there are any charges against these people, a record of them must be in the archives of the Government. Except the general vague charges that certain Socialist leaders were levelling against this organization, there was nothing specific against them. Yet this organization not only became the target of Government wrath, but also

the victim of people's fury. The Socialists all over the country held meetings in honour of Mahatmaji and roused the feelings of the audiences, stating that the murderer of Mahatmaji was a member of the R.S.S. The contradiction of this allegation, made by the leaders of the R.S.S., was suppressed and not allowed to come to the notice of the public. Thus, the maddened people rushed upon the poor members and sympathizers of this movement and killed them, looted and burnt their property and committed all sorts of atrocities. The height of this lawlessness was most prominent in the districts of Poona, Satara, Sholapur and Kolhapur. In Delhi also, the Socialist leaders tried to create disturbances. Fortunately, the Socialist leaders, finding the Government impotent to arrest them, in spite of their mischief, tried to strike higher. One of their leaders held a meeting just opposite the Secretariat Buildings and demanded the resignation of one of the prominent members of the Cabinet.

The R. S. S. Organization was banned all over India and its offices were searched and sealed. These searches and wholesale arrests of its workers and leaders appear to have given no tangible proof in the hands of the Government as out of more than twenty thousand people arrested, not a single case could be started in a law court in accordance with the ordinary law of the country.

Public Safety Acts became handy with the authorities and with impunity the arrests and confiscations went on. Some fortunately-placed people filed *Habeas Corpus* petitions which succeeded in most of the cases. A *Habeas Corpus* writ cannot be granted on the grounds of fact, as in that respect the Public Safety Acts take away the right of a court to inter-

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fere. It can only be granted if there is some error in procedure in the matter of arrests. Even with this limited scope most of the petitioners got the writ granted.

A government which is based on the will of the people cannot go on, for a long time, by arbitrary laws like Public Safety Acts. These Acts are meant for emergency periods and for limited use. If a government feels itself in peril without the use of such Acts upon twenty thousand and more persons and then extending over a period of more than six months; if a government for its security requires the use of these arbitrary laws for more than nine hundred times on newspapers in a province in about two years; and if a government do not find even a single province, in the whole country, where it cannot work without the help of such laws the government has no justification to exist. It must resign and allow others to work with normal laws and conditions.

The Government has not taken the trouble to institute a single case against the R.S.S. organization as such or against any of the leaders of this organization. This naturally gives the right to the sympathisers of the movement to criticise this action of the Government. For some time the Government can mislead the people to believe that the R.S.S. is really a danger for the country, but how long can it do it? One day the Government will have to justify its action before the public. Arrest and detention without trial is a two-edged sword. It kills the people against whom it is drawn, but it cuts the hand also that wields it. Governments, democratic or absolute, have ultimately to rely upon the goodwill of the people and goodwill is not gained by such arbitrary actions.

These arbitrary powers can only be used against proved traitors. Has anything of the kind been proved against this organization? Was there ever a case against this organization in any court of law in the country and did ever any court convict the organization or any major leader of the organization before its banning and detention of its twenty thousand members?

It is a well-known fact that the Sikhs were the foremost in retaliatory measures in August and September, 1947, and no such ban or prohibitory orders have ever been issued against any Sikh party or group. It is becoming clear that the conspiracy, if any, for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi was confined to certain people of the Hindu Sabha, yet Hindu Mahasabha is not banned. Similarly, neither the Sikhs nor the Hindu Sabhaites have been detained under such arbitrary laws in such large numbers. This shows that it is not for the communal disturbances nor is it for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, that the R.S.S. is banned and its members detained for such long periods and in such large numbers.

It is for the Government to show why and what for this lawlessness is being perpetrated upon people who are up till now innocent in the eye of the law. The thing has not ended here. The Government has punished even those who have tried to ask the Government for any tangible proofs of their guilt!

The present trouble of the Government is with the neighbouring Muhammadan States, Pakistan and Hyderabad. At the time of conflict with them, it will be the Muhammadans residing in India who are to be feared and not the Hindus.

Not even a fool can conceive that any section of the Hindus will not support the Government in that emergency. Muhammadans are already assuming a threatening attitude and if—may it not be so—the Muhammadans betray the confidence the Government has placed in them, it will only be some strong organization like the R.S.S. which will prove an asset to the country and not the advisers of the Government, who are advising the use of arbitrary laws upon friends.

There appears to be some big conspiracy, which is antagonizing the Government with the Hindus. The Government can depend only on Hindus who voted for the Congress in the last elections, by the virtue of which it acquired the present position. How many non-Hindus helped the Congress to stand where it is standing now? The present Government feels that it has the backing of the masses. It is true, but it will last only up to the time it can keep the people in delusion. People, on account of the services of the Congress in the past, are having confidence in its leadership, but this confidence will fast vanish away by the action of the Government against its own constituents. It will be a black day for India when the Government will lose the confidence of the Hindus and it is doing everything in its power to lose it.

(2)

In this repression another grievous mistake is being committed. The Congress people and the Congress committees are acting as informers to the Police. By instructions or otherwise, the Police is arresting people on the information of the Congress members. As there is held no magisterial enquiry before the arrest and detention and there is being given no opportunity to the accused to show his innocence.

this giving of information by the members of a political party and detention without trial on this information has assumed the form of party tyranny. Congress is a political party and the judgment of its members cannot but be influenced by the political ideology they believed in. It is but natural that the members of a political party should believe their opponents to be betraying the interests of the country. Even in ordinary circumstances, when the information supplied by any informer is never relied upon unless there is independent evidence to corroborate it; the accused is given full chance to prove his innocence and when, after conviction in one court, there is an opportunity for the accused to appeal in a higher court, a political party-man is never considered to be impartial. Now, in India, the Police, under instructions or without instructions, accepted the information of the Congressmen as true and sufficient to detain persons for long periods.

This is the height of injustice and against all tenets of fair dealing. If a party is to be given the opportunity of putting its opponents behind the bars, without judicial enquiry, then we must bid "good-bye" to democracy and security of any person in the state. Police, law courts and paid officials of the Government must not be made a party to political intrigues.

Here the Congress Government not only started a very bad precedent, but also undermined the Indian State. State officials were made to work in the interest of a political party and in doing so imprisoned the opponents without trial. If every party is allowed to do so it will be the greatest misfortune for the State.

Yet it was done and the whole Government machinery was

made to act according to the pet notions of the Congress Party and started arresting and detaining without trial, confiscating properties and closing down printing establishments and newspapers. The impartiality of the executive is destroyed. The greatest blow to the impartiality of the executive is being given by the Congress officials who are giving an impression to the people that this is the normal thing with the Government. The man in the street has taken it as an admitted fact that the party in power has the right to do so. This is the beginning of the end of the State's prestige. The result will be obvious. The way is being paved for revolution and perhaps a bloody one.

It is the Government that is bringing this situation nearer and to accuse others if, God forbid, this happens, will be the biggest foolish act.

NATIONAL ANTHEM AND NATIONAL LANGUAGE

These questions could not have come under a review of the year 1947-8. But as the Government of India is carrying on things as if they have been decided, it will not be out of place to write a few lines about these matters. Both these questions are as fundamental and important as that of the National Flag, so one feels surprised to find that the decision about the flag was taken very hurriedly and that regarding these two things is being postponed from one sitting of the Constituent Assembly to the other. In the matter of National Anthem and National language, it is rumoured, the Muslims are opposing the Congress point of view.

Although the Congress leaders are advocating a non-communal outlook in political matters, yet they have, it appears, not yet freed themselves from the fear of displeasing the Muhammadans. The things that they have not done for more than half a century of the Congress life they find it out of their power to do now. Advocates of a secular state appear to be afraid of displeasing the Muhammadans.

The question of the National Anthem is more or less a sentimental one and the "Vande Mataram" Song has made the same place in the hearts of the people as the Tri-colour Flag has got. The difference between the two is that one, i.e., the Tri-colour Flag, was designed to include the colour of Muhammadans, while the song did not have their language in it. Therefore, the Muhammadans had nothing to say

against the flag, while they disapproved the song "Vande Mataram."

Hindus view the whole question from a different angle. They feel that the "Vande Mataram" song had played the same rôle in the national struggle as has been played by the Tricolour Flag. The song was composed with the object of rousing patriotic emotions in the minds of people and for forty years, i.e., 1903 to 1943, played a grand part in leading young men to sacrifice their all on the altar of Mother India.

The Congress has always been very sensitive to the sentiments of Muhammadans, but even they did not raise any objection to it in the beginning of the national movement. Even the attention of the Muslim League did not go this way up to the year 1933 or 1934. In 1922 the Congress introduced Iqbal's "Hindustan Hamara" as a supplementary national song. It was simply to please the Urdu-knowing public. "Hindustan Hamara" was found to be stale and flat before "Vande Mataram" and it could not take the place of a National Anthem. Muhammadans, in spite of their sojourn in India for more than a thousand years, have not been able to pick up sufficient Sanskrit words or Hindu mythology to understand "Vande Mataram." Anything and everything connected with the old traditions, literature and culture of the country is considered by them as anti-Islamic. Thus they, encouraged by the leaders who introduced "Hindustan Hamara" as a concession on the Congress Platform, put forward their claim that "Vande Mataram" be displaced by Iqbal's song. This song is in Persianised "Hindustani" and

that is the only qualification of it. This does not go any way beyond the physical aspect of the country. It describes Ganga, Yamuna, Himalaya, etc., and nothing beyond that. Moreover the song, if it has to give any sense, has to be taken as a whole, which is too lengthy for the National Anthem.

Then came the introduction of "Jana Gana Mana" by the Indian National Army. Why and how it came to be introduced there and why "Vande Mataram" was rejected is not clear. After all, the history of the Indian National Army is only a part of the nationalist movement in the whole of the country. It bears only a small proportion of the independence movement for the country. It, however, has caught the ear of some of the people of India and deserves consideration.

"Vande Mataram" was made famous by the famous writer of Bengali literature of the last century. His immortal novel, "Anand Matha," introduced this song in the public and it caught the ear of the people immediately. In the novel itself the song was the symbol of patriotic emotions of the characters. The song of "Vande Mataram" has become so famous that it—we can say with confidence—contributed to the immortal fame of the author of "Anand Matha," Rishi Bankim Chander Chatterjee.

"Jana Gana Mana," on the other hand, was written by the great poet, Shri Ravinder Nath Thakur, but the occasion of its writing leaves a chill in the heart of those who know it. It was not written to rouse any kind of patriotic emotions in the hearts of the Indian public. It, in fact, is the offering of gratitude at the feet of King George V by a grateful Bengali

heart. The King of England, the Emperor of India, came to India to get himself coronated in 1911 and, as on this occasion, he announced the annulment of the division of Bengal, the grateful heart of a Bengali poet got filled with gratitude and this "Jana Gana Mana" is the outpourings of that grateful heart. It means that the King-Emperor is the master of the minds of all the people of India! He is the master of India's "Bhagya," that is, future! So Victory to him! Victory to him!! and Victory to him!!

This history of "Jana Gana Mana" is not elating at all and its adoption as a National Anthem will not create any emotion in the minds of the people. It will soon become a dead mechanical thing. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru appears to be supporting it and his argument for it is its motion and tune. In reply to a question in the Central Legislature he told the House that when the Indian Ambassador in Washington presented it to an international audience, everybody liked it. He has got its rendering in a tune, which is liked by all who hear it. He, with the resources of the State at his back, has got its rendering in a tune liked by all and has not got the rendering done of the "Vande Mataram".

That "Vande Mataram" is incapable of being rendered is not yet proved. The Constituent Assembly did not appoint Pandit Jawahar Lal to see that the rendering of which song sounds better. He got it done on his own initiative and then of one song only. Moreover the opinion of foreigners sitting in Washington cannot decide *OUR* National Song. A national song is not meant to please the ears of foreigners. But we have to see which one and what tune has the capacity of creating patriotic emotions in the minds of our young men.

The difficulty with Panditji is that his face is turned towards *outside* the country, while we want a person to be the head of our Government who is more mindful of conditions *inside* India.

One thing is certain, that the National Anthem IS MUCH MORE than a mere tune. It is to be the Soul of the Nation, the essence of State, the mirror of national traditions and prediction of the future of the Nation. Howsoever beautiful the tune of "Jana Gana Mana" may be, it does not represent the past traditions and future aspirations of the nation. "Vande Mataram" fulfils all these conditions and if proper technical aid is invited the rendering of it into a much more beautiful tune may be possible.

(2)

The question of the National Language is also being postponed from day-to-day without allowing the Constituent Assembly to decide about it. In fact the Education Ministry cannot function without having a decision about this question. If nothing has been done by the Education Minister in the year under review, it is because the question of language is not yet decided. The planning of education can only be made after knowing the language in which education is to be imparted and the script in which books have got to be ready.

How ridiculous must have been the position of the representatives of universities who were invited to decide whether higher education is to be imparted in English or any other language. This Conference was called by the

Education Minister of the Central Government. The university authorities were aware of the fact that the national language of India is not going to be English, yet they knew that no decision had been reached by the Constituent Assembly regarding the Language to replace English. Naturally the Conference could not decide anything and the members, after enjoying a trip to Delhi, went back to their respective places. Two decisions, however, were reached. One was that English will go on for five years more and the second that the scientific technical terms will ever remain in English. Both these decisions were negative and, in fact, nothing positive could be expected in the absence of a decision regarding the National Language. The Conference was in no way better than putting the cart before the horse.

(3)

How has this delay, which has kept the Education Department on pension for one year occurred? It is a story that will shock the public to know. The question of National Language was to come before the Constituent Assembly at its very early sittings along with the flag question. The proposal was that the National Language of the Indian Union will be Hindustani with Devnagri and Urdu Script. The framer of the proposal, apparently did not voice the opinion of the country or the nation's representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Naturally, when the members of this Assembly read this proposal they decided to send an amendment to the effect that the National Language of the country will be Hindi with Devnagri Script. The amendment was in the name of Svt. Purusho.tam Dass Tandon.

The sponsors of the original proposal were the members of the Congress Party in the C.A., and Shri Tandonji also belonged to the same party. Consequently the matter went into the party meeting but, to the utter surprize of the sponsors of the resolution, Tandonji had a majority with him. The sponsors had Pandit Jawanar Lal Nehru, Shri Acharya Kripalani and many other leading members of the party with them, but they were in a minority of 51 to 63. As a rule, the Congress Party should have supported the amendment of Shri Tandonji but the supporters of the original proposal wanted liberty of vote in the matter. They were speculating upon the popularity of the leaders and the support they would get from the Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress Party did not want to limit the choice of their respected leaders. In fact this was a concession out of respect for them. This is a fact that if the sponsors of the original proposal had obtained a majority, they would not have allowed the same liberty to their opponents.

However, even when the script question was made independent of party discipline, the sponsors of the original proposal found on calculation that they had little chance of getting the proposal accepted in the Constituent Assembly. People outside the Congress Party were more in favour of Devnagri Script than inside the party. The right thing for the sponsors of the two-script proposal was to withdraw their proposal and to help in getting Tandonji's amendment accepted in the Constituent Assembly. They, on the other hand, resorted to different tactics. Some of them went to Mahatma Gandhi and sought his help in winning support for their proposal. It is true that Mahatmaji was in favour of

the two-script proposal, but he was neither a member of the Constituent Assembly nor a member of the Congress Committee. His help, therefore, if required, should have been used before the decision of the Party and not after a decision had been reached by the Party. Mahatmaji himself should not have jumped into this controversy, specially when a decision had already been reached. His personal interference in Party matters had not occurred for the first time, but the question of language was considered by the people so important that even respect for Mahatmaji could not alter the opinion of the people. All the Congressmen respected him and it pained them to oppose him, but the question of language is of so fundamental an importance that the whole future of the nation hangs on it. Even Mahatmaji's personality was considered to be smaller than the Nation and Tandonji and others, who wanted to support the amendment, remained adamant.

Mahatmaji's intervention could only induce Tandonji and his colleagues to agree to the appointment of a sub-committee to reframe the proposal. In the nomination of the sub-committee a clever trick was tried to be played. The minority that suffered a defeat in the party meeting was allotted a greater number of seats in the sub-committee than the majority that won. This, however, could not pass unnoticed and the sub-committee had to be enlarged in order to give a greater number of seats to the majority party.

This sub-committee has not met so far. It is now more than a year and things have been so manipulated that neither has the sub-committee solved the problem nor has

the matter been allowed to come before the Constituent Assembly.

The sponsors of the two-script proposal, finding themselves unable to carry the majority with them, are working their ideas from the back door. Our Education Minister is working to give the place of official language to Urdu in spite of the fact that no decision has been reached by the Constituent Assembly in the matter. Along with this a keen effort to make the provincial languages the medium of higher education and of official work is being made.

It is not all. The Prime Minister, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, threatened or predicted disintegration of the Indian State if Sanskritized Hindi is adopted as the National Language by the Constituent Assembly. It is a serious thing. Is Panditji aware of those elements that threaten the disruption of the Indian State as a protest against the decision of the Constituent Assembly? Has Panditji interned those rebel elements? The public feels greatly concerned over this prediction of disintegration of the State. Why should it be so? Urdu is not the language of any province in the country. Why, then, should anybody think of going out of the Indian Union if Persianized Hindustani is not adopted as National Language?

What appears to be the case is that Sanskrit being the mother tongue of all the provincial languages, except South-Indian languages, Sanskritized Hindi will lead to more intimate union between the provinces than will Persianized Hindustani. Urdu Script has no place anywhere in India. The languages of South India are, no doubt, not descended

from Sanskrit, yet these languages have assimilated a great number of Sanskrit words. Telugu contains 40 per cent. Sanskrit words. Tamil has also about 10 to 15 per cent. Sanskrit words in it.

The only fear of fragmentation of the country is from the side of the Muhammadans. The country has the right to know if the Muhammadans, as a body, or anyone from among them has threatened the revolt against the State and the Prime Minister has got terrified by this threat? Anyhow the question of the National Language had to be decided long ago so that the planning of education had not suffered the loss of one year. It is not a small loss. The children of the whole nation have lost practically one year. Calculate and you will understand the immensity of it.

In the absence of any work to do the Education Minister is busy in planning dancing halls, music academies and literary clubs. It will be interesting to note, in this connection, that there is no public library in New Delhi. It appears that in the opinion of our Education Minister, dancing and music academies are more important than a public library in the capital town of India!

There is another aspect of the question of National Language. It is about its relation with regional languages. There has to be drawn a line of demarcation between the scope of regional languages and the National Language. This line of demarcation cannot be a very sharp one. There, surely, will be over-lapping in certain places and to a certain extent but they will have their own distinct spheres of activities.

The Government is not deciding this point, as well, with the result that disintegrating elements in the country are raising their heads. It looks as if people, who wanted Urdu along with Devnagri Script, are trying to weaken the case of Devnagri by trying to rouse the demon of regional languages against the National one. The right thing is that Hindi with Devnagri Script should be declared the National Language of India and English in all its spheres of activities be replaced by the National Language in the shortest possible time.

(4)

The question of Culture is intimately connected with that of National Language and Anthem.

It is said that once the Government of a foreign country wrote to our Foreign Department to supply it some books on Indian Culture. Prompt, it is alleged, was the reply of our Foreign Department that there is no such thing as Indian Culture. It is stated that the reply enlightened the curiosity-stricken Foreign Government that in India there are many cultures in vogue. There is Persian Culture, Mongolian Culture, Hindu Culture, Islamic Culture, etc.

This display of ignorance, if the above story is correct, is very painful, but not surprizing. The present Government of India is the most ill-informed one in this respect. The reason is clear. Those who are at the helm of affairs are trying to create a secular state in India and a secular state has nothing to do with the culture of the country.

The thing to be wondered at is that another Department

of the Government of India is planning to give Cultural Training to students in Schools and Colleges. What will be the culture which a Department of a secular Government is thinking of imparting? The difficulty in India is that each and every rule of life is considered to be a part and parcel of religion. How can there be anything in the way of Irving without a religious edict about that? In this way one department of the Government is ignoring all cultural ideologies, while another department is trying to evolve a new culture in the country. It looks like complete discord between different Departments of the Government.

It is all due to the muddled notions of the functions of the Government, the structure of the State and composition of the Nation. Culture is the national way of life and state is an institution which protects and represents that way of life. If there exists any nation in India, then there must be some culture present in that country also. The Government of the country is simply to carry out day-to-day administration of the country, but in no way should that administration tamper with the culture of the nation. Cultural reform cannot be the function of the Government, which is supposed to be secular. Cultural reforms can be the spontaneous development of a nation and not a forced one by the Government. Great men of the nation, by their preachings, writings and organizational activities, create changes, evolutionary or revolutionary, in the society and these changes, afterwards, are incorporated in the law of the country and then the Government can act according to the law.

The Government cannot prepare culture like a comfit,

nor can it destroy any existing one. The culture of the majority of the people will be the one, that the state in the country must protect. Changes in it must devolve from the natural developments in the nation.

India is a country inhabited by one nation. A nation has one culture and this one is to be protected by the State in the country. In case we consider that India is inhabited by people of many nationalities and many civilizations, then, why unity, why one Government, why no opting out provision and why Central Legislature? The whole thing, that people, considering Indians a people of multiple civilizations; want, can be achieved by military pacts alone.

The fact that India is inhabited by 90 per cent. Hindus and these have a culture of their own, is not being recognized by the High Rank leaders. They sneer at the very word "Hindu" and want to create a nation and then a civilization of their own imagination. The Government is, as they say, going to be secular, but they forget this all when the question of Persian Script, Persianized Language, Persian Civilization and the rights of the Muhammadans as such are under consideration.

For the unity and the strength of the country it must be a nation that inhabits it. A nation is not a crowd of people who happen to have gathered in one land, without having any unanimity of ideals and objectives in life. Ideals and objectives of life in a nation are intimately linked with the past history, traditions and customs of the people. The literature in the country has the most profound influence in knitting them into one. All these things are possessed by

Hindus in India, and have withstood the test of varying circumstances and conditions. Therefore, a State in India that does not recognize ~~Hindus as~~ such and has nothing to do with Hindu culture, history and traditions does not deserve the name.

HYDERABAD

Asaf Jah, the founder of the dynasty of the present ruler of Hyderabad, was a vassal of the Moghul Emperor. When Moghul Darbar became weak and incapable of exercising its will over Deccan, the Hyderabad Governor became an independent ruler.

Mahrattas, at that time, were also raising their heads, but they, in order to establish their kingdom, had to wage a double war, one with the Moghuls of Delhi and the other with Bijapur Darbar. Both were the Muhammadan Kingdoms and disliked the establishment of a Hindu State between them, but Mahrattas survived and were able to establish their rule. The Mahrattas would have swallowed Golkanda and Hyderabad also, if the third power had not jumped in at that time. In wars with the Mahrattas Hyderabad sided the English and in this way obtained an equality with them by a treaty. The equality between the Hyderabad State and the British rulers in India is no concern of the present Indian Government. This Government has to take up the chain of events just from where they were interrupted by the coming of the Britishers in India. It means we have to consider that the Mahrattas, who now, by their consent, form a part and parcel of the Indian Union, were the claimants of Hyderabad State. This claim is also right from the point of view of the right of the population to have the Government of its own choice.

Since the fall of Khalifat in Turkey, Nizam of Hyderabad has been trying to assume the position of Khalifa in the Muslim world. The marriage relation between the last Khalifa and the Nizam's family has already elevated his position in the eyes of the Muslim world.

The history of the administration of the Hyderabad State from 1921 onward is a proof of the fact that the Nizam has been aspiring to the position of a saviour of the Muslims in the world. In a State that was populated by eightyfive per cent. of Hindus, speaking Hindi, Maharashtrian and Teluga, the Osmania University started imparting education in highly-Persianized Urdu. The books published and accepted as text-books for studies by the University are in such a stiff Persianized language that even *Ulema* of Punjab would find it difficult to understand.

Muslims have been imported from different parts of India and the world to settle in the State. Preference in Services was always given to Muslims over the Hindus, even if they are the residents of the State. Military is exclusively composed of Muhammadans. There are Pathans, Iranians, Arabs and Armenians in the Hyderabad Army. It is a fact that every Muhammadan of India considered Hyderabad as the homeland of Islam.

British Government in pursuance of its policy of dividing India had always encouraged Hyderabad in its pro-Muslim policy and activities. The Hindus of Hyderabad were kept at the level of the tillers of the soil and drawers of water. The

rule of the State went completely into the hands of the Musalmans.

(3)

The question is: How has the Government of India dealt with the Hyderabad State after the fifteenth of August, 1947? Just in accordance with the appeasement policy of the Congress the Government gave every facility and opportunity to the State to pick up strength to be able to defy India. The Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad was in fact a great concession to this State. It was not a Standstill Agreement, as the State went on with the preparations to oppose the Government of India. It was a Paramount Power with respect to this State before the 15th of August, 1947, and became equal with the State, by this Agreement. The State acquired the right to appoint its Agents-General in all the countries of the world. The biggest thing that Hyderabad Government gained by this Agreement was the time to prepare. Although it was agreed that arms and ammunition will not be obtained by the State without the consent of the Government of India, yet the Hyderabad State did not abide by this term of Agreement. Moreover, there was no restriction on the manufacture of arms and on establishment of new armament factories. The trip of Sydney Cotton, without being checked by the Indian Government, has provided a proof to the suspicion. The Government of India fulfilled its own part of the Agreement by removing the Indian forces from the State.

There were several conferences between the representatives of the Indian Government and those of the Hyderabad State. Sometime in the month of June, 1948, these representatives

reached a sort of agreement and it was hoped that the Nizam would agree to it. But he refused to sign the Agreement and this ended the negotiating stage. It is stated in the White Paper issued by the Government of India on Hyderabad that it has gone to the limit of concessions to this State. Now what remains to be done is that the Indian troops be asked to march into the State and take possession of it.

The justification for such a step is not only because the State is not agreeing to accede to the Indian Union but, also, because the State is badly administered and is pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu. A place which is inhabited by eighty-five per cent. of Hindus cannot have a State which does not recognize the rights of Hindus as such.

Then again, the same principle that we have enunciated in the case of Kashmere, that a part of an organic whole cannot be independent, applies much more aptly to the case of Hyderabad.

It is not possible for a person unconnected with the Government and unaware of certain facts connected with military dispositions, to fix the opportune time for the troops to march in. But this much is certain now, that no other alternative is left with the Government of India and quick action after a diplomatic breakoff is always the right thing.

N.B. Since after the writing of the above the police action by the Indian Government, has been taken and within five days the State opposition to India's demand collapsed. The Hyderabad State, now, is in the hands of the Indian Military and future of the State is proposed to be decided by the people of the State.

MISCELLANEOUS

It is not possible to deal with all the matters concerning the Government of India in a small book like this. The activities, naturally, were so many and so varied that many matters have to be left out. The problem of food, the lifting and reimposing of cloth control, the problem of health and education, the matter of imports and exports, etc., are all there and require a good deal of space to deal with which could not be had here.

Thus, we have tried to pick up such issues that are of fundamental nature for the future progress of the country. Some of the issues that may alter the very nature of things in this country if decided in one way or the other way, were taken up and dealt with. In such important matters, difference of opinion is a matter of course and the author of this book has tried to put forward that point of view, which is being ignored. The author is convinced that his stand is correct.

But this does not mean that the Government is doing all that is possible in all other matters. For instance, the food deficit is being tackled from two points of view only, i.e., as a short-range view by importing grains from abroad and a long-range view of growing more food here. But there is another aspect of the question, which is not even touched by our Food Minister. This is the problem of the growing population of the country. This aspect of the food

problem is further divided into three methods of eliminating the growth of population: (a) Birth control; (b) Sending out of people to those parts of the world which are sparingly populated and (c) Stopping of the influx of people from the neighbouring countries.

Similarly, the problem of health is there. Bhore Committee Report is before the Government for the last several years. Then the problem of indigenous systems of medicine is also lying untouched. There is the problem of unemployment in the country which requires immediate attention.

This is the first year of independence and it can, aptly, be said that in this short period spectacular results should not have been expected. For this reason we have confined ourselves to the discussion of policies more than the results achieved.

Still there is one thing which cannot be left without mention here. This is the matter of merging of States among themselves or with the Indian Union. This problem looked very formidable and defied even the British Government for about a hundred years. Now it is practically solved by the present Government in less than nine months. It is true that there are other forces that have been working to bring about the results that we see, but the efforts and the methods of working the problem by the Government of India deserve the highest possible praise. The firm hand with which Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, dealt with the problem of Princes of the States and that of the people of the States who were getting beyond the domain of practical

politics, and brought about an arrangement that is expected to last, at least, several decades.

The problem, to start with, was that India under the British rule was divided into two parts—British India and Indian India. A part of British India was handed over to the Indian National Congress on 15th August, 1947, and Indian India was made independent and free to negotiate with the Indian Union. If Indian India had been one unit the thing would have been different. The problem of absorbing it in the Indian Union would have been extremely difficult. The fact that Indian India was composed of about six hundred units of various sizes and which were made independent, not only from the Paramount Power but also from one another, made the problem easier, in one way, and very big in another respect. Divided Indian India could easily be impressed to accede to the Union, but it was a tedious job to bring six hundred units in line with one another and then with the administration of the Indian Union.

Anyhow, it has been done. Now, the result, which is undoubtedly remarkable, is that out of about six hundred big and small States about 219 with an area of 87,774 square miles and an estimated population of twelve million have merged with the Provinces of Orissa, C. P., Bihar, Madras, Bombay and East Punjab. Twentythree States with an area of 19,016 square miles and a population of nearly a million-and-a-half have become centrally administered areas. This includes the solitary border State of Cutch and 21 tiny principalities now integrated into Himachal Pradesh. A total of 294 States with an area of 150,400 square miles and a population of about 24 millions have been consolidated into the six

new "Mandals" : (1) Malseya ; (2) Swarashtra ; (3) Vindhya-chal Pradesh; (4) Rajasthan; (5) Madhya Bharat and (6) East Punjab States Union. The remaining 21 States can be divided into two categories—those that are entitled to have an independent seat in the Constituent Assembly, viz., Baroda, Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmere, Mysore, Cochin, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Mayurbhanj form one category and those that do not have even one seat in the Constituent Assembly, viz., Banaras, Cooch-Bihar, Jaisalmer, Khasipur, Mainpuri, Rampur, Sandhur, Tehri-Garhwal and Tripura, form the other category.

It is expected that if statesmanship is not yet exhausted, then the remaining States will also be made to fit into the scheme of things in the Indian Union.

The map of India that is drawn in this way is not the final one. Soon we may expect and hope that new unifying changes will be brought about.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it may again be said that nobody doubts the quantity of effort made by the Government of India to solve the problems in hand. What is lacking is the right type of effort, which would have fitted with the set-up of things in the country and the world. Right type of effort is the natural result of right kind of reasoning which, in its turn, is the outcome of environments. The real thing is that the Government of India has not yet gone into the hands of those people who have had their bringing up in Indian environments.

By "Indian environments" we do not mean the orthodox way of living. It only means the notion that the Hindus had about Nationality, State and Government. Nationality is not determined by mere residence in a country. A state, i.e., *Rashtra*, is not a plaything in the hands of changing minorities and majorities with every election. A government is merely an administrative unit, having nothing to do with the permanent law of the country. It has to *obey* the law and not to *make* the law.

The man that dominates the political picture of India today is Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He is the most respected and most applauded man in the country. Yet the question is: How many of the intelligent, learned and experienced Indians approve of his policies in major matters? Let each and every Indian in general and Congressman in particular think seri-

ously and introspectively and try to see the things in their right perspective.

The problem of problems is that we have on our Western borders and beyond a series of Muhammadan States which, more or less, do not tolerate any non-Muslim to have anything to do with them and which have a historic love to invade and plunder India. Under the present set-up, they may not be able to attack India by themselves, yet nobody can say, with certainty, that they will not join any European State or group of States and try to enter India in their trail. It can be said, without hesitation, that they can never be a source of help to us in our probable misfortune. They will, most probably, be among them who will take advantage of our troubles.

With such people at our border and with a boundary line which is difficult to defend, we have to plan the things in our country. In the light of these circumstances, we have to view the existence of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Muhammadans living in the country. It would not have mattered if Islam had been constituted like other religions. Even now the Muhammadans of India love Persian Language, Persian Script, dress and manners. They do not evince any desire to know, understand and respect the traditions, history and heroes of the forefathers of the majority of the people and, perhaps, of their own as well. Religion with them is still the dominating factor in their lives and activities.

If Islam is to play the role of the disintegrator of the country, as it played in the past, are we not entitled to see that this cult is kept under control and not allowed to spread? We do not mean to deprive any Muhammadan of

any political right he may possess in equality with other people of the same category in the country, but still those aspects of Islam that have been impelling the Muhammadans to dominate the country, in spite of their being in minority, and that have made them adamant in their demand for the creation of Pakistan in spite of the cajoling and appeasement policy of the Congress, have to be weeded out of the Indian Muslims or to be kept under check.

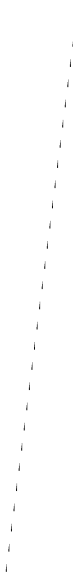
It is good and proper that the Government should make the country rich and overflowing with wealth, means and men, but what will be the use of all these things if they are to be plundered away once in every century by the brute hordes of the Western countries? Thus the defence of the country from the probable raiders and invaders should have first priority on our attention and efforts.

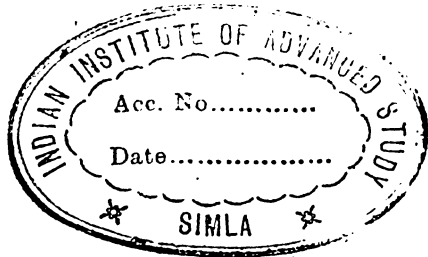
For this purpose is it not proper that we should inculcate a keen sense of patriotism among the people of the country? All those factors and ideologies that make the people inter-nationalists in their outlook are well to be kept under control. The Communists and in certain aspects the Socialists are anti-Nationalists in their outlook and we must not let them have the upper hand in Indian politics. It does not mean anything against the economic programme of the Socialists. What we want to curb is the anti-Nationalist outlook of theirs. The Muhammadans have always been having an international outlook, but confined to Muhammadans alone.

With this background, we have to view the problem of education, language, manners in life and industrialization.

Communalism, provincialism and other types of sectarianisms must go. We want all the people living in the Indian Union to be solidly one and this cannot be by breaking the already existing bonds between 90 per cent. of the population. We have to strengthen them still more so that the interests of India should become unshakable on account of sheer weight of the backing to them.

It is highly unfortunate that, howsoever big the achievement of our Government may be in certain matters, the efforts of the Congress Government in the first year of its regime in matters fundamental for the safety, security and progress of the people is neither in the right direction nor sufficiently vigorous.





Acc. No.....

Date.....

SIMLA

लेखक की अन्य पुस्तकें
हिन्दी में, कुछ समालोचनाएं
उन्मुक्त प्रेम कीमत ६)

उन्मुक्त प्रेम लेखक की सुन्दर कृति
है। हमें विश्वास है कि हिन्दी संसार
उसका स्वागत करेगा।

‘आजकल’ दिल्ली।

चिह्नित छाया कीमत ४॥)

लेखक की भाषा में ओज और
शैली में स्वभाविकता है हमें उनसे
बहुत आशाएँ हैं।

‘नव भारत’ नागपुर

लेखक की दिशा शुभ हैं, प्रयत्न
कल्याणकारी है उपन्यास-कला की
दृष्टि से भी उन्हें प्रयत्न में काफ़ी
सफलता मिली है.....पुस्तक
सरल है।

‘हिन्दुस्तान’ नई दिल्ली।

आज हिन्दी साहित्य में प्रगति और
यथार्थवाद के नाम से जो अन्धेर चल
रहा है, उसके विपरीत दिशा में
यथार्थ और आदर्श का चित्रण करके
यह उपन्यास-कलाकारों का पथ प्रदर्शन
अवश्य करेगा।

वीर ‘अर्जुन’

मिलने का पता:—

भारती साहित्य सदन

२३/६० कनाट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली।

श्री गुरुदत्त जी की पुस्तकों के विषय में

गुरुदत्त जी उन लेखकों में से हैं जो एक निश्चित उद्देश्य को लेकर साहित्य निर्माण की ओर अभिमुख हुए हैं।

‘आज कल’ दिल्ली

श्री गुरुदत्त जी के उपन्यास हिन्दी में अपने ढंग के निराले हैं। अतः विषय का चुनाव, उन का विवेचन, उन का कथन का ढंग सब उन्हें श्रेष्ठ उपन्यासकारों की श्रेणी में बैठाने के लिये उपयुक्त हैं।

पद्मसिंह शर्मा ‘कमलेश’।

मिलने का पता :—

भारती साहित्य सदन,

२२/६



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