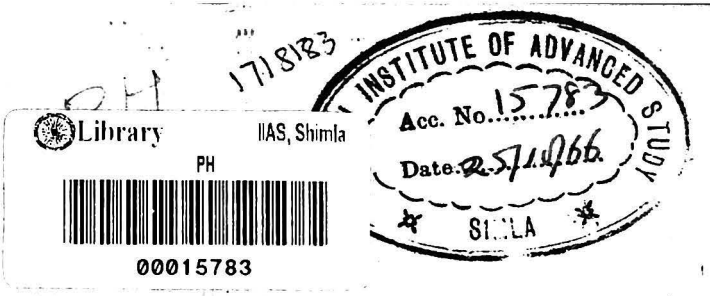

SAVE YOUR COUNTRY

India is supposed to be a Federal Democratic Republic. That means India is composed of different units in which all citizens of India have certain political rights and all are equal at law in India. If this is correct then these different units have something about them that made them different and they also voluntarily agreed to unite and form India on a definite lawful basis. The political rights of the people are also definite both in relation to the Central Government and to the narrower units. Lastly no man however posted, placed or elevated is any better than his fellowmen in India in the eyes of the law. So that no man however powerfully placed in the organisation of the land can deny the fundamental fact of the Federation of the different units and the democratic and the republican nature of the political organisation of this country.

These different units which constitute the Federation of India are different by virtue of race, language, culture, history economic conditions or due to circumstances created justly or otherwise by the people of the particular area or by alien schemers for their own ends. Whatever the background may be in any particular area it is obvious that in a federal-democratic-republican setting the shape, size, extent or the essential and basic organisation of any unit cannot be changed without showing proper respect and attention to the federal-democratic-republican political rights of the people of the area. By no stretching of the imagination or twisting of facts can one justify browbeating or arbitrary assertions by a small number of persons about effecting changes in the units so long as such assertions remain nothing more than mere opinions, whims or even the divine inspiration of a handful of **"high level"** persons. In a Federal Democratic Republic no man must think he is so **"High Level"** that the law or the constitution cannot touch him nor arrogate to himself all sorts of pow-

ers, rights and privileges which he cannot lawfully claim.

Even if all the people of Bengal and Bihar had been in favour of a merger of the two states, Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. S. K. Sinha would have been at fault to agree to a merger without first obtaining full legal authority from the peoples of these states. Their eagerness to make themselves heard as the **Saviours of the Two States** was so great that people immediately began to suspect the sincerity of their motive. For, when one wishes to do good to others, one seldom shows any indecent hurry about the matter. Rather, people think such hurry is a sure **symptom** of an attempt at personal gain as opposed tophilanthropy. Dr. Roy and Mr. Sinha knew that the merger was not popular, yet they rushed about madly seeking the blessings of every defunct and functioning politician of this land of politicians and began a **Press Campaign** from their party papers. Why ? Because they knew that a merger meant nothing to the people of the states in point of sound government or material advantage but was only a trick to keep the congress in power and to undo whatever little good was going to be done by the **S.R.C.** report. Can they even now prove that there is any advantage in a merger other than keepin the Congress in power ? **No.** Although their newspapers have used up all the **large types** in announcing their **wisdom and rare political genius,** they have given nothing to show what the exact nature of the gain is. One legislature with enlarged membership instead of two. One cabinet with a large number of **deputy, sub-deputy, and assistant-subdeputy** ministers in place of two ! The people of India must have been taken to be **rare fools** indeed by these **giants of political acumen** to be thought of capable of being taken in by this twaddle. Dr. Roy tried to guard his own privileges later by declaring that although there should be a merger, the budgets and the administration would remain as they were. So that any corruption or mal-administration that happened to exist would continue to exist. What then is the gain, other than keeping Congress in power by a Bihari majority and placating Bihari sentiment about keeping their hold on the Bengali speaking districts of Bihar ? It is well known that these areas are historically, racially culturally, linguistically and in every way integral parts of Bengal, that

were cut off from their motherland by the British and hitched on to the province of Bihar for reasons which were purely punitive to the Bengalis. That was Britain's answer to the **Swadeshi Movement** which was the beginning of that **fight for freedom** which culminated in 1947. When the congress agreed to accept freedom from the British by ceding large portions of the Punjab and Bengal to Pakistan, any honest re-adjustment of boundaries should have brought back to Bengal those maliciously dismembered areas. But Congress was guided by persons whose sense of fair play could not rise above their narrower interests. It was either **Lebensraum** for the Biharis or retaining parts of the Bhojpur area in the U.P. or something else. A Federation of States must be built out of natural states and not by creating states with artificial bondaries. If the question of administrative policy, the whims of **V.I.P.'s** or the advantages of **blackmarketting** were to decide the areas and boundaries of the so called states then this Federation would no longer be composed of free and natural units but of **farcical pieces of a highly changeful jigsaw puzzle.** It would be better to own up honestly that the states meant nothing but what the party in power desired them to look like. Following the same line of reasoning the next party which comes in power may declare Bengal to be a part of **Uzbekistan, Scotland or Massachusetts.** The main argument that all lovers of freedom, liberty and fairplay are putting up against the merger is that **no mandate of any extra-legal assembly,** no desires arising out of even honest motives, no understanding given by any man or men of however high level can ever be allowed to impinge upon the rights of the people to decide how they will live, develop and be governed.

Bengal, Maharastra or the Punjab are the lands of the Bengalis, the Maharastrians and the Punjabis. These peoples are **real** in history, culture, and language and have therefore a greater right of existence as themselves than artificially created **medleys** of a heterogenous nature like, let us say, **The Indian National Congress.** It is an **affront** to our humanity if we were to be forced to become something other than what our history, race and culture make us. The Bengalis have no desire to be known by a new name and be ruled by **Non-Bengalis,** no matter by how nice a Hindi

name by how saintly a **Non-Bengali conclave.** Dr. Roy's advice to Bengalis to become less Bengali and more Indian is quite meaningless in so far as all **True Indians** are either **True Bengalis,** or **True Maharastrians** or **True something else.** He who tries to forget his own background of history, race culture and language cannot become anything that is vitally human and men who can easily give up all that truly constitutes their **Self** will make very poor **"Indians"** whatever that may mean to Dr. B. C. Roy. A man's humanity is within himself and cannot be imposed on him by **Plastic Surgery ;** nor can he be anything worthy of the name of **Man** if he thought he could exchange his self for another by political resolutions or enactments.

It is clear therefore that although we are all very good Indians by virtue of being very good Bengalis, Maharastrians, Punjabis or anything else, we have no desire to suddenly change our personalities by puttting on a new **fancy dress or** by conversing in **Pigeon Hindi. In our opinion** such men as agree to do this in order to please Dr. B. C. Roy, Sri Rajendra Prasad. Sri Govind Ballav Pant or someother dignitary would end up by becoming ridiculous. The Bengali martyrs were all absolutely Bengali and also totally Indian. We do not understand wherein lies this much talked of antagonism between being Indian and being a Bengali or a Maharastrian or Punjabi. If a **Peacock were a fine Peacock** would it prevent it from being a **fine bird** ? Or would it be perhaps better for the **Peacock** to adopt partially, the ways of the Crow and the Eagle in order to qualify for **birdship** ? There is no such person as an Indian as opposed to Bengalis ; Biharis, Orissans, Tamils, Maharastrians, Gujeratis, Panjabis and the other peoples of India. And all good Bengalis or Maharastrians are good Indians. So are all bad Biharis or Rajasthanis, bad Indians. If the Indian National Congress has thought that a good Indian must of necessity cease to be a good Bengali, Punjabi, Maharastrian etc., we would recommend that the Indian National Congress looked for a new home outside Bengal Bihar, Orissa, Assam etc., etc. We have perforce to make this **rude remark** as we find this new addition to congress ideology in strange contrast with the views expressed by **Tagore, Gandhi** and the other really great men that India has

produced. The present day congress leaders appear to be **poor thinkers.** They cannot perhaps help their shortcomings, but they should stop playing at **The Superman** as artificially made **Superman** have little stability and lasting quality.

The merger of Bengal and Bihar has been conceived out of fear of power by Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. S. K. Sinha. Loss of power by reason of loss of votes in the case of Dr. Roy and loss of **face** over giving up unfairly retained areas as recommended by the **S.R.C.** in the case of Mr. Sinha. We sympathise with them, but then nothing tasty lasts for ever.

They Say :—

1. The merger will improve the administration. We say, **No.** It will create a **bigger muddle** and make maladministration **more acute.** If a certain body of man cannot carry on administration properly in a small area, they **cannot** do better in a larger area. Rather, one may expect **worse.**

2. The merger will **remove friction.** We say, **No.** It will **increase bitterness** as the Bihari majority will try to impose their will on the Bengali minority. Or as the congress members will face a larger opposition which will most probably take a linguistic colouring ; that is the opposition will be mainly Bengali and the congress mainly Bihari. Further the merger will **shelve the question of boundaries** and that will keep **alive** the animosity until all Bengal becomes Bengal by re-adjustment of boundaries.

3. The merger will put a stop to corruption. We say, **No.** Why should it ? Can **dishonest** men become **honest** by merging their dishonest interests ? What reformatary force will be brought into existence by a merger that will remove corruption, nepotism, jobbery etc., etc. There are no grounds for such **optimism.** One may expect a **worsening** of the situation as the **evil** will have more space to grow in.

4. The merger will **create one India out of a medley of divergent units.** We say, **No.** The merger will merely **drive** such divergence and animosities underground. The best method is to let all divergence remain as far as fairness and legitimacy permit and let all common interests

be stimulated and fostered so that the differences will soon loose their sting. The time will come when there will be no antagonism. The Indian National Congress cannot **liquidate** Social, Anthropological and Historical facts by legislation or by moral lectures.

Some sly and unscrupulous persons have even suggested that the merger will be a great boon to the **intelligentsia of Bengal** as the Biharis are comparatively uninstructed and Bengalis will therefore get more of the jobs that go as well as of law cases and medical practice and so forth. Our answer to these cunning suggestions is that we have no desire to act contrary to the best interests of Bihar. We would like to see the new generation of Bihari men and women to achieve for themselves what the rest of India will. Our only desire is to make the Biharis see how wrong it is for them to think of forcibly keeping certain parts of Bengal in their control. This is an evil which the people of Bihar can avoid by giving back these areas to Bengal and settle their own plan of progress in their own homes. The policy of **interstate grabbing** should not be tolerated by any freedom loving men and there are many such men in Bihar. There is only a minority who shout for retention of this **British Imperial heritage** but they are the men who would deprive and do deprive their own kith and kin whenever opportunity offers. ,,

It is therefore quite clear that this **"United States of Bengal and Bihar"** is only a ruse for power hunting by immoral men who have no hopes of keeping power by honest means and to them we would say, **Tell us first what is Bengal and what is Bihar. We shall have no merger of an attenuated Bengal with Bihar or any other part of India. Define the boundaries of Bengal clearly and justly and then talk about a merger".** We would also tell the Biharis to demand from the U.P. that part of Bhojpur which the British added to it arbitrarily and unjustly.

To those who talk of administrative advantages of removing political friction by a merger we would say, "Your knowledge of administration is obtained from British Imperial practice and a free nation cannot tolerate such administration. Those who had sold their souls to the British and had spent their lives in suppressing our freedom movement are today acting as the henchmen of a new set of

employers and are trying to initiate them into the finer points of tyrannical government and autocracy. We are a free people and we do not stand for this mock—Imperialism for if we did so the **"Imperialism"** may become painfully real. Linguistic, Cultural and racial grouping of states has been supported by politicians much above the level of Roys and Sinhas and we shall go by their teaching rather than learn our political philosophy at the feet of men who put their own personal advantages above all else. "Truth" is what Lies they choose to propagate and in this they excel the Dictators of modern Europe who atleast did not try to liquidate their own motherlands.

If a merger of states is such a good thing and if our racial, cultural, linguistic and such like traits stand in the way of our becoming true Indians, why does not the Indian National Congress try to merge the whole of India into one State ? Is it because that would make the central block a minority and stand in the way of their aggrandisement ? Is this another page out of British Imperial history in which we find them now siding with this state and then destroying it by alliance with their enemies ? It would be a good idea to liquidate Bengal and then go on to Maharastra or Punjab or some other natural group one by one, until the whole of India if fully denatured by the Central block. Evil suspicions no doubt but who is responsible for rousing such unworthy thoughts in our minds ?

We repeat again that all good Bengalis are very good Indians and that we have been so for longer years than quite a number of **"high level"** Congressmen. We have shed our blood and suffered persecution, tyranny and utter privation for achieving Indias' freedom. Yet we refuse to yield to this new tyranny, this pernicious autocracy, this cold, heartless power politics which is eating the vitals of India. Pandit Nehru is an ardent advocate of peaceful **co-existence.** Let him introduce at home what he preaches abroad. Then there should be no rioting, shooting, no mutual recrimination and no risk of bringing ruin to this fair land.

The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his address to Parliament (15.2.56) said, **"The reorganisation of states is an important matter and we must apply all our wisdom and tolerance to it. But, in the larger perspective**

of India and of India's furure it is a small matter what administrative boundaries we prescribe for a state".

As the President has no powers to change boundaries and only the people can decide what the state boundaries should be we believe the President did not mean that the administrative boundaries or any boundaries can be "prescribed" by any one other than the free citizens of this country who have suffered injustice at the hands of the autocratic British administration. The future of India is the furture of India's states for India has no separate existence outside the states. We do not have to remind a learned man like Dr. Rajendra Prasad that he is the President of a **Super State** which merely embodies in itself a number of component states and that there is nothing like a ruler and ruled relation between the **Super State** and the **Component States.** Autocratic ways of thinking, speaking or acting therefore should not be encouraged in a Federal Democratic Republic. Harping on the same statement we have to say that it is not at all a **"small matter"** if certain racial, cultural and liguistic groups of people were separated from their kith and kin for so called administrative reasons. People will not suffer injustice, tyrannical government, insults and violence to maintain a system of government which considers its beauracratic fancies **Sacrosanct.** Bihar had got some parts of Bengal attached to it for reasons of Imperialism. Imperialism has been abolished but its injustices remain. Removing injustice and unfair rules and regulations is **"wisdom".** But is surely can not be called **"tolerance"**, on the part of the sufferers, if they are **forced to surrender** to injustice. A bold warrior in the cause of freedom like Dr. Rajendra Prasad should come out to destroy such **cowwardly "Tolerance"** rather than call it a **Virtue.**

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