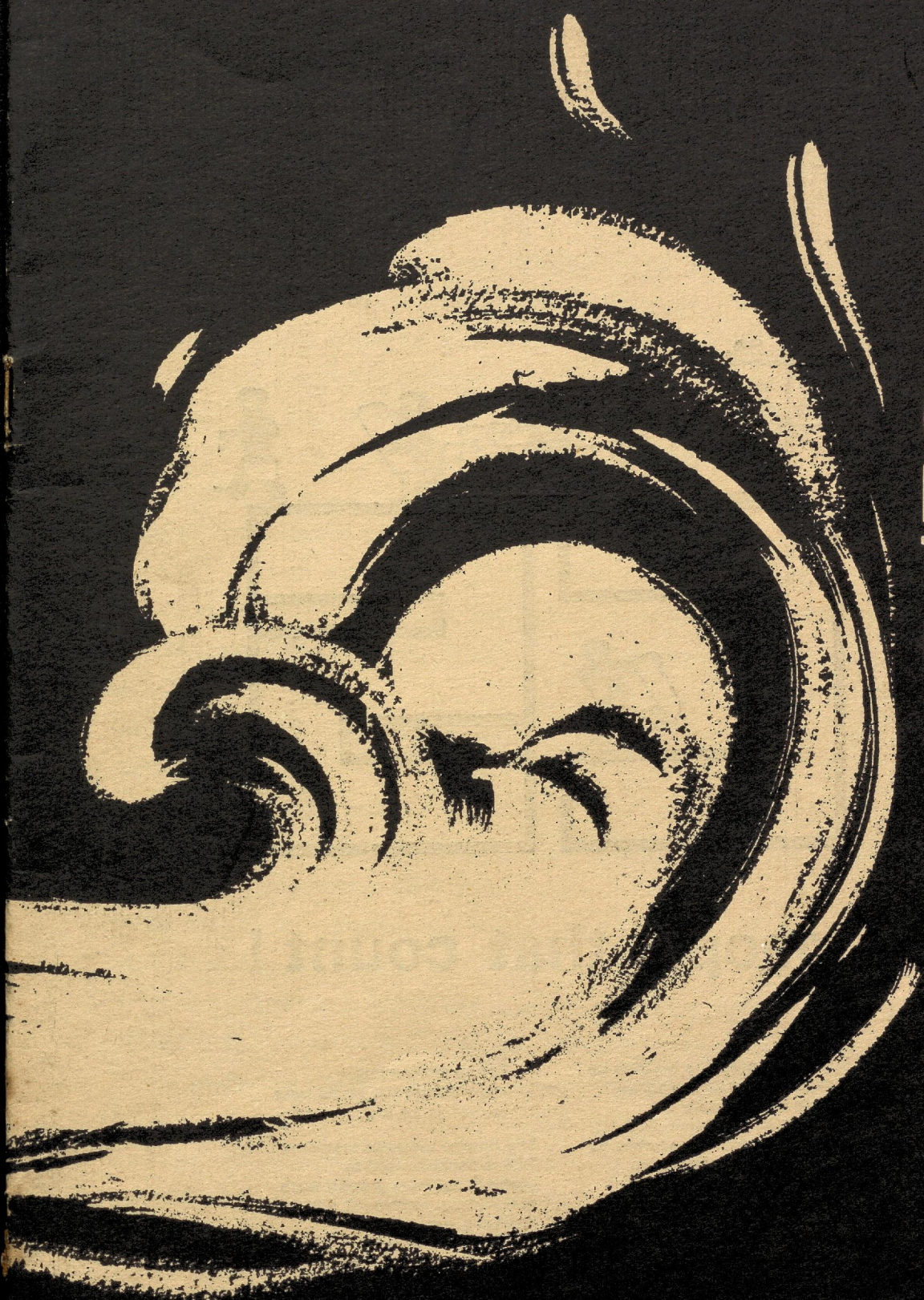


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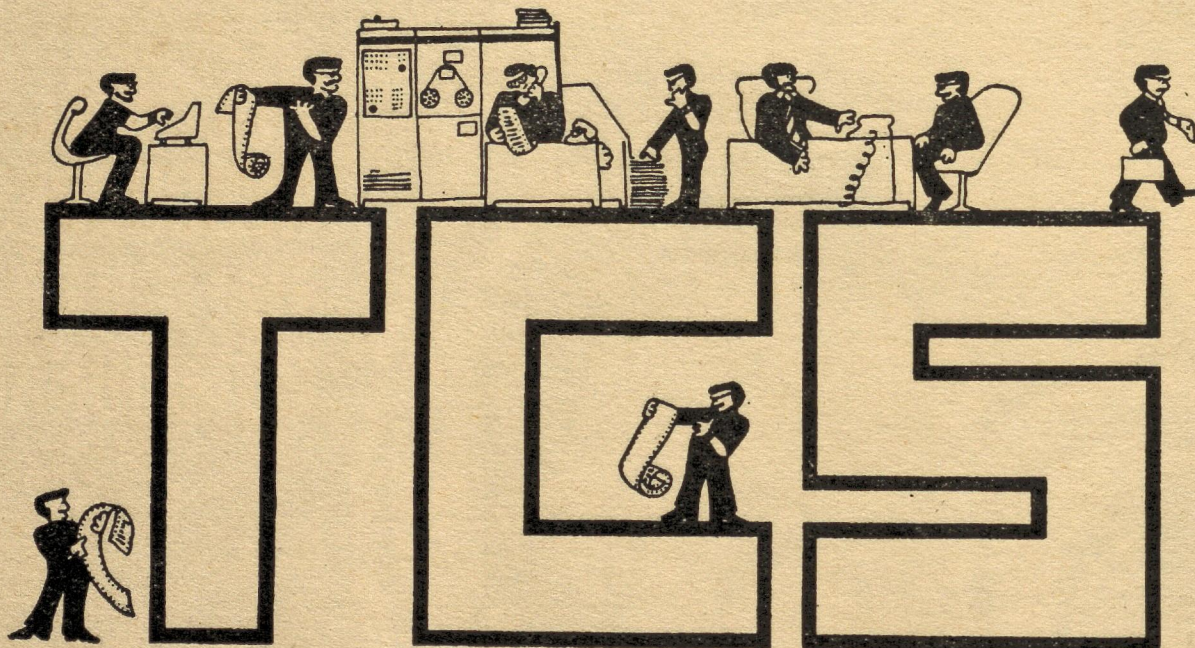
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## ABOUT PRATISHABD

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As communal incidents and riots keep escalating in different parts of the country from Bombay and Bhiwandi to Punjab and Kashmir to Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh it has become evident that communalism has grown into a problem of first importance.

A group of us, deeply disturbed by the above trends, had some discussions on these and related problems. We felt that systematic efforts through the mass media to create a public attitude which resists the appeal of communalism is urgently needed. The idea of forming a society which could specifically take up such an activity took shape. We decided to form and register a trust for this purpose. The trust is called PRATISHABD, meaning response/alternative to the prevailing word.

The aims and objectives of PRATISHABD as laid down in the trust deed, are:

- \* To inculcate and promote secular and democratic values in the public, and thus to foster harmony between peoples of different communities, castes, languages and religions.
- \* To educate people as to the forces of communalism, divisiveness and disintegration.
- \* To inculcate a secular world outlook based on a comprehensive scientific attitude, and to foster a secular education in all respects.
- \* To prepare cultural and educational material and to organise all kinds of suitable cultural and educational activities through the medium of films, audio-visual programmes, theatre, exhibitions, pamphlets, television and video programmes, lectures, etc.
- \* To conduct research relevant to the aims and objects of the trust.
- \* To run libraries and documentation centres to further the aims of the trust.
- \* To support and co-operate with organisations with similar aims.

We would welcome any support or suggestions on how we can combat communalism most effectively. Address all correspondence to:  
Secretary, PRATISHABD, 6-Somerset House, Opposite Colaba P.O.,  
Bombay 400 005 or ring 211266.

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*"Religion is  
a personal matter  
and if we succeed  
in confining it  
to the personal plane,  
all will be well  
with our politics."*

**Mahatma Gandhi**

WITH COMPLIMENTS:

**BRITANNIA INDUSTRIES LTD.**

*“All the men were  
moulded out of the  
same clay; The Great  
Potter hath merely  
Varied the shapes of  
them”*

(p. 136) ...Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs  
— UNESCO.

WITH COMPLIMENTS: **DELHI TYRES**

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We have included these sections from the writings of national leaders as examples of the kind of material available to fight communalism. We believe that there is a tendency to forget the fight against communal forces was an important part of the freedom struggle and it continues to be an important concern of patriots today. Bringing out the anti-patriotic role of communalism is going to be an important part of the work of isolating the communal forces today.

By including these selections, we do not mean to imply that the individuals whose writings are represented were completely consistent with the ideals of secularism — the complete separation of religion and state — or that they never compromised with communalism.

With this qualification we can say unhesitatingly that the writings represented here are bold and frontal critiques of communal forces. Three of the authors — Mchandas Karamchand Gandhi, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, and Indira Gandhi — fell victims of such forces, a fact which confers far more importance to their anti-communal writings than we have cared to recognise and use.

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## MAHATMA GANDHI

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# UNITY: A COMMON PURPOSE

Throughout the freedom struggle, Mahatma Gandhi strove ceaselessly to maintain harmonious relations between communities. We reproduce some extracts from his writings

WHAT...Does the Hindu-Mohammedan unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. (From Young India, Feb. 25, 1920)

The golden way is to be friends with the world and to regard the whole family like members of one family. He who distinguishes between one's own family and another's miseducates the members of his own and opens the way for discord and irreligion. (From Harijan, Nov. 17, 1946)

The slogan 'Hindustan belongs to Hindus and to nobody else' is wrong and absurd, for Hindustan belongs to all those who are born and bred here and who have no other country to look to. Therefore, it belongs to Parsis, Beni Israels, to Indian Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindus as much as to Hindus. Free India will be no Hindu raj, it will be Indian raj based not on the majority of any religious sect or community but on the representatives of the whole people without distinction of religion. (From Harijan, Aug. 9, 1942)

There seems to be a mania for establishing new universities in the provinces. Gujarat wants one for Gujarati, Maharashtra for Marathi, Karnatak for Kannad, Orissa for Oriya, Assam for Assami and what not. I do believe that there should be such universities if these rich provincial languages and the people who speak them are to attain their full height.

At the same time I fear that we betray ourselves into undue haste in accomplishing the object. The first step should be linguistic political redistribution of provinces.

Take the Hindu-Muslim question. The poison has assumed dangerous proportions, such that it is difficult to

forecast where it will land us. Assume that the unthinkable has happened and that not a single Muslim can remain in the Union safely and honourably and that neither Hindu nor Sikh can do likewise in Pakistan. Our education will then wear a poisonous form. If, on the other hand, Hindus, Muslims and all the others who may belong to different faiths can live in either Dominion with perfect safety and honour, then in the nature of things our education will take a shape altogether pleasing. Either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of cultures, which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strengthen the shape, or we shall cast about for the day when there was only one religion represented in Hindustan and retrace our steps to that exclusive culture. It is just possible that we might not be able to find any such historical date and if we do and we retrace our steps, we shall throw our culture back to that ugly period and deservedly earn the execration of the universe. By way of example, if we make the vain attempt to obliterate the Muslim period, we shall have to forget that there was a mighty Jumma Masjid in Delhi second to none in the world, or that there was a Muslim University in Aligarh, or that there was the Taj in Agra, one of the seven wonders of the world, or that there were the great forts of Delhi and Agra built during the Moghal period. We shall then have to rewrite our history with that end in view. Surely, today we have not the atmosphere which will enable us to come to a right conclusion about the conflicting choices. Our two months' old freedom is struggling to get itself shaped. We do not know what shape it will ultimately take. Until we know this definitely, it should be enough if we make such changes as are possible in the existing universities and breathe in our existing educational institutions the quickening spirit of freedom. The experience we will thus gain will be helpful when the time is ripe for founding new universities. (From Harijan, Nov. 2, 1947)

## INDIA WINS FREEDOM

These excerpts are taken from the last two chapters of the autobiography of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad: "India Wins Freedom" (1957). The events described are only too familiar. Maulana Azad's dispassionate description and the final sentences of his autobiography give the reader a glimpse of a mind firmly committed to secularism.

The flag of free India was to be hoisted at 4:00. In spite of the burning August sun, millions gathered and in fact had been waiting in the gruelling heat for hours. The crowd was so great that Lord Mountbatten could not get out of his car at all and had to make his speech from it.

The joy was almost delirious but lasted hardly forty-eight hours. The very next day news of communal trouble began to cast deep gloom in the capital. It was the news of murder, death and cruelty. It was learnt that in the East Punjab, Hindu and Sikh mobs had attacked Moslem villages. They were burning houses and killing innocent men, women and children. Exactly the same reports came from the West Punjab. Moslems there were killing indiscriminately men, women and children of the Hindu and the Sikh communities. The whole of Punjab, East and West, was becoming a graveyard of destruction and death....

There were no disturbances in Delhi in the beginning, but with the country all round aflame with such a murderous upheaval, it was not possible to deplete the small military reserve held in Delhi. We decided to send for troops from outside but, before they could arrive, trouble reached the capital. As news of murders in the Punjab was followed by the trickle of refugees who were coming away from the West Punjab, violence broke out in Delhi. Murder stalked the town. Trouble was not confined to the refugees or even to the general public. Even the areas where only Government servants lived were involved. When the reports of massacres in the West Punjab reached Delhi, Moslems in the city were attacked by mobs of unruly men. Some Sikhs took a leading part in organising these murderous attacks

in Delhi.

I have already said how much I had been disturbed by loose talk of the dangerous doctrine of reprisals and hostages. In Delhi we now had a gruesome application of that doctrine. If the Moslems of the West Punjab were guilty of the murder of Hindus and Sikhs, why should there be retaliation on innocent Moslems in Delhi? This theory of hostages and reprisals is so atrocious that no sane or decent human being can say a word in its defence....

During these days of arson, murder and rioting, I toured different parts of Delhi in the company of army officers. I found the Moslems completely demoralized and suffering from a sense of utter helplessness. Many asked for shelter in my house. Rich and well-known families of the city came to me completely destitute and with no earthly possessions left except the clothes they were wearing. Some did not dare to come by daylight and were brought under military protection at midnight or in the early hours of the morning. My house was soon full and I put up tents in my compound. Men and women of all kinds and condition - rich and poor, young and old - huddled together in sheer fear of death...

Several special magistrates were appointed during these disturbances to maintain law and order and restore peace. I regret to say that the selections were not always very happy and that some of these magistrates failed in their duty. I remember distinctly the case of one magistrate to whom a Hindu member of the Congress came for help. He reported that there was danger of attack on a Moslem locality and some Moslem families were living in fear of death. The magistrate, instead of taking necessary action, accused the Congressman of what he called his lack of feeling. He said he was surprised that a Hindu should come out

to help Moslems. This incident is revealing of the way different people reacted to the crisis. Some of the special magistrates and a few Congressmen failed but the majority of Congressmen in Delhi rose to great heights during these difficult times. Hindu as well as Sikh members of the Congress stood steadfast and remained true to the principles of nationalism in spite of the taunts and insults of their communal-minded coreligionists....

During the whole of this period, Gandhiji was living in terrible mental anguish. He strained every nerve to restore good feeling between the communities and to secure the life and property of Moslems. It caused him great distress and suffering to find that his efforts did not meet with the expected success. Often he sent for Jawaharlal, Sardar Patel and me and asked us to describe the situation in the city. It added to his distress when he found that there were differences among us even regarding what was actually happening...

Sardar Patel was the Home Minister, and as such the Delhi administration was directly under him. As the lists of murder and arson grew longer, Gandhiji sent for Patel and asked him what he was doing to stop the carnage. Sardar Patel tried to reassure him by saying that the reports which he was receiving were grossly exaggerated. In fact Patel went to the extent of saying that the Moslems had no cause for complaint or fear. I distinctly remember one occasion when the three of us were sitting with Gandhiji. Jawaharlal said with deep sorrow that he could not tolerate the situation in Delhi, where Moslem citizens were being killed like cats and dogs. He felt humiliated that he was helpless and could not save them. His conscience would not let him rest, for what answer could he give when people complained of these terrible happenings? Jawaharlal repeated several times that he found the situation intolerable and that his conscience would not let him rest.

We were completely taken aback by Sardar Patel's reaction. At a time when Moslems were being murdered in Delhi in open daylight, he calmly told Gandhiji that Jawaharlal's complaints were completely incomprehensible. There may have been some isolated incidents, but Government was doing everything possible to protect the life and property of Moslems and nothing more could be done. In fact he gave vent to his dissatisfac-

tion that Jawaharlal as the Prime Minister should express disapproval of what his Government was doing.

Jawaharlal remained speechless for some moments and then turned to Gandhiji in despair. He said that, if these were Sardar Patel's views, he had no comments to make....

Gandhiji's distress was increasing every day. Formerly, the whole nation had responded to his slightest wish. Now it seemed that his most fervent appeals were falling on deaf ears. At last he could no longer tolerate this state of affairs and sent for me to say that he had no weapon left but to fast till peace was restored in Delhi. When it became known that Gandhiji would fast until peace and order were restored in Delhi, many who had till then remained inactive were shamed into action...

The moment it was known that he had started his fast, not only the city but the whole of India was deeply stirred. In Delhi the effect was electric. Groups which had till recently openly opposed Gandhiji came forward and said that they would be prepared to do anything in order to save Gandhiji's precious life. Different people came and told Gandhiji that they would work to bring peace to Delhi, but Gandhiji was not influenced by their words. Two days of feverish activity passed. On the third day, a public meeting was called to consider the situation and to devise measures so that Gandhiji could be persuaded to give up his fast.

I went to Gandhiji on my way to the meeting. I said that he should lay down conditions for breaking his fast. We would then place them before the people and say that, provided he was satisfied on these points, he would give up his fast. Gandhiji said, "This is talking business. My first condition is that all Moslems who have been compelled to leave Delhi because of these attacks by Hindus and Sikhs would be invited to come back and they must be resettled in their own homes."

I caught hold of Gandhiji's hands and pleaded with him that he should give up this point. It would be neither practical nor perhaps morally justifiable to ask Hindus and Sikhs who had now found a home in Delhi to become wanderers once again. I appealed to him not to insist on this point but to lay down as his first condition that murder and arson should immediately cease. He could also insist that

*"It is a well-known fact of modern  
Indian history that the two  
communalisms do not negate each other  
but feed and sustain each other"*

WITH COMPLIMENTS: **BHARAT WIRE ROPES, BOMBAY**



*"The State is bound to be wholly secular  
... All subjects will thus be equal in the  
eye of law. But every single individual  
will be free to pursue a religion without  
let or hindrance so long as it does not  
transgress the common law."*

**Mahatma Gandhi**

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*"All the believers continued together in close fellow-ship and shared their belongings with one another. They would sell their property and possessions and distribute the money among all, according to what each one needed."* ...The Acts of the Apostles, Chap.2, Verses 44-45.

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## MAULANA AZAD

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Moslems who were still in India should be able to live in honor and peace and that friendly relations should be restored among all the communities. At first Gandhiji would not agree and kept insisting on his own conditions. Finally, however, he relented and said that, if the conditions I had suggested satisfied me, he also would accept them. I thanked him for his consideration for my views and begged him to accept my suggestions.

Gandhiji then suggested that Moslem shrines and places of worship which had been broken or violated should be restored and repaired. The occupation of such places by non-Moslems was a cause of terror for Moslems. Gandhiji wanted an assurance that there would be no recurrence of any attack on such places sacred to any community.

Gandhiji then dictated his conditions for giving up the fast..."Let this be my last fast," he said.

I assured Gandhiji that these points could be met. I came to the meeting at 2:00 and placed the conditions before the audience. I told them that we had met to reassure Gandhiji and to request him to give up his fast. Mere resolutions would not move him, but, if the people of Delhi wanted to save his life, the conditions he had laid down must be fulfilled. I had come to find out if the people of Delhi would give him that assurance. There were about 50,000 men and women present at the meeting. With one voice they shouted, "We shall carry out Gandhiji's wishes to the letter. We shall pledge our life and heart and shall not give him any cause for distress."

I was still speaking when various people copied out the conditions and began to secure signatures from the audience. Before the meeting was over, thousands had signed the document...

Can anyone deny that the creation of Pakistan has not solved the communal problem, but made it more intense and harmful? The basis of partition was enmity between Hindus and Moslems. The creation of Pakistan gave it a permanent constitutional form and made it much more difficult of solution. The most regrettable feature of this situation is that the subcontinent of India is divided into two states, which look at one another with hatred and fear. Pakistan believes that India will not allow her to rest in peace and will destroy her whenever she has an opportunity. Similarly India thinks

that whenever Pakistan gets an opportunity, she will move against India and attack her. This has led both the states to increase their defence expenditure. After the war, undivided India spent only about a hundred crores for defence. Lord Wavell himself held that a hundred would suffice for the three wings of the Defence Forces. Then came partition. One-fourth of the undivided army went to Pakistan. In spite of this India has to spend over 200 crores on the maintenance of her defence forces. Of the revenues of the Government of India, about a third goes to meet the expenses of defence. Pakistan's position is if anything worse. In spite of the fact that she has only one-fourth of the territories and armies of India, she is spending at least 100 crores from her own revenues besides the aid she gets from the United States. If we pause to think, we shall realize what a great national wastage all this involves. If this fund could be used for economic development the progress of the country would be greatly accelerated.

Mr. Jinnah and his followers did not seem to realize that geography was against them. Moslems in undivided India were distributed in a way which made it impossible to form a separate state in a consolidated area. The Moslem majority areas were on the north west and the north east. These two religions have no point of physical contact. People in these two areas are completely different from one another in every respect, except only in religion. It is one of the greatest frauds on the people to suggest that religious affinity can unite areas which are geographically, economically, linguistically and culturally different. It is true that Islam sought to establish a society which transcends racial, linguistic, economic and political frontiers. History has, however, proved that after the first few decades, or at most after the first century, Islam was not able to unite all the Moslem countries into one state on the basis of Islam alone.

This was the position in the past and this is the position today. No one can hope that East and West Pakistan will compose all their differences and form one nation. Even within West Pakistan, the three provinces of Sind, the Punjab and the Frontier have internal incompatibility and are working for separate aims and interests. Nevertheless the die is cast. The new State of Pakistan is a fact. It is to the interest of India

and Pakistan that they should develop friendly relations and act in cooperation with one another. Any other course of action can lead only to greater trouble, suffering and misfortune. Some people hold that what has happened was inevitable.

Others equally strongly believe that what has happened is wrong and could have been avoided. We cannot say today which reading is correct. History alone will decide whether we have acted wisely and correctly in accepting partition.

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## BHAGAT SINGH

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# WHY I AM AN ATHEIST

The following excerpts are from an essay written by Bhagat Singh while he was in jail, shortly before his death. In it, the young hero (he was only 23 years old at the time) argues forcefully against narrowness and blind faith and for a new world based on reason and realism.

While we Indians, what are we doing? A branch of the Pipal tree is cut and religious feelings of the Hindus are injured. A corner of a paper idol "Tazia" of the idol breaker of the Mohammedans is broken and 'Allah' gets enraged who cannot be satisfied with anything less than the blood of the infidel Hindus. Man ought to be attached more importance than the animals and yet here in India they break each others head in the name of 'sacred animals'....

Religious superstitions and bigotry are a great hindrance in our progress. They have proved an obstacle in our way and we must do away with them. "The thing that cannot bear free thoughts must perish". There are many other such weaknesses which we are to overcome.... narrow mindedness of all the communities in general are always exploited by the foreign enemy. Youngmen with revolutionary zeal from all communities are required for the task....

Having achieved nothing, we are not prepared to sacrifice anything for any achievement, our leaders are fighting amongst themselves to decide what will be the share of each community in the hoped achievement. Simply to conceal their cowardice and lack of spirit of self-sacrifice, they are creating a false issue and screening the real one.... Our real battle is against our own disabilities which are exploited by the enemy and some of our own people for their selfish motives....

A new question has cropped up. Is it due to vanity that I do not believe in the existence of an omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient God? I had never imagined that I would ever have to confront such

a question....

My atheism is not of so recent origin. I had stopped believing in God when I was an obscure young man of whose existence my above mentioned friends were not even aware....

Later on I joined the revolutionary party. The first leader with whom I came in contact, though not convinced, could not dare to deny the existence of God...

Upto that period I was only a romantic idealist revolutionary. Uptil then we were to follow. Now came the time to shoulder the whole responsibility. Due to the inevitable reaction for some time the very existence of the Party seemed impossible. Enthusiastic comrades-nay leaders-began to jeer at us. For some time I was afraid that some day I also might not be convinced of the futility of our own programme. That was a turning point in my revolutionary career. "Study" was the cry that reverberated in the corridors of my mind. Study to enable yourself to face the arguments advanced by opposition. Study to arm yourself with arguments in favour of your cult, I began to study. My previous faith and convictions underwent a remarkable modification. The Romance of the violent methods alone which was so prominent amongst our predecessors, was replaced by serious ideas. No more mysticism, no more blind faith. Realism became our cult. Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity: non-violence as policy indispensable for all mass movements. So much about methods. The most important thing was the clear conception of the ideal for which we were to fight....

To stand upon one's own legs amid

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storms and hurricanes is not a child's play. At such testing moment, vanity-if any-evaporates, and man cannot dare to defy the general beliefs. If he does, then we must conclude that he has got certain other strength than mere vanity. This is exactly the situation now. Judgement is already, too well known. Within a week it is to be pronounced. What is the consolation with the exception of the idea that I am going to sacrifice my life for a cause? A God-believing Hindu might be expecting to be reborn as a king, a Muslim or a Christian might dream of the luxuries to be enjoyed in paradise and the reward he is to get for his suffering and sacrifices. But what am I to expect? I know the moment the rope is fitted round my neck and rafters removed, from under my feet, that will be the final moment-that will be the last moment I, or to be more precise, my soul, as interpreted in the metaphysical terminology shall all be finished there. Nothing further. A short life of struggle with no such magnificent end, shall in itself be the reward if I have the courage to take it in that light. That is all. With no selfish motive, or desire to be awarded here or hereafter quite disinterestedly have I devoted my life to the cause of independence, because I would not do otherwise. The day we find a great number of men and women with this psychology who cannot devote themselves to anything else than the service of mankind and emancipation of the suffering humanity; that day shall inaugurate the era of liberty....

You go and oppose the prevailing faith, you go and criticise a hero, a great man, who is generally believed to be above criticism because he is thought to be infallible, the strength of your argument shall force the multitude to decry you as vainglorious. This is due to the mental stagnation. Criticism and independent thinking are the two indispensable qualities of a revolutionary. Because Mahatamaji is great, therefore none should criticise him. Because he has risen above, therefore everything he says-may be in the field of Politics or Religion, Economics or Ethics-is right. Whether you are convinced or not you must say, "Yes, that's true". This mentality does not lead towards progress. It is rather too obviously reactionary....

According to me, any man who has got some reasoning power at his command always tries to reason out his environments. Where direct proofs are lacking philosophy occupies the important place. As I have already stated, a certain revolutionary friend used to say that philosophy is the

outcome of human weakness. When our ancestors had leisure enough to try to solve out the mystery of this world, its past, present and the future, its whys and wherefores, they having been terribly short of direct proofs, everybody tried to solve the problem in his own way. Hence we find the wide differences in the fundamentals of various religious creeds, which sometimes assume very antagonistic and conflicting shapes. Not only the Oriental and Occidental philosophies differ, there are differences even amongst various schools of thoughts in each hemisphere. Amongst Oriental religions, the Moslem faith is not at all compatible with Hindu faith. In India alone Buddhism and Jainism are sometimes quite separate from Brahmanism, in which there are again conflicting faiths as Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma. Charwak is still another independent thinker of the past ages. He challenged the authority of God in the old times. All these creeds differ from each other on the fundamental question; and everybody considers himself to be on the right. There lies the misfortune. Instead of using the experiments and expressions of the ancient Savants and thinkers as a basis for our future struggle against ignorance and to try to find out a solution to this mysterious problem, we lethargical as we have proved to be raise the hue and cry of faith, unflinching and unwavering faith to their versions and thus are guilty of stagnation in human progress.

Any man who stands for progress has to criticise, disbelieve and challenge every item of the old faith. Item by item he has to reason out every nook and corner of the prevailing faith. If after considerable reasoning one is led to believe in any theory or philosophy, his faith is welcomed. His reasoning can be mistaken, wrong, misled and sometimes fallacious. But he is liable to correction because reason is the guiding star of his life. But mere faith and blind faith is dangerous; it dulls the brain, and makes a man reactionary. A man who claims to be a realist has to challenge the whole of the ancient faith. If it does not stand the onslaught of reason it crumbles down. Then the first thing for him is to shatter the whole down and clear a space for the erection of a new philosophy. This is the negative side. After it begins the positive work in which sometimes some material of the old faith may be used for the purpose of reconstruction.

## ON THE ROLE OF JOURNALISM

Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's writing reveal a deep sense of purpose and an unflinching commitment to a cause for which he lived and died.

in the first statement reproduced below, he deplors the newspapers' role in propagating falsehood as also the self-seeking attitude of journalists. In the second extract he emphasises the need to organise the poor in the urban and rural areas to solve the communal problem. The last statement is taken from the first issue of 'Pratap' which he edited.

पत्रकार-कला के सम्बन्ध में विद्यार्थी जी के निम्नलिखित विचार पत्रकारों के मनन करने लायक हैं:—

“.....संसार के अधिकांश समाचार-पत्र ऐसे कमाने और भूठ को सच और सच को भूठ सिद्ध करने में उतने ही लगे हुए हैं, जितने कि संसार के बहुत से चरित्र-शून्य व्यक्ति। अधिकांश बड़े समाचार-पत्र धनी-मानी लोगों द्वारा संचालित होते हैं। इसी प्रकार के संचालन या किसी दल-विशेष की प्रेरणा ही से उनका निकलना सम्भव है। अपने संचालकों या अपने दल के विरुद्ध सत्य बात कहना तो बहुत दूर की वस्तु है, उनके पक्ष-समर्थन के लिये वे हर तरह के हथकण्डों से काम लेना अपना नित्य का आवश्यक काम समझते हैं। इस काम में, वे इस बात का विचार करना आवश्यक नहीं समझते कि सत्य क्या है? सत्य उनके लिये ग्रहण करने की वस्तु नहीं है, वे तो अपने मतलब की बात चाहते हैं। संसार-भर में यह हो रहा है। इने-गिने पत्रों को छोड़ कर, सभी पत्र ऐसा कर रहे हैं। जिन लोगों ने पत्रकार-कला को अपना काम बना रखा है, उनमें बहुत कम ऐसे लोग हैं, जो अपने चित्त को इस बात पर विचार करने का कष्ट उठाने का अवसर देते हों कि हमें सचाई की भी लाज रखनी चाहिये, केवल अपनी मक्खन-रोटी के लिये दिन भर में कई रंग बदलना ठीक नहीं है। इस देश में भी दुर्भाग्य से समाचार-पत्रों और पत्रकारों के लिये यही मार्ग बनता जाता है। हिन्दी पत्रों के सामने भी यही लकीर खिंचती जा रही है। यहाँ भी अब बहुत से समाचार-

पत्र सर्वसाधारण के कल्याण के लिये नहीं रहे, सर्वसाधारण उनके प्रयोग की वस्तु बनते जा रहे हैं। एक समय था, इस देश में साधारण आदमी सर्वसाधारण के हितार्थ एक ऊँचा भाव ले कर पत्र निकालता था, और उस पत्र को जीवन-क्षेत्र में स्थान मिल जाया करता था। आज वैसा नहीं हो सकता। आपके पास जबरदस्त विचार हों, और पैसा न हो, और पैसे वालों का बल न हो, तो आपके विचार आगे न फैल सकेंगे, आपका पत्र न चल सकेगा। इस देश में भी समाचार-पत्रों का आधार धन हो रहा है। धन ही से वे निकलते हैं, धन ही के आधार पर वे चलते हैं, और बड़ी वेदना के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उनमें काम करने वाले बहुत से पत्रकार भी धन ही को अभ्यर्थना करते हैं। अभी यहाँ पूरा अन्धकार नहीं हुआ है, किन्तु लक्षण वैसे ही हैं। कुछ ही दिन परचात् यहाँ के समाचार पत्र भी मेशीन के सदृश हो जायेंगे, और उनमें काम करने वाले पत्रकार केवल मेशीन के पुर्जे व्यक्तित्व न रहेगा, सत्य और असत्य का अन्तर न रहेगा, अन्याय के विरुद्ध डट जाने और न्याय के लिये आफतों के बुलाने की चाह न रहेगी; रह जायगा केवल खींची हुई लकीर पर चलना। मैं तो उस अवस्था को अच्छा नहीं कह सकता। ऐसे बड़े होने की अपेक्षा छोटे, और छोटे से भी छोटे, किन्तु कुछ सिद्धान्तों वाले होना कहीं अच्छा। पत्रकार कैसा हो, इस सम्बन्ध में दो राय हैं। एक तो यह कि उसे सत्य या असत्य, न्याय या अन्याय के भावों

में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये। एक पत्र में वह नरम बात कहे, तो बिना हिचक दूसरे में वह गरम कह सकता है; जैसा वातावरण देखे, वैसा करे; अपने लिखने की शक्ति से डट कर पैसे कमावे, धर्म और अधर्म के भगड़े में न अपना समय खर्च करे और न अपना दिमाग ही। दूसरी राय यह है कि पत्रकार की अपने समाज के प्रति बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है; वह अपने विवेक के अनुसार अपने पाठकों को ठीक मार्ग पर ले जाता है; वह जो कुछ लिखे, प्रमाण और परिमाण का विचार रख कर लिखे, और अपनी मति गति में सदैव शुद्ध और विवेकशील रहे। पैसा कमाना उसका ध्येय नहीं है, लोक-सेवा उसका ध्येय है; और अपने काम से जो पैसा वह कमाता है, वह ध्येय तक पहुँचाने के लिये एक साधन मात्र है। संसार के पत्रकारों में दो तरह के आदमी हैं। पहले दूसरी तरह के पत्रकार अधिक थे, अब इस उन्नति के युग में, पहली तरह के। उन्नति समाचार-पत्रों के आकारों प्रकारों में हुई है। खेद की बात है कि उन्नति आचरणों में नहीं हुई। हिन्दी के समाचार-पत्र भी उन्नति के राजमार्ग पर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। मैं हृदय से चाहता हूँ कि उन्नति उधर हो या न हो, किन्तु कम से कम वे आचरण के क्षेत्र में पीछे न हटें, और जो सज्जन इन पंक्तियों को पढ़ें, वे आचरण सम्बन्धी आदर्शों का सदा ऊँचा समझें। पैसे का मोह और बल की वृष्णा भारतवर्ष के किसी भी नये पत्रकार को ऊँचे आचरण के पवित्र आदर्श से बहकने न दे।”

“हम लोगों को कागजी-स्वराज्य-मसविदा बताने के भ्रमट में न पड़ कर सीधे गाँवों की ओर मुड़ना चाहिये। हिन्दू-मुस्लिम वैमनस्य दूर करने का एक मात्र यही तरीका है कि ग्राम-संगठन के काम को हाथ में ले कर बिना भेद भाव के भारत के दोन किसानों की सेवा की जाय। उसी तरह शहरों की मिलों में काम करने वाले लाखों मजदूरों के संगठन की भी आवश्यकता है। किसान और मजदूरों का युग आ गया है। थोथी राजनीति से अब काम न चलेंगा।”

“भविष्य किसानों और मजदूरों के हाथ में है। जो संस्था भविष्य में कृषक-मजदूर-सेवा से वंचित रहेगी, वह शक्तिहीन और निकम्मी सिद्ध होगी।”

### प्रताप की नीति

“आज अपने हृदय में नई-नई आशाओं को धारण करके और अपने उद्देश्यों पर पूर्ण विश्वास रख कर ‘प्रताप’ कर्म-क्षेत्र में आता है। समस्त मानव-जाति का कल्याण हमारा परमोद्देश्य है और इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति का एक बहुत बड़ा और बहुत जरूरी साधन हमें भारतवर्ष की उन्नति को समझते हैं। उन्नति से हमारा अभिप्राय देश की कृषि, व्यापार, विद्या, कला, वैभव, मान, बल, सदाचार और सच्चरित्रता की वृद्धि से है। भारत को इस उन्नत-वस्था तक पहुँचाने के लिये असंख्य उद्योगों, कार्यों और क्रियाओं की आवश्यकता है। इनमें से मुख्यतः राष्ट्रीय एकता; सुव्यवस्थित, सार्वजनिक और सर्वांग-पूर्ण शिक्षा का प्रचार; प्रजा का हित और भला करने वाली सुप्रबन्ध और सुशासन की शुद्ध नीति का राज-कार्यों में प्रयोग; सामाजिक कुरीतियों का निवारण; तथा आत्मावलम्बन और आत्म-शासन में दृढ़ निष्ठा, है। हम इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों और साधनों को अपनी लेखनी का लक्ष्य बनावेंगे। हम अपनी प्राचीन सभ्यता और जातीय गौरव की प्रशंसा करने में किसी से पीछे न रहेंगे, और अपने पूजनीय पुरुषाओं के साहित्य, दर्शन, विज्ञान और धर्म-भाव का यश सदैव गावेंगे। किन्तु अपनी जातीय निर्बलताओं और सामाजिक कुसंस्कारों तथा दोषों को प्रकट करने में हम कभी बनावटी जोश या मसलहत-वक्त से काम न लेंगे, क्योंकि हमारा विश्वास है कि मिथ्या अभिमान जातियों के सर्वनाश का कारण होता है। किसी की प्रशंसा या अप्रशंसा, किसी की प्रसन्नता या अप्रसन्नता, किसी की पुङ्क्री या श्मकी, हमें अपने सुमार्ग से विचलित न कर सकेंगी। साम्प्रदायिक और व्यक्तिगत भगड़ों से ‘प्रताप’ सदा अलग रहने की कोशिश करेगा। उसका जन्म किसी विशेष सभा, संस्था, व्यक्ति या मत के पालन, पोषण, रक्षण या विरोध के लिये नहीं हुआ है; किन्तु उसका मत स्वातंत्र्य-विचार और उसका धर्म सत्य होगा।..... मनुष्य की उन्नति भी सत्य की जीत के साथ बँधी है। इसीलिये सत्य का दवाना हम महा पाप समझेंगे, और उसके प्रचार और प्रकाश को महा पुण्य। हम जानते हैं कि हमें इस काम में बड़ी-बड़ी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ेगा, और इसके लिये बड़े भारी साहस और आत्म-बल की आवश्यकता है।

## COMMUNALISM & SOCIAL REACTION

Jawaharlal Nehru made a serious attempt to comprehend the social basis of communalism to those who wanted to retard the political and economic emancipation of the common people of India. In the extract which follows Nehru explores the nature of communalism, its aims as also the means to abolish it.

From Statement to the press, Allahabad, 5 January 1934. Published in Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. 6. pages 180-185 (Gen. Editor) S. Gopal, Orient Longman, 1974.

Much as I dislike communalism I realise that it does not disappear by suppression but by a removal of the feeling of fear, or by a diversion of interest. We should therefore remove this fear complex and make the Muslim masses realise that they can have any protection that they really desire. I feel that this realisation will go a long way in toning down the feeling of communalism.

But I am convinced that the real remedy lies in a diversion of interest from the myths that have been fostered and have grown up round the communal question to the realities of today. The bulwark of communalism today is political reaction and so we find that communal leaders inevitably tend to become reactionaries in political and economic matters. Groups of upper class people try to cover up their own class interests by making it appear that they stand for the communal demands of religious minorities or majorities. A critical examination of the various communal demands put forward on behalf of Hindus, Muslims or others reveals that they have nothing to do with the masses. At the most they deal with some jobs for a few of the unemployed intellectuals but it is obvious that the problem even of the unemployed middle class intellectuals cannot be solved by a redistribution of state jobs. There are far too many unemployed persons of the middle class to be absorbed in state or other services and their number is growing at a rapid pace. So far as the masses are concerned there is absolutely no reference to them or to their wants in the numerous demands put forward by communal organisations. Apparently the communalists do not

consider them as worthy of attention. What is there, in the various communal formulae, in regard to the distress of the agriculturists, their rent or revenue or the staggering burden of debt that crushes them? Or in regard to the factory or railway or other workers who have to face continuous cuts in wages and a vanishing standard of living? Or the lower middle classes who, for want of employment and work, are sinking in the slough of despair? Heated arguments take place about seats in councils and separate and joint electorates and the separation of provinces which can affect or interest only a few. Is the starving person likely to be interested in this when hunger gnaws his stomach? But our communal friends take good care to avoid these real issues, for a solution of them might affect their own interests, and they try to divert people's attention to entirely unreal and, from the mass point of view, trivial matters...

What are communal organisations? They are not religious although they confine themselves to religious groups and exploit the name of religion. They are not cultural and have done nothing for culture although they talk bravely of a past culture. They are not ethical or moral groups for their teachings are singularly devoid of all ethics and morality. They are certainly not economic groupings for there is no economic link binding their members and they have no shadow of an economic programme. Some of them claim not to be political even. What then are they?

As a matter of fact they function politically and their demands are political, but calling themselves non-political, they avoid the real issues and only succeed in obstructing the path of others....

Even more important than the political objective is the economic objective. It is notorious that the era of politics has passed away and

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We may think we are living, but disunited we are worse than dead. The Hindu thinks that in quarrelling with the Musalman he is benefiting Hinduism; and the Musalman thinks that in fighting a Hindu he is benefiting Islam. But each is ruining his faith. And the poison has spread among the members of the communities themselves. And no wonder. For one man cannot do right in one department of life whilst he is occupied in doing wrong in any other department. Life is one indivisible whole. (From Young India, Jan. 27, 1927)

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we live in an age when economics dominate national and international affairs. What have the communal organizations to say in regard to these economic matters? Or are they blissfully ignorant of the hunger and unemployment that darken the horizon of the masses as well as of the lower middle classes? If they claim to represent the masses they must know that the all-absorbing problem before these unfortunate and unhappy millions is the problem of hunger, and they should have some answer, some theoretical solution at least for this problem. What do they propose should be done in industry and in agriculture? How do they solve the distress of the worker and the peasant; what land laws do they suggest? What is to happen to the debt of the agricultural classes; is it to be liquidated or merely toned down, or is it to remain? What of unemployment? Do they believe in the present capitalist order of society or do they think in terms of a new order? These are a few odd questions that arise and an answer to them, as well as to other similar questions, will enlighten us as to the true inwardness of the claims and demands of the communalists. Even more so I think will the masses be enlightened

if the answers manage to reach them...

I am afraid I am not likely to get clear, or perhaps any answers to my questions, partly because the questions are inconvenient, partly because communal leaders know little about economic facts and have never thought in terms of the masses. They are experts only in percentages and their battle ground is the conference room, not the field or factory or market place. But whether they like them or not the questions will force themselves to the front and those who cannot answer them effectively will find little place for themselves in public affairs. The answer of many of us can be given in once comprehensive word - socialism - and in the socialist structure of society.

But whether socialism or communism is the right answer or some other, one thing is certain - that the answer must be in terms of economics and not merely politics. For India and the world are oppressed by economic problems and there is no escaping them. So long as the fullest economic freedom does not come to us there can be no freedom whatever the political structure may be. Economic freedom must of course include political freedom. That is the reality today; all else is myth and delusion, and there is no greater myth than the communal myth...

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## INDIRA GANDHI

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# ON THE BHIWANDI RIOTS

Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the Bhiwandi riots and communal violence in 1970. The excerpts are from a Lok Sabha debate.

What has happened in Bhiwandi or what has happened in other riots is equally sad and deplorable. And it is not something for which any of us would like to shirk responsibility. I certainly do not shirk it. But I think we must also face facts. What begins these riots? This was the question asked by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Is it a little boy who threw a stone who begins the riot? Is it the person who might do the first killing who begins the riot? Or is it the atmosphere that is spread by speeches of the type which we heard here today? It is this atmosphere which starts all these disturbances.

And this is not a new thing. It is not something that has happened today for the first time. Is it a coincidence that when people who belong to the RSS or the Jan Sangh go somewhere, soon afterwards,

there is a riot in or close to that place? It may be that it is a coincidence, I do not know, but to me and to all other people who have watched this situation, it seems a very strange coincidence. I think that hon. Members are well advised to try and examine this situation and find out why this should happen.

It is very easy to blame somebody. It may be that the situation could have been dealt with in a better way. I do not say that it could not have been. I have not studied it, and that is the main reason why I am going there. It is possible that something more could have been done. There is hardly any situation in the world where you could not have taken better precautions or done more. I do not know what advance notice the Government had. But there is no doubt that ever since this particular Party has gained some seats in

this House and in the Assemblies, they have been talking more and more in this poisonous strain and more openly. Some hon. Members shouted, when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee was speaking, that his remarks should be expunged, I am glad that the Deputy-Speaker did not expunge them. I would like those remarks to remain on record and be read by future generations and by the people so that they can see what is really in the mind of the Jan Sangh, not the sweet-sounding beautiful Hindi that Shri Vajpayee paraded before us, from time to time, but what is the reality, behind those words. And today, we saw behind those words naked Fascism. This is what Fascism has been.

Much time was spent on speaking on Shivaji. There is nobody in this House, I would say, perhaps there is nobody in the country who does not have respect for Shivaji. But to use his name in order to incite people to communalism is not doing any justice to the memory of Shivaji.

Communalism, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or by any other community is deplorable. And it is not true to say that we have not deplored it when it has taken place or that we have not deplored it or spoken about it strongly, when any Muslim organisation or Muslim individual has said something which is capable of inciting people or leading to any kind of outbreak or outburst. But that does not mean that one can condone what a member of the majority community does. As I have said on a previous occasion, anywhere, where people are in a majority, they have a special responsibility. They are not merely one set of people there; they have a very special responsibility. Anywhere, where some people are stronger they do have a responsibility towards the weaker section.... So, these brave sounding words, announcing that the Hindus are not going to stand for this and so on is merely a way of inciting people. This is what has poisoned the atmosphere of this country.

We all know that most of these incidents are very small to start with. Why do they assume such large proportions? I was glad to hear Shri Vajpayee remark that he himself said in Ahmedabad that people should not take the law into their hands. But to me at least, the rest of his speech appeared as if he himself was encouraging just that. 'We are not going to stand by.' What does it mean? It means 'that we will take the law into our hands, and take action. We have to take action.' What else was it?

As I said, Shri Vajpayee did no great justice to the memory of Shivaji, but he did even less justice to our own old philosophy, our traditions and the very great heritage of this country, because our heritage is certainly not one which tramples on the rights of minorities. On the contrary from time immemorial India has opened her doors to all those who suffered in their countries; whether they belonged to different religions, different languages, different customs, we have opened our doors and given them shelter in the remote past. And even today, we attempt to do it.

So the Hon. Member is giving an entirely erroneous view of India to all the world. This is another great disservice to this country that in front of the world he parades as our philosophy and our tradition, ideas which in effect, are contrary to that tradition...

I am not criticising his party as a party, but merely two main aspects of it; one, the communal aspect and, second, which is even more dangerous, the deliberate distortion of history, which is being done. Books are being written and published changing our known history. This is extremely dangerous for us....

Shri Yadav asked what steps would be taken. There are no new steps in that sense. People have suffered and we have to see firstly what relief has to be given immediately and what we can do on a slightly long term basis. There is already an enquiry going on and it will come to its conclusions but I admit that I do not know how much such enquiries help. Anyway, it is necessary to have them and I am glad that there is one. Now, apart from the question of relief and so on, we must all get together and see how we can prevent this kind of atmosphere growing, how we can go down to the people, village by village and mohalla by mohalla to create that type of neighbourly feeling which in the last analysis is the only protection. The police can help in a particular situation but ultimately it is only one's neighbours who can be of real help. It is only the atmosphere in the country that can prevent this kind of rioting and senseless attacks on people. It is not just a question of whether somebody threw a stone, why should not people get angry? That is where you judge the maturity of people. If people had done something wrong, by all means catch the guilty. But you do not catch the guilty. In fact the guilty are the first to get away and it is only the innocent who are looted and murdered.

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all varieties. Struggle against  
communalism has to be directed against  
all communalism — Hindu, Muslim,  
Sikh or Christian.”*

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UNTO YOU YOUR RELIGION,  
AND UNTO ME MY RELIGION.”*

Quran Ch 30: 109 Sura

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Abbreviations:

I.E. - Indian Express  
 T.O.I. - The Times of India  
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 S.O. - The Sunday Observer, Bombay  
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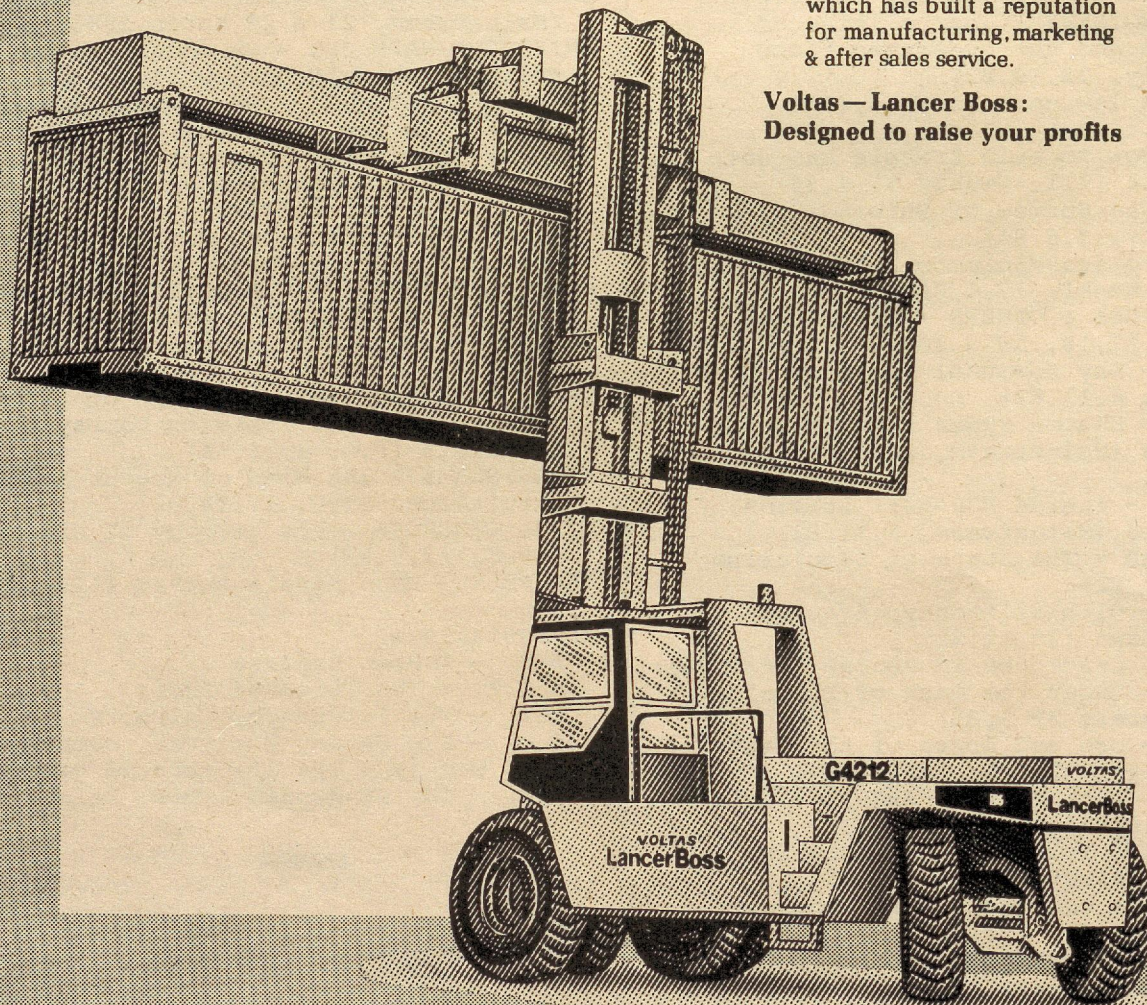
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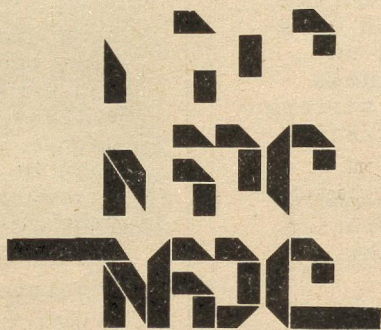


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## FILMS

# FILMS WITH SECULAR AND ANTI-COMMUNAL THEMES

### FEATURE FILMS

- \* GARM HAVA  
1975/COL/136 min/Urdu/35 & 16 mm  
Director: M. S. Sathya

This film deals with the tragedy of Partition and its effect on a muslim family living in Agra. Salim Mirza refuses to tear up age-old roots and leave his homeland, but the ensuring communal tension, prejudice and questioning of loyalties make life unbearable for him. As his business begins to fail and his family suffers a series of tragedies, he is finally forced to move

Enquiries: National Film Development Corporation  
Nariman Point, Bombay  
(35 mm)  
Film Club, National House  
Tulloch Road, Bombay  
(16 mm)

- \* PADOSI  
1941/B&W/Hindi/35 mm  
Director: V. Shantaram



Mirza and Thakur are close neighbours, who work on the same dam and play chess together in the evenings. The film recounts how communal tension develops and causes their friendship to break up. An explosion on the dam brings them together but proves fatal for both; they are reunited in their death.

Enquiries: National Film Archive of India  
Law College Road, Pune

- \* ANDHER NAGARI  
(Hindi version of the Gujarati film BHAVNI BHAVAI)  
1980/COL/135 min/Hindi/35 mm  
Director: Ketan Mehta

A poor Harijan Community is rendered homeless when its huts are burned down. Using the medium of the Bhavai, a Gujarati form of folk drama, the film recounts a parable about a king who exploits the Untouchables of his village. An Untouchable couple brings up the son of the elder queen, who, when he grows up, defies the royal family and attempts to bring some measure of dignity to his people, the Harijans.

Enquiries: National Film Development Corporation  
Nariman Point, Bombay

- \* HAMARA GHAR  
1964/B&W/Hindi/35 & 16 mm  
Director: K. A. Abbas

A group of children are going on a picnic when their boat capsizes. They are washed up on a desert island, and set to work to build a house. The film shows the difficulty of organizing a joint venture when a group is riven with dissension: unity of spirit is essential for the success of such an effort.

Enquiries: National Film Archive of India  
Law College Road, Pune  
(35 mm)  
Film Club, National House,  
Tulloch Road, Bombay  
(16 mm)

- \* DHARMAPUTRA  
1962/B&W/Hindi/35 mm  
Director: B. R. Chopra

A film by B. R. Chopra on national integration.

Enquiries: B. R. Film Studios

- \* CHAR DIL CHAR RAAHEN  
1959/B&W/Hindi/35 mm  
Director: K. A. Abbas

A film in four parts. One of the episodes deals with communal problems.

Enquiries: National Film Archive of  
India  
Law College Road, Pune

- \* SAAT HINDUSTANI  
1969/COL/Hindi/35 mm  
Director: K. A. Abbas



The setting is the liberation of the colony of Goa from the Portuguese. Seven people from different parts of India and different communities join hands in the fight. This film stresses the need for national integration.

Enquiries: National Film Archive of  
India  
Law College Road, Pune

## DOCUMENTARIES

### (A) DOCUMENTARIES ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION (FILMS DIVISION)

- \* ANATOMY OF FEAR, 1972/16 mins.
- \* BHARAT TEERTH, 1973/COL/11 mins.
- \* BROTHERS, 1976/8 mins.
- \* DHARAM ANEK SATYA EK (News Magazine No. 30), 8 mins.
- \* EK ANEK AUR EKTA, 1977/7 mins.
- \* ELEPHANT, 1972/COL/3 mins.
- \* EK MANZIL KE RAHI, 1973/12 mins.
- \* FAMILY OF FAITHS, 1961/9 mins.
- \* FIRE, 1975/COL/9 mins.
- \* FOR ONE AND ALL, 1976/9 mins.
- \* HARMONY, 1973/COL/4 mins.
- \* HINDUSTAN HAMARA, 1983/COL/18 mins.
- \* HOMAGE TO THE SONS OF INDIA, 1974/  
COL/7 mins.
- \* HUMAN MACHINES, 1973/COL/4 mins.
- \* HUM EK HAIN, 1962/4 mins.
- \* HUM EK RAHENGE, 1984/COL/15 mins.
- \* KAHEN KABIR, 1975/2 mins.
- \* KHILONEWALA, 1971/COL/19 mins.
- \* LESSON, 1972/COL/3 mins.

- \* ONE, 1971/COL/2 mins.
- \* OUR TREE, 1974/COL/5 mins.
- \* PHIR BOLO AAYE SANT KABIR, 1976/11 mins.
- \* QUEST FOR NATION, 1970/22 mins.
- \* SITA AUR SALEEM, 1973/COL/3 mins.
- \* SWIMMY, 1971/COL/6 mins.
- \* SWAR SANGAM, 1981/COL/9 mins.
- \* SYNTHESIS, 1974/COL/6 mins.
- \* THIS MY LAND, 1971/COL/11 mins.
- \* TREE OF UNITY, 1972/COL/4 mins.
- \* WATAN KI AABROO, 1962/4 mins.

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Afridi, Librarian (Films)

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Prakash Jha)

YEH HINDUSTAN HAMARA (Div.:

Sardar Jaffrey)

### (C) DOCUMENTARY ON MAHATMA GANDHI : MAHATMA (LIFE OF GANDHI, 1869-1948) 1968/B&W/33 reels (about 5½ hours)/ Several Indian languages and English

This is an exhaustive biographical documentary on Mahatma Gandhi. It highlights all the important events in his life, and, in the last few reels, brings out his struggle to banish communal hatred and to make all men brothers irrespective of religion and caste. There is footage of his pilgrimages to Bengal and Bihar following communal riots, and of his attempts to spread love and hope in place of hatred and intolerance.

This film is also available in 14 short segments.

Enquiries: Gandhi Films Committee  
Mani Bhavan,  
19 Laburnum Road, Bombay

## STUDENT FILMS

Some students of the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII) have made diploma films dealing with communal problems.

Enquiries: Film & Television  
Institute of India  
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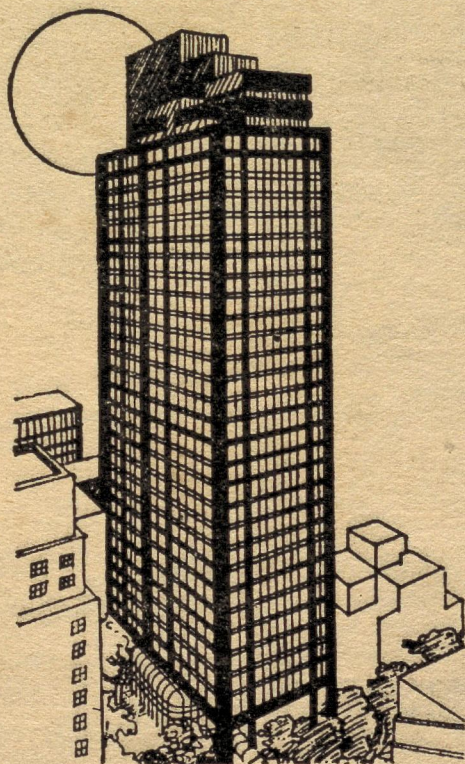
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