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## MANTHAN' Monthly

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## Dear Reader :

Namaskar !

RSS was founded on Vijayadashmi, 1925. The occasion is every year celebrated by a Rally in Nagpur—and everywhere else. The function this year was presided over by Shri Tanninga Nadar, President, Hindu Munani, Tamil Nad.

The speech made by Shri Balasaheb Deoras, Sar-sangha-chalak, has led to some speculation. We are, therefore, carrying the text in these columns.

EARLY in October we had occasion to attend a high-level seminar on the Punjab problem in Chandigarh. The fullness and frankness of discussions left the participants, belonging to different schools of thought, in no doubt as to the manageability of that problem. Here we carry one of the papers read on that occasion.

THE MOFUSSIL correspondent is a much maligned man. He is more sinned against than sinning. Please read the Editors' Guild Report on how he is harassed—by proprietor and government alike.

AND THEN there is a scholarly piece on the un-scholarly propaganda about Aryan-Dravidan.

Your sincerely,  
"M"

## The Role of RSS in National Life

Text of the Shri Vidyadashami Speech of  
Shri Balasaheb Deoras, Sar-Sangha-Chalak

RSS Sar-sangha-chalak, Shri Balasaheb Deoras' Vidyadashami speech of October 2, 1987 has led to some speculation and controversy. We publish below the English rendering of the text of his tape-recorded speech in Hindi, to put the record straight.

*"Kalo Wa Karanam Ragyo,  
"Raj Wa Kal Karanam,  
"Iti Te Sanshyo Ma Bhoot,  
"Raja Kalasya Karanam."*

—Ed.

IT IS VIJAYADASHAMI festival today. We are all aware of its significance. It is not necessary for me to elaborate on that. By a happy coincidence, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi and Shriman Lal Bahadur Shastri also falls today. Too often we forget Lal Bahadurji's Jayanti. Also, it was on this very day, and in this very city of Nagpur, that Babasaheb Ambedkar embraced Buddhism with his followers.

As you are aware, my health is none too good. Recently I had been to Kerala for one month of Ayurvedic treatment. One rule of the treatment was that I should spend all this time in solitude. And in this state of solitude many thoughts naturally crossed my mind. Today I will place those thoughts before you as my loud thinking or stray thoughts.

All things considered, the state of our country today is none too good. There are foreign forces at work. But even more worrisome are the internal conditions. The law and order situation is worsening in all the states. Prices are up; and so is corruption. Even those in power concede that things are in bad shape. I think we have to give thought to all these matters. There is a wise saying in Sanskrit :

In brief it means, 'as the King, so the country and the people'. And there is an English saying: 'People get the government they deserve'. Considering both these statements, it can be said that both, the Government and the people, are responsible for the present situation.

With Independence came the tragic Partition; but we then had a quality leadership. There were leaders like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Lal Bahadur Shastri. They were leaders in their own right. The states too had eminent leaders like Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant in UP, Dr. B.C. Roy in Bengal and Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla in Central Provinces. Bombay had Morarji Desai, followed by Yeshwantrao Chavan. They too were leaders in their own right. At that time Congress was in power at the Centre and in all the states. Our Constitution does not require that the same party be in power at the Centre and in the states. Different parties can be in power in different states, as is the case today. But there must be proper understanding and coordination between the two. However, unfortunately, that is not the case today. Constitutionally, different parties can be in power in different states. And yet from a practical point of view, things then being what they were, Congress was at first in power everywhere. People felt reassured that the same party was in power at the Centre and in the states. Leadership was also trusted to

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Some always that is a be surpr Hedgewe Congres moveme 1930. H Congres expresse and we tain pol peaceme sake of sad and of the s centre ar tinue. T for the s for this I with o tion of r leadershi some th party, b with its in Delhi were pr sonality or any people power. break up eyes. Ind to say th position world car

take the country forward in an orderly manner. The time and the circumstance made that a desirable arrangement.

Some people think that RSS has always been opposed to Congress. But that is a misconception. Many people will be surprised to hear me say this. But Dr. Hedgewar (founder of RSS) was in the Congress. He was there in the 1920-21 movement and he again went to jail in 1930. He was also an office-bearer in the Congress. Subsequently, Dr. Hedgewar expressed his opposition to Congress, and we also criticised it because of certain policies, particularly its minority appeasement. We never opposed it for the sake of opposition. It is, however, very sad and unfortunate that the early practice of the same party being in power at the centre and in the states, could not continue. Things changed and I feel sorry for the same. However, the responsibility for this lay with the Congress and not with opposition parties. The generation of respected leaders had passed. The leadership that followed no doubt had some thought for the country and the party, but by and large it was obsessed with its own ascendancy. And so whether in Delhi or in the states, only such people were projected as believed in the personality cult. People without any ability or any roots in the affections of the people, came to occupy positions of power. That is why Congress began to break up. It is breaking up before our eyes. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that it is already dead. Today the position is that not all the efforts in the world can revive the Congress. A Sans-

krit saying aptly describes the way people look at the Congress.

*"Yuyam Vayam, Vayam Yuyam*

*Itisa Matira Vayo;*

*"Kim Jaim Adhuna Ye Na,*

*Yuyam Yuyam, Vayam Vayam."*

That is, people who were such dear friends that they dined from the same plate, today they have fallen out so badly that they don't want even to see each other's face. They are so bitterly opposed that they are denouncing each other as CIA agents and enemies of the country. This is the situation in Delhi as also in the states. No Chief Minister is confident that he will continue in his office for any length of time. The different party governments in power in different states, view New Delhi with distrust. The Government in Delhi also seems to think that it will be good if they fall. They also adopt policies accordingly. So all things considered, the state of the nation gives cause for concern. Congress has broken down and it will never be the same again. Even Congressmen admit that.

So what does the future hold in store for the country? Congress cannot revive. And Opposition parties don't hold much promise. Indeed Opposition leaders are quite a strange lot. They don't have common objectives. And no single party is in a position to emerge as the alternative to the Congress and give a lead to the country. That is our predicament today.

What shall be the way out of this morass? Or shall we continue to drag on

*Congress is dead ; and  
nothing can revive it*

## *Muslims and Christians have not come from outside, but. . .*

like this with political instability, high prices and corruption making life miserable. After all, it is we who have to suffer all this. I don't think that is acceptable. It is for the Common Man, to find the way out. For, in the ultimate analysis, when the people stand up and say, enough is enough, their voice does prevail in politics—and in the administration. We have to consider how our people are to be organised for the purpose.

When we think of the Common Man, we don't have to think in terms of Hindu, Muslim and Christian because all of us are equal victims of this misery. And yet it is sad to note that even while suffering all these troubles, Muslims and Christians do not act on the principle that this is their Matribhoomi, Pitribhoomi and Punyabhoomi. And so the responsibility falls chiefly on Hindu shoulders. Even today this country is 85% Hindu. This is a Hindu Rashtra since thousands of years. There is Hindu way of life here. It is Hindus who have made—and even marred—this country. It, therefore, becomes the bounden duty of Hindus to organise themselves and, individually and collectively, combat injustice and corruption.

A few days back the 'Indian Express' (Sept. 23) carried an article which said how Sangha should, and should not, deal with Muslims and Christians. I have nothing to say about that article. But our thinking is also that. We define the word 'Hindu' so broadly that anybody who looks upon this country as his Motherland and Holy land and regards himself or herself part of its national cultural

stream, is a Hindu. Indian Muslims and Christians have not come from anywhere outside. They do not belong to a separate ethnic group. They are local converts. And yet what is their thinking?

The World Islamic Conference has adopted a resolution to convert the Indian poor, and thus make India a Muslim country. They also have a Fund for this purpose. The World Christian Conference has noted that Christianity is on the wane in the West, and it has resolved to go to the Third World of developing countries. Arab and Christian countries are pouring crores of rupees in India (for the purpose). The idea is to convert people by starting various works in tribal and other areas. At times you come across some good Christians and some good Muslims. Recently there was a Press report of a conference of Muslim Satya Shodhak Dal in Kolhapur, which highlighted the changes desired in Muslim society. But the average Muslim and his leaders think quite differently. You must have heard the name of Abdul Ghani Khan Chaudhuri. He is a Congressman and, until recently, he was a union minister. Some time before the recent Assam poll—which was held properly—there had been another poll; which the Assamese had boycotted. Ghani Khan had gone to campaign for the Congress in that earlier poll. He said in public meetings of Muslims that if Hindus kill one Muslim, they should kill two Hindus.

Now listen to the words of "progressives". Mr. Kalimuddin Shams is a

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Forward Bloc leader in Calcutta. Twice he was elected to the West Bengal Assembly. Forward Bloc is a constituent of the Left Front. This Mr. Shams holds that Muslims are a separate nation in India. I, therefore, asked our Swayamsevaks in Calcutta to ask the communists how and why they regarded Mr. Shams a leftist. The Communists told our Swayamsevaks to go and ask Forward Bloc leaders. These latter, in turn, responded that they didn't like it but that he was the only Muslim in their ranks; if he was turned out, Muslims won't vote for their party! In the last elections, Mr. Shams was defeated. So that is how Ghani Khan of Congress, Shams of Forward Bloc and of course Syed Shahabuddin of Janata, think.

There is an English daily published from Calcutta. It is the 'Telegraph'. Allied to it are the weeklies 'Sunday' and 'Ravivar'. Their editor is Mr. M.J. Akbar. Whenever he writes on the Hindu-Muslim issue, he always finds fault with Hindus. And he is a 'Socialist' and a 'progressive'. The position today is you scratch a Muslim, and he is a fundamentalist. The same is true of Christians. Whatever they may say, the crores received from abroad, are being misused. Their 'Liberation Theology' thesis is that the poor and the weak should be organised and incited to create trouble in state after state.

Christians have a huge establishment in Ranchi, Bihar. Now, through Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, we also have started

schools, hostels and hospitals in that area. And that has stalled their conversion plans. Not only that, some converts have come back to the ancestral fold. This has so upset the Christians, that they have launched a campaign of vilification against Sangha and Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram. The missionaries are publishing a magazine called 'Nishkalank' from Ranchi. It is an excellent title. This paper published the report that RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram were putting some chemical in the wells in tribal areas, as a result of which people drinking that water would not be able to bear any children. The poor tribals were scared. The whole thing came to our notice and the government also heard of it. Concerned government officers came and collected the tribals near these wells. They drew the water from those wells, themselves drank it and thus re-assured the tribals that it was perfectly alright. Cases were filed against 'Nishkalank' and the concerned churchmen. Both now admitted that they were wrong. This is an example of the lengths to which these people can go if they are checkmated in their designs. That, unfortunately, is the Christian and Muslim psychology. How it is to be changed—that is the question. One way would be to argue with them. We must do that. But simultaneously we must organise and strengthen the Hindus. For only when the Hindu puts his foot down against unreason, will these Muslims and Christians see reason. The precondition for this is, Hindu Sangathan. Sangh has made

(Turn to page 39)

*The lengths to which  
missionaries can go*

## Some Dimensions of the Punjab Problem

By : Krishan Kant

On October 2-3, the Panchnad Research Institute, Chandigarh, organised a high-power 'Dialogue' on the Punjab problem. It was convened by PRI President, Justice T.U. Mehta (Retd) and Shri Shyam Khosla, Director (Tribune).

Those present included Surva Shri S.S. Barnala, ex-Chief Minister, Balwant Singh, ex-Minister, Dr. Attar Singh, K. Sudarshan, (RSS), Krishan Kant, Dr. Baldev Prakash (BJS), Jagjit Singh Anand (CPI), Gurvir Singh (Congress-I), Manjit Singh Khera (Akali Dal), Dr. Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia (Guru Govind Singh Foundation), Dr. Maheep Singh, Justice Rajendra Sachar (Retd.), and Prem Kumar (Indian Express).

Some of the participants had prepared papers. We publish below Shri Krishan Kant's paper—with some cuts for economy of space.

—Ed.

**D**URING MY TRAVELS in the Punjab in 1982-83, when Dharamyudh Morcha was on, my interaction with the people led me to feel that what is happening in Punjab is similar to what is taking place in Pakistan in a different setting. Though India and Pakistan had become two separate countries, avowedly secular and theocratic states, respectively, the social and thought processes are a continuation of the pre-partition India. The urge was to find a secure identity in religion. Both the geographical areas have a long history of thousands of years but both the vibrant communities, Muslims in Pakistan and Sikhs in Punjab were trying to peg on their identities and limit their personalities to the periods when Mohammed Bin Qasim landed in

Sindh and brought Islam to India and Sikh Gurus emerged on the scene in Punjab, respectively.

These thought processes and concepts are not a few years old. They have been with us for more than a hundred years. They have passed through various phases of interaction with our freedom struggle in the framework the British Government formulated to channelise the social contradictions to their advantage. After 1857, a British bureaucrat gave the concept of composite culture in the Asiatic Journal in the 1860s. All cultures in all countries are composite. There is no pure culture. Many streams and developments throughout history give shape to that culture. Even the so-called homogeneous societies are not pure unalloyed streams. Their identities have evolved and taken different shapes in different periods. But religion having been a dominant factor in Indian life, the British bureaucrat formulated that India is a federation of religions and each religion has its own culture, so India is a federation of religions, and a composite culture.

Swami Vivekananda had warned in his Madras speech that we should avoid getting ourselves embroiled in the concept of composite culture as it will lead to mutual strife and head hitting. Many streams have joined together to make American culture; but it is not called a composite culture. It is the same with Russia and China. Composite culture in India separates the cultures of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians etc. This approach led to the ideology of Indian Islam having a separate culture and hence a separate nation. The British gave

*Jinnah: "The League has freed Muslims from the undesirable elements of Maulvis."*

impetus to this approach and encouraged the demands of separate reservation in services and legislatures. Later it led to separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs. It was this seed that fructified in Pakistan and separation from India.

Even at the time of partition, it was not realised by some that Pakistan would become a theocratic state. Those who were leading the movement of Pakistan were primarily doing so for power, and using religion as a handle to attain it. The logic of it, and where it will lead to, was not properly realised. Even Jinnah did not think that anti-Hindu stance of Muslim League movement will create a situation where Hindus will not be able to live in Pakistan. While speaking in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on Aug. 11, 1947, he gave a clarion call for the establishment of Pakistan as a secular state. He said: "You may belong to any religion, caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the state...We are starting with this fundamental principle, that we are all citizens of the state...I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in the course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as citizens of the state." (G.W. Chaudhry (ed) Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan, Dacca, 1967, pp. 21-22)

The opponents of Jinnah used to continuously complain all through the

early period before Pakistan was accepted by the British, that he was refusing to specify precisely what Pakistan was actually to be. But it was clear that he was opposed to theocratic ideas and influences and never minced words about his commitment to a secular state. While addressing the students of Aligarh Muslim University in February 1943, he declared: "What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play the selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Maulavies and Maulanas" (Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad (ed) Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, Vol. 1, Lahore, 6th edition, 1960, p. 43)

The founders of Pakistan wanted to maintain secular traditions. In March, 1949, moving the 'Objectives Resolution' in the Constituent Assembly, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan declared: "The people are the real recipients of power. This naturally eliminates any danger of the establishment of theocracy." (G.W. Chaudhry (ed) Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan, Dacca, 1967, p. 25)

Mr. Chaudhry, Editor, of the Constitutional Documents of Pakistan, a champion of Islamic ideology, complained that "the Ulema were also not happy with the first draft constitution (i.e. the Interim Report of the Basic Principles Committee, 1950, HA) as it contained very little, if at all, provision as to the Islamic character of the proposed constitution" (as above, p. 30).

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The logic of the forces released while carrying on the movement of Pakistan on the concept of Muslim nation based on Islam, could not be channelised now by the personal concepts and wishes of the leaders in a different direction. Gandhiji sent Suhrawardy to Sind to meet Jinnah and prevent the killings and migration of Hindus from Sind; it could not work. Jinnah was finding himself helpless. He had become a prisoner of the forces he had released. The secular concept was given up and the theocratic one accepted by 1952. This was the natural outcome of the working out of the concept of composite culture where one religious community was opting out to become a nation with its own culture. Since then the Pakistan ruling elite has been trying to consolidate its identity on the basis of Islam. This in turn leads them to limit their beginnings of history to the advent of Mohammed-bin-Qasim. The territory of Pakistan includes areas which include Harappa, Mohen-jo-daro and Taxila. It was in this area that Rigveda was written and Gandhari, wife of Dhritrashtra and mother of Kaurvas, was born. Rather than becoming the inheritors of one of the most ancient civilisations of mankind, the rulers of Pakistan want to limit it to the time when Islam came to India. This produces distortions in the minds of the people of Pakistan and produces a sense of suffocation and revolt. Hence the ethnic identities of Panjabi, Pathan, Baluchi and Sindhi are asserting themselves and linking themselves to the whole history and culture of the geographic area they live in, which dates back to thousands of years before the coming

of Islam to India.

The concept of composite culture had led not only to the linkage of religion to culture but also to language. The language always belongs to a geographical area and people cling to the mother tongue, whatever the religion. But here the irony, before and after independence, has been that religious communities started claiming languages: Hindi for Hindus, Urdu for Muslims and Punjabi for Sikhs, in particular areas of India. The issue of language has taken two different shapes in India and Pakistan. After achieving Pakistan, the Muslim identity took a back seat in internal affairs as it was no more useful in the game of power. Here its link with language was broken. Language and ethnicity took the primary stage. This led to the separation of Bangladesh and rejection of Urdu domination. The assertion of the linkage of Muslim identity with Urdu is resorted to by the ruling elite and Punjabi bureaucracy. Mostly Muslim identity is being used in the conduct of external relations and defence, to have parity with India, leading role in the comity of Muslim nations and world affairs. Neither Pakistanis themselves nor others call Pakistan a land of composite culture where Baluchi, Pathan, Sindhi and Punjabi sub-cultures are having their distinct identities.

But in India the tenuous and irrational linkage of language to religion continues in the minds of minority communities and certain sections of Hindus in the North. In Punjab we have witnessed this phenomenon in a virulent form. Hindu attitude

*Ethnic identities of Sindhi, Punjabi,  
Pathan and Baluch rising in Pakistan*



## *A golden offer by Sikh intellectuals thrown away by Arya Samajists*

to Hindi and Sikh, to Punjabi, is a reflection of the same pre-partition psyche. The Sikh attitude towards Punjabi is not born out of its being the mother tongue only but also because it is considered the language of the community. This became clear to me when I met Sant Harchand Singh Longowal during the Dharma Yudh Morcha at Golden Temple. While speaking on my paper where I had mentioned that there is no link between religion and language, he said there is. He gave me the example of Latin. I told him that Latin was the language of those times and the followers of the religion had to learn that language to read the religious books of that time. Even the present day Punjabi would have to be translated three hundreds years hence.

The Hindus, by rejecting Punjabi, added to the communalisation of the situation in the state. Bhai Jodh Singh and Principal Niranjn Singh had pressed the Punjab University Syndicate to accept Punjabi in both scripts, Devnagari and Gurmukhi. But the Punjab Arya Samaj and Hindu leadership at that stage was not prepared to accept Punjabi language. If the Punjab Hindu leadership had recognised the essential unifying factor of Punjabi-speaking state, they would have robbed the Sikh communal leadership of the secular Punjabi cultural carpet on which it could later stand. Then secular Sikh masses could not have been misled into communal channels in the political game of power, at least not on the issue of language.

That linguistic state should have included the whole Punjabi speaking

population, in which Hindus would have been in majority. Though the Akali leadership had been demanding the Punjabi speaking state, they, in fact, wanted a Sikh majority state. One need not go into the history of all the stages through which Punjab has passed i.e. Sachar formula, Regional formula and Punjabi Suba. Sant Fateh Singh gave it a secular face by demanding a linguistic state irrespective of who comprises the majority. But they were only stages.

Neither the national leadership nor the state leadership realised the implications of the concept of composite culture based on religions, on the basis of which the concept of secularism was adopted. The concept of composite culture essentially consolidates and promotes the antagonistic part of the cultural identity leading to taking up constant hostile positions, resulting in bloodshed. That has been the experience of Khilafat movement which was ostensibly led on the platform of Hindu-Muslim unity but which ended up with Hindu-Muslim riots. Lala Lajpat Rai had participated in the Khilafat movement but he remarked that it led to the increase in obscurantism in both the Hindu and Muslim communities. Each individual and group has multiple identities. Rather than uniting them on the basis of common denominator of these multiple identities, if we try to unite them on the distinctiveness of identities which separate them, the distinctiveness gets sharpened and clash becomes inevitable. Punjabi ethnicity and language were the biggest uniting factors in Punjab, but the Hindu leadership of Punjab gave

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it up under a facade of secularism and Indian process secularism.

After Independence groups plunged in full force. We did not want to communalise the whole of Punjab. Religious identities were in long collision with Hindu society and country. Hinduism structure. In fact, the region in the acceptance of religions, where the prophet or a set of books and Gurus were the basis of the same change of building was avoided by partition, as an alternative majority state grew for an Act. A Commission of Sir constituted to submit the report was not Ramaswami about all the Hindu territories found it very high and did not accept Hindu religious could become a centre of the State.

But in Punjab led. In the original of 1925 passed the S.G.P.C. use

it up under a false definition of secularism and Indian nationalism. In the process secularism and nationalism lost.

After Independence, all parties and groups plunged into the power game with full force. We did not realise that a conflict could take place in Punjab and communalise the whole atmosphere, if religious identities were asserted. This headlong collision could not take place in Hindu society and other parts of the country. Hinduism is not a monolithic structure. In fact Hinduism is not a religion in the accepted terminology of religions, where there is one Book and one prophet or a set of Gurus to be followed. Among the Hindus there are umpteen books and Gurus and many interpretations of the same books. There was one chance of building up this conflict which was avoided by Jawaharlal Nehru. After partition, as an aftermath of the Muslim majority state of Pakistan, a demand grew for an All India Hindu Temple Act. A Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Ramaswami Aiyar was constituted to suggest such a law. After the report was ready, Nehru asked Sir Ramaswami about the total income of all the Hindu temples in the country, and found it very high. Nehru closed the chapter and did not allow a separate centre of Hindu religious power to grow which could become a challenge to the secular centre of the State power.

But in Punjab the process was reversed. In the original Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925 passed under the British regime, the S.G.P.C. used to get only 10 per cent

of the offerings in the local gurdwaras. So SGPC was more or less a supervisory body without much financial or political clout. The policy of the British was not to interfere in the management of the gurdwaras. After Independence, the so-called Jathedar group supporting the Congress party led by Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, Ishar Singh Majhail and Darshan Singh Pheruman took control of the SGPC. It found that the local gurdwara committees were more or less autonomous and resisted the pressure of the SGPC. In the mistaken belief that they would be able to perpetually control the SGPC, the Gurdwara Act was amended by the East Punjab Act 32 of 1949 which transferred the management of the local gurdwaras and their finances to the direct control of the S.G.P.C.

Dr. Attar Singh, in his paper "The management of Gurdwaras" in the book "Punjab in Indian Politics" at page 193 writes: "Through state legislation thus was laid the foundation for institutionalisation of the idea of the S.G.P.C. being a 'State within a State'. Parallels were drawn with the Vatican, the elected body came to be called the 'Sikh Parliament', and President of the SGPC began to be compared to the Pope. The eclipse of the local committees of Darbar Sahib Amritsar soon led to a situation in which the local resistance to the launching of political agitations from the precincts of the shrine broke down. The centrally appointed managers and priests had no option but to become subservient to the group in power in the SGPC..... It was no surprise, therefore, that a purely poli-

*The harm that Congress did  
to Gurudwaras by its 1949 Act*

## *Jat Vs. Bhappa, Majha vs. Malwa rivalries in Sikh politics*

tical agitation was launched for the first time in 1955 from the Golden Temple complex by the Shiromani Akali Dal which had in the meantime regained control of the SGPC on the unflinching plank of opposing the covert interference of State in Sikh affairs."

This set the pace for confrontation between the Church and the State as far as Sikh and Punjab affairs were concerned. In this conflict, even the leftists and the Congress played their part. They fought the elections for the control of the SGPC under the banner of front organisations like the Desh Bhagat Party, Sadh Sangat Board or Khalsa Dal. But out of 150 seats they could get only between three to ten seats at the most. Different factions of the Akali Dal always controlled the SGPC.

Rather than reducing the role of religion in State and politics, SGPC and the State became two rival centres of power. State power was utilised to control the SGPC and the power of the SGPC was utilised to capture state power. This further sharpened and dogmatised the issue of Sikh identity. This led to indulging in competitive communalism by the Akali and Congress Parties to gain the favour of the Sikh community. Even the broader definition of a Sikh was narrowed down in this competition. While a Sahajdhari with cropped hair, having faith in only the Sikh Gurus, was considered a Sikh for the purpose of the Punjab Sikh Gurdwaras Act, the Indian Parliament further restricted the definition of Sikh to Keshdharis only (bearing long hair) for

Management Boards of the Delhi Gurdwaras.

What we are witnessing today are the ramifications of the conflict between the Church and the State as two rival centres of power. As long as they continue as rival centres, the Punjab conflict will continue. The resolution of this conflict in Europe took three hundred years and many wars and much bloodshed. As long as it is felt that control of SGPC can help in winning state power or vice versa, the conflict will continue. That is why the fight for Khalistan centres round the Golden Temple.

When religion is used for political power, it produces many distortions in the interpretation and practices of religion and tensions in society. Each group tries to interpret and utilise religion to suit its interests. It is reduced to symbolism and ritualism. Fundamentalism is a wrong word to use. In the name of 'minority rights' the majority group of the minority would like their rights to be protected, but they would not tolerate any difference in practice to be followed by the minority in the minority community. This phenomenon has been seen in the treatment of Ahmediyas in Pakistan and Nirankaris etc. by the Sikh clergy in Punjab.

Out of the multiple identities that an individual and a group belongs to, whichever meets immediate and urgent needs, is adopted. The expression of this becomes very visible in Punjab. When Punjab crisis is discussed, one can find how many persons feel that Punjabi

means a Sikh. It is instructive to see the perspective of the identities, and is part of the feeling to have a feeling of belonging between Master Tara Singh, leader of the adult franchise Sikh community to re-establish and assert their intellectual thought of the community they could much less community tempt call. Similar Majha (this side) among the city of religion smaller in big tension Majha at Sikh Pan have ruled rulers must among the fices.

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means a Sikh and this means a Jat only. It is instructive to find how, when we lose the perspective even in the assertion of identities, another smaller identity which is part of the bigger identity, begins to have a feel of sufferance. This is happening between Jat and non-Jat Sikhs. Master Tara Singh was the last non-Jat leader of the Sikhs and Akali Dal. Because of the operation of the logic of adult franchise, the non-Jats in the Sikh community feel left out. In order to re-establish their importance and assert their credibility, some of them thought of taking extreme postures both intellectually and emotionally. But still they could not have a sense of security, much less get the leadership of the community. The extremists in their contempt call them 'Banias' and 'self-seekers.' Similar situations can arise between Majha (far side of Sutlej) and Malwa (this side of Sutlej) Sikhs and various castes among them. When one loses the catholicity of religion, this process of exercising smaller identities becomes a source of big tensions. One hears in Punjab that Majha area has made more sacrifices for Sikh Panth than Malwa, but Malwais have ruled more. So now the dominant rulers must come from Majha and from among the youth who have made sacrifices.

Another factor in Punjab crisis is the criminalisation of politics. Corruption and criminalisation go hand in hand. With the addition of religion, the confusion for the common man has become worse confounded. They are not able to discriminate between practitioners of

religious fervour and gun-toting adventurist-smugglers.

There is another dimension of international ramifications. While on the one hand, international smuggling gangs would like the chaotic situation to continue to enable them to do their business, there is deep involvement of Pakistan and western powers to keep India destabilised by increasing its social tensions. Thus they would like to see India deeply enmeshed in social tensions and turmoil so that India does not emerge as a major power on the world scene.

Deep Pakistani involvement in the training and financing of the extremists is only too well-known. Pakistan has come to realise that it cannot defeat India on the battle-field. So it has chosen the strategy of accentuating social tensions in Punjab and weakening the Indian polity. President Zia has two aims. One may be to take revenge for the establishment of Bangladesh. But the more important is finding a justification for his Islamisation of Pakistan and partition of the country on the two-nation theory on the basis of religion. If Zia is able to separate Sikhs from Hindus, it will be the failure of the concept of secularism, the very foundation of the Indian state.

What is happening in India was broadly visualised by British imperialism when it left India. They knew how the concept and social forces they had unleashed would continue to work and lead to the present situation. My friend Prem Kumar, at present Resident Editor

*British time-bomb(s) planted  
in Indian Society*

## *Lala Lajpat Rai becomes victim of Akali communal demagoguery*

of the Indian Express at Chandigarh, had gone round the country to assess how the Sikhs felt two years after Blue Star. He met an elderly Sikh at Hyderabad. He told him that after partition of the country he had met Master Tara Singh and asked him as to what have the Sikhs got in the whole partition process, while the Muslims had got Pakistan and Hindus Hindustan. Masterji told him in reply to meet one member of Lord Mountbatten's team in England where he was going then, and he would explain it to him. The person in Lord Mountbatten's team had worked in Military Intelligence in this area during the Second World War. He told the Sikh gentleman that there would be guerilla warfare in the border districts of Punjab after about a period of thirty years. The Sikh gentleman objected and said that it will not be possible as there are no more jungles in this area where the guerillas could take sanctuary. The Britisher told him that the sanctuary would be the neighbouring country.

The British could foresee the evolution of social forces and tensions in the area on the basis of concepts and institutions they had provided, and had become a part of Indian mind. The concept of composite culture given by the British, and the concept of secularism defined and provided in the various Articles of the constitution are similar. This leads to the concept of multi-religious nationalism which, in a climate of adult franchise and multi-party political system, will lead to confrontation between these nationalisms leading to tensions and blood-letting. This is what

we are witnessing today in Punjab and elsewhere in India.

There can be no firm models for a transforming society and no models can be imitated in a world which is changing so fast. One has to be continuously innovative and consciously and sensitively channelising the movement of history in a way that transformation can take place with the least amount of bloodshed. While seeing that the multiple identities of the individual, group, community and the nation retain their entities and freedom, we have to see that they remain compatible and not become antagonistic.

Many Muslims in India have begun to feel the pinch born out of the assertion of Muslim identity and the formation of Pakistan. The very originators, propagators and mobilisers of the Pakistan ideology in U.P. are facing hostility and bloodshed in Pakistan, the land of their dreams. The U.P. and Bihar Muslims in Karachi and Bangladesh are the most unwanted lot there. Some of the most emotionally devout Muslim individuals who had migrated to Turkey in the Khilafat movement, respecting it as the land of the Muslim Caliphate, had met a similar fate. Their experience in two Muslim countries, on the right and left of India, has initiated a new process of thinking in some of the Muslims of India. They have begun to feel that ethnicity is as important as religion. Taj, Red Fort, Jama Masjid and Fatehpur Sikri are precious heritage of Indian Muslims and are part of their proud culture, and they lie in India. It is the

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## *All of us must do much heart-searching*

him. To observe the Birth Centenary of Tamil poet Subramanian Bharati, the Punjab Government brought out a Punjabi translation of his poems. Bharati had written two poems on Lalaji, in one of which he depicts Lalaji yearning to go back to the land of Punjab from Mandalay and die on his soil. But the Punjabi compilation of Bharati does not contain any of these poems!

During Giani Zail Singh's Chief Ministership a tableau was to be made by the Punjab Government to be paraded on Republic Day in New Delhi. It was decided to depict Jallianwala Bagh. Research was done before designing the tableau to find out as to why Jallianwala Bagh took place in Punjab only and not anywhere else in India. The research team went deep into the archival material. They found that Lala Lajpat Rai was hovering over the whole climate of Punjab and its various revolutionary movements. A tableau was made and designers kept three photographs of Lalaji around the tableau. Mrs. Gandhi approved it. But when Chief Minister Giani Zail Singh inspected it, he ordered the removal of the photos, remarking that Lalaji was "only an Arya Samaj Leader."

An attempt was made to start a campaign that Lalaji should *not* be called Sher-i-Punjab. Historical impressions cannot be erased in this manner. They only attempt to divide the minds and create problems for the future, which we are facing now.

The common links of the common Gurus have also been sought to be broken.

There are 42 temples, Dharamshalas etc. of Hindus which were taken over by the Nihangs because Guru Granth Sahib was also being recited there. The biggest of them is the Sodhal Mandir at Jalandhar. Nihangs have taken over that portion of the temple where Guru Granth Sahib is recited. The situation has been continuing all through Janata, Congress and Akali Governments.

On the other hand the slogan of Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan has wrought havoc in creating alienation amongst various linguistic groups and religious minorities. The slogan is destructive of Hinduism itself. Even today I find Hindus in many non-Hindi states protesting against the imposition of Hindi. Hinduism of the last century will be nowhere without Shri Aurobindo, Raman Mahrisi, Ramakrishna Paramhans and Swami Vivekanand. None of them was Hindi-speaking! On the other hand, much of the Guru Granth Sahib is in Braj Bhasha, and cannot be properly understood without knowing Hindi. India cannot be reduced to Hindi-speaking areas only.

All these mistakes have made deep dents into the psyche of the people—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—thus making the task of building a nation-state and developing a spirit of nationalism, a very tortuous one.

The recent Haryana elections have added a new dimension to the Punjab problem. Henceforth no Punjab demand can be considered without taking Haryana

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## *If Khalistan is ever born, Sikhism will die*

to account. Haryana identity has asserted its presence and even Haryana leaders cannot ignore it while dealing with water or territorial issues.

A new realism has to grow into the minds of all Punjabis. Punjabi Hindus are not welcome outside Punjab, and outside Sikhs are not welcome in Punjab. The situation has to be faced by all Punjabis together, for getting religious differences. The sooner they do it, the better. As one Akali leader privately admitted, the Politics of Grievances, which has been played for the last forty years, is outdated now. The real implications of the Haryana elections have not yet seeped into the minds of Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab. The whole landscape of politics has changed. Both the communities have to have self-introspection.

Terrorism in Punjab is not a revolutionary phenomenon of have-nots taking up arms for a socialist revolution. It is not merely an economic problem of employment. As one Sikh industrialist told me, between 4 to 12 lakhs of jobs are being provided in agriculture and industry to people from outside Punjab i.e. U.P., Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir. The Punjabi middle class Sikh is not prepared to do these jobs.

It is a psychological problem and it

has got to be dealt with as such. Accusing one another, and finding mistakes in others, will not do. All of us have made mistakes. Heart-searching must start within each community and then between the communities. There is no use merely blaming the Centre. Centre, Punjab, all political parties inside Punjab and outside, have played the same game. We cannot sit quiet after blaming the Centre or blaming each other. Even if all of them fail or betray, we have to live in this state as citizens of common ethnicity.

Punjab cannot be divided further. Those days are gone, when a third party sitting over our heads could manipulate to do it to serve their long-term imperialist interests. One point the protagonists of Khalistan have to consider: even if Khalistan consisting of a few districts is carved out, it will not include Anandpur Sahib, Patna Sahib, Nanded Sahib or Paonta Sahib, all places associated with Guru Gobind Singh, in whose name the movement of Khalistan is being waged. Nankana Sahib has already been left in Pakistan. Formation of Khalistan may become the destruction of the whole heritage of Sikhism and decline of Sikhism itself.

(2, Telegraph Lane  
New Delhi-1.)

## 'Journalism Plus' and harassment of Mofussil Correspondents

AT ITS June 13, 1987 meeting, the Executive Committee of the Editors Guild of India, decided to send a 3-man team—Shri M.V. Desai, Shri S. Sahay and Shri K.R. Malkani—to inquire into, and report on, several reports of harassment of journalists in that state.

The team accordingly visited Lucknow on June 28-29, met almost a hundred journalists from several districts, and came to certain conclusions. Their Report, "Journalism Plus," was submitted to the Editors Guild of India (28, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi-1) in August and the same was published in September.

Here are some excerpts from the Report :

OUR DISCUSSIONS in Lucknow and documents given to us suggest that matters came to a head after three major incidents. They concern Radheyshyam Dantre, Ayodhya Prasad Gupta "Kumud" and Nagarmal Tarsoulia. All the three were harassed by the District Magistrate at Orai (Jalaun), A.K. Joshi, and the local SSP, Babu Lal Yadav. While the DM tried unsuccessfully to browbeat Trikha (editor "Navbharat Times", Lucknow) into dismissing or transferring Dantre, he managed to put pressure on *Jagaran* and *Aj* editors to remove both Kumud and Tarsoulia.

We appreciate the stand taken by Trikha in refusing to dismiss Dantre and publicly saying so. We are bewildered by the conduct of *Jagaran* and *Aj* proprietor-editors in doing away with the services of Kumud and Tarsoulia. Kumud was removed by *Jagaran* on the ground that he was not procuring enough adver-

tisements. Tarsoulia was not given any grounds for his removal. His paper just stopped publishing his reports and appointed another in his place.

What made the DM and SSP behave the way they did? Kumud and Tarsoulia had given publicity to the fact that wives of DM, SSP and others bought some *saris* but did not make full payment. This led to a hartal by shopkeepers. The journalists gave publicity to this, as also to the news of the death of a sentry posted at the DM's house. The three were harassed and victimised by cases being started against them, by a gun licence being cancelled, by trying to enhance property taxes and even setting goondas on them. Kumud's property tax was raised by 800% with effect from 1982.

We disapprove of the manner in which the news concerning the death of the sentry at the house of the DM was reported. There were insinuations that the sentry knew too much, without any sourced evidence. Read this along with other reports and rumours in the town (a picture in *Janasatta* showed DM's wife with the SSP), and one can see why the DM was so vindictive. We condemn the repressive action of the DM but cannot condone professional lapses and unbecoming conduct on the part of professional journalists.

S.V. Singh's complaint is that as the Jhansi correspondent of *Jagaran*, he had filed stories in the public interest against authorities. He was put in the lock-up, harassed in other ways, Rs. 2,500 was taken from him and an attempt made to sell off his property against the loan

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## Mixing news with sales and advertising

taken by him, even though he was prepared to repay the money. He was beaten up by miscreants and machines from his flour-mill stolen. No steps were taken to apprehend the culprits.

Narayan is proprietor and editor of "Chakresh". His complaint is that, on the occasion of Holi, he had published a spoof which offended the DM and SSP. False cases were started against him, and he was even jailed. Here again, we disapprove of the item put out on the occasion of Holi. This is tasteless, offensive journalism.

The complaint of Visha Pal Singh, of Amrit Prabhat is that he was harassed, put in a lock-up and money extorted from him. Authorities became vindictive after he wrote to the Chief Minister against the local authorities.

Gopal Pandey is the correspondent of Dainik Prabhat. Among others who appeared before us are Manoj Dubey (editor of Krantinama from Fatehpur), Rakesh Goyal (correspondent of Jagaran) Raghunandan Sahu (correspondent, Hamirpur), Mahesh Awasthi (correspondent, Hamirpur) and Shripal Chandra Tiwari, correspondent of *AJ*.

Their tale of woe is by and large the same. The local DM or the SSP or other authorities do not like their reports. They set about getting the accreditation of correspondents cancelled, start false cases or revive old ones, and influence newspaper proprietors or editors into sacking the correspondents. The Officials tend to think that they are above the law. Not for

them the known and recognised methods of dealing with false or tendentious reports. They believe only in strong-arm methods. In cooperation with others concerned, the Guild needs to think of ways to inculcate professional discipline and standards. A major problem is that newspapers ask their correspondents to collect not only news but also advertisements and to help increase circulations. The two do not mix.

Under the Working Journalists and other Employees (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act 1955, a working journalist is a person whose principal avocation is that of a journalist. He is "employed, either whole-time or part-time, in newspaper establishments and includes an editor, a leader-writer, news-editor, sub-editor, feature-writer, copy-taster, reporter, correspondent, cartoonist, news photographer and proof-reader."

A part-time correspondent is what most journalists working in the districts of Uttar Pradesh are. He has been defined as a correspondent who is a part-time employee of a newspaper. His principal avocation is journalism. In the 1980 award of the Justice Palkar tribunal for Working Journalists, it has been laid down that every part-time correspondent shall be paid not less than one-third of the basic wage (basic pay plus dearness allowance) applicable to a full-time correspondent at a similar level.

In addition, payment has to be made on a column basis at rates settled by

mutual negotiation. The establishment shall not employ part-time correspondents for more than 10% of the total staff. A part-time correspondent is appointed

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mutual negotiation. No newspaper establishment shall put any restriction that a part-time correspondent will not work for more than one newspaper, unless he is appointed full-time.

Not many newspapers have taken this part of the Palekar Award in the right spirit. Instead they chose to get rid of them as correspondents. Such of them as were re-employed were asked to sign a statement that their full-time occupation and major source of income was something other than journalism.

In many cases this is also a statement of facts. The earnings of mofussil journalists filing occasional stories for use in district, state and national newspapers have remained ludicrously low. They have to find other means of making a living. Or they work for more than one newspaper.

Some part-time correspondents look upon the job of journalism as a second string to their bow. Their main job is to work as a teacher or pleader or even a contractor. The fact that they also file news stories, and, therefore, function as journalists, gives them additional income and clout.

As professional journalists they enter public places, attend functions, seek interviews with news makers like officials, ministers and politicians and have a much readier access to certain amenities than the ordinary citizen. Among them have been the telephone, a special allotment of a two-wheeler or a car or cement

(whatever is in short supply). There is no doubt a few of them use the arrogance of their power as journalists for non-journalistic and non-public interest as well as selfish ends.

Among the other activities encouraged by newspaper owners among their district reporters in Uttar Pradesh is the collection of advertisements for the newspaper they represent. The district authorities—the collector, the magistrate, the superintending engineer, the state lottery manager—have it in their discretion to extend advertising support to correspondents and newspapers. This is often a favour, not justified by the circulation of the paper.

A delegation of some more journalists met the team late on the evening of 29 June. They had come from Jalaun in two vehicles. They pleaded the case of Joshi the DM and Yadav the SSP with vehemence. They also gave, in support of their argument, CID reports about Dantre to suggest that he was a person with a long criminal record and that Joshi had hauled him up for just two of the many charges. His predecessors had also charged him with four other offences. On being asked how they got CID reports and official documents the delegates said, "Unofficially". The delegates probably were acting on behalf of the powers that be.

The pursuit of 'journalism plus' by part-time correspondents creates difficulties all around. It lays them at the mercy of the owner-proprietor of a newspaper by giving him the excuse to get rid of a

### *How Palekar Award has adversely affected Mofussil correspondents*

## *We must fight this culture of secrecy in official and political circles*

correspondent for lack of performance in collecting advertisements or increasing circulation. They come under the influence of officials who patronise them as advertisers. It would be too much to expect that they would not suppress news critical of their patrons.

Some editors are aware of the dangers to healthy journalism of part-time correspondents who use journalistic connections to obtain a brief or a contract or promotion in a college. Mr Somnath Sapru, editor of *Pioneer* these ten months, has made a beginning in separating the two functions by taking away from his many correspondents the assignment of raising advertising revenue and making it over to *Pioneer's* advertisement and circulation agents. Mr Kidwai has under consideration more professional ways of covering rural news in *National Herald*.

The full-time correspondents working in newspaper offices and their news bureaus have well defined responsibilities in news coverage. Some of them do not show much enterprise and initiative for a variety of reasons. Among them is the large flow of information in hand-outs and other material from public authorities. Security of employment could be another factor. But the institution of part-time correspondents presents a challenge to the profession.

The part-time correspondent has to show results. He tries to file stories which must get into newspapers. On this depends his monthly earnings because in

many cases the regular retainer is a paltry sum. About the stories from distant areas which make the headlines it can be said that a good many are filed by roving and part-time correspondents.

After the Palekar award, state and national newspapers have got hundreds of their correspondents to make a statement that their principal avocation is not journalism. This enables them to pay them less than the wages of their labour. So it is not likely that the post-Palekar trend can be reversed without considerable effort on the part of editors and employers.

In the meantime every step needs to be taken to improve the quality of their journalistic work and, therefore, their professional standing. Now that official displeasure has united journalists in UP in opposition to the administration's strong-arm tactics, it is to be hoped that they will continue to remain united in working out ways to better professional performance.

The part-time correspondents need training. For refresher courses it should be possible for organisations of journalists—trade union as well as professional—to work together. Unless professional performance improves and with it the social standing of journalists, it will be a vain hope that attacks on journalists will diminish. Here, the Editors Guild has a part of its work well laid out before it.

Statements from district correspondents showed time and again how the

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authorities in Uttar Pradesh seemed to enjoy filing charges against journalists. At one time or the other, the hundred and more correspondents told the team, that the state authorities have got charges made against journalists under sections of the penal code, including sections 120, 182, 323, 504, 505 and 506.

Allegations were made by the journalists against authorities who attempted kidnapping them and harassing their relations. It would be of practical value to find out who were the actual persons who filed first information reports on such specific charges against correspondents, and at whose instance.

A better working relationship between district authorities and journalists has to be worked for by effort on both sides.

Obviously, there are lapses from administrative and journalistic norms when cases against journalists are built up. The professional pride and arrogance of the newspaper representative could be at fault as much as a perception of the district authority's sway as not to be questioned. There the civil and police officials still look upon themselves as retaining imperial powers whose word is law.

The only way to get away from this history of antagonism and vengefulness is to bring the two groups together and explain how both have a role to play for good government. They must be able to look upon one another not as unaccountable autocrats or persons with privileges

but as both seeking to serve the public interest, where possible together.

We claim India is wedded to decision-making after open debate and discussion. This is at the heart of democratic government. For historical and other reasons, however, a good part of the process of arriving at decisions in the government is still kept secret. Also a good many decisions on matters of public concern are not made public as a matter of course.

Many decisions are publicised when it is politically expedient or after a correspondent has already got the wind of a story or scooped it. Aversion to open government has been bred into the administration at all levels. Many ministers and civil servants do not look upon themselves as answerable and accountable for their public actions. And they regard information which comes to their custody because of their public positions as private property.

It is necessary to fight this culture of secrecy in political and official quarters. The public servants need to be seen as human beings who can make mistakes and are prepared to own them. This will go a long way in removing the need for the protective wall of secrecy. A change in the Official Secrets Act of the kind contemplated in the Union Home Ministry some years ago might also help.

An urgent requirement is for the public servants in districts and in the secretariat to appreciate the relevance of open discussion of official decisions to

*How some proprietor-editors misbehave  
with employee-journalists*

## Police complicity in harassment of independent journalists

democratic behaviour and governance. The administration still regards media interest as a nuisance if not something worse.

Some officials who met the team brought out another aspect of government-press relations. This concerns in the main a few owner-editors of important Uttar Pradesh newspapers. In their keenness to be on the right side of Authority, they are quite prepared to drop from their employment part-time correspondents who have offended the local magistrate or superintendent of police. Letters to promise such action against employee-journalists were written. The Guild will no doubt want to ensure that there are no such owner-editors among its members.

It is also necessary to place the study of the media—their structures, organisation, functions and responsibilities—in a democratic society on a sounder footing in the curriculum of the central services like IAS and IPS and the provincial services. Officials now revelling in suppressing information and news management ought to be trained in theory and encouraged practically to help journalists in their public interest responsibilities. The Guild should be able to give professional help in improving the training programmes for civilian and police authorities as also for journalists interested in public administration.

The atmosphere got so heated up after Dantre's arrest that there were pamphlets issued by those who were opposed to the part played in the episode by Dantre and

N.K. Trikha, editor of *Nav Bharat Times*, Lucknow.

A friend of Trikha told the police to ask one of the distributors of an anti-Trikha pamphlet (which did not carry the information about where the pamphlet was printed) to stop its distribution. The police told him to go to the nearby police station and register a case.

Without official collusion or connivance, it is not likely that such pamphlets could be printed secretly in a press and distributed publicly in Jalaun and Lucknow.

A sample pamphlet (appendix 2) suggests *inter alia* that Trikha is under the undue influence of Dantre (allegedly a religious bigot without character) and that the Dantre mafia collected funds to bribe Trikha.

As with Press Information Bureau of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in New Delhi, the State Directorate of Information and Publicity has rules of accreditation. Recognition by it of a correspondent as such is highly prized. The rules provide for an accreditation committee which (the Chief Minister told Malkani) is being reconstituted after the old committee was allowed to wither away a couple of years ago at the end of its term.

An instance of how the *amour propre* of officials gets hurt and how they seek to retrieve it is to be found in the press notes issued after the state government

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announced its decision to transfer A.K. Joshi, District Magistrate of Jalaun.

This decision was also indicated to the public by the Chief Minister. Following its confirmation in a state government hand-out, the press note was officially withdrawn by the Directorate of Information.

Another press note was issued the same day to suggest that the transfer was being made in the course of routine administration which moves officers every three years and that Joshi, who was not in any way to blame, was an industrious, honest and popular officer. This probably is so. But a press note cannot convince the public about it.

The Chief Minister's views have been recorded by Malkani after their meeting on 29 June in Shri Veer Bahadur Singh's room in the Assembly Hall. In a covering note he says: "On June 29 evening I met the Chief Minister of UP in Lucknow, on behalf of the Editors Guild. Shri Sahay had already left for Delhi. Shri Desai could not be contacted for the un-timed interview and, besides, he had two other appointments in the evening." Now the gist of the conversation:

*K R Malkani: Reports of excesses against some journalists in UP reached us. The Editors Guild, therefore, decided to send a 3-man delegation to study matters on the spot.*

Chief Minister: Have you been to Jalaun. Unless you do that, you will not

have a proper idea of the situation on the ground.

*KRM: After reading the documents received by us, if we find it necessary, we'll certainly visit Jalaun and, maybe, some other places.*

*We have met a number of journalists and senior editors. We have received many representations. We will study these and then report to the Guild—and to the public. But even at this stage I would like to submit that there has been much harassment and serious victimisation of journalists in Jalaun, Hamirpur and some other districts.*

CM: Some journalists don't act responsibly. Some officers are also tactless. In many districts journalists are divided into two camps. At times they are divided along political lines.

I had promised the local journalists that I'll transfer both the DM and the SSP. And I have done it.

*KRM: The DM has been transferred but not the SSP.*

CM: I have just passed orders for his transfer also.

For the sake of continuity in district administration, we do not transfer the DM and the SSP simultaneously. That is why we let some time lapse between the two transfer orders.

*What the UP Chief Minister told Editors Guild representative*

*KRM: Many false cases have been filed against some journalists, and harassing processes issued against them.*

CM: These cases are old. Some of them are as old as 1982.

*KRM: I am not talking of old cases, if any. But cases started after the Jalaun incident should be withdrawn.*

CM: I have asked the officers to act calmly and restore normalcy.

*KRM: I have one other suggestion to make. The old Press Advisory Committee completed its term two years ago, but a*

*new Committee has not been constituted all this time.*

CM: It has now been re-constituted.

*KRM: Your Director of Information told us this morning that the Press Advisory Committee has been constituted. We asked local pressmen and they know nothing about it. They have not been consulted.*

CM: The list of twenty, including four officers, is ready. It is representative. It has members of both NUJ and IFWI. I am asking the Director of Information to release the list tomorrow. (A list of members of the reconstituted committee appeared in newspapers in the second week of July). □

## Suffering & Learning

The Greek poet Aeschylus has said, in two lapidary words, that suffering is the only way of learning. The experience of suffering was certainly one source of Dante's poetry. Dante suffered nothing at the hands of the totalitarian ecclesiastical regime under which he breathed and felt and thought with perfect freedom, but he was crossed in love and he was exiled from his native city-state. If he had not suffered these two severe afflictions, his *Vita Nuova* and his *Divina Commedia* might never have come to birth.

—Arnold Toynbee

## Imperialist Myths about Aryan and Dravidian, Sanskrit and Tamil

Lipikar L.S. Wakankar

THE CREDIT for inventing generalisations which have far-reaching effects on men is rightly due to linguists and philologists; they do not need much textual evidence or even palaeographic or phrenologic evidence. The concepts of 'Aryan' race and 'Dravidian' race are today 'gospel truths' to unwary common men who today believe in India that they belong to this race or that; it is not of any consequence to criticise the inventors of these racial theories, but those who fall prey to them should be pitied. In the nineteenth century, the race-theories benefited the foreign rulers of India and in the twentieth century the Nazi regime benefited by the racial division of the subjects in question. Until the 18th century the European pioneers studied the Indian scene with curiosity, but in the latter part of the 19th century their attitude found a new orientation.

Today by the end of 20th century even the highest authority of the Christian world accepts scientific facts such as the Tilton and Steiger's estimate made in 1960 that the creation of the planet Earth is 4,750,000,000 years ago, give or take 50,000,000 years. This is also supported by the recent Moon-data. There was a controversy started in 1642 A.D. by Rev. John Lightfoot, expert on Greek language, establishing that creation began at 9 a.m. on 17th September 3928 B.C. which was challenged in 1648 A.D. by James Ussher of Ireland. As Archbishop of Ireland, Rev. James Ussher, decreed in 1650 A.D., that creation took place on 23 October 4004 B.C., at 9 AM. Any one who would propose

anything against this decree, would be considered a 'heretic' and it is well-known what punishment awaited a 'heretic' in those days!

Frederick Bodmer in his book "The Loom Of Language" (London, 1955, 6th Edition) narrates that "the work of Bopp and other pioneers of Comparative Grammar received a powerful impetus from the study of Sanskrit. Though Sasseti, an Italian scholar of the 16th century, had called Sanskrit a pleasant, musical language and had united Dio (=God in Greek) with *Deva* (=God in Sanskrit), it remained a sealed book for almost two hundred years. Now and then some missionaries, like Robertus Nobilibus or Heinrich Roth, a German, who was anxious to be able to dispute with Brahmanic priests, acquainted himself with it; but that did not touch the world at large.

William Jones, Chief Justice of Bengal, and Founder of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta in 1784, was a versatile linguist, and he wrote in 1788: "Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure—more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could possibly examine all the three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not



## Do you know the World Was created on Oct. 23, 4004 B.C. ?

quite so forcible, for supporting that both the Gothic and Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit". (p. 180)

The custodians of the Pentateuch were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the Tower of Babel. To anticipate the danger, they pilloried Sanskrit as a priestly fraud, a kind of pidgin classic concocted by Brahmans from Greek and Latin elements.

William Jones, himself a scholar of unimpeachable piety, had to make the secular confession : "I can only declare my belief that the language of Noah is irretrievably lost. After diligent search I cannot find a single word used in common by the Arabian, Indian and Tartar families, before the admixture of the dialects occasioned by the Mohammedan conquests." (p. 181)

Now as it became crystal-clear that there is no escape from accepting the excellence of Sanskrit as a highly developed grammatical language, it was proposed that a "home" be fabricated for an imaginary "Aryan" race somewhere between Europe and India and a hypothetical name, "Aryan or Indo-Aryan," be given a supposed parent language, and brand the Vedic Hymns as crude chants, without caring to go into the original Vedic texts ! A Cacuttia publication in 1866 "Historical Linguistics : an Introduction" by Winfred P. Lehman, informs us: "Presently the old name 'Aryan or Indo-European is discarded and the grouping is called Indo-Iranian", with two sub-groups (i) Indic and

(ii) Iranian and the linguists date the groups in the following terms. The oldest hymns are cosmologic poems composed somewhere before 1000 B.C. The very late date given to Vedic literature is obviously based on the belief that earlier dates cannot be assigned as per the theological declaration that creation began only in 4004 B.C.!

Documentary evidence on the date and manner of the birth given to the so-called 'Aryan Race' is as per Report of the meeting of Royal Asiatic Society, London, on 9th April 1866, as follows : "The Right Honourable Viscount Strangford in chair. Mr. Thomas then proceeded to advert to the single point open to discussion involved under the Fourth Head, tracing the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from the Oxus into the province of Ariyania and the Hindukush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the Punjab and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of Saraswati and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Assianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phoenician, and whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch-bark." (Footnote on p. 420, J.R.A. Society, New Series V)

This 'tell-tale' story by Edward Thomas was welcome to Frederick Max Mueller and Macdonald in writing a fake

history of Sanskrit, studying the Sanskrit and relying mainly on information from themselves were in a "I say again" misgivings on the conscience would we could ascertain all it presupposes (Preface xi, Vedic Sanskrit Lit.). The Gilford Memorial "Whether the date in 1000 or 4004 B.C. ever determined looked the same as Vedas. Mr. Thomas has exposed the historical distortion in *Some Westernization*, New York, *The Aryans*, and denounce that "Apart from the geological considerations for the Indians are the Hebrews and the ancient Indians. Nordics are found for the New light on 1958, pp. 18

Thus it was at least 1952, that in India should be a century B.C.

history of Sanskrit literature, without fully studying the Sanskrit literature themselves and relying mainly on second-hand information from translations which themselves were inaccurate. He further said: "I say again that I am not free from misgivings on the subject and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the Pratisakhya and all it presupposes to a much later date" (Preface xi, Vol. I, Ed 1869 Hist. of Sansk. Lit.). Max Mueller, later in his Gifford Memorial lectures honestly said: "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed in 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years before Christ, no power on earth will ever determine", as he had overlooked the astronomical references in the Vedas. Mr. Kailas Chandra Varma has exposed the hollowness of the historical distortion by Max Mueller (in *Some Western Indologists and Indian Civilization*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 42-43 and *The Aryans*, N.D., 1926, pp. 207-212) and denounced V. Gordon Childe's belief that "Apart from political and theological considerations, two of the main reasons for trying to discredit India and Indians are their bias in favour of Greek and Hebrew civilizations, and the conscious and sub-conscious belief that the ancient Indo-Europeans were blue-eyed Nordics and a European home must be found for them." (see V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 1958, pp. 188-189).

Thus it was essential for them till at least 1952, that the advent of the 'Aryans' in India should not be dated before 15th century B.C. This date was started as a

pure hypothesis by F. Max Mueller, who himself acknowledged the force of criticism of H.H. Wilson, W.D. Whitney, Barthelemy St. Hillaire and others. A majority of scholars in the West have acted on the dogma that Max Mueller has proved this date and his subjective desire has been re-inforced with the wish to, somehow, show that the barbarian hordes of the Aryans destroyed the Indus civilization in the 15th century B.C. Not one of them has offered any evidence for this dating of the Vedas, and they ignore completely the arguments advanced by other scholars, based on irrefutable evidence, of passages relating to seasons, months, years, sacrificial constellations and solstices connected with them in the Vedic literature (like those by Jacobi, Tilak, V.B. Ketkar and many astronomic mathematicians as internal evidences)." (K.C. Varma, 1971, pp. 43-44)

It was by about 1700 A.D. that Bartholomew Ziegelherg stressed a different ethnic identity of the people of North and South India. Francis E. Wills identified the South Indian languages as being a different family of languages in 1816. Robert A. Caldwell (who later became Bishop) developed in 1856 a comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of languages, and later the French linguist Jules Blocke actively enlarged the separate Dravidian identity, which was already promoted with scholarship by Dr. Caldwell (born 1814) and Rev. Father Balchi (b. 1815), supported further by Rev. G.V. Pope, Hugen Hultz, Jules Blocke, Frittenry Heras and others. The story-teller of the "Aryan Race Immigration," Mr. Edward Thomas, is

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## Standing Indian History on his head...

also the exponent of the 'Dravidian-Race' concept to subtly "prove" to the South Indians that the Northerners are their historic enemies, in the following words :

"Brahmi may be an invention of the Dravidians who were the original inhabitants of the whole of India and that Brahmi was subsequently adopted by the Aryans."

Shri K.S. Ramachandran says in his introduction to "The Origin of Brahmi Script" (D.K. Publications, Delhi, 1979, xix-x) : "Edward Thomas and others of his ilk considered Brahmi to be an invention of the Dravidians. This theory does not find much favour and is discarded by almost all because of the (i) divided opinion regarding the original habitat of the Dravidians, (ii) the earliest available specimen of Brahmi writing being only in North India, (iii) the difference in the phonetic structure between the Brahmi and the Tamil." In *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, New Series*, p. 420, E. Thomas alludes to pre-Aryan Turanian-Dravidian myth in the words : "Devanagari was appropriated to the expression of Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Sanskrit Pali or Lat alphabet which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (Dravidian) dialects. Rev. A.C. Burnell ("*Elements of South Indian Palaeography*," Truebier, London, p. 3) emphasises : "thus it must be held that they (Aryans) copied. The Northern Asoka has been conclusively identified (by Mr. E. Thomas) with an Aramaic original, and a number of letters in Southern Alphabets point clearly to a similar

source." I leave it to the intelligent reader to decide what is the worth of the "research" presented by the western scholars.

Now it would be worthwhile to evaluate the worth of protagonists of the Dravidian identity projected by modern scholars such as Asco Parpola (Scandinavian Studies, 1969), who argues that "It was economical to start by selecting the most probable language. Historically the most likely candidate seemed to be the Dravidian group of languages which are today spoken by over 100 million people, mainly in South India, but also in Pakistan near the Indus sites. These languages are known to have been spoken in India around 1500 B.C. when the Indo-European Aryans come to India, and have a literary tradition since the 3rd or 2nd century B.C." (J. Tamil studies, May 1970, pp. 89-109)

N.V. Gurow *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1967 also assumes the insubstantial 'Dravida Mediterranean cultural zone concept (Journal of Tamil Studies, 1970, 53-87). Here it would be worth quoting the remarks of T. Burrows, the renowned author of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Oxford, University Press, 1978).

"Handling of the Dravidian material which, as will be seen, is open to considerable criticism (p. 149)...There is obviously considerable danger in using these later forms of Dravidian to decipher this ancient (Indus) script (p.150) In the first place there is only one form of the verb 'to give', namely *Kotu*, and the alter-

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native *Koti* is due to misunderstanding. Secondly, a glance at the entry in DED 1704 will show that amongst all the various meanings of the words registered there, the meaning point or blade of arrow is conspicuous by its absence (p. 151). Such items were given the benefit of doubt and included in the DED. They are represented to a surprisingly large extent in the material selected by the author of this attempt at decipherment and this fact constitutes one of major weaknesses of their case (p. 152). It is to be concluded from the above survey of the Dravidian material employed, and leaving aside the aspects of decipherment, that there are far too many uncertainties involved to accept the deductions proposed. Far too many items have to be excluded as being certainly not ancient, and when not impossible, other reconstructions remain uncertain. It does not appear, on the evidence before us, that the claim to have deciphered the Indus script can be accepted (*Journal of Tamil Studies*, 1970, pp. 147 to 156).

As an example of wishful history-writing, it would be pertinent here to quote some extracts from a recent essay by Kamil V. Zvelebil :

"The Dravidians were a highlander folk, sitting sometimes around 4000 B.C., in the rugged mountainous areas of North Eastern Iran (where they came into an extended contact with the speakers of Uralian/Altaic languages), where, round about 3500 B.C., they began a south-eastern movement into the Indian subcontinent which went on for about two and half millenia. Along the route,

various Dravidian speaking tribes peeled off the main stock, the first to come off being the peoples speaking some form of North-Western Dravidian who might have played an important, even a leading role in the ethno-linguistic composition of the Indus Valley peoples. The movement went on until the Southern-most part was reached by the proto-Tamils, who established, between 600-400 B.C., the first historically recognisable literate and highly cultured Dravidian-speaking civilization, preserving of all Dravidian speakers, most of the identifiable features of the parent language (p. 57)), in the light of the recent hypothesis expressed by B R Alchin that the first waves of the Aryans might have entered India as early as 2200 B.C. (p.62).

"For a while I played with the idea of a 'reverse ascent' of the Dravidians from the 'original home' somewhere in Tamilnad (or in the "submerged continent" in the Indian ocean) up through the peninsula, until they would have reached North-Western India, for that is a fact : Dravidian-speaking population was encountered by the Aryans as early as the Vedic period there. (p. 62) However, such reverse movement will not fit at all with other bits of evidence, and will not explain any of the problems raised by the presence of Dravidian speakers in the whole of India." (Footnote No. 7)

Leaving it to the readers if they would accept this 'Dravidian' new wine in old 'Aryan' bottle I will end this article with a quotation from "Ancient Ceylon," *Journal of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* 197, p. 122 :

*Pouring 'Dravidian' old wine  
in new 'Aryan' bottle*

"The occurrence of ceramic pieces from the 'Megalithic' level at Gedige and plain ware-type in NBP levels Hastinapur, poses the problem of the relationship between the 'megalithic cultures' of the South and the NBP and pre-NBP cultures of the North. It was Codrington who first grasped the essential unity between these two complexes (1930, p. 196, IASC). His hypothesis was shelved by subsequent workers, largely because they were excessively involved in the Aryan-Dravidian question at the expense of disciplined archaeological thinking and also because NBP had not been found in the South, except as an import. It now appears as if both PG and NBP were localised phenomena flowering out of a basic 'megalithic' type culture using Black-and-Red ware and iron. (Article 'The citadel of Anuradhapura, 1969;

Excavations in the Gedige area' by S. Deraniyogala, p. 48 to 169)

Modern archaeology is a scientific, logical and factual science and if archaeologists date artifacts with scientific method, the conclusions should be accepted. Western archaeologists have substantiated many references in Biblical books in the Middle-Eastern sites. But neglecting or distorting information in old Indian and texts, discussing them with the entirely fictitious date of Vedic culture as 1200 B.C., the acrobatics become ridiculous. They should either accept Indian texts honestly or totally avoid talking of the Aryan-Dravidian contexts, which are highly distorted myths propounded by philologists.

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Lakshmi Road, Pune-411013

## Martin Luther & Kumarila

*It is only the Vedic religion which considers ways and means and lays down rules for the fourfold attainment of man, comprising Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha: Buddha ruined us, and so did Christ ruin Greece and Rome! Then, in due course of time, fortunately, the Europeans became Protestants, shook off the teachings of Christ as represented by Papal authority, and heaved a sigh of relief.*

*In India, Kumarila again brought into currency the Karma-Marga, the way of Karma only, and Shankara and Ramanuja firmly re-established the Eternal Vedic religion, harmonising and balancing in due proportions, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. Thus the nation was brought to the way of regaining its lost life; but India has three hundred million souls to wake, and hence the delay. To revive three hundred millions—can it be done in a day?*

—Swami Vivekananda

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(From page 11)

great efforts to organise the Hindus. RSS has its branches in Assam, Nagaland and Manipur also. But considering the growing dimensions of these problems, what the RSS and other Hindu organisations are doing, is not quite enough. It is of the utmost importance to accelerate the work.

Hindu Sangathan should not be viewed narrowly. Hindu Sangathan does not mean just resisting aggression or pre-empting aggression. It is elementary that we should resist or pre-empt aggression. But that is not all.

We have untouchability, inter-dining and inter-marriage only within the caste, the idea of high and low. Recently we even had a *Suttee* in Rajasthan and there is much controversy about it. All these bad customs weaken our society. Everybody is agreed that it is necessary to remove these bad customs, unite all Hindus and bring them all on the same wave-length. And yet politics obstructs this process because the votes lie in a different process.

I will give you an example of how the politics of Vote Bank work. Recently I was in Kerala. That state is now being ruled by communists because they took a pro-Hindu line. Because of our efforts, Kerala Hindus have united. Kerala has 20% Muslims and 20% Christians. The state had only two parties—Congress and Communists. Unless these parties made many promises to Muslims and Christians, they could not come to power. But this time there was so much Hindu unity that Communists

decided not to deal with communal Muslims and communal Christians. The result was a Hindu backlash that overwhelmed the Congress, which had allied itself with Muslim League. In this situation, communists won. They are now, therefore, trying to please the Hindus. Recently Hindus in Kerala celebrated their Onam Festival. There is acute power shortage there. Kerala gets 200 inches of rain-fall and so all power is hydel. Since this year the monsoon failed, there is 7-hour load-shedding every day. And yet government stopped all load-shedding for the seven days of Onam celebrations.

I will give you another example. The TV serial 'Ramayan' is screened at a time when there is load-shedding in Kerala. But government has directed that there shall be no load-shedding at 'Ramayan' time. That is how communists are also responding to Hindu opinion. The communist problem is, how to reduce RSS influence in Kerala. However, these are the same people who had specially carved out a Muslim majority district of Malappuram.

Hindu society has many weaknesses. Removing these, is not an easy task. I will give you an example of how these weaknesses affect our politics. Sometime back Shri Chandrashekhar Singh, a Rajput leader of Bihar, and a Union Minister, passed away. There was a by-election. Since it was a Rajput-dominated constituency, the Congress put up his widow. At the same time an assembly by-election also became due in the same area. There was an understanding among Opposition parties: George Fernandes

*How Kerala Communists are  
trying to please the Hindus*

(of Janata) got the Lok Sabha ticket and a Yadav of BJP got the Assembly ticket. George lost, but BJP's Yadav won; the voting was on caste lines.

When we think of Hindu Sangathan we think of removing the various flaws and weaknesses in Hindu society. When we in Sangha have camps, nobody asks anybody's caste; all programmes, including food, are collective. That is how the spirit of brotherhood, patriotism and character is fostered. Sangha is functioning all over the country. Everybody views

it as a Great Force. People have high expectations of us. We are trying hard because Sangha needs to be much more powerful. And that depends on how far all of you come forward and cooperate in the effort.

On this auspicious Vijaydashmi, Day, it is my prayer that you think deep about Sangh, get close to it, cooperate with it and consider how Hindu society can be united and strengthened. That alone will solve the many problems facing the country in the days and years to come. □

## World Round-Up

### Why those Black Mondays

On Black Monday, Oct. 19, and again on Oct. 26, the US stock market collapsed, with share-holders losing almost a trillion dollars in the value of their stock on each occasion. Already some people are seeing shades of the 1929 Depression that had plunged the world in economic chaos and led to rearmament and World War II. Every country raised its tariff walls, stuck to the gold standard and allowed banks to collapse. Fortunately, today, the world is one global money market; and governments have much more expertise to manage the economy. And economists emphasise that what has happened is not a fire but a fire-alarm, a timely warning. But the point is: why did it happen?

By far the biggest single reason is Reaganomics—and mismanagement of the US economy under Reagan, against

the advice of the US Congress. In the words of Jim Wright; "He believes that he can think a thing true, and it will be true. He is ignorant of the facts of which a president should be aware, and willfully so." And as Anthony Lewis put it: "It is fun to live in a tinsel world with a song-and-dance man as long as reality does not intrude. When it does, the wave and the grin do not count for much."

Reagan cut taxes—and increased defence expenditure! As a result US budget deficit went up from \$ 79 billion in 1981 to \$ 221 billion in 1986. (Earlier, USA had financed the Vietnam war by loans and not by taxes. When the oil crisis came in 1973, it did not bother to tax oil and cut oil imports.) The deficit was being met by public loans. As a result Reagan incurred more US Public Debt than all the preceding US Presidents, over the last 200 years, put together!

Since the government were interest rates to the cost of rates also attractively Japan the US trade billion a year up US property was on. US beyond its money over.

The solution global action defence budget continues—to reduce exports should be cut in many should phobia of the rates, to boot 9% unemployment divert its re infrastructure down—if no bad debts" the developing developed countries

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gether!

Since the private sector and the Government were competing for money, interest rates went up. And that added to the cost of production. High interest rates also attracted foreign capital, particularly Japanese and German. That, and the US trade deficit, attracted \$150 billion a year of foreign capital, buying up US properties and securities. The fever was on. USA was obviously living beyond its means. And now the party is over.

The solution lies in concerted, cool global action. USA must reduce its defence budget—and raise its tax revenues—to reduce its budget deficit. And its exports should become more competitive—to cut its trade deficit. West Germany should give up its unemployment phobia of the thirties—and lower interest rates, to boost its economy, and end its 9% unemployment rate. Japan should divert its resources to modernising its infrastructure. All of them should scale down—if not write off—"mountains of bad debts" to the Third World, to enable developing countries to buy more in the developed countries.

### Ban Smoking on Planes

California is considering ban on smoking in public buses. A bigger problem is how to prevent smoking on planes.

The most hazardous aspect of air travel, aside from the drives to and from airports, is breathing cabin air. Inhalation of smoke by non-smokers is America's largest single preventable cause of death and disability.

The US is considering banning smoking on flights of 2 hours and less, and 80%

US internal flights are covered by that.

The separation of smokers and non-smokers in planes in which air is recirculated, does little to protect non-smokers. Carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide, both increased by smoking, accumulate in the dry cabin air. To counter the effects of "passive smoking," a passenger needs 50 to 75 cubic feet of clean air per minute. Actually you get a maximum of 20.

### Belgian Ban on Smoking

The toughest anti-smoking measures in Europe came into in September in Belgium, making it an offense punishable by stiff fines to smoke in a wide variety of public places.

Similar measures already have been introduced in Italy, Finland and Sweden. But the Belgian action was the most vigorous adopted in measures limiting smoking in the public areas of federal buildings in the United States.

It will be illegal to smoke in a closed sports stadium but not in an open-air stadium. Puffing on a railway station platform is legal, but lighting up in the waiting room or booking hall is not.

Smoking is no longer allowed in schools, hospitals or the open areas of administrative offices such as halls, elevators, toilets, meeting rooms or any place where a service is offered to the public.

Breaches of the law will be punishable by fines ranging from 1,500 to 18,000 Belgian francs (Rs. 500 to Rs. 5000).

A recent poll indicated the number of smokers in Belgium has dropped to 30



per cent of the population, from 70 per cent at the beginning of the 1960s.

### No more Oceans of Tea

There is good news for teetotalers who would not sip even tea: tea consumption is declining. UK is the bastion of tea-drinkers; (Russian consumption of tea is one-fourth that of UK, USA's is one-tenth); but even here tea consumption has declined by 20% over the last 20 years. Last year, the value of coffee sales surpassed tea in Britain for the first time.

Long gone, it seems, are the days when tea was deemed the drink of distinction, inspiring G.K. Chesterton, the British writer, to proclaim: "Tea, although an Oriental, is a gentleman."

To Samuel Johnson, reputedly a 40-cups-a-day man, it was lubricant of thought and speech. As his biographer, James Boswell, noted, the "old philosopher" was given to "swallowing his tea in oceans." At Dr. Johnson's old London hangout, the Cheshire Cheese, however, they serve no tea these days, only coffee.

### Drug for colds—at last

Science is still a long way from a cure for the common cold. But, maybe, that does not matter so much anymore.

For the first time, researchers think they may have found the substance that causes cold symptoms. Even better, they think they have found a drug that blocks its action.

People who used the drug would still have the cold, but without the stuffy nose

and sore throat that make it such a miserable ailment.

Dr. Proud, Dr. Robert Naclerio of Johns Hopkins and Dr. Jack Gwaltney of the University of Virginia, have new evidence that cold symptoms are caused by kinins, normal proteins that cold viruses prompt the body to produce. It should be possible to administer the kinin-blocking drug in a nasal spray, they said. The drug would prevent kinins from dilating blood vessels and sending pain messages, the normal functions of these proteins.

### Unscientific Nancy

US First Lady, Nancy Reagan, and her doctors chose to remove her entire left breast despite a variety of recent findings that less-extreme surgery is as effective for small breast tumors such as hers.

Experts said there is convincing evidence that, for such small non-invasive cancers, a modified radical mastectomy, in which the breast and one of the chest muscles are removed, gives no better chances of survival than simply removing the lesion, with or without radiation therapy.

One out of 11 women will develop breast cancer, the second leading cause of death for women. Although Mrs. Reagan's decision was a private matter, her choice has caused some concern among breast cancer specialists and others who think her decision may influence other women.

beginning of a process. It will take decades to settle down psychologically in the realisation that their Muslim identity can be secure in their ethnic and Indian identity and not in Karachi or in the camps in Bangladesh, where they are living humiliating lives.

While one sees signs of this mental adjustment in the Muslim mind of this Indian sub-continent, the elite of the Sikh community is struggling for the assertion of Sikh identity as a sovereign and primary identity. If they allow this process to continue, it will be disastrous. Could Sikhism have grown and survived in any country or region of the world other than India? Have not the roots of Sikhism been nourished by the Indian soil?

The assertion of religious identity leads to communalisation of society if it is used for secular purposes of political power and economic growth. The common masses are not communal. It is the educated and propertied classes, the so-called elite, the government servant and the professions who want to take advantage of the assertion of distinct identity on the basis of religion, who constitute the communal class.

There could not be a better example of Punjabis—Hindus and Sikhs together—constituting an entity having common memories, common sufferings, common heroes and common glories and having the same ethnicity. They have been divided through a process which Karl Marx calls demagoguery while referring to the Italian hero Garibaldi. It has been indul-

ged in by both the communities. The demagogues emotively harped on differences for consolidating institutionalised religious groupings. Bhinderanwala is the last stage in the demagogic process. The mental divide is a slow poison in the body which has been dividing us in our common heroes and faiths. The following are some examples: Lala Lajpat Rai, the tallest Punjabi the nation has recognised in the last one hundred years, also became a victim of such demagoguery. He is the only Punjabi to have become the President of the Indian National Congress. He was the founder-President of the All India Trade Union Congress. He was the first to represent Indian Labour at I.L.O. He led the Kisan movement with Sardar Ajit Singh. While paying tribute to Lalaji, Jawaharlal Nehru said that he was the first Indian to think of the context of international relations for Indian freedom. He was the darling of the youth and Sardar Bhagat Singh kissed the gallows to avenge the martyrdom of Lalaji. Even here attempts have been made to divide the two as Hindu and Sikh. In 1956, the Annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Amritsar. The President of the Punjab P.C.C. was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. In his long welcome speech he recounted all the patriotic movement, named many heroes and political martyrs, but there was no mention of Lala Lajpat Rai! Seeing this, the President of the Congress, Shri U.N. Dhebar, departed from the text of the Presidential Address, asked how could any one forget Lala Lajpat Rai who had inspired the youth of India, and how he was personally inspired by

*The dangers of the slogan,  
'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan'*